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# **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**

PROBLEMS  
OF PEACE AND  
SOCIALISM

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*To All Our Readers!*  
*A Happy New Year,*  
*and further successes*  
*in the fight for peace,*  
*freedom and happiness for all!*









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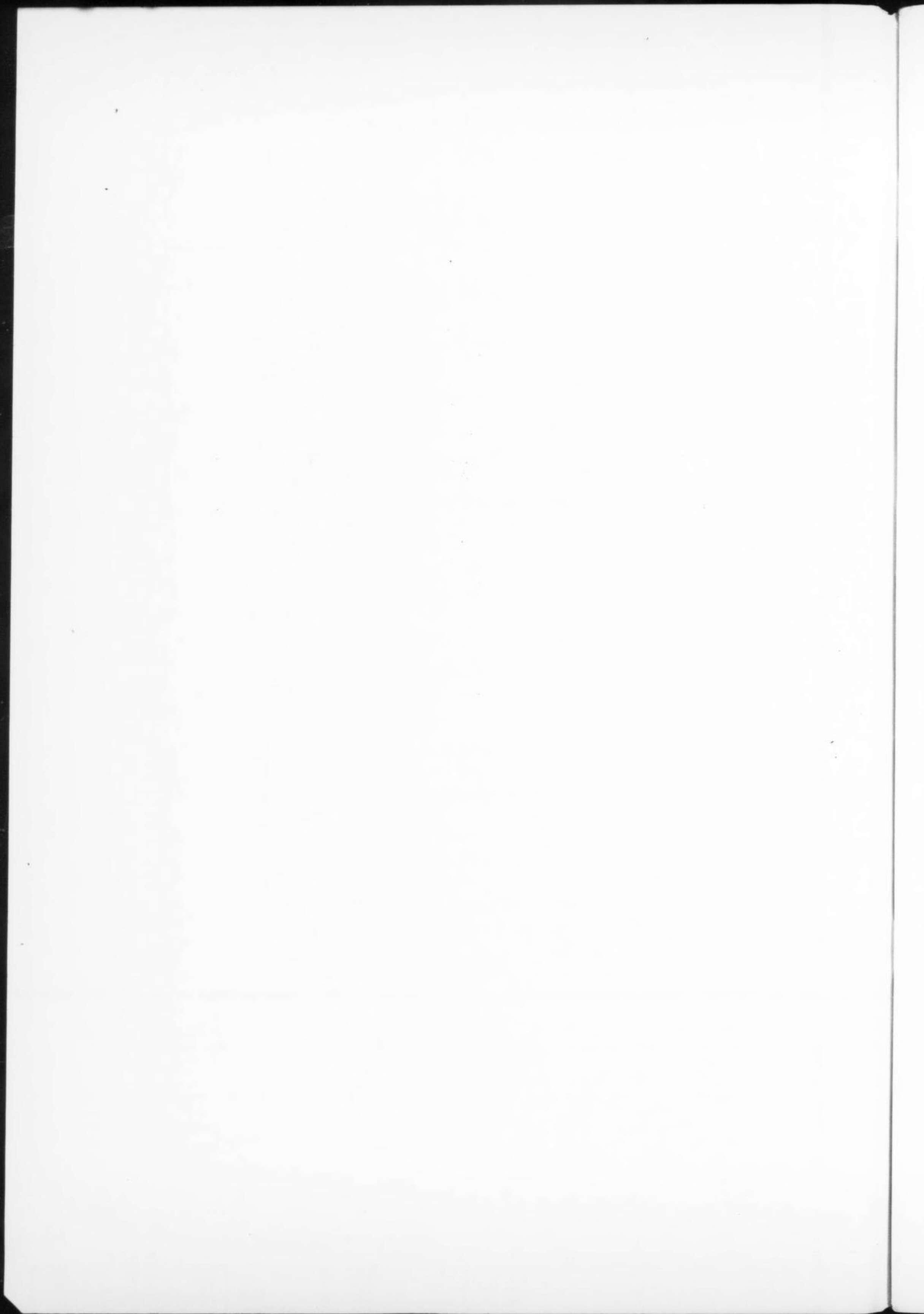
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# Our Common Ideological Weapon

A. Rummyantsev

**“WORDS** are also deeds,” Lenin said. And never was this truer than of the words of the Moscow statement issued just over a year ago by the 81 Communist and Workers’ parties — the vanguard of the international working class, the decisive class of our epoch.

The teaching of Marx and Lenin is all-powerful because it faithfully reflects the objective conditions and requirements of social progress, because it enables the masses to assess the complex developments of our time and to find sure ways of achieving their aims. Just as life cannot stop, so revolutionary theory cannot stand still. To remain a revolutionary force capable of transforming the world and impelling the masses forward, it must develop constantly, not only taking due account of new phenomena but looking forward to the future from the vantage point of today, rallying the peoples to press onward, from one milestone to another.

This line can be traced from the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels, through the works of Lenin, to such contemporary documents of the Marxist-Leninist parties, such outstanding theoretical declarations of the Communist and Workers’ movement, as the statement of the Moscow meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers’ parties held in November 1960 and the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted by its Twenty-Second Congress.

## I

The supreme criterion of any theory is practical experience. And the experience of 1961 has fully corroborated the appraisals and conclusions of the Moscow meeting, demonstrating thereby the correctness of the general principles of proletarian struggle which it formulated.

The past year, above all, has fully confirmed the basic conclusion of the meeting that “today it is the socialist world system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for the socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, the main trend and main features of the historical development of society.”

Socialist society is forging ahead and becoming more and more mature, giving rise

to a new, communist attitude to labor and to other elements of the future communist society, the Moscow statement declared. Development in this direction was given new powerful impetus in 1961.

Through creative labor, at times overcoming considerable difficulties and solving complex new problems, the socialist countries registered fresh economic achievements. In the Soviet Union, as the Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet noted, all the republics fulfilled the 1961 plan. The year’s output was equivalent to the total for all five years of the first postwar economic plan. Although the weather was far from favorable, farm output increased. The overall result is that the Soviet Union now accounts for nearly one-fifth of the world industrial output. Ten years ago its industrial production was less than 30 per cent of that of the USA; today it is more than 60 per cent.

The economy of the socialist world system as a whole continued to develop at an incomparably higher rate than capitalist economy. As a result, the share of the socialist countries in the world industrial output, which merely six years ago, in 1955, amounted to only 27 per cent, is now approaching 40 per cent.

The world’s first space flights, too, were striking symbols of the achievements of socialism in the year since the Moscow meeting.

Today even the President of the United States has had to admit that the “Communist bloc” represents an economic power which in certain respects has already surpassed Western Europe and is overtaking the United States.

The Moscow meeting recorded in its statement that the general crisis of capitalism had entered a new stage. It predicted that this crisis would inevitably worsen, that all the contradictions of the capitalist system would be further aggravated. The past year has fully borne this out. How was the deepening general crisis of capitalism manifested in 1961, apart from the weakening of the positions of capitalism in the competition with socialism?

First and foremost, the *disintegration of the colonial system* continued. New states appeared on the map of Africa — Tanganyika,



Nigeria and Sierra Leone. The national-liberation movement in Angola developed into a people's war against the colonialists. The armed struggle of the Algerian people reached a high pitch of intensity. In Latin America, after the failure of the U.S. attempt to export counter-revolution to Cuba, the indomitable resolve of the peoples to free themselves from U.S. imperialist domination continued to make itself felt, as can be seen from the examples of Brazil, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic. In Asia the last bulwarks of colonialism are falling. Portuguese rule has come to an end in Goa. And the liberation of West Irian is not far off. Only by resorting to drastic measures have the imperialists and their servitors been able to preserve the hated reactionary regimes in Iran and South Vietnam.

Further, the *capitalist economy grew still more unstable* in 1961. And the development of state-monopoly trends is continuing to aggravate the contradictions of capitalism. In the search for a way out of their growing difficulties, the imperialist rulers are resorting more to militarization. In the USA, the principal capitalist country, this process assumed fantastic dimensions during the past year. But has it cured the capitalist economy of the age of instability? Certainly not! On the eve of the New Year the *U.S. News & World Report* dolefully predicted that the coming year would bring the United States face to face with the problem of inflation. The *Wall Street Journal* noted with anxiety the rapid growth of unsold stocks at the factories.

Last year was also marked by a *further and more and more open curtailment of bourgeois democracy*. The trend toward autocratic and fascist methods of government gained impetus. A new wave of McCarthyism in the United States; growing activity by fascist organizations in the USA, France and West Germany, so alarming to all honest people; rampant revanchism in Federal Germany which is threatening peace; repeated efforts by the reactionaries to push through new police laws in Japan and Argentina, and the shameless falsification of the general election in Greece are all evidence of the continuing political degeneration of the so-called "free world."

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, stemming from the aggravation of the basic contradiction of capitalism — *that between labor and capital* — is in turn aggravating this contradiction. This is evi-

ent above all from the steady growth of the class struggles waged by the working people in the capitalist countries. According to figures cited at the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions held in Moscow in December, 53,200,000 workers downed tools in 1960, or 12,500,000 more than in the previous year. Moreover, 73 per cent of the strikers advanced political demands. Last year saw a further growth of the strike movement. The general strike in Belgium, the strikes in Italy, the big actions of the French working class, the strike of 250,000 automobile workers in the USA, and the big strike struggles in Morocco and many Latin American countries — those were some of the highlights of the class struggle last year.

The two lines of development in the two diametrically opposed systems have given rise to an exceedingly complex situation in the world arena. On the one hand, the weakening and decline of imperialism stimulate adventurist trends in the foreign policy of the imperialist states, a desire to alter the course of events by military means. Last year's events in Cuba and Laos, the U.S. provocations in connection with the so-called West Berlin crisis, the French attack on Tunisia and the British intervention in Kuwait once again showed the grave danger of imperialism to all humanity.

On the other hand, experience showed that as the Moscow statement pointed out, "the time is past when the imperialists could decide at will whether there was to be war or not." In each of the instances mentioned above when the imperialist forces jeopardized the peace, their aggressive schemes were foiled by the combined efforts of the socialist world system, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, of all countries opposed to war and all the peace-loving forces of the world.

Thus imperialism had to fall back gradually while the influence of the forces of social progress grew and steadily gained new ground. Needless to say, this process was not simple and clearcut. For imperialism yields only when it is stopped; it retreats only when forced to do so. Again and again it tries to regain lost positions, creating explosive situations now at one point, now at another. Hence the ups and downs of global development. But regardless of the zigzags, the overall trend does not, and cannot, change. The forces of world socialism are bound to grow steadily and the march of events can only lead to its ultimate triumph.



## II

The theoretical documents of the Marxist-Leninist parties are not mere propaganda declarations. They are concrete programs of action, of constructive endeavor. It was in this light too that the CPSU approached the Moscow statement of the 81 parties.

What, then, has our Party done during the past year in fulfilment of the aims set forth in this document? A clear-cut answer is supplied by the proceedings and decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress, for these are our response in deeds to the Moscow statement, a concretization of its thesis that "the Soviet Union is the first country in history to blaze the trail to communism for all mankind."

In drafting its new Program, the CPSU took cognizance of every proposition in the 81-party statement. Both documents are permeated with the same spirit of creative Marxism. It can be said — and this view is shared by Communists all over the world — that the new Program of the CPSU elaborates and carries forward all the basic ideas set forth in the Moscow statement.

The 1960 meeting declared that the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries consider it their international duty to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and the internal resources of each country to carry out as speedily as possible the historic task of "surpassing the world capitalist system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then to outstrip the economically most developed capitalist countries in per capita output and in the standard of living."

It was in fulfilment of this mandate given by the international Communist movement that the CPSU drew up its twenty-year program of communist construction. This program calls for increasing the gross industrial output within the next ten years by roughly 150 per cent and exceeding the present U.S. level, and, within 20 years, by no less than 500 per cent, leaving the present overall volume of industrial production in the USA far behind.

Thus, the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole will, in an historically brief space of time, outstrip the capitalist world in regard to all the basic economic indices. It has been estimated that by 1980 the share of the socialist system in world industrial output will have risen to 71 per cent. The Soviet Union will then have the highest standard of living in the world. The indisput-

able superiority of socialism as compared to capitalism will become obvious to all, causing the greatest revolution in the minds of men that the world has ever seen; people throughout the capitalist world will then realize that communism alone can solve their problems.

Consequently, by dedicating their creative energies to the building of communism, the peoples of the USSR and the other socialist countries are at the same time making a decisive contribution to the class struggle against the moribund capitalist system.

Only those who have lost their political acumen and international perspective can regard the economic competition between states belonging to different systems as mere commercial rivalry. Only the non-Leninist can fail to see that economic competition between the two diametrically opposed systems is the cardinal *political* factor of our day, a *form of class struggle* on an international scale, one of the forms of the struggle between the working class organized as the state, on the one hand, and the imperialist bourgeoisie, on the other.

The international working-class movement values highly the revolutionary significance of the creative labors of the socialist peoples. In a resolution characterizing the prospects outlined by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain declared: "This great historic achievement will make the progress of socialism, of working-class unity and political advance easier in every country in the world." The Secretariat of the Italian Communist Party points out in its resolution that the "Program adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress is a program of struggle for further revolutionary development." And Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, said: "Once again it can be said that the CPSU has served well the cause of the international proletariat."

The vast significance of the CPSU Program as an inspiring example for all socialist countries has been stressed by the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties of these countries. Being the first to build communism, the Soviet Union is affording the other socialist countries a glimpse into their own future, helping them to find the correct and smoothest path to that grand goal. It is by no means fortuitous that many of the parties in the socialist countries (for instance, those of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, to mention



but two) have declared that the Program of the CPSU is in full accord with their own aims.

The great revolutionizing force of the Program is obvious even to our ideological enemies. The capitalist press and Western politicians are forced to admit that capitalism has nothing to counterpose to the grand program of communist construction, that the "virtues" of the capitalist system stand no comparison with the advantages of socialism.

The *New York Post*, for instance, commenting on the Program, observes that the years of effort put by some U.S. leaders into formulating "national goals" have produced nothing but a few empty abstractions, whereas Khrushchov's Party Program expresses the Russian national goal in living, concrete terms. Pointing to the crucial significance in the present-day world of the contest to ensure a decent life for the greatest possible number of people in the developed as well as in the underdeveloped countries, the *New York* paper notes that this is a competition between communism and welfare democracy. The new Party Program means that Khrushchov has placed his stakes on this competition, the *Post* writes says.

"The Communists of the whole world uphold peaceful coexistence unanimously and consistently, and work resolutely to prevent war," the Moscow statement declares. And, indeed, in the policy of the CPSU communist construction as the basis for increasing the might of the socialist state is closely linked with the struggle for peaceful coexistence, for peace and against imperialist aggression.

The international Communist movement declared in its joint policy statement that while the Communist parties are opposed to any export of revolution, they at the same time consider it their internationalist duty to fight against the export of counter-revolution. In the spirit of this principle, the Soviet Union rendered the heroic people of Cuba decisive assistance in defeating the counter-revolutionary intervention organized last spring by the U.S. imperialists.

The defeat of the intervention in Cuba was a reflection of the new situation in the world arena where the socialist camp and the Soviet Union in particular stand as a reliable bulwark against the imperialist export of counter-revolution, enabling peoples, whatever their geographic location, to order their own destiny without fear of the consequences.

"The meeting regards it as the duty of all the countries of the socialist camp and of

all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic — the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peace aspirations of the German nation," the Moscow statement reads.

The strong support given by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the first German workers' and peasants' state to enable it to uphold its sovereign rights and to curb the West German provocateurs is common knowledge. There no longer can be the slightest doubt in any quarter that the measures taken in Berlin by the GDR government with the support of the other socialist countries dealt a shattering blow to the plans of the imperialist aggressors.

The Moscow statement pointed out that "the struggle against the threat of a new world war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day. The important thing is to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war, and not let it break out."

In their foreign policy the CPSU and the Soviet government have proceeded precisely from this principle, from this basic precept of the international Communist movement. But while steadfastly seeking peaceful solutions of all problems through negotiation, they have never failed to stress the need for vigilance and for consistent exposure of the aggressive schemes of the enemies of peace.

The indomitable resolve of the USSR to safeguard peace found striking expression in the steps taken by the Soviet government during the autumn and winter of 1961. It will be remembered that this was a period when imperialist machinations brought world tension to a dangerous pitch. While pressing for comprehensive East-West negotiations, the Soviet government was forced to take a number of military emergency measures to strengthen its defenses and to tie the hands of potential aggressors. Thanks to the firmness and flexibility of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, negotiations on a German peace treaty have now been entered on the order of the day in spite of the initial intransigence of the imperialist powers. The West was likewise compelled to agree to a resumption of the disarmament talks.

"The fact that it has been possible to prevent war and that the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries have been able to enjoy the benefits of peaceful life," N. S. Khrushchov said in the Report of the Central



Committee to the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, "must be regarded as a chief result of the activities of our Party and the Central Committee in increasing the might of the Soviet state and in implementing a Leninist foreign policy, as a result of the work of the fraternal parties in the socialist states and of the greater activity by the peace forces in all countries'."

### III

The *main source* of the strength and invincibility of the international revolutionary movement is unity, both political and ideological, based on proletarian solidarity, proletarian internationalism, which every Party is duty bound to cherish as the apple of its eye. The triumph of our great cause depends on the solidarity of the Communist parties, on the degree to which they are conscious of their responsibility to their own and other peoples. Evasion of this responsibility and giving preference to narrow national, egoistic interests can only seriously harm the common cause as was pointed out in the Moscow statement. The touchstone of a Party's awareness of its responsibility is its attitude to joint decisions, primarily to such fundamental documents as the 1960 statement.

The international Communist movement as a whole has steadfastly carried out its joint decisions in the course of the year since the Moscow meeting. Recent congresses, conferences and meetings of Central Committees of a number of parties have stressed the importance of the role which the decisions of the Moscow meeting have played in strengthening their ranks, cementing their international solidarity, combating revisionism and dogmatism, and generally improving the position of the parties in their respective countries. And at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, which to all intents and purposes was an international assembly of Communists, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties laid special emphasis on the need to consolidate the international unity of all Communists on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

The Moscow meeting pointed out that it was imperative to ensure the unity of all detachments of the working class in the struggle against war. In fulfilment of this joint decision, the Communist and Workers' parties of a number of countries organized impressive mass actions in defense of peace, in which representatives of the most diverse sections of society took part. Guided by the 1960 statement, the parties put forward

concrete slogans conforming to the situation in their respective countries as well as to the overall requirements of the worldwide struggle for universal peace.

The Communists and all other progressive-minded people throughout the world are following with the deepest admiration the courageous struggle waged by the Communists in the USA, the citadel of imperialism; undaunted by the onslaught of black reaction, they are defying the threats levelled at them and upholding the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the ideas of democracy and socialism. Nor are the Communists anywhere else in the world faltering in the face of difficulties; on the contrary, they are working steadfastly, often with true heroism, to realize their aims, which fully correspond to the aims of their peoples and the urgent requirements of national development. But at the same time they cherish the principles of proletarian internationalism.

In the light of all this, the attitude taken by the Albanian leaders, who are moving farther and farther away from the principles of the Moscow meeting and thereby flouting the collective opinion of the entire Communist and Workers' movement, strikes a particularly provocative note.

Enver Hoxha would have it appear that he differs only with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For example, in a speech delivered on November 7 he declared that "in regard to certain fundamental propositions put forth at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU our Party did not and does not share the stand of the Soviet leadership, nor does it agree with certain of the propositions of the Twenty-Second Congress or with the new Program of the CPSU which it adopted. Is this not our Party's right?"

It goes without saying that the decisions of the Congress of one Party are not binding on another. But in this case it is not a matter of differences between two parties, or of the attitude of one Party to the documents of another. It is a matter of differences concerning the fundamental principles of the international Communist and Workers' movement, which assessed the Twentieth Congress as being of signal importance for all parties.

The Moscow statement, which the Albanian leaders too signed a year ago, declares: "The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU are not only of great importance for the CPSU and communist construction in the USSR, they have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, and have



promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism." What accounts for the special significance of that Congress for the international Communist movement? The fact that it put forward and substantiated a number of new fundamental principles to which virtually all the Communist and Workers' parties subscribed, and it is these principles that the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor has challenged, as Enver Hoxha himself bears witness.

Above all, as Hoxha has admitted, the Albanian leaders do not agree with the approach of the Twentieth Congress to peaceful coexistence.

In the November 7 speech mentioned above, Hoxha claimed that the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor opposed not the principle of peaceful coexistence as such, but "certain opportunist views" of the Soviet leaders, who, he alleged, had renounced the struggle to expose imperialism for the sake of peaceful coexistence. Greater calumny of the leadership of the CPSU can hardly be imagined!

Through all its decisions, at all its congresses, every minute of the day, the CPSU carries on an active ideological struggle to expose the policy and the ideology of the imperialist powers. The most active and outstanding role in this is played by N. S. Khrushchov who, faithfully serving his people and the international working class, has used all channels to spread the ideas of communism—even the rostrum of the United Nations, not to speak of his countless meetings with the working people of capitalist countries during trips abroad.

Obviously, Hoxha's reference to disagreement with the "views of the Soviet leaders" as the reason for the differences between the Albanian Party of Labor and the international Communist movement is nothing but a smoke-screen.

As a matter of fact, in the speech referred to above, Hoxha made it quite clear where lay the roots of the differences on the question of peaceful coexistence. He could not agree, he said, with those "who consider peaceful coexistence the general foreign policy line of the socialist countries." But what does rejection of peaceful coexistence as the general policy mean?

It means rejecting the alternative advanced by the world Communist movement and the socialist countries—peaceful coexistence or war—and replacing it with another—peace or war. In this way the Albanian leaders

equate coexistence with a simple absence of hostilities, regarding it as something in the nature of a truce between wars, which, they claim, cannot be averted so long as imperialism exists.

Such a position would suggest that peaceful coexistence is a mere tactical maneuver, a temporary slogan. This is precisely the accusation made by the bourgeois propagandists when they claim that the Communists do not mean what they say, that they are for coexistence only as a truce between wars. The logic of apostasy inevitably leads the renegade from Leninism to join forces with the enemies of Leninism.

The international Communist movement regards peaceful coexistence as the prolonged existence side by side of the two diametrically opposed social systems on the basis of mutual renunciation of war as a means of settling disputes between states. Is this approach realistic? Is such coexistence feasible?

The Communists are neither idle dreamers nor pacifists who, instead of acting, merely talk in favor of peace. In working for peace, they are guided by the materialist teaching of Marxism-Leninism, i.e., they approach each development on the basis of a thorough assessment of all the features of the epoch, of the new balance of forces in the world. It was precisely such an analysis of the new conditions that led to the conclusions that war can be prevented in our time and that world wars can be banished from the life of society within the foreseeable future.

The conclusions of the Twentieth and Twenty-First congresses of the CPSU were confirmed and approved by the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. The meeting warned the world Communist movement against the dangers of overestimating the forces of imperialism, the main source of the war danger, which can and must be curbed by the peace forces. It stressed that it is the historical mission of the Communists in our time to rid humanity of the incubus of war.

Basing itself on the decisions of the Moscow meeting, the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU further enriched the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence. It defined peaceful coexistence not only as the general foreign policy line of the peace forces at the present moment, but as *the basic line that will remain in force until the social and political problems which now divide mankind are solved*. In other words, the Congress showed that peaceful coexistence is the best



and the only acceptable way of solving the vital issues confronting society. This conclusion is directly connected with the thesis of the Moscow statement that the exclusion of world wars from the life of society is a prospect of the near future.

By rejecting the policy of peaceful coexistence between the two systems all the way to the complete victory of socialism, the Albanian leaders virtually repudiate the slogan of excluding war from the life of society. This is accompanied by a clamor for heightened vigilance designed to divert the attention of the world Communist movement from the real problem and tending to slacken the activity of the Communists in the struggle to banish war. On the contrary, the stand taken by the world Communist movement on this issue, far from blunting the vigilance of the socialist countries and the Communist parties, mobilizes them to new efforts to achieve their aims.

The 81-Party statement and other Party documents give a clear answer to the question how to exclude war from the life of society. First and foremost it is imperative to build up the might of the socialist camp in all respects. All the Communist parties in the socialist countries are steadfastly carrying out this task. Further, the international Communist movement has pointed out that to preclude war the independence of the countries that have freed themselves from the colonial yoke must be strengthened and consolidated. To fulfil this task, the Communist parties are fighting for the complete abolition of colonialism, giving every support to the young national states and combating imperialist export of counter-revolution. Finally, the international Communist movement has shown that to rid humanity of war the solidarity of all peace-loving forces must be cemented further. Who if not the Communists in all countries are setting an example of selfless effort for such solidarity, to build a genuine united anti-war front?

Thus, the slogan of excluding world war from the life of society is a militant slogan, a slogan for the mobilization of the masses in the socialist as well as the capitalist countries. No amount of talk about vigilance can justify lack of faith in the mobilizing power and significance of this slogan. Vigilance, of course, is essential as long as imperialism, and, consequently, the danger of war, exists. The CPSU and all the other Communist parties are setting the example in this respect too, forestalling the schemes of the aggressors

in good time, perfecting their weapons for the defense of peace, and summoning the masses to action. Communist vigilance, far from contradicting the struggle for peaceful coexistence, is a crucial element of this struggle. The Albanian leaders' "ultra-revolutionary" phrasemongering about vigilance, on the contrary, merely covers up their lack of faith in the strength of the masses, in the strength of the working-class movement.

Although they have no faith in the principles of peaceful coexistence, the Albanian leaders say they are prepared to apply these principles to relations between socialist states. Theoretically this is nonsense and politically it is pernicious.

The principles governing relations between the socialist countries were thoroughly defined in the 81-Party statement. It stresses that the socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by close bonds of international socialist solidarity and identity of interests and aims, and forging ahead along the path of socialism and communism. In other words, qualitatively new forms of relations have taken shape among the socialist countries, relations which are not limited to a recognition of equality and sovereignty. Here it is not a matter of the coexistence of differing hostile or neutral forces, but of fraternal association and mutual aid. To deny this is tantamount to deliberately undermining the principle of proletarian (socialist) internationalism in the relations between states.

One has the feeling that the Albanian leaders have arrived at their erroneous conclusions about the relations between the socialist countries because they deny that these relations are fraternal and friendly in nature, because they reject a genuinely socialist association of the peoples of the socialist camp.

The practical actions of the Albanian leaders are wholly in accord with such an approach. Indeed, does not their sabotage of the stipulations of the Defensive Warsaw Treaty and the Charter of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid amount to a flouting of all the fundamental principles of relations between the socialist countries? Or do the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor think that by scuttling the proposal for a "peace zone" in the Balkans they are living up to the principles of socialist internationalism? The heart of the matter is that, not believing in peaceful coexistence, they are unwilling to take any tangible steps towards it. This



is not vigilance, but passivity; in a sense, it is trailing in the wake of the foreign policy of the capitalist states. The real attitude of the Albanian leaders toward internationalism is strikingly revealed by the slander they have levelled at the socialist countries which have recoiled from their opportunist, anti-Leninist policy. By unleashing a smear campaign the Albanian leaders created intolerable conditions for the diplomatic representatives of these countries, preventing them from carrying out their duties, and this has led to a deterioration in the relations between the respective states as well.

So much for the problem of coexistence and relations between the socialist countries.

On what other questions of principle do the Albanian leaders differ from the international Communist movement? In the speech mentioned above Hoxha claimed that the Twentieth Congress had "confused" the question of the forms of transition to socialism. The Congress, he argued, had declared that the peaceful conquest of power by the working class was "almost absolutely the only way" (sic). This "almost absolutely" is an absolute distortion.

What new light did the Twentieth Congress throw on the question of the forms of transition to socialism? On the basis of an analysis of the contemporary situation, it pointed to the new opportunities opening before the working class of the capitalist countries. While emphasizing that wherever the bourgeoisie is strong and has at its disposal a huge police apparatus, development towards socialism would proceed through fierce class struggle in its most violent forms, including armed uprisings, the Congress expressed the view that in many other cases proletarian class struggle may win power for the working class through purely peaceful means.

The thesis that the opportunities for a peaceful transition to socialism have increased found wide support in the world Communist movement, as is evident in particular from the 1960 statement. But the Albanian leaders clearly underestimate these new opportunities. They, in effect, cling to the old positions, tying the hands of the working-class movement and narrowing the potential of its struggle for socialism.

Lastly, there is one more point of principle raised at the Twentieth Congress with which the Albanian leaders do not agree. The Congress condemned the personality cult as incompatible with the principles of Marxism-

Leninism, as did the Moscow statement of the 81 parties. The Albanian leaders think differently. Only recently, after the Twenty-Second Congress had conclusively laid bare all the pernicious consequences of the cult, Enver Hoxha declared that the leadership of the CPSU had "greatly exaggerated Stalin's mistakes."

Of course, to people who are building up a personality cult of their own and throwing genuine Communists into prison simply because they want the friendship of the Soviet Union, condemnation of the political repression of old Bolsheviks, of men and women dedicated to the cause of socialism, may seem an "exaggeration." But the Communist Party of the Soviet Union frankly laid before the Soviet people the naked facts about the abuse of power during the period of the personality cult. And by so doing it has stimulated the activity of the masses, the most reliable guarantee against anything of the kind ever happening again in the USSR. The CPSU and the Soviet people cannot associate themselves with the policy of the Albanian leaders, who are continuing the criminal, anti-Leninist policy of deification of individuals in their country.

Such are the fundamental differences between the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor and the international Communist movement. *The Communist movement has not supported the Albanian leaders and their stand on these points of principle.*

Another issue that has come to the fore in this controversy is the question of how differences between fraternal parties should be settled. The Moscow statement is explicit on this score. It says: "Whenever a Party wants to clear up questions concerning the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations." The Albanian leaders have trampled on this principle too. They rejected the repeated suggestions and patient efforts of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties to settle the differences through comradely discussion. To remain silent under these circumstances would mean departing from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and covering up the vicious practices of the Albanian leaders which cast a shadow on the grand ideals of socialism.

Having started out as sectarians and dogmatists, the Albanian leaders have descended to revising the fundamental principles of the international Communist movement, and,



stopping at nothing to achieve their political ends, are sinking lower and lower. As Palmiro Togliatti correctly observed, the Albanian leaders "can be forgiven neither for having violated all standards of democratic centralism nor for having gone so far in their relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as to reject and trample on international proletarian solidarity."

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Bouregois propaganda naturally welcomed the differences between the Albanian Party of Labor and the world Communist and Workers' movement with gleeful shouts about a "crisis in the Communist camp." How many times before has the Communist movement been said to be in the throes of a crisis! Yet after each wave of talk about the crisis of communism our ideological enemies have had to concede that its ideas had gained new ground. Nor could it be otherwise, for the Communist movement has always emerged from ideological struggles over issues of principle stronger and more united.

Paradoxical as it may seem, this is partly due to the fact that the differences that arise within the working-class movement have their roots in the growth and broadening of its ranks. This point was made long ago by Lenin. "One of the most deep-seated causes that periodically give rise to differences on tactics," he wrote, "is the fact of the growth of the working-class movement. If we judge this movement not by some imaginary ideal, but examine it as a practical movement of ordinary people, it will become clear that the enrolment of new 'recruits', the influx of new sections of the working masses, is inevitably accompanied by wavering in the sphere of theory and tactics, repetition of old mistakes, temporary reversion to outdated views and outdated methods, etc. To 'train' the recruits, the working-class movement of every country spends periodically greater or lesser reserves of energy, attention and time."\*

The same can obviously happen also on the scale of the entire international Communist movement. However, these growing pains are transient things, while nothing can stop the continued growth of the movement and its ideological and political consolidation, for this is a reflection of the laws of social development.

Yet the question may arise: how could blundering of this kind occur in a socialist country? The answer can be found in the

Moscow statement: "Manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system." National narrow-mindedness is manifested when certain specific historical features of a given socialist country, difficulties stemming from its external or internal situation, and the incorrect—or perhaps even correct—conclusions drawn from these specific circumstances are elevated to an absolute, universal rule to be imposed on other parties. And this at a time when these erroneous conceptions, springing from specific conditions, run counter to the contemporary laws of social development and to the characterization of our epoch made by the international Communist movement.

Needless to say blundering of this kind is not inevitable in socialist society. National narrow-mindedness makes itself felt in one or another country only if its leadership ceases to represent the interests of the people, if it becomes divorced from the masses, adopts an incorrect, anti-Leninist, nationalistic position. This is what is happening in Albania, where the leadership of the Party of Labor, wallowing in dogmatism and taking an adventurist stand on the basic issues of the day, is, in effect, joining forces with the enemies of the Communist movement.

In the battle of ideas there can be no truce. It is in the crucible of ideological struggle that the Communist movement is steeled. The Communists in all countries are confident that the Albanian Party of Labor and the Albanian people will overcome the mistakes and blunders of their present leaders and return their country to the Leninist path.

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"Communism," N. S. Khrushchov said, "has become the greatest force of our age." In our times there is not a country with a more or less developed working-class movement where the beneficent influence of the Communists is not felt. In the past five years the close-knit family of Communists has increased by 12 parties, and now numbers 88. In these five years the number of Communists has increased by seven million, and in the year since the Moscow meeting, by nearly four million; today the total membership is close to 40 million.

These figures alone do not reflect the strength and significance of the international revolutionary working-class movement. The mighty socialist camp with its vast material resources is marching under the banners of

\*Lenin, *Differences in the European Workers' Movement*.



communism. The ideas of scientific socialism are finding their way to the hearts of millions everywhere. And those who today have not yet accepted them are sure to do so tomorrow,

for these ideas stand for the truth and it is they that will ensure Peace, Labor, Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood and Happiness for all peoples.

# The XXII Congress of the CPSU and the Development of the Socialist World System

*Jiri Hendrych*

**A**N IMPORTANT feature determining the perspective of social development is the epoch-making fact that in the Soviet Union the theory of scientific communism is being translated into reality.

The Soviet people, who under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party were the first people to become truly free, and whose selfless labor has built a socialist society in their country, are, understandably, in the van of world progress, playing a pioneer role in blazing the trail to communism. The entire history of the Soviet Union, especially the recent period, when the conditions were ripening for a new Party Program, is proof of the creative enthusiasm evoked by Marxism-Leninism when its ideas, as a result of the ideological and organizational work of the Communist Party, grip the minds of the people and become the source of their creative endeavor.

The program of building communism adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress, Comrade Khrushchov's report and the other Congress materials sum up Soviet and international experience in the fight for socialism and enrich the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the building of communist society. The Twenty-Second Congress thus reaffirmed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union continues to be the center of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

Not only does the new Program provide a theoretical solution to the key problems of the transition to communism, it elaborates the practical ways and means of building communism. This fact, and the solution of a number of complex problems of perfecting

social relationships and broadening the material and technological base of society are of supreme importance for the other socialist countries too. The Congress documents furnish the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries with a powerful theoretical weapon which will be of help to them in completing the building of socialism and passing on to communism.

Voicing the will of the Communist Party and the working people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Comrade Novotny emphasized in his speech at the Twenty-Second Congress, that we consider the new Program of the Communist Party of the CPSU our own program and that, with due regard to the conditions in our country and the activity of our Party, we shall be guided by it, for it delineates the contours of our future as well.

Most of the People's Democracies have completed, or are about to complete, the transition from capitalism to socialism. The socialization of the means of production in industry, the key branch of the national economy, has been all but completed. In nearly all these countries from 99-100 per cent of the industrial output is produced by socialist enterprises. Socialist production relations are being consolidated in agriculture too. In most of the socialist countries private capitalist ownership of the means of production has been abolished in the main in this sphere as well, and the former small-scale farming has been reconstructed along socialist lines. Though the share of the socialist sector in agriculture is not the same in all socialist countries, it covers on the whole some nine-tenths of their cultivated land.



An entirely new class structure of society consisting of two classes of working people—the working class and the peasantry—and the people's intelligentsia closely associated with them, is taking shape in the socialist countries. The socio-political and ideological unity of the people is growing stronger. In Czechoslovakia, factory and office workers and the peasants — producer cooperative members — make up over 96 per cent of the population, and small producers, chiefly in agriculture, some four per cent. Working-class influence is growing in all spheres of activity, and society has in the full sense of the word become a society of working people.

The present stage of development of the People's Democracies is characterized by decisive achievements in laying the material and technical base of socialism. The triumph of socialist production relations has opened up broad vistas for expansion of the productive forces. It should be stressed that the general law of social development which requires that the production relations should correspond to the character of the productive forces, is manifested differently in different conditions. At present, when the capitalist world system as a whole has become ripe for the social revolution of the proletariat, the replacement of capitalist production relations by socialist relations is an objective necessity for mankind, an imperative condition if society is to continue its forward march.

And since this trend is of a general character, the socialist revolution can triumph also in those countries where the productive forces are much less developed than in the industrially advanced capitalist countries. Economic backwardness, as experience teaches, is not an insuperable obstacle to the socialist reconstruction of society. The result of this reconstruction is the triumph of socialist production relations which are at a higher level of development than the productive forces. At the same time the new production relations greatly accelerate the growth of the productive forces and raise them up to the level required by the socialist mode of production. A material and technical base of production meeting the requirements of the socialist production relations is built and broadened. With the rapid growth of the productive forces, the standard of living rises.

While important aspects of development are common to all the socialist countries they have their own specific problems, which are solved at this or that stage and which are bound to be different.

That the immediate tasks of socialist construction in the different countries vary is due mainly to the differing levels of the productive forces inherited from capitalism. Whereas in Czechoslovakia socialist production relations were established in all branches of the economy towards the end of the second five-year plan and more or less parallel with the creation, in the main, of the material and technical base of socialism, in the economically less developed People's Democracies this base is being built more rapidly now that the socialist production relations have triumphed.

Socialist industrialization, too, is not proceeding in the same way in all the People's Democracies. To some industrialization means building a national industry, converting a backward agrarian economy into a developed industrial-agricultural economy; to others, the radical reconstruction of industry, with priority for heavy industry, and a balanced geographical distribution of the productive forces.

The process of socializing the means of production in agriculture also differs somewhat in the various People's Democracies. But almost everywhere the agricultural cooperatives of the lower type are developing into cooperatives of the higher type. In some countries the voluntary entry of the peasants into producer cooperatives has yet to be completed.

In Czechoslovakia over 90 per cent of the total farm land is owned by the socialist sector, that is, the agricultural cooperative and state farms. The gradual concentration of agricultural production and its specialization, consistent with local conditions, is becoming an increasingly important problem. In our conditions more or less specialized farms of from 700 to 1,200 hectares have proved to be most expedient economically, for the most effective use can be made on them of machinery and the latest agro-techniques. The experience of our Party in this respect is in line with the principles set forth in the CPSU Program and elaborated by Khrushchov at the Twenty-Second Congress. There should be a stage-by-stage advance in this sphere, for any attempt to jump over stages only upsets the normal process of development and leads to grave difficulties. Ill-considered measures, ostensibly aimed at achieving swift development, would soon result in hindering the harmonious growth of socialist agriculture.

In the struggle for the victory of the working class as well as in the process of building



socialism and communism it would be wrong to exaggerate national peculiarities or to counterpose them to general laws. Experience has shown that any exaggeration of national peculiarities and underestimation of the basic principles of the socialist revolution and socialist construction lead to harmful consequences. The development of the socialist countries, unquestionably, differs in many important respects — national traditions and customs play their part. But the trend is gradually to overcome these differences, not to accentuate them. The socialist countries are rapidly drawing level, both as regards production relations and growth of productive forces. In the process of completing the construction of socialism, they are building a developed socialist society, gradually creating the conditions for the transition to communist construction.

Social and economic grounds for the restoration of capitalism have been eliminated in all the socialist countries and the existence of the powerful socialist camp ensures the complete victory of socialism and communism throughout the socialist world system.

The next stage of development of the other socialist countries will be that of all-out construction of communism — the stage now reached by the Soviet Union. It should be said that many of the measures now being realized in the socialist society contain elements of communism. This is most evident in the sphere of social consumption, in the concern for children and the youth, public health, etc. But material incentives continue to be the chief, the determining principle both in socialist construction and in all-out communist construction.

Soviet achievements in communist construction remind us of Lenin's words: "... at the present moment of history the situation is precisely such that the Russian model reveals to *all* countries something, and something very essential, of their near and inevitable future."

These words are fully confirmed by the experience of the People's Democracies, for the basic laws of socialist construction, manifested for the first time in the Soviet Union, have defined the course of social development in these countries as well. And the principles of building communism now being elaborated and implemented in the Soviet Union indicate our future path. The points in the Program, which take into account the experience of the other socialist countries, will be translated into reality not only in the Soviet Union, but

in all the other countries of the socialist community.

The Soviet experience is a compass for the other countries. In utilizing this experience due regard should be paid to the traditions of the given country, but in no case should the experience be ignored, for to do so would jeopardize the socialist revolution and the building of the new society. This applies to the CPSU Program and to the proceedings and decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress, which are already of great significance for the international revolutionary working-class movement.

The work done by the Twenty-Second Congress in theoretically generalizing and carrying forward the experience of building communism shows that building the material and technical base of communism, creating the prerequisites for the future communist distribution according to need, converting socialist production relations into communist relations and eliminating the essential distinctions between town and countryside, between mental and manual labor, are all important elements of building communism. The Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries are concentrating on creating conditions that will enable them to solve these tasks successfully.

To these parties, the CPSU's present experience in directing the full-scale communist construction is of the utmost value. It goes without saying that building socialism and the transition to communism cover a number of consecutive stages which cannot be bypassed. Transition to the next stage calls for definite material prerequisites and to ignore this fact can only discredit and injure the communist construction. It is just as harmful to mark time, to evade solving the urgent problems, to be conservative and timid in going forward.

Already at the present stage the socialist countries derive considerable benefit from the experience accumulated by the Soviet Union at a higher stage of social development. It would be wrong, of course, to adopt all the methods and forms of the full-scale building of communism which cannot be successfully applied because the necessary economic and political prerequisites are lacking. But, as experience shows, the creative application of some of the basic methods and forms used in the full-scale communist construction in the USSR is most helpful. To illustrate the point we would cite the forms and methods of improving economic



management, applying the principles of democratic centralism, developing socialist emulation and the communist labor-team movement, utilizing the experience gained in enhancing the public and production activity and initiative of the masses.

It should be emphasized that a thorough understanding of the perspectives of social development and knowledge of the concrete ways of building communism, elaborated and verified in the Soviet Union, will be increasingly necessary in the socialist countries and will play an ever greater role. This is due, in part, to the fact that as the building of socialism approaches completion, the general laws of the development of socialist into communist society in the different countries will, in growing measure, manifest themselves in much the same way. There will be considerably fewer specific national distinctions in the forms and methods of the transition to communism than in the transition from capitalism to socialism. And this is understandable. For the root cause of these distinctions is not in any natural factors or in the peculiarities of the national culture, but in economic and class factors. Whereas a multiform economy with its different sectors, classes and social groups is typical of the transition period, after the building of socialism all the socialist countries will have an identical social and economic basis and a homogeneous class structure. Consanguinity of levels of development of the productive forces in the socialist countries will play an important role. That is why there is an increasing exchange of experience and still closer cooperation between them in building socialism and communism; harmful autarchic tendencies are being eradicated, and all-round international division of labor developed. Also growing rapidly is the international significance of the Soviet Union's experience in building communism.

Guided by the paths of development of the socialist world system delineated in the statement of the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties and the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, each socialist country is charting the direction and tempo of its further development as a component of the socialist world system.

In Czechoslovakia the building of the material and technical base of socialism will be completed during the current third five-year plan (1961-65). In these five years industrial output will increase by over 50 per cent; steps will be taken to bring agriculture up

to the level of industry by 1970. Our socialist republic will gradually accumulate resources and create the prerequisites for building communism.

A long-term development plan covering the period up to 1980 is now being drawn up. A fourfold increase in the aggregate social product in the next 20 years is envisaged. Important changes will take place in industry, with widespread use of comprehensive mechanization and automation. Along with an all-round and rapid economic development based on scientific and technological progress, there will be an ever swifter process of the broadening and perfecting of socialist democracy, the flowering of culture and the education of all members of society in the spirit of socialism and communism. Thus a solid foundation for a communist future will be laid in Czechoslovakia.

In outlining this perspective, we know that its realization will not come about as a result of our national effort alone; it will be achieved in cooperation with the other socialist countries, and first and foremost the Soviet Union.

Led by the Communist Party, our working people, inspired by the Soviet Union's successful building of communism, are doing their best to realize the communist ideals in the life-time of the present generation. And as Comrade Novotny said at the Twenty-Second Congress, we are firmly convinced that in Czechoslovakia, too, the present generation will live under communism.

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The socialist countries' identity of socio-economic principles facilitates the rapid development and consolidation of the socialist world system of economy. In the capitalist world, too, there is essentially one type of production relations, but the economic and other relations between the capitalist countries are founded on rivalry and lead not to the elimination but, on the contrary, to the aggravation of the antagonisms between them. Thus, the fact that the economy is similar in form does not by itself lead to mutually beneficial cooperation and mutual help between the different countries. It was only after socialist production relations had been firmly established in a number of European and Asian countries that the latter formed and are developing economic ties permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and fraternal mutual aid.

The socialist world system is not simply an agglomeration of national economies with one dominant type of production relations.



It is an aggregate of national economies in which there are ever-growing close economic relations, subordinated to the aims of accelerating the rate of development of each, of ensuring a rapid general advance and consolidation of the economic basis of world socialism.

New laws, differing fundamentally from those in the capitalist world, have come into being and are operating in the socialist world system. There is, first and foremost, the objective law of the economic consolidation of the socialist countries on the basis of their closer economic cooperation. Needless to say, a country develops its economy primarily by utilizing its own resources. This, however, does not imply steering a lone economic course, but presupposes that each country will look upon its national economy as an integral part of the economy of the socialist world system, taking the interests of the socialist camp as a whole into account with a view to accelerating the general advance to communism.

The economic consolidation of the socialist countries is an objective necessity dictated by the need to expand the productive forces and assure the further scientific and technological advancement of the socialist system of economy.

Growth of production acquires an increasingly international character in our epoch, and calls for coordinated effort and use of the resources of the different countries. It is only with great difficulty that this trend is forcing its way in the capitalist world economy, rent by contradictions, an economy in which the monopoly groups of a small number of the highly developed countries utilize the objective tendency to pool resources for their greedy ends, to the detriment of the bulk of the population of the capitalist world. Only in the socialist world system does economic consolidation conform to the interests of all, and pave the way to economic prosperity for all the countries.

The fundamentally different nature of the economic relations between countries in the two world systems is seen best, for example, in comparing the socialist international division of labor with the capitalist. There is no place in the socialist world economy for a division of labor which allots to some countries the role of an agrarian and raw material appendage. In the process of extending the international socialist division of labor, a widely ramified economy is created in the socialist countries, a rational national-econ-

omic complex is formed which includes agriculture and industry, with the share of the latter steadily growing; the extractive and processing industries are developed.

Specializing in one or two branches of agriculture or in the extractive industry in the economically underdeveloped countries is a feature of the international division of labor in the capitalist world system, and despite what many bourgeois economists say, the monoculture produced in those countries does not make for the rational use of their natural resources nor does it benefit them in any way; on the contrary, it is the basic cause of their backwardness, extremely low labor productivity, and a negligible rate of national income per head of the population.

Broader economic relations between the socialist countries will increase labor productivity in each of them, strengthen their economies and contribute to the victory of socialism in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism. As science and technology advance and the level of development of the productive forces rises, the economic pattern will improve in each socialist country. The paramount role in ensuring the most rational employment of social labor in the socialist camp will be played by mutually advantageous international specialization and cooperation in production which will increase economic effectiveness.

Relations between the socialist countries are not, however, confined to beneficial cooperation on an equal footing. Characteristic of these relations is the mutual fraternal aid, especially the all-round aid from the economically advanced countries to those which have not yet overcome the economic backwardness inherited from capitalism.

The disinterested material aid rendered by the Soviet Union, and the use of its impressive scientific and technological achievements—achievements which its highly developed productive forces have made possible—are of immense help in building socialism in the People's Democracies.

The building of the material and technical base of communism in the Soviet Union will greatly accelerate the growth of the economic basis of world socialism. In the next 20 years the Soviet Union will make capital investments to the value of some 2,000,000 million new rubles; industrial output will rise sixfold at least, and the output of agriculture 3.5-fold. The Program notes, with every reason, that "the construction of communism in the USSR promotes the interests of every country



of the socialist community, for it increases the economic might and defense potential of the world socialist camp and provides progressively favorable opportunities for expanding the Soviet Union's economic and cultural cooperation with the other socialist countries and increasing the assistance and support it renders them."

The new Program proceeds from the premise that building communism in the USSR is not only a national task, but also the international duty of the Soviet people. This grand undertaking is inseparable from the struggle of the peoples of the socialist countries for socialism and communism. Despite the attacks by ideologists of imperialism and by renegades from Marxism-Leninism, all the activity of the CPSU and the Soviet people is designed to facilitate and accelerate, through successful communist construction in the USSR, the advance of the other socialist countries.

This support will be a continuation of the moral, political and material aid which the Soviet Union, at some sacrifice to itself, has rendered to the fraternal countries. It will suffice, by way of example, to recall that the USSR has given the People's Democracies 7,800 million rubles in credits and loans on extremely favorable terms. A considerable part of the capital expenditure in a number of socialist countries was financed by Soviet credits, to say nothing of other forms of aid rendered by the Soviet Union—scientific and technological, for example.

The socialist countries must make the best use of the possibilities of the socialist world system and the international socialist division of labor to accelerate their economic development. Increasing all-round cooperation with the other socialist countries is a basic prerequisite for Czechoslovakia's economic development. And cooperation with the Soviet Union, which supplies considerable quantities of the raw materials we need—ores and oil, for example — takes first place. With the consolidation of the socialist world system, the socialist countries have begun to go over to higher forms of cooperation—joint development of the extractive industry is a case in point.

Thanks to international socialist cooperation the socialist countries are making fuller use of their internal resources and are investing capital more effectively, labor productivity is rising and the social product is increasing at a higher and more stable rate.

Any act, therefore, that impedes the streng-

thening of this economic cooperation, any attempt at economic development in isolation can but harm the building of socialism in the given country and interfere with consolidating the economic basis of world socialism. Attempts of this kind run counter to the laws of socialist production, deprive the given country of the advantage accruing to it as a member of the socialist world system and undermine its technical and economic independence from the capitalist system.

Only consistent observance of the principles of socialist internationalism in economic relations will enable the socialist countries to solve the vital tasks of their development more quickly. Rapid, planned economic development is typical of all the countries of the socialist world system, including the formerly economically underdeveloped countries. The latter are being raised to the level of the advanced countries, and the general level of the socialist countries is being evened up. This levelling, one of the most characteristic features of the process of consolidating the economic base of the socialist world system, creates the material prerequisites for the transition of the socialist countries to communism more or less simultaneously.

In the light of this, a thorough study should be made of all the factors which can help us to reduce the time needed for building socialism. Relying on the basic laws governing the processes in the socialist world system, as set forth in the Program, we must determine the optimum rates and proportions of economic development, study ways of building the communist world economy, the perspective of political contacts between the socialist countries, etc. This will enable each country to increase its contribution to the common cause of building socialism and communism, make the most of the economic cooperation and cement the unity of the socialist camp.

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Their growing unity is decisive in the onward march of the socialist countries.

"Workers of all lands, unite!" This motto of the international working class is more pregnant with meaning today than it was over a hundred years ago when Marx and Engels proclaimed it. Reinforcing international solidarity is of the utmost importance in building socialism and communism, in developing the socialist world system.

"Solid unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and of the people of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-



Leninist doctrine are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole," reads the statement of the Moscow meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties.

The times and the international situation call for greater joint effort by the socialist countries. Only the combined strength of the socialist camp can guarantee that a socialist country will not be encroached upon by the imperialist reactionaries.

The relations between the countries of the socialist community are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Proletarian internationalism cements the unity of these countries, makes this unity invincible. The cohesion of the socialist countries and their growing unity guarantee the complete victory of socialism in all the countries of the socialist camp and their successful transition to communist construction.

This cohesion is not the result of transient, tactical considerations. It is an objective law stemming from identity of the socio-economic and political principles of the socialist countries, identity of ideology, interests and aims. The alliance of these countries is based on mutual cooperation in the march towards the common goal—communism.

The founders of Marxism and Leninism regarded the transition to socialism not as a strictly national phenomenon but as a worldwide historical process. During this process—now and in the future—every socialist country, big or small, needs the help of other socialist countries, of the whole socialist camp. Marx's warning rings out today more forcefully than ever: "... disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workingmen of different countries and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts."

The need for close alliance between the countries of the socialist world system, and for combined efforts in the construction of socialism and communism is substantiated by international experience, which has found expression in the new Program of the CPSU. This experience teaches that in the course of the development of the socialist world system and its productive forces increasing rapprochement sets in between the economies of the socialist countries. And as his analysis of the laws of social development led Lenin to foresee, there is a tendency towards a

communist world economy, regulated by the working people according to a single plan.

This is the main trend in the relations between the socialist countries. It is in keeping with the vital interests of the people of these countries, for it accelerates the development of their economy and raises their standard of living. On the other hand, building socialism in isolation, outside the world community of socialist countries, as the example of Yugoslavia shows, is detrimental to the common interests of the socialist community and, above all, to the people of the country which stands aloof from the socialist system. One of the basic reasons for this aloofness is nationalism. Hence irreconcilable struggle against the vestiges of nationalism and national narrowmindedness is essential in strengthening the unity of the socialist camp; it is a decisive factor for the successful advance of the socialist world system. It is only those socialist countries which act together in a united front that can fully solve their own economic and political tasks and help in winning the world economic competition between socialism and capitalism.

But the efforts to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist community cannot be confined to the economic sphere alone. This unity has a number of other, and no less important, aspects, first and foremost, that of foreign policy. The problem of peace or war is the burning problem of the day. And history has assigned to us Communists, to the international working class, the great mission of blocking the way to war, of saving mankind from the thermonuclear holocaust with which it is threatened. What, in the light of this situation, should be the general foreign policy line of the socialist countries?

The meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow in 1957 and in 1960—the most representative international meetings in the history of the world Communist movement—unanimously declared in favor of the peaceful coexistence of all states, irrespective of their political and social systems. "In a world divided into two systems," says the statement of the 1960 Moscow meeting, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-First congresses of the CPSU, and in the documents of other Communist and Workers' parties." This was



the stand, too, of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU at which the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union was fully supported by all the fraternal parties adhering to the positions of creative Marxism.

Opposition to the general foreign policy line of the socialist community undermines, in effect, the unity of the socialist countries and of the international Communist movement. This incorrect attitude has been taken by the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor. It is in opposition to the international Communist movement, and, above all, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the tried, tested and recognized vanguard of this movement. Enver Hoxha has gone so far in his slander campaign as to charge the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union with "being afraid of imperialism," as a result of which, so he claims, there has been a delay in settling the German problem — sheer absurdity, of course. He has also levelled the slanderous charge of opportunism, which, in his view is expressed in the fact that the Soviet leaders consider peaceful coexistence to be the general foreign-policy line of the socialist countries.\*

The Albanian leaders have also attacked the CPSU and the international Communist movement which is in complete solidarity with it, for the resolute steps taken by the CPSU to eliminate all the consequences of the Stalin personality cult. There is no doubt that the frank and irreconcilable criticism of the cult and the efforts to re-establish the Leninist norms in Party and state activity since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, have favorably influenced the life of the socialist countries, and especially the Communist and Workers' parties of these countries, including Czechoslovakia and its Communist Party. The international working-class movement rates highly the important work of the CPSU at the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses in exposing the personality cult and its consequences. The fraternal parties have fully approved the measures taken by the CPSU in this respect. In the criticism of the personality cult, begun six years ago at the Twentieth Congress and continued at the Twenty-Second Congress, they see a manifestation of the deep sense of responsibility which the CPSU feels for the destiny of the international Communist movement. The prestige of the CPSU has grown still more among other Communist and Workers' parties.

\*See A. Rumyantsev's article "Our Common Ideological Weapon" which deals with this in greater detail.

The leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor reacted differently. They opposed the policy of overcoming the harmful consequences of the personality cult. And here again the Albanian leaders are acting contrary to the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the fraternal parties which, as we know, fully approved this course. The Albanian leaders have struck a blow at the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement. Their behavior is regarded by the Communist and Workers' parties as an attempt to whitewash themselves in the first place, for as we know, those Communists who venture to criticize Hoxha and Shehu meet with short shrift in Albania. Only brutal repression stops the sound forces in the Albanian Party of Labor and among the people from throwing out the leaders who have embarked on the path of splitting the world Communist movement.

The CPSU and other fraternal parties have tried hard to persuade these leaders to return to the correct path. Our Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, has, in a number of letters and statements, drawn attention to the grave consequences of the erroneous and harmful activities of the Albanian leaders, reminding them of their responsibility to the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Unfortunately these efforts proved fruitless. At the Fourth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor, furthermore, the Albanian leaders proclaimed an avowedly anti-Soviet policy.

We see, then, whither nationalism and national narrowmindedness lead. This sad experience reaffirms the need for relentless struggle against nationalism in all its manifestations. For nationalism need not necessarily take the form of revisionism. It can appear in a totally different guise, as rigid dogmatism, for example, which cramps progress.

Some months ago the C.C. of our Party decided to modify Czechoslovakia's economic relations with Albania, implicit in which was our unilateral aid to that country, and to trade only on the basis of mutually advantageous commercial transactions. In December 1961, when the Albanian authorities deliberately prevented the Czechoslovak Ambassador in Tirana from carrying out his normal duties, our government recalled him. Our government also declared that the presence of the Albanian Ambassador, who used the Albanian Embassy and its staff in Prague to



harm the interests of the socialist camp, was no longer desirable in Czechoslovakia.

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Since the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU many parties have held Central Committee meetings. At these meetings they expressed their complete agreement with the Congress decisions on internal and external policy, on Party building and inner-Party life. The decision resolutely to combat, from a Leninist position, the personality cult and its consequences, and revisionism and dogmatism, was approved. These meetings, like the Twenty-Second Congress, demonstrated the growing desire in the countries of the socialist community and the Communist

movement to reinforce unity and international solidarity.

The Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, as Comrade Novotny stated in his report to the meeting of our Central Committee, again showed that CPSU congresses are becoming, increasingly, an important platform of the international Communist movement, where the parties gain new and militant experience.

The meeting of our Central Committee noted in its resolution that "the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU is a landmark not only in the history of the CPSU, but in the development and further consolidation of the international Communist movement and the unity of the socialist countries in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world."

## The Building of Communism and the Liberation Struggle of the Arab Peoples

*Larbi Bouhali*

THE Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will go down in history as the grand congress of the builders of communism. The Program it adopted and the realization of that program will have a decisive impact on the entire course of human progress.

"The main economic task of the Party and the Soviet people," states the Program, "is to create the *material and technical basis of communism* within two decades. This means complete electrification of the country and the perfecting on this basis of the techniques, technologies, and organization of social production in industry and agriculture; comprehensive mechanization of production operations and a growing degree of their automation; widespread use of chemistry in the national economy; vigorous development of new, economically effective branches of production, new sources of power and new materials; all-round and rational utilization of the national resources; the organic fusion of

science and industry, and rapid scientific and technical progress; a high cultural and technical level for the working people; and substantial superiority over the more developed capitalist countries in productivity of labor — vital for the victory of the communist system.

"As a result, the USSR will possess productive forces of unparalleled might; it will surpass the technical level of the most developed countries and occupy first place in the world in per capita production."

Within 20 years industrial output will be at least six times the present level, agricultural production, 3.5 times. Real income will be 3.5 times more than at present, while the working day, already in the first ten years, will be reduced to six hours and in some cases even to five hours, making it the shortest in the world. In addition to the present free health services and education, housing, transport and such amenities as heating, gas, mid-day meals and maintenance



of children at children's institutions will likewise be free of charge. By 1965 all taxation will have been abolished. The short working hours will offer unlimited opportunities for the development of the talents and abilities of every individual. In the process of building communism more and more people will be drawn into the administration of the country, and socialist state bodies will gradually be transformed into organs of communist self-government. And then genuine democracy and freedom will flourish as never before under any social system.

The new Program of the CPSU, one of the greatest documents of our time, is permeated with solicitude for man. It clearly defines the tasks — economic, social, scientific and cultural — to be accomplished in the building of a society of justice and happiness such as mankind has not yet known.

With the building of communism in the USSR and the growing might of the socialist world system, the superiority of socialism over capitalism will become increasingly manifest, democracy and socialism will gain in strength, while moribund imperialism will decline.

Inspired by this prospect, working people everywhere have acclaimed the new Program of the CPSU with hope and joy. This applies also to the peoples of the advanced capitalist countries and, even more so, to the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, as well as of countries which have won national independence but are still battling against the remnants of colonialism — the Arab countries, for example.

*The peoples of all the Arab countries have joined in the common anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic struggle. They are all fighting for genuine national independence, democracy and social progress, irrespective of differences in state system or level of economic and political development. Some of them such as Egypt, Iraq and Tunis, are bourgeois republics, where feudalism is still deeply rooted and democracy is restricted. Others, Morocco and Saudi Arabia, for example, are monarchies. And lastly, there are countries like Algeria which are still languishing under an undisguised colonial yoke.*

Now as never before the Arab peoples want unity, for only in unity can they hope to defeat their enemies, the imperialist and feudal lords on whom the imperialists rely, only in this way can they crush all the reactionary forces. But for this unity to be firm, enduring and effective it must have a

strong, viable foundation. The disintegration of the United Arab Republic has made this abundantly clear. Syria's break with Egypt was not a blow at the idea of Arab unity as such; it demonstrated the bankruptcy of that dictatorial concept of unity fostered by Nasser and the expansionist big bourgeoisie of Egypt.

The union of Arab states can be enduring and effective only if it is spearheaded against imperialism and feudalism, only if it functions in the interests of the working masses and the entire nation, only if it is founded on democratic principles, the free expression of the will of all the Arab nations and respect for the specific features and interests of each.

Even when united, much effort and sacrifice will be required before the Arab nations can win the battle with imperialism. In order to hasten that victory, in order to realize their political and social aspirations to the full, the Arab nations are turning to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in whom they recognize faithful and powerful allies in the struggle they are waging. The new Program of the CPSU was enthusiastically received by the Arab peoples because they are convinced that the building of communism which will make the USSR the strongest industrial power in the world opens broad perspectives for their development and is a guarantee of generous all-round Soviet assistance to the Arab countries. This conviction is founded on long experience. The Soviet Union has always supported the Arab people's struggle against their colonial oppressors and has rendered them increasing assistance.

Turning to the events of recent years, there can be no doubt that it was only the stern warning issued by the USSR and its material support that frustrated the far-reaching aggressive plans against Egypt entertained by Britain, France and Israel in the autumn of 1956.

In an interview with a correspondent of the American magazine *Look*, shortly after the failure of that aggressive sally, Nasser made a statement that could hardly have been pleasant for the American imperialists whose sympathies had been with the British, French and Israeli aggressors.

"You froze our foreign assets," he said. "You refused to sell us grain and medicines in our hour of need. You tried to exert economic pressure to force us to change our position on the Suez question. The difference between you and your allies is that they



tried to destroy us with bombs while you wished to do the same by peaceful means; through economic pressure and hunger.”\*

It is quite obvious that were it not for the selfless assistance of the Soviet Union, the Egyptian people would have been seriously threatened if not with a new colonial yoke then at any rate with the prospect of a long drawn-out war against powerful imperialist aggressors.

In precisely the same way it was only thanks to the firm position adopted by the Soviet Union that the peoples of Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen and Syria were able to safeguard their independence from the threat of aggression by the American imperialists and their servitors, the rulers of Turkey. The Algerian people too, who for more than seven years have been waging a heroic war of liberation, deeply appreciate the fraternal assistance rendered by the Soviet people. The Soviet government was among those which recognized the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. The fact that even President Bourguiba of Tunisia, who makes no secret of his pro-Western leanings, had to appeal to the Soviet Union when faced with the threat of French colonialist aggression in Bizerte, was a tacit recognition that the Soviet Union is the most consistent anti-imperialist force capable of halting aggression.

The Soviet Union is steadfast in its principle of supporting any nation fighting for independence, whether the Arab peoples, the Congo or distant Cuba. The help which the Soviet Union has rendered Cuba, and its resolute support of the Cuban government have played a vitally important role in the Cuban people's struggle against counter-revolutionary forces organized, financed and armed by American imperialism.

The Communists are opposed to export of revolution, as the Program of the CPSU states. But neither do they tolerate export of counter-revolution. It is clear that in the future, when the Soviet Union has built communism and has become the mightiest power in the world in all respects, it will be even harder for the imperialists to carry out their counter-revolutionary and aggressive schemes than it is today. And this means that *the Arab peoples will have still greater opportunity, under conditions which preclude the possibility of foreign intervention, freely to choose the best*

*path of development for their countries at their own discretion.*

\* \* \*

“A national-liberation revolution,” reads the Program of the CPSU, “does not end with the winning of political independence. Independence will be unstable and will become fictitious unless the revolution brings about radical changes in the social and economic spheres and solves the pressing problems of national rebirth.”

To cope with these tasks, however, the countries that have won political independence but which as a result of colonial rule are economically underdeveloped, are in need of large-scale economic and technical assistance. Experience shows that the Arab countries can receive the fraternal and unselfish aid they need only from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It should be emphasized that no Arab country that has applied to the Soviet Union for help has ever been refused. As Comrade Khrushchov pointed out, the economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Asian and African countries is founded on a sincere desire to help these countries overcome their lag and put an end to their poverty, disease and illiteracy.

The Soviet Union renders economic and technical assistance to the UAR, the Arab Republic of Syria, Iraq, Yemen and other Arab countries. Moreover, the Soviet Union trades on mutually advantageous conditions with Lebanon, the Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya.

The Soviet Union undertook, on terms extremely favorable to Egypt, the construction of the Aswan High Dam which will enable Egypt to increase the national income by more than one-third, irrigate 800,000 hectares of land and, with the completion of a power station with a capacity of over two million kilowatts, give the country more electricity than is generated by all its power stations at present. The Aswan High Dam and power station will influence the life of the whole country, and its significance far exceeds the boundaries of purely economic aid. This example gives some idea of the sweeping and beneficent changes that can be effected, with the Soviet Union's help, in the life of a whole nation, in this instance in the lives of the people of Egypt. The USSR has extended the UAR credit in the amount of 292,500,000 new rubles. Under agreements providing for economic and technical cooperation, concluded

\*Re-translated from the French.



first with Egypt and Syria and later with the UAR, the Soviet Union is helping to build or expand more than a hundred industrial enterprises, including six iron and steel plants and five heavy machinery works, 12 chemical plants and oil refineries, two pharmaceutical factories and one nitrate fertilizer factory, many food-processing and textile plants, shipyards and irrigation installations, not to speak of diverse prospecting work.

In accordance with agreements concluded in March 1959 and August 1960, the USSR extended to Iraq credits totalling more than 164 million new rubles. Soviet technical aid to Iraq embraces 35 industrial enterprises and includes construction of a steel works, a textile mill, factories producing antibiotics, pharmaceutical items, sulphur, agricultural machinery, electric equipment and glass, extension of the irrigation system, modernization of rail transport, geological prospecting, etc. The USSR also renders the UAR and Iraq aid in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The U.S. imperialists boast about their "aid" to the Arab nations. As for de Gaulle, "aid to the underdeveloped countries" is his favorite excuse for the propaganda of neo-colonialism. Unlike the capitalist states, which use the label of "aid" as a cover for new and more subtle forms of imperialism and colonial plunder, the Soviet Union is actuated by a desire to render genuine help to the countries throwing off the colonial yoke. Soviet aid is without any political conditions and in no way infringes the national sovereignty of the countries concerned. Even when the ruling national bourgeoisie (as in the UAR or in Iraq) persecute democrats in general and Communists in particular, the Soviet Union does not cut off its assistance inasmuch as that assistance is intended for the benefit of the people as a whole and not for one or another section of society. It is for the peoples of these countries themselves to compel their national bourgeoisie to utilize that aid in the interests of the nation.

In his address on the occasion of the launching of construction work on the Aswan High Dam in January 1960, Nasser made this statement: "Observing this occasion, we think above all of the country which has consented to help us in this work by extending us credits and technical assistance. I refer to the Soviet Union whose loan and offer of technical assistance in the first stage of construction were unreservedly dictated by the feeling of friendship which binds the Arab nation and the Soviet Union." In spite of the reactionary

internal policy pursued by Nasser, the Soviet Union, true to its principles, has steadfastly pursued the same line of policy all along.

The Soviet Union extends long-term credits at low percentage rates (2.5 per cent as a rule). The loans are repayable not in gold or in foreign currency but through deliveries of the usual commodities exported by the recipient. The technical assistance covers research and prospecting, the supply of machinery and equipment. A no less important aspect of the aid is the training of national technicians both locally and in the USSR.

*Thanks to the Soviet Union, a new type of international relations has appeared on the world arena, founded on the principle of peaceful coexistence, mutual advantage and the full equality of all nations great and small.* This is a phenomenon of major political importance for the Arab countries and for all underdeveloped countries whose objective is to build up a strong national economy as the basic prerequisite of genuine national independence.

Moreover, the significance of these relations for the Arab people will increase as the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp grow stronger.

Having broken the monopoly of the capitalist states in the matter of granting credits, the Soviet Union has forced them to reduce the interest rate on their loans to the underdeveloped countries and to curb their political appetites. Fearing the total loss of their markets and sources of raw material, the imperialists have been obliged even to contribute in some measure to the industrialization of the less developed countries. The Soviet Union is thus compelling the imperialists to enter into a sort of peaceful competition and this is clearly advantageous to the Arab peoples. In cases when a capitalist state is prepared to render aid on mutually advantageous terms without encroaching on the national sovereignty of the country concerned, it is in the interests of the Arab peoples not to reject such assistance.

Relations with the Soviet Union, based on the principles of political and economic equality, strengthen the independence of the peoples fighting for freedom and peace. For example, Soviet assistance enabled the Egyptian people to turn down the onerous conditions which the imperialist states would have extorted from them in connection with the Aswan High Dam project. Here is another example. Prior to the death of King Mohammed V of Morocco, France tried to force



Morocco to abandon the policy of non-adherence to blocs, by making this a condition for supplying her with war planes. King Mohammed, however, rejected these demands and turned to the USSR, which supplied the needed military aircraft without any conditions.

The peoples of the Arab countries are well acquainted with the Soviet position with regard to the national-liberation movement and the economically underdeveloped countries, and they know that the support of their struggle and the economic aid rendered them by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp will grow from day to day. In his speech at the United Nations in September 1960, Comrade Khrushchov said: "The Soviet Union on its side has rendered assistance to the economically underdeveloped countries and will continue to render such assistance on a steadily increasing scale."

The peoples of the Arab countries know that the Soviet Union will fulfil this promise, as it has fulfilled its many other commitments in the past. They have no doubt that the relations with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, founded on principles of equality and mutual advantage, will serve to strengthen their national independence and promote their economic development. At the same time, these relations create the conditions for mutual aid between the Arab peoples. And this in turn strengthens the ties between them and brings them nearer to their cherished goal — Arab unity.

The building of communism in the Soviet Union will not only help to consolidate the socialist world system. The achievements in all fields of peaceful construction, the happy life enjoyed by every Soviet man and woman will give strength and inspiration to those all over the world who have risen against imperialism to fight for national independence, for peace, freedom and socialism. Imperialism, which has already entered the period of its inevitable decline, is bound to be weakened still more. The peoples fighting for freedom and social progress can only gain from this.

From year to year, as the material and technical base of communism is being created, the resources of the Soviet Union will be multiplied, enabling it to increase its economic, technical and scientific aid both to the peoples of the Arab and other economically underdeveloped countries. It should be remembered, however, that the possibilities for extending this assistance do not depend

on the Soviet Union alone. The Arab peoples can receive constant and growing aid only if world peace is preserved and consolidated. The more so since the creation of the material and technical base of communism is itself possible only in conditions of peace. That is why the Program of the CPSU devotes so much attention to the fight for peace, peaceful coexistence, universal and complete disarmament and the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states. And this too explains *the firm support given by the Arab peoples to the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and its measures aimed at strengthening its defense capacity in order to discourage any aggressive designs on the part of the imperialists.*

Moreover, if the Arab peoples are to benefit from this aid they must influence their governments to cooperate closely with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The fact that not all the Arab countries are receiving Soviet aid at the present time is the fault not of the USSR but of the governments of the countries concerned.

It goes without saying that the Arab peoples who have won their political independence but have yet to eradicate the remnants of colonial domination, cannot rely solely on foreign aid, even if it emanates from such friendly countries as those of the socialist camp. They must depend primarily on their own resources. The Arab nations have already seen for themselves how rapid and thorough has been the progress made by the countries of the socialist community. And as the targets set by the new Program of the CPSU are reached, the advantages of the socialist system will become more strikingly evident. When they will see with their own eyes that the living and cultural standards of the workers and peasants in the Uzbek or Tajik Soviet Republics, former Central Asian colonies of tsarist Russia, are higher than that of the most advanced capitalist countries, they will appreciate more profoundly that, as the CPSU Program points out, "*capitalism is the road of suffering for the people,*" while socialism "*is the road to freedom and happiness for the peoples.*" Socialism, the Program says, "ensures rapid economic and cultural progress. It transforms a backward country into an industrial country within the lifetime of one generation and not in the course of centuries." In these circumstances there can be little doubt what path the Arab peoples will choose.

In the USSR the problem of relations be-



tween the various nationalities was solved, as we know, by uniting them in a fraternal voluntary community ensuring for all the peoples that make up the USSR the conditions for their fruitful development. At present the standard of living in the Soviet republics is higher than in many European countries, not to speak of the Arab or the Afro-Asian countries generally. Taking the basic criteria of cultural progress — literacy, the number of pupils in schools and colleges, the number of doctors per thousand inhabitants, public libraries, books published, theatres, clubs, cinemas — the peoples of the Soviet Union, including those of the Central Asian republics, are already a long way ahead of the peoples in the capitalist countries. With the realization of the new Program, the essential distinctions between town and countryside, between manual and mental labor, will disappear. Within 20 years the standard of living throughout the Soviet Union will be higher than that of the richest and most highly developed capitalist country, the United States of America.

This fact will be an invaluable example for the Arab peoples, it will have a revolutionizing effect on the national-liberation movement and give added impetus and scope to the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic struggle.

*The masses in the Arab countries are already rejecting the capitalist way and turning to the non-capitalist way.* Conscious of this, some Arab leaders, President Nasser for one, depict their bourgeois reforms and nationalization measures as socialist measures.

In all probability with the present alignment of forces on the world arena and the tangible possibility of powerful support from the socialist countries it will not be long before the Arab people strike out on the path of national-democratic statehood.

This, of course, will depend on the correlation of class forces, on the struggle of the working class and the working masses, on

the democratic movement as a whole in each Arab country.

What do we mean by a national-democratic state? In the first place this is not the product of abstract Communist theorizing, it is a form of social organization dictated by life, one which is conditioned by development and takes account of the historical and national features of each nation. It is not excluded that the path to non-capitalist development will in some countries lie through a state of national democracy. Being supported by all the progressive and patriotic forces in the country, this state can function in such a way as to give these forces freedom to choose the course that will ensure the well-being of the nation. "The non-capitalist path of development," states the Program of the CPSU, "is ensured by the struggle of the working class and the masses of the people, by the general democratic movement, and meets the interests of the absolute majority of the nation."

"The political basis of a national democracy," the Program goes on, "is a bloc of all the progressive, patriotic forces fighting to win complete national independence and broad democracy, and to consummate the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution." It may well be that by the time the program of building communism will have been carried out in the USSR, the Arab nations will have embarked on the path of socialism, provided of course that the working-class parties, the Marxist-Leninist parties, fulfil their revolutionary role within this bloc.

These vistas that open up before the Arab nations were illuminated by the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Leninist program for the full-scale building of communism. There can be no doubt that the Program of the CPSU places an instrument of inestimable political and ideological value in the hands of all true champions of the cause of the Arab peoples.



# The Communist Party of Greece in the Struggle for Democratic Change

*Dimitris Parcalidis*

RECENT developments point to significant changes in the alignment of political forces in Greece. The factors underlying these changes are the steady advance of the Soviet Union and the socialist world system as a whole, the new balance of forces on the world arena in favor of peace, democracy and socialism and the bankruptcy of the policy of the ruling ERE party, reflecting the general aggravation of the crisis of the reactionary regime, and the correct policy and valiant struggle waged by the Communist Party of Greece.

A landmark in this struggle was the Eighth Congress of our Party held last August which summarized the Party's struggle in the 16 years since the war. In this period the efforts of the imperialists and their henchmen in Greece to consolidate a regime implanted by foreign arms and maintained by terror led to a fratricidal war which ended in the defeat of the people's democratic movement.

The abnormal situation that arose in our Party due to the erroneous leftist-sectarian policy of the former leadership headed by N. Zahariadis hampered the regrouping of forces after the defeat. This situation was remedied by the 6th enlarged meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Committee held in March 1956, which renounced the fundamentally wrong line of the Zahariadis leadership.

The Eighth Congress of the Party endorsed the decisions of the 1956 C.C. meeting, approved the changes in the Party and outlined its next tasks. In the present circumstances, with repressions against the democratic movement harsher than ever, the Party banned, and tens of thousands of militants forced into exile, the very convocation of a congress representing all the Party's forces and the unity displayed by the congress were a major victory for the Party.

## **Anti-National Policy of the Oligarchy and Its Consequences**

The government's slavish submission to American imperialism, expressed particularly

during Karamanlis' visit to Washington, has brought nothing but misfortune to the people and is fraught with the prospect of new and even greater privation. Then there are the strengthened positions of West-German imperialism in Greece and the growing tendency to identify Greek foreign policy with that of the Bonn revenge-seekers, the worst enemies of peace in Europe. The reactionaries have launched a new anti-Soviet campaign and have mobilized all their propaganda media for this purpose. They are shouting themselves hoarse about an alleged threat to Greece from some quarter or other. But in reality who is threatening whom?

In 1960 when it was learned that Powers' spy plane had flown over Greece, Karamanlis in an official statement did not exclude the possibility that Greek air bases would be used for similar purposes.

The Greek government is an ardent supporter of Adenauer's policy of kindling the flames of war in Europe; it has permitted foreign military bases to be built all over Greece, and has granted the U.S. Sixth Fleet free use of its territorial waters and ports. From these bases and ports the American militarists are threatening the Soviet Union with nuclear war. The Greek government has obstinately rejected all the proposals made by Bulgaria, Rumania and other socialist states aimed at relaxing tension in the Balkans and turning the Balkans into a peace zone.

The Karamanlis clique complain that their endeavors have not met with sufficient support in Greece. They cannot understand why this should be so. They must surely know very little about the popular sentiment if they think their treacherous actions would be approved by the masses. Quite the reverse—alarm has been growing even in those ruling-class circles which, though anti-Communist, have not altogether lost the ability to see things as they are. These circles realize that with modern weapons and the present alignment of forces, a provocative cold-war policy is suicidal for Greece.



Never has there been a greater need for the genuine national policy which the Left forces have so long been demanding and which was so aptly summed up in the timely slogans issued by the Eighth Congress of our Party: no imperialist military bases on Greek territory; an atom-free zone in the Balkans and joint guarantees of the security and integrity of Greece by the Soviet Union and the United States; Greece must keep out of NATO!

All the objections to this policy are groundless. Even the Right-wing leader M. Papan-dreu was forced to admit that the refusal of the U.S. government to give the guarantee proposed by the Soviet Union creates the impression that the Soviet Union is anxious to rid Greece of the nightmare of a nuclear holocaust while the United States is not.

The government's economic policy too is against the interests of the nation and the people.

According to official Washington data, Greece has received \$3,073,500,000 in "aid" from the U.S. government. Had this sum been used for genuine assistance the situation in Greece today would have been different. But the fact is, it was used to finance the civil war with the object of crushing the popular movement, turning Greece into an imperialist base of operations and subjecting it economically to the American monopolies. As a result, Greece has remained an economically backward country, a source of raw materials, a supplier of food products and cheap labor for the big imperialist powers.

The rate of national income growth per capita is the lowest in Europe, while its distribution becomes more and more unjust. True, there has been a slight increase in production since the war, but the structure of the economy remains basically unchanged. This is seen from the fact that the share of industrial and handicraft production in the national income amounts to 22 per cent. The share of machine-building in industrial production is only 1.9 per cent; Greece has a growing trade deficit (before the war 80 per cent of her exports were covered by imports, today the figure is no more than 40 per cent), and import figures do not include industrial equipment.

Greece is now more dependent on foreign capital. Monopoly capital, primarily American, has taken possession of her natural resources; it is firmly entrenched in the credit system, is penetrating into industry, and has added another debt of \$200 million. West-

German capital, too, is steadily gaining a firm footing in the economy. As the recent Greco-West German economic agreements show, foreign capital is demanding—and receiving—colonial conditions for the exploitation of Greece.

Entry into the European Common Market will be disastrous for Greece. Professor Stefanidis has described it as the number one national danger, while even such moderates as M. Papanucos have been moved to speak of a "new form of colonialism."

The initial consequences of this fatal step are already making themselves felt. The workers are being asked to agree unconditionally to a starvation wage, and the peasants, to lower prices for their products in order to improve the competitive position of Greek products. Credits to the handicraft industry and to small and medium enterprises generally are being curtailed since, with Greece joining the Common Market, these are considered doomed. The industries that have retained a measure of independence are hastening to establish contacts with foreign monopoly trusts in order to survive.

Common-Market membership is bound to affect agriculture as well. Export of agricultural products to the socialist countries, which has been steadily increasing in the past two or three years, will suffer. This export, incidentally, is extremely advantageous for Greece. In the first place, the vast market of the socialist countries can absorb a constantly growing volume of Greek exports, and secondly, the socialist countries pay better and more stable prices than the Western countries.

The armaments burden thrust upon Greece by NATO weighs heavily. Only half of the direct military expenditures, which reached the sum of 22,665 million drachma in the less than six years since the Karamanlis government took office, would have been enough to build an aluminum plant, several power stations on the Aheloos and Aliakmon rivers, a nitrogen factory, a soda factory, an iron and steel works, and to accelerate the construction of a number of other industrial enterprises which would substantially alter the economic map of the country without foreign loans and commitments or shackling deals with foreign monopolies.

The Greek servitors of NATO, which has stifled the just cause of the people of Cyprus, claim that we are threatened by Bulgaria. But Comrade Zhivkov, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian



Communist Party, suggested to Greece that the two countries mutually agree to reduce military expenditure, pointing out that this could be the initial step toward complete disarmament. However, the lackeys of the Pentagon and the Bonn revenge-seekers will not hear of such proposals, for indeed what would they do without the "threat" from the North?

The result of the economic policy pursued by the ruling clique is the poverty of the working people. The standard of living is lower than before the war. The greatest scourge is unemployment and part-time employment. There are more than 250,000 unemployed wage workers and over 700,000 partially employed in the countryside. This in turn leads to a constant increase in the number of those who are forced to emigrate. The number of emigrants reached 314,131 in 1956-1960. According to official statistics, 50 per cent more people emigrated in the first half of 1961 than in the first half of 1960. In some rural areas entire villages have been deserted.

Speed-up in industry is accompanied by an increase in industrial accidents. There have been repeated encroachments on the insurance rights of the workers in recent years.

Nor is the position of the peasantry any better. Six years ago a Ministry of Agriculture investigation of 694,583 families, i.e., 70 per cent of the peasantry, revealed that 43 per cent had an income of less than half the minimum needed for subsistence, and only 11 per cent had incomes above this minimum. According to a more recent report of the Agrarian Bank, 583,000 peasant families out of a total of 1,026,000 have a monthly income of 316 drachma, barely enough to keep body and soul together. The conditions of those living in mountain regions are even more tragic.

The urban middle strata, artisans, intellectuals, women and youth are likewise hard pressed. Dependence on foreign capital is damaging to the interests of the national bourgeoisie as well, and in the event of Greece joining the Common Market the situation will undoubtedly be worse.

In order to maintain people in subjection, the reactionaries, egged on by the imperialists, have instituted a police regime behind a parliamentary facade. As their support among the masses dwindles, they resort more frequently to arbitrary rule, intensifying repressions, curtailing democratic rights, gradually divesting Parliament of its democratic

content, enacting an electoral law aimed at patent falsification of the people's will and contemplating a whittling away of the Constitution. Twelve years after the civil war emergency laws are still in force, the Communist Party is still outlawed, nearly 2,000 revolutionary fighters have been in prison for more more than 16 years, and some 60,000 are living in forced exile.

The pillar of the regime is the gendarme. Even Papandreu has described Greece as a police state. The Asphalia (the secret police) has special trade union departments (!) for the express purpose of crushing the activities of the labor unions. Police agents from these departments attend meetings, compile election lists behind the scenes during the election of committees, and have the insolence sometimes to take part in the discussion! Cases of illegal removal of persons elected to trade union committees, peasant cooperatives, and local councils are common. The arbitrary action of the government has assumed monstrous proportions. The General Staff can censure a parliamentary deputy for expressing democratic views. Eulogies to the Metaxis fascist dictatorship are encouraged, and the abolition of Parliament is openly advocated. Fascist organizations which engage in provocative activity under police protection are set up with government support.

Although the Left forces, the vanguard of the popular resistance, are the main target of the police repressions, these are being extended more and more to anyone who opposes the government. The court decisions censuring police and gendarme hooliganism, and also the decision of the State Council condemning the arbitrary actions of government bodies, throw light on the unbridled reaction and at the same time testify to the growing isolation of the Right-wing government. The lawlessness assumed outrageous proportions during the recent elections.

#### United Front for Democratic Changes

In his report to the Eighth Congress of the Party, Comrade Kolliannis pointed out that the feature of postwar development in Greece was the implacable hostility of the people to foreign domination, the unflagging struggle against the policy of subservience to the imperialists pursued by the oligarchy. This struggle has grown in recent years. Ever larger sections of the population can now be rallied to the defense of democratic liberties. Proof of this was the collection of over 120,000 signatures to the demand for the



release of Manolis Glezos, and the widespread movement for recognition of the National Resistance.

The growth of mass action is directly connected with the correct policy and practical work of the Communist Party.

The meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee held in March 1956 changed the wrong line pursued until then by the Party leadership. This line sprang from the failure of the leadership soberly to appraise the situation, correctly assess the relationships between the classes and sections of Greek society, properly gauge the sentiment of the masses, and determine the strategic objectives of the Party and the appropriate forms of struggle that would have ensured a steady rise of the movement. Lenin always warned that mistakes of this kind could have the most serious consequences for revolutionary parties.

The chief manifestation of these errors can be summed up briefly as follows:

1. The democratic forces should have been regrouped after the imperialist intervention in December 1944. At that time, notwithstanding the defeat, the democratic movement had preserved its viability, and the British occupation forces and their agents, the various Greek governments, felt far from secure. They therefore resolved to crush the democratic movement. The Party leadership, led by Zahariadis, disregarding the fact that the opportunities for a peaceful democratic solution still existed, that the masses were not convinced of the imperative need for armed struggle and that the situation was not altogether ripe for such action, adopted the tactic of armed struggle (thereby playing into the hands of the reactionaries), and insisted on boycotting the 1946 general election, although fraternal parties had advised against this step.

As a result, the Party began to be isolated from the people. Having chosen the course of armed struggle, the leadership nevertheless failed to take the necessary steps to organize it, a fact which added to the confusion in the ranks of the democratic forces and further isolated the vanguard from the masses, besides enabling the reactionaries, supported in every way by Anglo-American imperialists, to regroup their forces and to reorganize the machinery of state. These errors determined the outcome of the armed struggle of 1946-49. Yet that struggle, as the decisions of the Eighth Congress noted, "despite the mistakes, was a just, national struggle, a continuation under different con-

ditions of the epic of the National Resistance."

Even after the defeat of the armed struggle, the Party leadership continued to insist that a revolutionary situation obtained in the country and, by its sectarian and leftist slogans, prevented the democratic forces from regrouping.

2. The leadership characterized the imminent revolution as socialist revolution, and this at a time when democratic tasks were assuming increasing importance and when, as the Party itself recognized, Greece's dependence on foreign capital had grown. True, under pressure of circumstances, the leadership issued the slogan for the establishment of a patriotic front. But this slogan became little more than an empty phrase since the Party's main fire was directed precisely against those with whom it was supposed to cooperate on patriotic grounds, namely, the parties of the center.

Working-class action played the decisive role in expanding the patriotic front. But the development of this action and the extension of trade union unity was prejudiced by the sectarian approach of the Party leadership on trade union questions; the argument was that no effective struggle could be waged before the leadership of the General Confederation of Labor (GCEE) had been purged of the corrupt leaders, and indirect encouragement was given to the attempts to set up a new trade union federation.

The experience of the world revolutionary movement confirms the truth that the Marxist-Leninist Party is invincible if it is closely linked with the working class and the masses generally, if even under the most arduous circumstances of underground struggle it can find ways and means of cementing its bonds with the masses. At the moment when the strength of the movement and the efforts of the Communists had created the conditions for legal activity, the Party leadership proved incapable of utilizing the opportunities to work in the open, of extending these opportunities, of correctly applying the principle of combining legal work with underground activity.

The new leadership denounced the attempts to give an opportunistic interpretation of the line of the Twentieth CPSU Congress and of the decisions of the March (1956) meeting of the Central Committee of our Party, and after the ideological and organizational defeat of sectarianism, directed its main attacks against revisionism which was now the main danger.



Revisionism took the following forms: lack of faith in the success of the national-liberation struggle in the conditions of American imperialist domination, denial of the leading role of the working class and its party in the democratic revolution, surrender of hegemony in the democratic movement to the national bourgeoisie, overestimation of the role of parliamentarism, expressed in the view that everything can be decided by Parliament, and underestimation of illegal forms of struggle, the absence of criticism, and capitulation to reformist bureaucracy allegedly for the sake of ensuring joint action and trade union unity, and, lastly, rejection of the principle of democratic centralism as "obsolete."

Revisionism is frequently interlinked with a sectarian approach, and this is especially the case with the group of revisionist emigrés headed by Markos Vafiadis who was the chief proponent of revisionism in our Party. Careerism is a feature common to this group and its leader, and as its isolation increases it grows ever more vicious, descending at times to downright provocation.

The Eighth Congress of the Party emphasized the need to fight on two fronts: against Right-wing opportunism, an expression of panic in connection with the forced retreat under pressure of the enemy and the hardships of the struggle—the main danger in our movement today—and against sectarianism and dogmatism, remnants of which still exist owing to the prolonged domination of the sectarians in the Party, and which are liable to grow stronger unless they are consistently combated.

After the Central Committee meeting of March 1956 the policy of leadership during the Hitler occupation was also brought into perspective. Underestimating the potentialities of the National Liberation Front (EAM) and overestimating the strength of British imperialism which had tried to undermine the national-liberation movement from the very outset and, as the end of the war approached, was clearly planning to smash it by armed force, the Party leadership at that time did not believe it possible to cope with the British interventionists. This lack of faith in victory was the chief source of the Party's mistakes at the time, the reason why it retreated before the British imperialists and the Greek reactionaries.

Today the correlation of forces is steadily changing in favor of the forces of democracy and socialism. Now too, however, some unstable elements are inclined to accept the

reactionary view of U.S. imperialism as an omnipotent force. In the light of these facts the appraisal given by the Eighth Congress of the Party's activities during the Nazi occupation assumes particular significance.

Our opponents seize on our criticism of our own mistakes to present the history of the Greek Communist Party as a long chain of blunders and setbacks. But the very fact that they are alarmed at the steadily growing influence of our Party gives the lie to this. Our Party, like all Marxist-Leninist parties, learns from its mistakes. And for revolutionary parties there is no better school than the school of practical struggle, with its successes and failures.

### **Program of the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism**

After studying the situation in the country, the Eighth Congress adopted a new program defining the objectives of the Party, its strategy and tactics. The program is not limited to an exposition of the Party's immediate tasks, it looks forward also to ultimate goals.

The character of the country's economy is clearly defined. "Greece," says the program, "is an underdeveloped capitalist country, mainly agrarian, with a relatively developed industry, some semi-feudal survivals, and, its most characteristic feature, a high degree of dependence on imperialist monopoly capital."

The poverty of the people, the program stresses, is not due simply to the fact that it is a capitalist country, but that, being a capitalist country it is largely dependent economically and politically on the foreign imperialists. Only through socialist revolution and the socialization of the means of production can Greece rid herself completely of all exploitation and ensure the unrestricted development of her economy and the welfare of her people. But in order to do this she must first discard foreign dependence and carry out an anti-imperialist democratic revolution. This revolution is the purport of the demand for national democratic changes which has become a national issue today.

The program sets out in detail the objectives of the first stage of the revolution in all spheres. "The national democratic reform," it says, "is not the cause of a single class or a single party, but of all the social classes and strata demanding it; it is not a matter of political maneuvering at the top, without the people and remote from the people, it is the cause of the revolutionary struggle of the people."



The program stresses the point about the possibility of effecting radical changes by peaceful means, and the need to be prepared for the other, non-peaceful alternative, should the reactionaries resort to armed force to prevent the people's will from being effected. In Greece, where the reactionaries repeatedly resort to anti-parliamentary police-state methods, where semi-official armed organizations terrorize the countryside and fascist gangs encouraged by the government operate in the towns, it would be wrong to foster the illusion that the peaceful way is the easy way, however it might accord with the interests and aspirations of the nation. In order to ensure the peaceful way it is necessary to launch a broad mass struggle, to organize and cement the forces of the people. The Congress pointed out that if the reactionaries at this juncture should succeed in taking advantage of the split in the democratic forces to steer the political life of the country toward anti-constitutional acts, the road to peaceful democratic development would be closed for Greece.

The democratic revolution cannot be separated from the socialist revolution by a Chinese wall. Democratic reforms pave the way to socialism, the first stage of the communist society, which is the ultimate goal of the Party.

The program does not exclude the possibility of cooperating with democratic parties both in the struggle to rid the country of imperialist dependence and also in the subsequent socialist reorganization of life.

The program is a valuable asset to the Communists in their struggle to rally the people for democratic and socialist regeneration.

In seeking to win the support of the majority of the people for the program of democratic reform and build up the broadest possible patriotic front to implement these reforms, the Party proceeds from the concrete situation and the level of political consciousness of the masses and strives to cooperate with other parties on the urgent issues on the basis of mutually acceptable demands. Joint struggle of this kind can yield immediate results, while at the same time helping to dispel prejudices, strengthen mutual confidence and lay the foundations for broader cooperation and more far-reaching objectives. From this standpoint the Congress noted that the cooperation of all the forces of the opposition in order to abolish the reactionary regime, to put an end to

the monopoly of power by the Right-wing and to mark the beginning of a turn towards democracy was now on the order of the day.

The general election held on October 29 confirmed the view of the Party and the Left generally, that the oligarchy, the court circles and the foreign imperialists, using the ERE Party (National Radical Union) as a weapon, would turn the elections into a farce. They resorted to every conceivable means of violence and terror — from an open ban on participation in the voting all the way to man-handling and murdering political opponents. The election returns were falsified. Papandreu, leader of the opposition group of the Union of the Center, said that the majority obtained by the reactionary ERE Party was "the product of violence and fraud." A government, he added, formed on the basis of this violation of the electors' will, could not be considered the lawful government of the Greek people.

The present situation is fraught with danger. The ERE will attempt to abolish the remnants of democratic liberties in order to crush the resistance of the working people.

"The struggle for the dissolution of the false Parliament and the holding of free elections," as the Central Committee pointed out at its recent meeting, "is a struggle in defense of democracy . . . It can be successful if it is supported by the masses, the whole people. The Communist Party appeals to all democratic parties, all democratic forces, to join in the struggle."

In appraising the general election we must be careful to avoid mistakes of either a Rightist or Leftist character. We cannot allow any doubts to be cast on the bold and optimistic prospects set forth by the Eighth Congress which based itself on a profound and objective analysis of the correlation of forces both within the country and on an international scale. On the other hand, we must be alive to the additional difficulties engendered by the new situation, and to the weaknesses and shortcomings in our work which were highlighted in the election campaign.

Summing up the results of the general election, the Central Committee said:

"The Communists must wage a resolute struggle against the attempts on the part of the enemy to sow confusion or doubt with regard to the correctness of the policy and perspectives of the Party, and to implant defeatism. They must combat the revisionists who are seeking to make the popular



movement trail behind the liberal bourgeoisie, and against sectarian views which underestimate the need and the possibility for broad patriotic unity and cooperation."

The movement for democratic unity is growing, and the objections raised by the leadership of the Center parties carry less and less weight. The strength of this movement is recognized by everyone, and Karamanlis is clearly afraid of it. Democratic unity is strongly supported by the United Democratic Left Party (EDA) and the National Peasant Party (EAK), as well as by the independent democratic leaders aligned with them. This bloc symbolizes the alliance of the workers and peasants, and the middle class sections in the towns that are rallied around it. The stronger this bloc and the more fully it succeeds in cementing its forces, the greater will be the pressure from below preventing the leadership of the Center parties from identifying themselves with the reactionary parties of the Right, and the more effective the struggle for a democratic reconstruction of the life of the country.

Without relaxing our efforts to achieve cooperation at the top, we must shift the emphasis to building up a patriotic front at lower levels, to work among the supporters and sympathizers of the Center parties, for the patriotic front is not a deal concluded "at the top," without the people and remote from the people, but the struggle waged by the people themselves who have joined, irrespective of ideological disagreements and party affiliation, to fight for the higher interests of the nation, for democracy, and for peace. When the mass of Center supporters are drawn into this struggle, they will be able to influence their leaders and help them to overcome their vacillation and indecision.

#### Broader Ties with the Masses

In its report to the Eighth Congress, the Central Committee pointed out that the decisive factor in the bankruptcy of the policy of the governing party is the mounting wave of popular struggle. The strike movement is growing, both as regards quantity and quality. The strikes are becoming more and more militant and prolonged, police attempts to break them, sometimes by force of arms, are encountering ever more stubborn resistance on the part of the workers. The rebuff given the police in December 1960 by the building workers, the 1961 May Day demonstrations in Athens and all over the country, the recent building strike which ended

in a resounding success despite the fact that it happened at the very moment when the Karamanlis government was working all-out to whip up anti-Soviet and anti-Communist hysteria, are all evidence of this.

There have also been some important peasant actions: the peasant strike last February in Pineia which was followed the same month by a mass meeting of peasants in Kardica; the mass demonstrations of farmers in the summer, the farm cooperative congress in Salonika and the 11-day strike of more than 200,000 peasants in Thessaly, a mass meeting of 25,000 raisin-growers in Heraklion. It is worth-while noting that the urban middle classes — craftsmen, artisans, doctors, and even lawyers and merchants — now participate in the movement more and more frequently, and that instances of joint struggle by workers, craftsmen, artisans and merchants are common.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the growth of militant sentiment occurs equally everywhere, or that we have no backward sectors, and can afford in future to neglect the elementary forms of struggle.

Confirming the growth of militant sentiments among the people, the Eighth Congress emphasized that the organization of popular actions continues to lag behind the objective opportunities. The reformist bureaucracy in the leadership of the General Confederation of Labor and the All-Greek Confederation of Unions of Agricultural Cooperatives often succeed in retarding mass actions.

"The fight against the monopoly offensive on living standards," states the political resolution of the Eighth Congress, "is a task of first-rate importance. Our epoch is the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale. But this does not mean that the Communist parties can ignore the struggle for the satisfaction of the urgent demands of the people, that the struggle for better conditions can be postponed until the victory of socialism. As Lenin said, it is not the reformists but the Communists who show the workers the most effective way of improving their position and winning democratic reforms even under capitalism.

"... Reformist tactics are the least effective way of ensuring the implementation of reforms and their genuineness. The tactics of revolutionary class struggle is the best way to ensure both *the one and the other*.\* The difference between the Communists and reformists is that the latter regard re-

\*Lenin. *More About the Duma Ministry*.



forms within the framework of the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and deny the need for socialist revolution, whereas the Communists in fighting for the urgent demands of the masses seek to raise them to an understanding of the need for fundamental social changes, the need for a socialist revolution.

The Congress laid particular emphasis on the necessity of extending the Party's ties with the masses. "The Communists," states the decision of the Congress, "must be in the midst of the working people — in factory and mill and office, at home and in school, in the villages; they must direct the workers' actions and fight in an organized way for the correct line of the Party." The Congress urged all Communists to devote special attention to work among the peasantry — the chief ally of the working class — and also among the urban middle classes, which in Greece comprise a large part of the population, and to achieve a radical improvement in the work among the youth.

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The Congress demonstrated the indestructible unity of the Party's ranks. This unity derives from elaboration of a correct Marxist-Leninist line, a line that is incompatible either with sectarianism and dogmatism or with revisionism; it is the result of putting an end to the abnormal regime in the Party, restoring the Marxist-Leninist standards of internal party life, and eradicating the personality cult; the result of collective work in the leading bodies, the development of criticism and self-criticism in the Party, the

unerring method which ensures the progress of the Party and the growth of its cadres; the result of strengthening the Party's international ties with the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. This unity, the Congress noted, must be cherished like the apple of the eye, and constantly strengthened as an essential condition enabling our Party to cope honorably with the responsible tasks confronting it in the class battles now rapidly maturing in Greece.

Throughout its long history, with its alternating forms of struggle and rich revolutionary traditions, our Party has trained a galaxy of cadres who today share the burden of responsibility for directing the work of the Party. These cadres inspire the masses and direct their struggles in the different spheres; jailed and exiled by the reactionaries, faced with military tribunals and punitive squads, they hold aloft the banner of the Party. Comrades living in exile are also doing their share in building socialism and communism, receiving a theoretical education and technical and scientific training in the socialist countries.

Our cadres have been tempered in the recent struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism and against revisionism. The fact that the Eighth Congress of the Party solved an important problem by largely renewing the leadership is of inestimable significance for the future of the Party.

Armed with the correct decisions of the Congress, and with a new leadership, the Communist Party of Greece looks forward with profound faith and optimism to the future.



# Pope John XXIII's Encyclical Is a Manifesto of State-Monopoly Capitalism

*Jean Kanapa*

**I**N a considerable part of the world, mainly in the capitalist West, the Catholic ideology exerts an influence the working-class movement cannot ignore. And though it is losing ground somewhat, this ideology continues to hold captive many workers and peasants and numerous sections of the petty bourgeoisie. That is why the publication by Pope John XXIII a few months ago of the encyclical "*Mater et Magistra*" (Mother and Teacher), "on recent developments of the social question in the light of Christian teaching" cannot but attract attention, both in view of the conditions under which it has appeared — and already examined in our journal\* — and because of the content and purpose of the "social" thinking, in its modern garb, of the Catholic Church.

One is struck by the ambiguity of the encyclical, although ambiguity is a feature of all papal documents. This time, however, there is yet another reason for it. The world has changed considerably since the time of Leo XIII — and even since the death in 1958 of Pius XII, John XXIII's predecessor. It has changed in a way that conforms to the aspirations of millions of ordinary people, Catholics included — but not to the wishes of a Church closely bound up with the world bourgeoisie.

Another feature of the encyclical and its commentaries is their pessimism. One frequently encounters in it phrases like this: "Our era is penetrated and shot through by radical errors, it is torn and upset by deep disorders . . . Our age is marked by a clear contrast between the immense scientific and technical progress and the fearful human decline . . ." The reason for these strange lamentations becomes clear if one recalls that the encyclical was compiled immediately after the Moscow meeting of the 81 Com-

munist and Workers' parties, which in its Statement defined our times as stirring times, the "transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale."

The encyclical was conceived with the idea of counterposing it to the rapidly rising tide of the revolutionary movement throughout the world and the achievements of socialism and communism, of which the Statement of the 81 parties and the new Program of the CPSU are a brilliant theoretical expression. It is the all-conquering optimism of the working-class revolutionary movement, reflected in the documents, that accounts for the pessimistic tone of this encyclical.

In keeping with long-established tradition, Pope John XXIII's encyclical opens with an expression of compassion for the working class. What has "stirred" it? The disproportion, the encyclical explains, between the wages of workers and the amount of the capitalists' "remuneration." Yet today, as yesterday, the Church ignores the fact that the fundamental injustice of capitalist society lies in exploiting the workers who are forced to sell their labor power to the employer, the capitalist; the latter obtains from their labor a surplus value that forms the source of his wealth. Just as it did in the past, so today the Church sedulously conceals the fact that the basic disproportion characteristic of capitalist society is to be sought not in the amount of the "remuneration," but in the fact that the bulk of the population lives by selling its labor power (wages), while a small section lives on capitalist profit. It would have people believe that the capitalist employer is a "working man" too, but merely receives a higher "remuneration."

In brief, the Church sublimely ignores the economic and social reality in the capitalist countries. The encyclical carefully refrains from using the term "capitalism," as if it

\*See Loris Gallico's article "The Gap Between Vatican Ideology and Social Reality," in the No. 12, 1961, issue of our journal.



were taboo. Is not this a tacit recognition that nowadays people regard it as something from which they recoil!

The evasion of all objective socio-economic analysis enables the Pope to by-pass many burning problems, such, for example, as the evolution of capitalism in the past few decades, especially the considerable development of monopoly capitalism. And in this respect the new encyclical is a step backwards compared even with Pope Pius XI's "Quadragesimo Anno" (1931) which at least alludes to this process.

THE social question, which the Church has reduced to a "disproportion in remuneration," can, according to the encyclical, be solved quite simply — the remuneration should be adjusted. This requires, it states, "that the workers should be paid a wage which allows them to live a truly human life and to face up with dignity to their family responsibilities." This recommendation is, however, immediately followed by reservations made to meet the wishes of the capitalist monopolies: ". . . . In the assessment of their remuneration regard (should) be had to their effective contribution to the production (that is, the extent of the remuneration depends on labor productivity — J.K.) and to the economic state of the enterprise (in other words, if the capitalist's business is bad, the burden should be borne by the workers—J.K.) and to the requirement of the common good of the respective political communities (that is, the working class is to foot the bill for the government "plans" of the monopolies, such, for example, as Eyskens' "austerity" law in Belgium, and the Rueff-Armand plan in France, etc.—J.K.)."

The medicine prescribed by the Church is quite innocuous as far as the capitalist employers are concerned, it is simply a means of throwing dust in the eyes of the working people. Thus, the Church prudently explains, it is necessary "to provide employment to the greatest number of workers . . . to maintain an equitable balance between wages and prices . . . , make goods and services accessible to the greatest number of citizens" (our italics—Ed.), and so on. But this prompts the question: why not to all? In laying down these restrictions the Church apparently accepts as a perfectly legitimate thing the army of unemployed, and the fact that not all citizens enjoy the same rights to benefits and services. By doing so, the Church gives its sanction to social inequality. And who, furthermore, will determine

the "equity" in a society characterized by the unbridled domination of the exploiting class, if not this exploiting class and this class alone? The "improvements" in living standards suggested by the Church do not, therefore, in any way modify the capitalist structure of society.

"It is not by its nature vicious," said Pope Pius XI in speaking of capitalism. And John XXIII again proclaims the sanctity of private ownership of the means of production. Having observed that some "doubt" has arisen among the people in this connection, Pope John asserts with vehemence: "There is no reason for such a doubt to persist. The right of private ownership of goods, of productive goods inclusively, has a permanent validity, precisely because it is a natural right . . ." But Marxism has long since refuted this idealistic concept. The further assertion that under capitalism the proletariat, too, has a "natural" right to private property, including means of production, is demagoguery pure and simple, for the very definition of proletariat shows that it owns nothing but its labor power. And Pope John's statement to the effect that higher wages would "allow the workers more easily to save and thus acquire their own property," is yet another piece of demagoguery. The labor of the proletariat does not create, and cannot create, property for the laborer because its "vocation" is to create capital, "i.e., that kind of property which exploits wage labor".\* Only if the vast majority of the people possess no property of this kind can capitalist private ownership of the means of production exist. It is not a matter of "excesses" or "abuses" on the part of a few capitalists lacking in Christian charity, but of the nature of capitalism.

The working people are beginning to realize that the cause of their troubles is the capitalist system with its private ownership of the means of production. Under the impact of scientific socialism, steadily growing among the revolutionary workers, it is becoming clear to the working people that by demanding the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and its replacement by public ownership, "the proletariat merely establishes as a principle for society that which society has established as a principle for the proletariat. . . ."

\*Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

\*\*Karl Marx, *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*, Introduction.



And the Catholic Church by its outright rejection of this perspective acts as a devoted champion of capitalism.

It offers the working people a totally different solution. Pope Pius XII, for example, spoke of the need "... of granting private property to all if possible," cynically adding, "even if modest." And John XXIII recommends that private property should be "distributed" "among all social classes."

The Vatican's terminology is reminiscent of the "neo-capitalist" theory advanced by the Social Democrat Schumpeter, who was the first to give currency to the concept of the "distribution of property." But can this ideological association between the Catholic Church and the modern Social Democrats cause surprise? It started a long time ago (in France at the time of Léon Blum). The main Social Democratic parties in the capitalist West have proclaimed their complete break with socialism, as their new programs demonstrate. And the Church has given its blessing to this. Whereas yesterday it anathematized socialism as a whole, including reformism, today it hails the Social Democratic parties for taking what is substantially a "positive attitude" on the question of property; in other words, for having thrown overboard the basic concept of scientific socialism — public ownership of the means of production.

"... The ... distribution (of private property) ... is to be insisted upon," the encyclical states. But this should be done "with prudence." In other words the "distribution" must not become reality, must not injure the privileges of the real owners, the big capitalists. It is designed to camouflage monopoly concentration of capital. It is not, therefore, a question of opposing the process of monopolization, but of demagogically screening it.

The "technical devices" recommended by the encyclical to promote the "effective distribution" of property boil down to "people's capitalism," turning the workers into shareholders in capitalist companies. This idea is not new. Thirty years ago Pius XI recommended "that the contract of work be modified by elements taken from the contract of partnership, in such a way that 'the wage earners are made sharers of some sort in the ownership,' of the enterprise."

The growing discontent of the working people forces the capitalists to project a popular image of themselves. Ownership in capitalist enterprises is usually disguised in

the form of possession of shares. The monopolist would have the workers believe that by owning a few shares they will "participate" in the ownership of the enterprise and that hence the enterprise becomes the common property of the workers and capitalists; the workers can "collaborate" with the capitalists with a view to increasing output, and in this way the class struggle can be ended!

This, of course, is balderdash. In a caustic comment on the idea of the "worker-shareholder," Khrushchov had this to say: "When crisis symptoms appear the real owners take these 'masters' by the ear and throw them out of the enterprises in which they hold shares. The shareholder then joins the multi-million army of unemployed. He takes his place in the queue, waiting for fortune to smile on him again, until he gets a job in order not to die of starvation and to save his family."

Actually the capitalist-owner speculates on the fictitious rights arising from his so-called co-partnership with the workers in order to get still higher productivity out of them and to intensify the speed-up, while paying the scantiest attention to elementary labor protection. And this is done on the pretext that the worker is now "interested" in the affairs of the enterprise.

True enough, workers are not against owning property, but this does not mean that they aspire to private ownership of the means of production; they stand for public ownership. The Catholic Church rejects this communist perspective, and it does so all the more vehemently now that the issue is no longer one of a noble ideal, but a practical matter, a matter that has already been accomplished in the socialist countries, and the example of which inspires the struggle of all exploited people throughout the world.

**U**NDER the leadership of the working class and in close union with all the working people, especially the peasants, one-third of mankind is setting out on a new way of life, going from achievement to achievement in the economic and scientific fields and in the sphere of *human relations* — achievements which echo round the world and which attract the attention of the working people of all continents. History has placed on the proletariat the responsibility for the future of society.

The Catholic Church, as a faithful ally of capitalism, is desperately seeking to prevent the growth of the political consciousness of



the working people. Acting the Pharisee, it is trying to use forward-looking sentiment for its own purposes. The workers should be given more opportunity to take part in the economic life of their countries, the Church says. "We . . . hold as justifiable the desire of the employees to participate in the activity of the enterprise to which they belong as workers," says the new encyclical.

Does this imply that the encyclical wants the workers to take part in running these enterprises? Of course not. John XXIII is cautious and does not, as Pius XI did, advocate the right of "co-gestion" (co-management) for the workers. Even this unrealistic and demagogic right is now unacceptable to monopoly capital, which will not tolerate the idea of the workers interfering in its affairs. So that when John XXIII explains the meaning, as he sees it, of the need for the "exercise of responsibility on the part of the workers," he simply reduces it to the well-known capitalist practice of "human relations." Participation in the working of the enterprise, he says, presupposes "that the relations between the employers and directors on the one hand, and the employees on the other, be marked by appreciation, understanding, a loyal and active cooperation, and devotion to an undertaking common to both, and that the work be considered and effected by all the members of the enterprise, not merely as a source of income, but also as the fulfilment of a duty and the rendering of a service."

The Church thus preaches class collaboration, which is the essence of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. Collaboration between capital and labor should, the Pope indicates, be realized within the framework of the existing state authority and the capitalist institutions, notably economic. From this monopoly capital benefits in two ways: on the one hand it profits from "their (working people's) contribution to the efficient running and development of the enterprise," and on the other hand, the revolutionary struggle of the working class is kept in check.

Let us assume for a moment that this idea is brought to its logical conclusion and that capital and labor are associated in the economic bodies of the state. The question now arises: in what bodies? The Pope is silent as to the forms of the "association." And not without reason. For when have the monopolies shown even the slightest disposition to let those whom they exploit have a say in running the country? On the contrary,

their rule is undivided. They are now overtly suppressing all forms of democracy — even bourgeois democracy. To talk class collaboration in a society rent by deep-going antagonism between the monopolies and the people, is arrant nonsense. Never has the militant spirit of the international working class been so strong as now, and were the bourgeoisie to attempt to achieve but a semblance of collaboration, it would have to impose it forcibly.

The Vatican conceals its intention in this sphere, for it makes a point in the encyclical of stressing the importance of developing what it calls the "intermediate bodies" and "communities." One might suppose that by not using certain words because they have been discredited in the eyes of the working class, the Pope wishes to resurrect the old ideal of the *corporate system*. That John XXIII refers to "Quadragesimo Anno" in speaking of these "intermediate bodies" is no accident, for Pius XI advocated "clerical corporatism," and on this subject that encyclical is most eloquent.

Corporatism, as we know, both ideologically and historically, has always been associated with fascism, and it is not fortuitous that the guardians of capitalist society are again eyeing it with favor. In its desperate attempts to fetter the working class, corporatism, in its mediaeval clothing, would suit monopoly capitalism to a T. This is evident from the "modern" version of the corporation — the "vertical trade union" à la Franco, and the "union of capital and labor" so dear to the heart of de Gaulle.

**W**HATEVER stand the Vatican takes on the "social question," it invariably boils down to one and the same thing — fervent vindication of state-monopoly capitalism; and this is the feature of the encyclical.

Since Leo XIII the Church has sanctified what it calls "the right of state interference" in economic and social life. But in those days state capitalism was in its infancy. Now, as the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union points out, "the emergence and growth of monopolies lead to direct state intervention, in the interests of the financial oligarchy, in the process of capitalist reproduction."

The Church is all for state intervention enhancing finance capital's domination, and defends, far more insistently than in the past, the moral right for this intervention. "In modern times," says "Mater et Magistra,"



"there is the tendency towards a progressive taking over of property, whose ownership is vested in the state or other agencies of public authority."

The state, according to capitalist and Catholic ideologists, should stand above class and serve the "common good." It should be what the apologists of capitalism call the "welfare state," harmonizing the interests of the different classes and seeing to it that the resources of the community are distributed equitably. The encyclical does not, of course, intend that state intervention in the life of society should be detrimental to the private property of the monopolies. The state, according to the Church, plays "a subsidiary role," that is, far from depriving the monopolists of their property, it should, on the contrary, contribute to increasing it. For in what other way can a monopolist state serve the "common good" if the wealth of the people is monopolized (in the main) by a handful of all-powerful capitalists who exercise undivided rule over their lives? In point of fact the capitalist state, far from serving the common weal, acts as the supreme administrative committee managing the affairs of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

It is this fact that the Church seeks to "embellish" and justify as much as it can, which it did not do in previous encyclicals. This means that the demands of monopoly capitalism have become more insistent. To steer clear of the contradictions which are bound to deepen, and to undermine the foundations of capitalism, modern monopoly capital is constantly extending its rule, stretching its tentacles ever more widely. And to "justify" this it is compelled to mobilize all the resources in its ideological arsenal. Right-wing Socialists and revisionists assert that state-monopoly capitalism is "almost" socialism, while the Catholic Church, placing the emphasis elsewhere, affirms that capitalism fully conforms to the "moral order" and Divine right, that it serves "the common good." It will not be an exaggeration to say that "Mater et Magistra" is an adaptation of the ideology of the modern Catholic Church to the needs of state-monopoly capitalism.

**T**HE Catholic Church's defense of private ownership of the means of production and the capitalist system is accompanied by a renewed attack on communism and the socialist countries. The Vatican has had considerable experience in this, although it

should be said that the socialist countries, despite the anathemas hurled against them by the Church, have come through with flying colors.

The encyclical affirms that "personal initiative is lacking" under socialism. And inasmuch as it states that "experience shows" this, we shall cite one of the many facts. During the first half of 1961, Soviet innovators and inventors made some 2,000,000 proposals to improve production techniques in industry. Over a million of these were used with a consequent 3.5 per cent increase in labor productivity as compared with the same period in 1960. This one fact alone refutes the slanderous fabrications of the encyclical.

The Vatican asserts furthermore that the socialist system neglects the "requirements of the spirit" and does not allow "the creative talents of individuals" to develop. What hypocrisy is this feigned indignation of a Church which burned Giordano Bruno at the stake and tortured Galileo Galilei, and which to this very day has not officially abolished the Inquisition! And, conversely, what countries other than the socialist countries are introducing compulsory secondary education? What country was the first to utilize atomic energy for peaceful purposes? What country was the first to blaze the trail to outer space? "Historical experience," then, exposes the Vatican's hypocrisy.

The Vatican asserts further, echoing the hoary anti-communist propaganda, that socialism signifies a regime of "political tyranny" under which "the fundamental manifestations of freedom are suppressed or stifled." The Vatican, apparently, is concerned only about democracy in the socialist countries, for it does not say a word in condemnation of the fascist tyranny of Franco, Salazar or Stroessner today (or of Batista and Trujillo but yesterday), and of the anti-democratic, authoritarian regimes of repression characteristic of the rule of de Gaulle and Adenauer. One cannot but conclude that these regimes are fully in keeping with the Church's concept of "freedom."

But the people have another idea of freedom. And that is why their sympathies and their hopes lie with the constantly developing deep-going and broad democracy characteristic of socialist society. Because it has emancipated man from all exploitation, socialist society assures the individual real freedom. Through their state and public or-



ganizations the working people play an active and effective part in public life. They enjoy all political freedoms and rights: freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press, the right to elect and to be elected, the right to work, to rest and leisure, education, medical services, etc. Citizens of all races and nationalities are equal under socialism; men and women are absolutely equal in all spheres of activity, and enjoy, despite the calumny of the Vatican, full freedom of religious worship.

In these facts the Church perceives a "fearful human decline." This attitude can only result in the Church losing still more of the confidence which it would like the working people to have in it. The people see that socialism is not what the Church depicts it to be; that it spells progress, has ushered in a new era in human history and signifies a great turn in the direction of happiness for all.

**H**ITHERTO the papal encyclicals have dwelt but little on peasant problems. But "Mater et Magistra" allots them considerable space. To what is this to be attributed?

Profound changes are taking place in the rural areas. This traditional base of all churches has been affected by capitalist industrialization and this factor is accelerating de-Christianization. The penetration into agriculture of capitalism, and later monopoly capital, which plunders and expropriates the small farmers, has impelled the latter — at times in alliance with the industrial working class — to take the way of mass economic struggle, now steadily gaining momentum. Throughout the world, particularly in Latin America, the rural population is demanding agrarian reform under the slogan of "land to the tiller." This fact is influencing the correlation of the class forces in capitalist countries, the policy of governments and the Church itself which, in order not to lose its influence on this very considerable section of humanity, is forced to make a show of displaying "motherly" concern for it.

And how is this concern expressed? The Pope correctly notes the hard lot of peasants in the capitalist countries. But the reason, in his view, is to be sought not in the capitalist system, but merely in an existing "disproportion" — the underlying causes of which the encyclical fails to explain. To eliminate the "disproportion," the Pope suggests a series of measures ("essen-

tial services" for the countryside, such as roads, transport, drinking water, housing, health services, schools, etc.; a credit policy which would help the smallholder to procure machines at a low rate of interest, social insurance for land workers, a more flexible system of taxation; "industries pertaining to the preservation, processing and transportation of farm products," and so on), measures which, if realized, would undoubtedly improve the lot of the peasants.

But only through struggle will the peasants succeed in getting these measures implemented. Their realization, furthermore, implies struggle for re-establishing and renovating democracy, a struggle which would force the monopolies to make a *political* retreat.

Inasmuch as the Church cannot put the need for a consistent anti-monopoly struggle in the center of the "peasant question," the "solutions" it proposes are either wishful thinking or a publicity stunt. While "Mater et Magistra" devotes many lines to the "peasant question" and makes a show of seeking to solve it, the fact is it evades the main issues. It does not, for example, even hint at the need for genuine agrarian reforms, or the need to fight monopoly expropriation. Millions of peasants are longing for an agrarian reform to end latifundist exploitation, and in the industrially advanced capitalist countries millions more are fighting against expropriation by the monopolists and their governments. Yet not a word comes from the Pope on this subject. How can one believe in the concern he affects to show over the lot of the small peasants?

True, he says that the Church's "ideal" is the family-size farm. But he does not denounce the source of the threat to this farm — i.e., monopoly expropriation — and thereby disarms the small peasants.

In setting forth its "ideal" the Church is reticent on a number of points. Thus it is in favor of the family-size farm provided it "can ensure sufficient income to enable the family to live in decent comfort." Yet it is mute on the fact that the argument used by the monopolies (for example, in France) against the small peasant holding is that these are not profitable enough and must, therefore, disappear — giving place to large-scale monopoly farming.

And lastly, "Mater et Magistra" is careful to say nothing to the effect that the only way in which the small peasant can protect himself against the monopolies is by entering into a militant alliance with the working



class. In solving the task confronting them—be it the achievement of a genuinely democratic reform directed against the latifundia and monopolies, or transition to large-scale socialist farming which spells emancipation for the peasants — the peasants will always have a faithful ally in the working class. Without this ally they will encounter failure after failure — history has proved this time and again. Any program for the solution of the peasant problem which omits the necessity for this alliance cannot at the present time, when the broad popular movement accentuates this objective necessity, be regarded as anything but a demagogic maneuver.

**F**OR several years past the Vatican has been paying close attention to the countries fighting for national liberation, or which have recently achieved it. In Asia and Africa, where the influence of the Catholic Church is weaker, the newly-emerging states will play a growing role on the world political scene and substantially change the balance of forces to the detriment of imperialism. And the latter is making strenuous efforts — both in the economic and ideological spheres — to retain these countries in its orbit. The Catholic Church has its part in this imperialist campaign.

The Pope demands, furthermore, "respect for the characteristics of the individual" countries, for "their traditions frequently abounding in human values." A new but belated tone!

We see, too, that the Pope expresses his sadness in contemplating the "disproportion" between the industrially advanced countries and the underdeveloped countries. But here again he is silent about the cause of this "disproportion." He notes that the people of the underdeveloped countries "suffer from poverty, misery and hunger" but neglects to ask: why is this so? Why is there this "disproportion," whence this poverty and hunger? The Pope is silent about the criminal responsibility of colonialism and imperialism for the economic backwardness of these countries. For it was the imperialists who, throughout the long history of colonialism (in the course of which the Catholic Church has gravely compromised itself), plundered the resources of these countries, encouraged the slave-trade, exhausted the soil, introduced monoculture, etc. The first thing, therefore, that is required for the development of the former colonies is struggle, struggle to wipe out the consequences of imperialist rule and to win both political and economic indepen-

dence. But of this cardinal, absolutely imperative condition, the encyclical makes no mention. The development of these countries is, if one is to believe the encyclical, reduced to the aid which the governments of the industrially advanced countries see fit to render them.

In other words, the Church poses this question in the same way as do the imperialists, in particular the American imperialists. All recommendations for "sincere political disinterestedness" in giving economic aid, all condemnation of "profiting . . . so as to influence the political situation" in the guise of aid is simply idle talk, and of little value unless backed by popular struggle for independence. And it is precisely because the socialist camp daily gives proof of this kind of support that the peoples of the recently liberated countries have complete confidence, and with every reason, in the disinterestedness of its aid. Conversely, because the Vatican shelves the demand for national independence, especially economic independence, its intentions are suspect. And indeed, the Catholic Church has always kept silent when confronted with colonialist crimes; it has not said a word, for example, about the dastardly murder of Patrice Lumumba. On de Gaulle, however, who has been continuing the colonial war against the Algerian people for three years now, it showers its benedictions.

Having profited as much as it could from the traditional colonialism, the Church is now adapting itself to neo-colonialism. It welcomes, for example, "world banking institutions, single states and private persons" which "furnish capital" and "give life or help to give life to an ever-richer network of economic enterprises" in the underdeveloped countries. It is not difficult to perceive that in these nebulous formulations the Pope is really hailing "world banking institutions" which are merely a means by which American imperialism penetrates into the economy of these countries; German imperialism, which is only too anxious to "furnish capital" to Africa and the Middle East, and "private persons," who are merely a cover for the same cosmopolitan monopolies.

Here, as in other cases, the Church is only too eager to block the way to the great popular movement for national freedom and socialism. And now that the people who have thrown off the colonial yoke have to choose their future way of life—either the capitalist way, the way of suffering and national humiliation, or the non-capitalist, socialist way



leading to freedom and progress—the Church is working hard to win at least some of these peoples for the way most advantageous to imperialism. To this end it is helping the imperialists in their neo-colonialist maneuvers and, under the flag of “aid,” to keep the underdeveloped countries in a state of purely *formal* independence, to guarantee them the external trappings of political sovereignty, while keeping them under the economic custody of the imperialist countries.

The balance of world forces and the powerful movement for freedom and socialism have compelled the Vatican to adapt itself and to make a show of making concessions to the people's aspirations for freedom. Essentially, however, the Catholic Church remains an international force in the service of the propertied, the oppressors, the capitalists, the monopolies and imperialism.

**WE** HAVE no intention, in presenting our views, of questioning the sentiment of the Catholic working people. While Communists are atheists and materialists, we, nevertheless, respect the religious sentiment of Catholic workers and peasants. It is our firm conviction that belief or non-belief in God cannot and certainly should not be a reason

for dividing the working people. Catholic, Socialist or Communist, the working people are, first and foremost, class brothers. They have a common enemy in the capitalist exploiter and monopoly domination. On the vital issues of peace, winning and broadening democracy, repulsing the capitalist offensive and abolishing the exploitation of man by man, their union is both possible and essential.

And their alliance is growing, steadily gaining in strength. This is one of the reasons why the Vatican is endeavoring to counterpose to it, with the help of “*Mater et Magistra*,” its ideology of obedience and division. But nothing will stop those who believe in heaven and those who do not from joining efforts to realize man's most noble ideals here on earth.

The Communists, for their part, will, in the spirit of sincere fraternity, spare no effort to achieve unity. At the same time they will continue to criticize the “social doctrine” of the Vatican as reactionary and obscurantist. They will not cease in their efforts to rally the masses of the working people around their militant slogan: “The emancipation of the working people will be the work of the people themselves.”

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## "ANTI-COMMUNISM HAS BROUGHT SOCIAL REFORMISM TO AN IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL IMPASSE"

(CPSU Program)

# The Program of Communism and the Theoretical Bankruptcy of Social Democracy

Yuri Zhilin

*Special Correspondent at the Seventh Congress of the Socialist International*

IT WAS doubtless by sheer chance that the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU coincided in time with the Seventh Congress of the Socialist International in Rome. At any rate the coincidence was a noteworthy one, for it afforded a striking contrast between the balance sheets of the two basic trends in the working-class movement and demonstrated the great truth of the ideas of communism and the utter theoretical bankruptcy of Social Democracy.

One might say that the Rome Congress of the Socialist International was a sort of *tableau vivant* illustrating the accuracy of the characterization of Right-wing Social Democracy contained in the Program of the CPSU. Indeed the leaders of social reformism assembled in the Italian capital seemed to go out of their way to confirm that description.

To give them credit, the actors in the Rome performance played their parts admirably, depicting the varying shades of ideological and political apostasy of Right-wing Social Democracy. The show had its leading characters, who carried the main line of action, and its extras. The flower of Social Democratic "thought" was represented by the leader of Her Majesty's Opposition (Hugh Gaitskell) and by His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs (Paul Henri Spaak); by the former Premier of the former Fourth Republic (Guy Mollet) and by the mayor of the "frontline" city and troubadour of the Fourth Reich (Willy Brandt). Clinging to the fringes of this illustrious company was a band of dubious characters, counter-revolutionary emigrés from the socialist countries lumped under the general label of "the Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe."

Nevertheless a new element made itself felt at this Congress: the envoys from the

new countries of Asia and Africa, who had come to Rome for answers to their questions but failed to find them. They were spectators rather than participants, indicating by their presence that the echoes of the cleansing thunderstorm sweeping over our planet today penetrate the walls of even the most musty institutions. Indeed it seemed to some that "the new wine would surely burst the old wine-skin." But the new showed a decided reluctance to be poured into the old vessel.

In his opening speech A. Andersen (Denmark) who was in the chair declared:

"Congress meets at a time when the world needs more than ever the leadership of Democratic Socialism. . . . We look forward this week to fruitful discussions and constructive decisions. The world will look to you this week, and I believe it will not look in vain. . . . It is our business to define the answer of Democratic Socialism to the problems of today."

It is hard to say whether the world really did await the Social Democratic answer, but one thing is certain—it didn't get it.

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The ideological controversy between revolutionary Marxism and reformist Social Democracy has a long history. When it first began, experience—the great arbiter—was not yet able to say its weighty word. The supreme test of the two opposing theories came in 1917 when revolutionary Marxism triumphed in Russia and began to take tangible shape.

At that time the positions of the two sides were as follows: the social reformists maintained that the Bolsheviks had embarked too soon on the path of socialism; it was impossible, they declared, to build socialism in



such a backward and illiterate country as Russia, one must wait until the productive and cultural forces had been adequately developed. To which Lenin replied: why shouldn't the revolutionary workers and peasants take over the power and use it to forge ahead at full speed, eradicating the technical and cultural backwardness in the process?

Events were not long in showing which side was right. But never has the fruitfulness of the Marxist socialism of concrete action and the barrenness of the "democratic socialism" of grandiloquent phrases been so cogently demonstrated as at the present time.

Lenin's Party, the party of the Soviet Communists, met for its Twenty-Second Congress at a time when the country it leads has become one of the world's biggest industrial powers, with the definite prospect of advancing within the next few years to first place in the world for industrial output and popular consumption, outstripping the United States. The 1917 revolution has proved to be a mighty constructive force. The country into which it breathed new life built the world's first atomic power station, the first atom-powered icebreaker, the first artificial earth satellites, launched the first rockets to the Moon and Venus and made the first manned flight into outer space. This country is already producing more machine tools a year and training three times as many engineers as the United States of America; it has four times as many students as Britain, France, West Germany and Italy taken together.

And now we give the floor to our opponents.

"... Those throughout the world, including those among ourselves who predicted that the Russians would never be able to build a technically up-to-date society were mistaken," declared Guy Mollet, leader of the French Right-wing Socialists, in his speech at the Congress. One might think that the historic controversy would end there.

But no. The old dispute goes on, with the Social Democrats being worsted on all accounts. Although the Congress in Moscow and that in Rome, on the face of it, paid little attention to each other, the ideas they proclaimed could not but clash. Unable any longer to deny the progress made by the socialist countries, Social Democratic propaganda seized upon the criticism of the personality cult with a view to laying the emphasis on the "price" of the socialist achievements.

Guy Mollet attempted to explain the successes of the Soviet Union by the "sacrifices

of two generations." That the progress made by the socialist countries was not the result of the advantages of socialism but was achieved at the expense of the human factor was a theme which recurred in one or another variation also in other speeches at the Rome Congress, and one which is very much in vogue at the moment in the anti-Communist propaganda.

The Communists have no need to evade a frank discussion of this subject. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, there is no denying that at the time when they were building socialism the Soviet people had to overcome immense difficulties and endure hardships. This was due, however, not to the building of socialism but to the historical conditions in which it was being built: the hostile capitalist encirclement, the non-stop provocations on the part of the imperialist governments, the consequences of wars imposed on the Soviet people, the painful heritage of the past, the absence of any material aid from any outside source.

And those very same Social Democrats who scoffed at the heroic efforts of the Soviet working people engaged in building a better life, those same Social Democrats then comfortably ensconced in ministerial posts in the bourgeois governments which were plotting against the Soviet Union—these same Social Democrats are now bemoaning the "sacrifice" behind the socialist achievements! At the same time they deliberately ignore the fact that industrialization in the Soviet Union was carried out with a normal working day (seven or eight hours), with a free health service, with a steady increase in real wages, annual paid vacations for all workers, a widely-developed state social insurance system, and a genuine cultural revolution.

But if we speak at all seriously of the cost of building a "technically up-to-date society" the social reformists would do well to remember that to this day hundreds of millions of people in the so-called "free world" still have nothing to compare with this; they might remember the countless sacrifices which the working people have made on the altar of capitalist industrialization in the last 150 years. It will not be out of place to recall the brutal exploitation of the colonial peoples on which the relative well-being of the metropolitan countries was built, the numberless working-class victims claimed daily and hourly by the new techniques in even the most developed capitalist countries. If all the hardships the working class in the West has



suffered during the past 40 years owing to crises, unemployment and super-exploitation were to be totalled up the result would be an appalling figure. And if to this were added the millions of victims of the world wars and the many local wars engineered by imperialism, a clear idea would be afforded of the price which the working masses have paid for the grovelling of the Social Democratic leaders before the capitalists, for their rejection of revolutionary theory and practice.

The socialist revolution saved the Soviet people from the untold misery and privation that would have been inevitable had Russia remained capitalist. The draft Declaration submitted to the Seventh Congress of the Socialist International alleged that according to "Communist doctrine" the end justifies the means. The same argument was heard at the Congress itself. Displaying an utter lack of scruple in the choice of means for the most despicable ends, the Right-wing Socialists attribute to the Communists a Jesuitic contempt for the interests of the individual.

But the Communists make no secret either of the ends they pursue, or of the means by which they propose to attain these ends. They act in the interests of the masses, for they see in the masses the principal motive force of social development. In the Communist view, the growth of the political and organizational maturity of the masses is the principal means for attaining their objectives. And the emancipation of the masses is the principal prerequisite for the emancipation of the individual, for the flowering of the personality. And last but not least, the all-round development of the individual, we may stress, is an *objective* of communism.

Having exhausted the stock arguments against communism, the leaders of Right-wing Social Democracy proceeded to direct the fury of their assault not against actual Communist ideas but against the figments of their own fevered imagination.

"If we wish to understand what is called Communist policy," said Guy Mollet, "I believe we ought to read what they write." And he advised his hearers to read the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU and the Moscow statement of the 81 parties. Excellent advice, were it not for the fact that M. Mollet himself appears to have seen these documents "through a glass darkly." "Their ostensible aim," he declares, "is to defeat capitalism, their real aim is to enslave the peoples of

the world." And he accuses the Communists of harboring designs of military expansion. . . .

The curious thing, however, is that neither Mollet nor anyone else at the Congress said a single word about the plan for the building of communism—is it or is it not feasible? No one spoke of the extension of public self-government with the transition to communism—is this democracy or is it not? Nor was anything said about economic competition as a means of combating capitalism—is this in the interests of the peoples or not? They spoke of none of these things because they had nothing to say. But, then, silence is also a way of expressing an opinion, though hardly the most convincing.

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A more striking demonstration of the sterility of anti-communism than that provided by the Rome Congress of the Socialist International would be difficult to imagine. Only a few years ago the apologists for the "free world" sounded the alarm on discovering that something rather important was missing: namely, an idea, one that could unite that world, give to each country a "national purpose." The search for the fugitive (did it ever exist?) continues to this day and has now been joined by the leaders of the Socialist International. Yet somehow that idea persists in eluding their grasp. That is hardly surprising, for too many mutually exclusive demands are being made on it. The imperialist West, in the face of repeated moral defeats, is searching for an idea that would appeal to the masses, i.e., an idea as powerful as the idea of communism. What they are looking for is a sort of alternative, something to counteract the growing influence of communist ideas. The Congress of the Socialist International showed the utter futility of such a search, for a doctrine that is basically *anti-popular* can hardly have a *popular* appeal.

Shortly after the publication of the Moscow statement of the 81 parties in November 1960, the leaders of the Socialist International proceeded to draw up their own Declaration, their counter-blast to the statement. A committee consisting of Gaitskell (Britain), Guy Mollet (France), Wehner (Federal Germany) and Pitterman (Austria) was formed and after much effort a draft was produced. The Congress was to have adopted it. But the Congress did not. Or rather, it could not, for the simple reason that even the handpicked delegates to the Rome assembly were unable to agree on its basic formulations.



The reason for this failure is obvious: the rabid anti-communism which permeated the draft Declaration blinded its authors to many of the real issues of the day. One can imagine how serious the ideological crisis in the Socialist International must be if its leaders cannot get together to endorse as toothless and non-committal a document as the Declaration.

"We can now see and say," Chairman Andersen declared in his opening speech, "that the Socialist dictionary of social welfare has become the handbook of every political party."

Whether he intended to or not, Andersen hit the nail squarely on the head. For the socialist *dictionary* has indeed replaced socialist *ideas* in the spiritual baggage of Social Democracy. And even as a dictionary it is a poor one—such concepts as "Marxism" or "revolution" are not to be found in it. But Andersen flatters himself if he assumes that this wretched substitute can compensate for the absence of a fruitful idea capable of uniting the capitalist world. The real masters of that world consider the wishy-washy "ideas" of "democratic socialism" quite good enough for duping the masses, but they themselves have no intention of being bound by them in any way. For the monopolists and the militarists do not believe in idle talk. As the American journalist Fred Cook writes in his article "Juggernaut. The Warfare State," published in the *Nation* (Oct. 28, 1961), "one of the persistent themes that threads through today's rampant militarism is that the arms race is just jim-dandy, because this way we can forget all the welfare state nonsense with its 'creeping socialism'."

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But the leaders of Right-wing Social Democracy present a particularly ludicrous spectacle when they try to sell something they haven't got, when they expect to make their political fortunes by trading in worthless ideas. Today, when over vast areas of the globe the many new nations that have won independent statehood must choose what path to follow, the Social Democrats offer them "democratic socialism" as a way out. What is the socio-political reality behind this nebulous formula? The mythical "welfare state"? But surely it is clear that this cloud-cuckoo-land theory cannot provide even the semblance of an answer to the urgent problems confronting the peoples of the economically underdeveloped countries.

And yet the organizers of the Rome Congress were clearly bent on luring the new political movements in the young states of Asia and Africa into their net. The object was not only to strengthen the rickety socio-political foundation of the International and to inject new life into its senile organism. Their aim was more far-reaching. "The eight hundred million human beings who, in the course of the last few years, have emerged from a colonial regime and reached a status of autonomy, will bring a decisive influence to bear on the future evolution of humanity, inasmuch as these peoples will allow themselves to be seduced by the mirage of communism or will rally on the contrary to the flag of democratic socialism. To integrate the political trends of the more developed countries of the world and also the advanced guard of the Social Democratic workers of Asia and Africa, this may indeed prove to be our fundamental task." Thus Saragat at the opening of the Congress.

But the fact is that communism is not a mirage, it is a tangible, palpable reality, which can be seen and "felt." "Democratic socialism" is the mirage.

The Program of the CPSU adopted by its Twenty-Second Congress clearly indicates that the choice of a path of development is one of the basic problems facing the peoples who have discarded the colonial yoke. What is the choice before them?

*"Capitalism is the road of suffering for the peoples."*

*"Socialism is the road to freedom and happiness for the peoples."*

And while the Program was being adopted in Moscow, the Social Democrats in Rome were busy selling "a frame for a non-existent picture," as Nenni put it, feverishly searching for a third way out, "a constructive alternative to both communism and capitalism" as Alva Myrdal stated in his report. And the result?

"Schemes for planned, gradual economic de-colonization need to be established after further study," said the above report.

The Socialists have no funds for extending aid to these countries; to obtain such aid direct relations must be established between the governments concerned, says the report.

But what have the Right Social Democrats *themselves* to offer to the peoples they are striving to win over to their side?

They have no idea with which to oppose the idea of communism, no clear-cut program



for combating the economic survivals of colonialism, no material resources to place at the disposal of the newly-emerging countries. What have they got? Nothing but the dictionary of "democratic socialism" with which they are seeking to hypnotize the peoples of these countries in the hope of keeping them within the imperialist orbit. That is the real meaning of their policy, and there is nothing either socialist or democratic about it.

The slogan of the Congress was — "the new countries and the new generation for socialism." The patriarchs of the Socialist International would have liked to see the gathering as the "congress of the 'sixties" which would at last put democratic socialism on the map. But as someone caustically commented, it was more like a "congress of 60-year-olds," a reference not to the age of the delegates but to that senile ailment known as "rightism" with which the International is so sorely afflicted.

The new countries will not follow them. Still less, the new generation.

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Speaking of the Congress in Moscow and that in Rome, Saragat made a somewhat incautious remark. "From a comparison of

these two congresses," he said, "world opinion will be able to decide on whose side is the truth. . . ." Very well, let "world opinion" or, still better, time be the judge. In the light of the realities one does not need to be gifted with prophetic vision to be able to affirm: the truth of life is on the side of communism.

As for the Rome Congress of the Socialist International it can be summed up in a few words: it was neither internationalist nor socialist.

One thing is clear — Social Democracy has no program. And not because the new Declaration did not materialize this time; next time it may. The absence of a program consists in something else. The Communists look 20 years ahead when they plan, and they carry out their plans; the Right-wing Social Democrats look back, and their programs would reverse the course of social development. Not only have they ceased to be parties of social revolution; in many instances they are no longer even parties of social reform. They are trying to patch up the crumbling edifice of imperialism wherever they can. But programs which are projected into the past are destined never to be fulfilled. In this sense they are non-existent.

## A Failure . . . Why?

*Hymie Fagan*

**G**REAT hopes were built up round the Rome Congress of the Socialist International, which took place in October 1961. Congress was to discuss and give its verdict on, among other things:

1. The relationship between developed and developing countries.
2. Reports from the Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries.
3. The international situation (basically West Berlin and the German problem) and the Common Market.
4. The new Declaration of Aims.

This was an ambitious agenda, yet no decisions were taken on its points. Contradictions were apparent on every issue of substance. Most of the resolutions were passed almost in the last hour of Congress, after many delegates had left and after most of the contentious formulations had been deleted

in the interests of a spurious "unity."

What is the explanation for the failure of the Congress?

I. Imperialism presented Social Democracy with an important task: to try to win the new emergent nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America away from Communist influence and for "democratic-socialism," and thus hold them captive in the interests of imperialism. But the fighting spirit, the demands and the vitality of the Afro-Asian representatives came as a most unpleasant shock to the leaders of the Socialist International, whose policy was challenged on almost every point of substance.

Most of the Afro-Asian representatives had been sent as observers by their newly-formed political parties. With the exception of two or three Afro-Asian delegates, they were deeply shocked by the Rome Congress.



First and foremost they saw in Congress an imperialist outlook and psychology which they had hoped had been long abandoned. It became obvious that despite all the anti-colonial phraseology the West European Social Democrat still saw himself as a member of the master race.

Studying the draft of the new Declaration of Aims, the Afro-Asian representatives saw nothing constructive, nothing for them. They saw only support for the colonialist powers, support for NATO, and support for the Anglo-French-German-American imperialist policies both in Europe and the world. True, lip service was paid to "socialism," but basically the new Declaration was filled with anti-Communist slander.

The Socialist International belied its name. It was not a World International. It was an "International" representing West European Social Democracy only, by which it was dominated. It was an "International" which not only supported capitalism, but which adopted a paternal, condescending, patronizing attitude towards the colored "junior partners" of Western society. The Social Democratic representatives of the colonial powers were the guides and teachers without even asking permission of the Afro-Asian peoples.

This obnoxious attitude was reflected in the speeches, especially by the Dutch and Austrian delegates. Addressing the Afro-Asian representatives, a Dutch delegate told them that they were wrong to mistrust and be suspicious of the West.

You are condemning us for the colonial sins of our ancestors, he said. There is no longer any colonial oppression. We Social Democrats of the West are now your friends. Are we not giving you your freedom? It was true that there had been "certain sad misunderstandings over Indonesia" but they had been forgotten by the Dutch Social Democrats. They bore no malice. That should not now stand between us. So drop your mistrust and your suspicion of the West and trust us Democratic Socialists.

But it was not only the "sad misunderstandings" over Indonesia which stood between the West European Social Democrats and those from the colonial and ex-colonial territories. It was the rank hypocrisy of the West European Social Democratic leaders, so closely integrated with their "own" imperialist governments, which deeply offended the Afro-Asian representatives. They heard Guy Mollet of France speaking from the rostrum

about "Soviet imperialism" and "Communist inhumanity." "We do not shoot our political opponents," said Monsieur Mollet, with the blood of Algerian people fresh on his hands, as one African delegate said afterwards. They heard Mr. Spaak voicing the same sentiments in the same tones, and they remembered the Congo and what the Belgian government, with the active support of Mr. Spaak and his Social Democratic Party, had done to the Congolese people and to their leader, Patrice Lumumba.

The deep feeling of mistrust and suspicion found voice when these delegates spoke. The Burmese delegate, Kyaw Nyein, said that he mistrusted the slogans of "peace and freedom" and "the rights of small nations," which were so glibly used by the Western delegates. When the test came, their deeds belied their words. Despite all that the delegates were saying about the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations, the small nations had had to fight hard to win their freedom from imperialism after the Second World War, and this fight was still proceeding. Imperialism was unwilling to relinquish its grip even when it had been forced to surrender some of its colonial possessions. Delegates had indulged in a great deal of criticism about the "Soviet bloc," but did they know what the United States was doing in the East? Nothing had been said about that. No criticism had been levelled at the activities of the United States by the West European delegates.

The Burmese delegate, like the others from the Asian countries, made an appeal to Congress to drop its antagonism to the socialist countries; to stop the cold war; and to try and find a peaceful solution to the world's problems. He warned Congress that the Asian peoples would no longer allow themselves to be dragged at the chariot wheels of the imperialist powers and their war policies. They would join no blocs; they would remain neutral. This was the pattern of most of the contributions of the representatives from the Afro-Asian continents.

It can be said, therefore, that apart from two or three (in particular the Cameroons, Madagascar, and South Vietnam), the Afro-Asian representatives strongly resisted the pressures which were being exerted to get them to support the camp of the Western imperialists, and to maintain a benevolent neutrality towards NATO and the cold war. This in itself revealed the gulf between the



West European Social Democrats and the Afro-Asian peoples.

This was the gulf that the leaders of the Rome Congress were unable to bridge. Hence the stand made by the Japanese and the other Afro-Asian delegates and which led to their firm opposition to the new Declaration, finally forcing its withdrawal.

II. Basically, although the Declaration (which had undergone five drafts) now opened with a "positive" statement instead of an aggressive attack on communism and the USSR, it was still nothing more than pro-capitalist, pro-NATO and anti-Soviet propaganda. Although now it greeted "the 800-million peoples of the new states" and welcomed "their participation in the common quest for justice and equality," these platitudes were nothing more nor less than a smoke screen to hide the cold war aims.

And indeed, the Democratic Socialist parties in the NATO alliance, said the Declaration, declared their firm intention to uphold NATO. Then came the interesting formulation: The Socialist International, said the Declaration, equally respected the natural desire of emergent nations to be left alone to pursue their destiny without commitment in power relations of the world, and it continued: "While it is vital that the uncommitted countries should not fall under Communist control, no attempt should be made to draw them against their will into the Western alliance. Such attempts, by setting up internal strains and stresses, are liable to produce unfortunate popular reactions."

This paragraph of the Declaration has been quoted in full for two reasons: First, it shows openly and blatantly that everything possible would be done to prevent the emergent nations from choosing their own path which, generally speaking, was one of the basic aims of Congress; and secondly, it reveals an Anglo-American division of opinion.

The British and the Americans disagree about the extent of involvement of the emergent nations. Both want them in the western camp, but they disagree on tactics. The British want the involvement to be subtle. They do not want *openly* to drag the emergent nations into the NATO bloc. This would cause trouble. It could be achieved more subtly. Stage by stage careful pressure could be exerted through delegations from the Socialist International, the British Labor Party and the TUC, sent ostensibly to "help" the newly-formed and "inexperienced" trade unions and political parties. These delegations,

under the cloak of disinterested help to fraternal parties, could see to it that only Right-wingers were selected for positions of leadership and authority.

The U.S. State Department, however, is less patient, less subtle. Why waste time? The Americans are in a hurry to drag the emergent nations into the cold war bloc. They want, for example, the newly-formed African unions to be brought into the ICFTU.

Having done its duty by cursorily mentioning and then dismissing the emergent and uncommitted nations, the Declaration poured all its invective on communism and the USSR.

And this, apart from a defense of capitalism, was the gist of the Declaration of Aims, entitled "The World Today: The Socialist Perspective." — It was a pretty poor perspective!

III. Soon after the draft had been circulated 35 amendments were sent in to the Drafting Commission. Arguing his case, the representative of the left-wing Japanese Socialist Party said that it was obvious that there were big differences between the Japanese Socialists and those of Europe. Summarized, these were:

1. A large number of the European delegates thought that the present crisis had been caused by the Communists only. That might be partly true, he said, but a part had also been played by the militaristic policy of the United States. Moreover, there was the general crisis of capitalism as well as the remnants of colonialism which ought to be recognized in the Declaration. These added to world tension.

2. The European Social Democrats were too scared of coexistence. Yet the only way to get out of the crisis was to find a way in which countries could continue to live peacefully with each other. This was the essence of coexistence. It was the only alternative to nuclear war. This had to be recognized.

3. A number of West European socialist parties adhered to and supported the NATO bloc. Such parties maintained that this was the only way to keep the peace. It should, however, be recognized that if the existence of different forms of society was admitted as a fact, then there were also different ways to achieve peace. We must learn to cooperate and live with the other countries, to be more tolerant. If the European Socialists did not like the Communists, others did not feel it so strongly. They could accept them. But in any case, whether the Socialist International accepted them or not, we had positively to



cooperate with neutral non-committed countries for the sake of world peace.

4. The draft Declaration contained a somewhat optimistic evaluation of capitalism which it called the "Welfare State." This evaluation, in the opinion of the Japanese delegate, might be correct in European countries, but could not be applied universally.

5. On the question of colonialism, it was apparent that the Socialist International was trying to understand the problem, but it was not trying hard enough. It appeared that the European Socialists did not want to make too much of an effort to try to understand what colonialism had done in the past and what it was still doing now. The European Socialists must see the world as a whole and not only West Europe. It would not do merely to criticize the Communist countries, to see only their blemishes. They must not close their eyes to the blemishes of the capitalist countries.

6. There was much condemnation of communism in the draft, but it was not enough to condemn and criticize. Suggestions had to be made which would be acceptable to the Communists. The Declaration must not be so drafted as to slam the doors on negotiations. For peace rested ultimately on an understanding between the two great power blocs.

It is not difficult to see that this stand, despite its halfheartedness and erroneous evaluations, was the opposite of the line of the pro-imperialist leadership of the Socialist International.

On the other hand, the Dutch delegation, supported by other Western delegates, said they wanted the Declaration to be still more aggressively anti-Communist and anti-Soviet.

In the face of all this the International could do nothing more, and on the specious pretext of returning the Declaration to a special committee for "editing" and for "style," Gaitskell, as spokesman for the drafting committee, withdrew the Declaration from Congress.

It should be noted that despite the fact that the strongest criticisms came from the Afro-Asian representatives, not a single one of them was selected to sit on the special re-drafting committee. Instead, the Dutch delegate Surrhoff, who strongly opposed the Afro-Asian proposals, was given the task of rewriting the draft Declaration. When ready, it will go to an editorial committee consisting of Mollet of France, Pollak of Austria, and Surrhoff of Holland.

IV. Since the European delegates represented first and foremost their "own" bourgeois governments, naturally they reflected, as in a mirror, the rivalries and contradictions which divide the capitalist world.

The biggest issue was Berlin and the German problem, and the biggest clash was between Mr. Gaitskell and Herr Willy Brandt. Despite his pathological hatred of the Soviet Union which showed itself whenever he spoke, Mr. Gaitskell considered that negotiations should be opened over Berlin and the German question. But this infuriated Herr Brandt. He had come specially to refute and oppose Gaitskell from the platform. And, after doing so, he called a special press conference where he underlined his total opposition to Mr. Gaitskell's proposals, and then returned to Berlin. He had no further use for the Congress. Brandt's contempt for the Socialist International and his fellow delegates could not have been more openly expressed.

Then we had another collision. Mollet of France, echoing de Gaulle, was all against negotiations at the present time. The Dutch, hesitantly and half-heartedly, leaned a little towards Mr. Gaitskell, whilst M. Spaak of Belgium explained at great length that the purpose of diplomacy was precisely to keep doors open for negotiations, not to slam them . . .

Ultimately, the final resolution showed the hands both of Brandt and Mollet, for most of the positive proposals made by Mr. Gaitskell about solving the Berlin crisis were dropped. There was only one reference to Berlin, and that called for solidarity with the people of West Berlin, while the German question was presented as a struggle for "self-determination" against the USSR.

Whereas in the first draft resolution there was a call to prohibit nuclear weapons, under the pressure of Mollet and others it was amended. The resolution now said that while the Socialist International wanted nuclear weapons prohibited, they should be prohibited under conditions "which will not modify the military balance."

The draft Resolutions on the Common Market and the United Nations also caused trouble.

The Common Market was supported by the delegates from Holland, France, Belgium and West Germany, but opposed by Japan, Sweden and Finland. There was also some half-hearted opposition from Austria.

It was the Finnish delegate, Kaarlo Pitsinki, M.P., General Secretary of the Finnish Soc-



ial Democratic Party, who voiced the strongest opposition to the Common Market. Finland could not share in the supra-national character of the Common Market. Finland's political problems in relation to the Common Market were well known, and there was also much trade between the USSR and Finland. If Finland joined the Common Market, Finnish goods, especially timber and agricultural produce, would come into conflict with similar commodities, much to Finland's detriment. The peasant holdings in Finland were too small for mechanization, and therefore it would be impossible to face the competition in the Common Market. On the other hand, an economic fence round Europe would badly affect Finland's exports. Wages would have to be cut. Unemployment would grow rapidly, and living standards would drop considerably.

Supporting this idea, the Swedish delegate also referred to the political and economic problems which make it impossible for Sweden with her policy of neutrality to join the Common Market.

For Austria, Karl Czernetz, M.P., argued that the Common Market might well develop as the economic arm of NATO and this would cause problems for Austria as well as for the other nations who had to remain neutral.

The Japanese delegate argued along the same lines, and added that the interests of the non-European nations had to be considered at this Congress of the Socialist International.

But the arguments and pleas fell mostly on deaf ears. Spaak and Mollet, leading spirits of the Common Market, especially its political aims, moved an amendment demanding the setting up of "a Common Parliamentary Assembly for all the European states." But there was strong opposition to this formulation, especially from the British, Swedish, Austrian and Finnish delegations. But although the amendment was defeated, Congress now "hopes" it will "be possible to include all democratic European states in a Common Parliamentary Assembly."

In order to placate the non-European delegates, a phrase was inserted into the final draft which, while supporting the Common Market, called on all countries to avoid "injury to third countries, especially those countries which traditionally maintain close relations and economic ties with Europe." It was in this way that Congress managed to retain a semblance of "socialist" unity.

V. A few general remarks concerning possible *future* developments in the relations between the Socialist International and the Afro-Asian nations.

As was said in the beginning, the vast majority of the representatives from Asia and Africa rejected the policy of the West European "Socialists." This was made clear not only when they spoke from the rostrum, but also in personal discussions where they could speak more freely.

Several of the Afro-Asian delegates compared the generous way the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were helping the emergent nations with no strings attached to the aid given, with the way in which aid offered by the imperialist powers was surrounded with political and military conditions. Compare Guinea, helped along by the Soviet Union, and Liberia under the domination of the Firestone Rubber Company of America, commented one African representative, and you will understand why we feel that the USSR is more concerned about our free development than the imperialist powers, no matter what these delegates from Europe might say.

The need for assisting the developing nations was stressed by practically every speaker from the Afro-Asian countries, but it had to be aid with no strings and with no conditions laid down as to how this aid was to be distributed and used. We are capable of managing our own affairs without the imperialist powers telling us what to do, was the theme which was time and again underlined.

It must be borne in mind, however, that many of the leading cadres in the Afro-Asian countries have been brought up under British and French rule. Many have been educated in West European schools and universities, or in native schools under foreign teachers. Many have been influenced by missionaries. They have imbibed and retained many illusions about the bourgeois state. It would be a mistake to think that the flood of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda has not had an effect. It has. It has not been easy for them to meet and talk with Communists, nor has it been easy to obtain Marxist literature, and this, too, has had its effect.

On the other hand, they are thirsting for knowledge and information. They are eager to know about Marxism. They want to know what communism is and what are the differences between Marxism and the "democratic socialism" peddled so vigorously in Rome. On the face of it, by using all the clichés about "freedom," "justice," "the rule of law," by using political emigrés to pour out their slander about the USSR, Congress succeeded in creating an anti-Communist atmosphere;



but when they saw *from whose lips* these magnificent concepts fell, then the propaganda fog began to clear and they saw the stark reality underneath the phrasemongering. The hypocrisy of it affected the most honest of them, forcing one African delegate to leave Congress two days earlier than he intended, saying that the sight of Mollet and Spaak attacking the USSR and calling for freedom for the "oppressed" peoples under "Communist domination" was more than he could bear.

The Afro-Asians were not easily misled, even though they were inexperienced, as far as political guile was concerned. However, it would not be correct to apply West European political labels to these representatives, for they are still in the process of learning and discussing before they finally make up their minds as to which path they will follow. They are divided into many factions and groupings, and the struggle as to which political group will come into the leadership and which particular ideology will be followed in the various emergent countries is still being fought out.

One thing did emerge strongly at the Congress. The Afro-Asian people will fight hard against being dragged into the NATO bloc.

They will fight hard against the attempts by the imperialists and their democratic socialist agents to continue to dominate them. For this reason they bitterly resented the way they were patronized by Congress and by the way in which the Socialist International is being run and controlled by and for the West European Social Democrats in their own special interests.

The present Socialist International was called into being as an instrument of the cold war. It has never faltered in this. How, then, can the Socialist International contain the Afro-Asian peoples? Their demands cannot, indeed they will not, be met or accepted within the Socialist International as at present constituted.

There are a number of policies circulating in the Socialist International, but these merely represent the aims and policies of the bourgeoisie of each of the capitalist countries represented by the Social Democratic parties affiliated. The only basic policy which they accept is an anti-Soviet policy, and even on this there are many disagreements amongst the leaders of the national parties.

Congress reflected these differences characterizing the entire attitude of the Socialist International as in a mirror. Hence its failure.

## AND WHO PAYS THE BILL?

Mr. Robert Allen in the *Daily News* (Mississippi, USA) reported that John A. McCone, the new CIA chief, in a scrutiny of the special secret funds and the way in which they are spent, discovered that the Central Intelligence Agency has financed scores of dubious conferences, groups and other underground activities throughout the world. In Europe the Agency has financed most of the big international Socialist conferences (Right-wing—Ed.) held during the past ten years.



**In the Communist  
and Workers' Parties**

## General Approval of the Decisions of the XXII Congress of the CPSU

### An Historic Event for the Communist Parties

**T**HE Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was a major event in the world Communist movement.

At meetings of their Central Committees and of their memberships, the Communist parties wholeheartedly approved the decisions and theoretical conclusions of the Congress and are now analyzing them in the light of their own tasks in the struggle for the ideals of the working people.

"Our Party unreservedly approves the reports and decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress, just as it approved the reports and decisions of the Twentieth Congress," said Maurice Thorez at a conference on Party work in the factories. "We have approved them and we have drawn from them lessons for our own Party since, I repeat, the work of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses was of universal significance. The two congresses were examples of the creative application of Marxist-Leninist principles."

"The Twenty-Second Congress," said Palmiro Togliatti at the meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Italian Communist Party, "was an event of exceptional, decisive significance for the CPSU, for our Party, the international working-class and Communist movement and for all working people."

The Congress showed that only the working class and its vanguard — the Communist parties — only the socialist world, can fix goals and advance programs which unite hundreds of millions in the struggle to make them a reality.

"The historical significance of the Twenty-Second Congress," said D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Indonesia, "is that it adopted the program of building communism — the most just society in the world. This program is a new feature in the world Communist movement. That is why all Communists and progressives should study it and watch how it is being carried out. Its theses are a keen sword pointed at the very heart of imperialism. The adoption of this Program and its fulfilment will benefit all peoples fighting against imperialism."

The fraternal parties stress that the CPSU clear-

ly demonstrated at its Congress that it is successfully carrying out the role of revolutionary vanguard in the world Communist movement, that it is the center of creative Marxist-Leninist thought and that the Soviet experience of building socialism and communism has transformed the theory of communism into living reality.

"I felt with particular force at the Congress," said Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Central Committee, Japanese Communist Party, "that the world is changing and developing according to the laws of social development set forth in the works of Marxism-Leninism . . . In the vanguard of human progress stand the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, its Communist Party and the valiant Soviet people — the builders of communist society."

In all its theoretical and practical work the CPSU is carrying forward the ideas expressed in the Declaration and Statement of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties. Its new Program is an example of the creative application of the ideas advanced by these international Communist forums.

After hearing the report of its delegation to the Twenty-Second Congress, the 9th meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party stated: "The Congress decisions, being the expression of the development of Marxist-Leninist thought, will contribute to the further success of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world."

The Communist parties of the socialist countries regard the Program of the CPSU as their own. "The policy of our Party," declared the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, "fully accords with the Leninist Program of the CPSU and with its goal."

"The adoption of the new Program — the first and grand blueprint for building communism" — noted the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, "is of the greatest importance for the Soviet Union, for the socialist camp, and for the international Communist and working-class movement and for the prospects of mankind as a whole."



### **The Grand Prospects of the Advance of Communism**

The Congress decisions, while they have gladdened the hearts of all sincere champions of progress, peace, democracy and socialism, have thrown into dismay the black forces of reaction, the preachers of war and international brigandage. The ideologists of imperialism and its Right-wing Socialist servitors, distorting the decisions of the Congress, are trying to divert the attention of the people from the main issues discussed at it, to ignore the grand things charted in the Program. Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Uruguayan Communist Party, noted that the curtain of silence conceals the fear of the imperialists: "More than nuclear bombs they fear the peaceful plan for building communism, fear its realization and its example for all peoples, which shows what the working class and the peasantry can do in a brief space of time once they gain emancipation and take power into their hands."

The Communist parties are exposing the cock-and-bull stories spread by bourgeois propaganda in an attempt to divert attention from the Program.

Noting that some newspapers featured only "the discussion on the personality cult, the anti-Party group and Soviet-Albanian relations," Mohamed Harmel, Secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party, said: "Important though these matters were, they were but one aspect of the Congress. Its main element was the program for building communism."

"The Twenty-Second Congress," wrote Hilding Hagberg, Chairman of the Swedish Communist Party "delivered a blow to international reaction from which it will never recover. The Congress' slogans of peace to the nations, freedom for all peoples, for the victory of the working class, and its affirmation that this generation of Soviet people will live in communism, impart to the working people and all progressives confidence and faith in the future. New epoch-making events will take place. The cause of peace will triumph. Ours is the era of communism."

The Program is important not only for the Soviet people but also for the entire revolutionary liberation movement. Having charted the grand plan for creating the material and technical base of communism in the next 20 years, the Program presages the victory of communism in the Soviet Union and, together with it, the final victory of the socialist world system in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

"The new Program — a projection into the next 20 years," said Fidel Castro, "is being carried out by people of considerable experience and firm conviction. Nobody can doubt that it will be fulfilled because it is being put into practice by the people who have behind them 40 years of running the

economy, planning and building socialism. Figures alone testify to the victory of socialism over imperialism."

Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, said in his report to the Central Committee meeting: "The conclusions of the Twenty-Second Congress concerning international socialist cooperation, the steady advance of the newly liberated peoples, concerning war and peace and the present international situation, the state of the whole people, the material and technical base of communism, the evolution of socialist property into communist property and of socialist social relationships into communist relationships and the moulding of the communist man — all this will be a textbook not only for the international revolutionary working-class movement but also for the peoples stepping out along the highway to freedom."

The Communist parties say that the realization of the Program will signify the death sentence on capitalism, that when the working people of the capitalist countries see a society of abundance, equality, fraternity and genuine freedom, they will hardly tolerate a regime of oppression and exploitation in their own countries.

"There is no doubt," said Kim Il Sung at the Central Committee meeting of the Korean Party of Labor, "that the new Program of the CPSU and its realization will exert a powerful influence in winning over hundreds of millions throughout the world for communism."

### **The Triumph of the Leninist Standards of Party Life**

The fraternal parties fully approve the Congress decisions aimed at strengthening the Leninist standards of Party life and stress the absolute necessity of these decisions.

Addressing the Central Committee meeting of the Rumanian Workers' Party, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej said: "Fulfilment of the historic tasks facing the Soviet people at the stage of all-out building of communism would be impossible without the open and bold condemnation by the Twentieth Congress of the Stalin personality cult, without the firm and consistent eradication of its consequences . . . By eliminating the vestiges of the cult, the Leninist leadership of the CPSU has rid Soviet society of this ballast and has paved the way for the rapid advance of the Soviet Union and further brilliant victories in building communism."

The struggle against the personality cult and its consequences, and the resolute criticism of those who resisted this line after the Twentieth Congress were determined by the international and internal situation of the Soviet Union.

"The uncovering and exposure of the abuses and



repression of innocent people," wrote John Gollan, General Secretary of the British Communist Party, "was a moral necessity for the Party and the leadership. Socialism had to be cleared once and for all of everything which marred its record."

No other system in the world, no bourgeois or reformist party can criticize their mistakes so resolutely as was done by the CPSU. This is a manifestation of the strength of the Communist movement, of the loyalty of the Communists to the grand ideas of communism and the interests of the people. Everything that runs counter to these ideas and interests is thrust aside by them.

The Communist leaders note that while criticizing the mistakes made in the past, the Twenty-Second Congress adopted firm guarantees against their repetition. "These guarantees," said Walter Ulbricht at the 14th Central Committee meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, "are created by restoring the Leninist standards of Party work and the work of the Soviets, by adopting new norms of law in the USSR and securing the personal freedom of citizens, by linking Party and state leadership with the people, and, last but not least, by relentless exposure of all mistakes."

It is pointed out that the struggle waged by the CPSU against the Stalin personality cult is significant not only for the Soviet Union but also for the international Communist movement, for the development of inner-Party democracy, the training of new cadres and for strengthening the ties between the parties and the people.

Dwelling on the harm done by the cult to the Communist movement, Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party, pointed out that "at the time of the personality cult dogmatism and sectarianism were introduced into the theory and practice of the international Communist and working-class movement. They were a formidable obstacle to rallying the workers and all progressives around the Communist parties. Dogmatism and sectarianism led in some countries to the isolation of the Communists from the working people, to a passive wait-and-see policy or to adventurism in revolutionary struggle."

The Communist parties had to get rid of this. Rectification of the mistakes, which began after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, greatly strengthened the Communist parties and prepared them for the hard battles ahead.

In analyzing the causes of the cult, the Communist parties point out that it is utterly alien to socialism. On the one hand, it originated against the background of the incredibly difficult and complex conditions in which the construction of socialism was undertaken in the Soviet Union, conditions which will not occur again. On the other

hand, it was the result also of the negative aspects of Stalin's personality.

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party stated in its resolution that the personality cult "did not derive from the nature of the socialist system or from the leading role of the Leninist Party. The best proof of this is that the system and the Party have found within themselves the strength with which to extirpate a phenomenon that was alien to them."

### **For Unity of the International Communist Movement**

In discussing the documents of the Twenty-Second Congress, the Communist parties unanimously stress the need to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement. Attempts to undermine this unity, no matter whence they come — from revisionists or the adventurist leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor — do not and cannot find any support among the Communist parties.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party stated in its resolution: "The CPSU acted correctly and in keeping with its international duty to the world Communist movement and the people of Albania when it openly exposed the dangerous and harmful essence of the present policy of the Albanian leaders . . . Experience confirms that there can be no concessions in questions of principle — sound principles must be fought for, because only uncompromising struggle, not conciliation, can ensure victory for Marxism-Leninism, for the cause of communism."

It was impossible to keep silent after the Albanian leaders had rejected all attempts to resolve the controversial issues and after they had created in their country a regime of terror against the friends of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries. Silence would have been tantamount to encouraging these crimes.

Now, after the Twenty-Second Congress, the Albanian leaders have revealed themselves as bitter enemies of the unity of the international Communist movement; they are openly attacking the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and the conclusions reached at the Communist forums in 1957 and 1960. They are defending the personality cult and slandering the CPSU and other Communist parties. This shows the extent to which they have departed from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, shows how correct was the Twenty-Second Congress when it exposed their betrayal of proletarian internationalism.

In his report to the Central Committee meeting Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, refuted as absurd the claim that the CPSU had interfered in the internal affairs of the Albanian Party of Labor. "It should be made clear," he said, "that the issue is one not of



internal affairs . . . but of Communist ideology, and this ideology, which knows no boundaries, necessitates the exposure of wrong attitudes, no matter where they may be manifested, and all the more so if, as in this case, these attitudes evoke worldwide comment."

Luis Corvalan stressed that "errors transcend the boundaries of the countries and parties in which they appear, and should, therefore, be exposed, regardless of those who defend the smuggling of ideas by invoking autonomy."

Acting against dogmatism and sectarianism and the personality cult praised by the Albanian leaders, the Communist parties stress the need relentlessly to combat revisionism — the main danger in the Communist movement. Revisionism, which is most consistently embodied in the Yugoslav program, must be criticized, and criticized severely. Those who advocate freedom of factions and groupings in the Communist parties should, likewise, be rebuffed. Both revisionism and sectarian dogmatism are fraught with grave danger to the unity of the international Communist movement.

"Today," said Wladyslaw Gomulka at the Central Committee meeting of the Polish United Workers' Party, "there is no center which directs the activity of the Communist and Workers' parties. Nor is there any need for such a center. It is doubtful whether regional centers of this type are needed, which by no means excludes the expediency of holding regional inter-Party conferences for exchanges of information and experience, for

establishing forms of political struggle and methods of work of the parties operating in a particular region. Each Party is completely independent and autonomous, it bears full responsibility for the country wherever it is in power, and, where it is not, for the policy it pursues in fighting for democracy, progress and socialism. The basic principles of policy and of the activities of all the Communist and Workers' parties should be elaborated, and they were elaborated in 1957 and 1960 at their joint meetings. Each Party should see in the documents of these meetings the central international guide to its activities."

The Twenty-Second Congress gave the Communist and Workers' parties a weapon of tremendous force. Together with the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings, the Congress decisions will be a guiding star for the parties.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman of the U.S. Communist Party, wrote that the Congress was a source of inspiration, a school. It fired the hearts of American Communists with new courage to meet the forthcoming trying days in the citadel of world capitalism.

The meetings of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties unanimously urge all Communists to study the documents of the Twenty-Second Congress. Equipped with the decisions of this Congress, the Communists of all countries will with greater confidence wage the struggle for the victory of the cause of peace and democracy, for the triumph of communism.

## Publishing Activity of the Italian Communist Party

**A**FTER the liberation the Italian Communist Party founded two publishing houses: Rinascenta — to put out the classics of Marxism (for instance, it was the first to publish a translation of *Capital* in full) and Edizioni di cultura sociale—for modern political works.

In 1953 the two merged into Editori Riuniti. The new publishing house widened the range of subjects and kept up with the development of the Party. As the latter developed from a party of cadres into a mass party, the publishing house began to cater not only for the needs of the cadres (by printing textbooks mainly) but also to put out literature for the broad reading public. Editori Riuniti takes a direct part in the ideological struggle; it is making its contribution to the regeneration of Italian culture and is working for a moral

and intellectual transformation in Italy, which, as Gramsci pointed out, is one of the tasks of the working class and its Party.

It is no longer a matter of only issuing Marxist-Leninist classics (although this is still an important aspect of the work of the publishing house), pamphlets and materials dealing with home and international politics, but also of publishing progressive world literature. It was Editori Riuniti which discovered for the Italian reader such writers as Mayakovsky, Sholokhov, Guillen, Paustovsky, Hikmet, Nexo, Babel and Merle. It put out the complete works of Gorky, thus once more acquainting the Italian reading public with all the force of his realism. Editori Riuniti familiarized readers with the creative development of Marxism in the various branches of knowledge, from



pedagogics (Makarenko) to the cinema (Eisenstein, Pudovkin), natural science (Bernal, Oparin), economics (Dobb, Strumilin) and history (Potemkin, Tarle).

Editori Riuniti has entered the lists — both ideologically and politically — against the Crocean and Catholic (generally conservative) trends, and is putting out the best works of Italian Marxists in the fields of history (Candeloro, Battaglia, Alatri, Donini, Ragionieri, Manacorda), politics (Togliatti, Longo, Amendola, Scoccimarro and Sereni), philosophy (Della Volpe, Banfi), aesthetics (Barbaro) and economics (Presenti).

Editori Riuniti also prints the Party's theoretical journal *Rinascita*, edited by Togliatti, the journals *Riforma della scuola* (School Reform) and *Studi storici* (Essays on History).

The publishing activity of the Party has grown considerably. Compared with the 30 or 40 titles put out annually between 1953 and 1955, Editori Riuniti is now printing from 90 to 100 titles. Its publications have also improved both in content and in design. All in all it has put out so far some 600 titles in nearly five million copies. Despite the limited finances which place it at a disadvantage as compared with big capitalist publishers (often financed by film, press and even industrial monopolies), Editori Riuniti plays an important role in the cultural life of the country. Specializing in books dealing with the working-class movement and thereby introducing a new element into cultural life, we have influenced other publishing houses, having impelled them to issue progressive works too.

Editori Riuniti has won recognition both at home and abroad: some of its books have qualified for the national literary prize "Viareggio" and the prize "Prato" (the books by Cervi, Boffa, Barbaro, Marina Sereni), as well as prizes awarded by the Leipzig International Fair (for the complete works of Mayakovsky). A number of books have been accepted as textbooks by the Messina, Florence and other universities. About 60 have been translated into French, English, Russian, Czech, Polish, German, Chinese, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Dutch and Hungarian.

Our big success was *My Seven Sons* by Alcide Cervi (printed in 800,000 copies — a record for Italian book publishing) and *The Days of My Life* by Marina Sereni (in 500,000 copies). Both books have been translated into 15 languages. Alongside these works, which symbolize the Resistance Movement, we should mention political books; these range from works by Gramsci and Togliatti to speeches by Khrushchov, Castro and others. The draft Program of the CPSU was issued in 130,000 copies. Mention should also be made of historical works (ranging from books by Tarle to books by Donini on the modern history of religion), and Marxist classics (*The Communist Manifesto*, which

appeared in 400,000 copies, as well as *Principles of Communism, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Engels, and many works by Marx and Lenin).

The complete works of Mayakovsky, Sholokhov and Hikmet were warmly received in the literary world.

As to children's literature, we should note the initiative displayed jointly with the magazine *Pioneer*, namely, the putting out of a collection of stories written for youth by such well-known Italian writers as Levi, Moravia, Pasolini, Piovene, Pratolini and Calvino.

But along with the achievements there are weaknesses in our publishing activity. Editori Riuniti puts out too few works giving a profound Marxist analysis of Italian society with due regard to the new aspects of its development.

Contact with the readers is maintained chiefly through readers' conferences sponsored by the Party organizations, through the Press Association, public organizations, bookshops, etc. Then there are our agents who, going from house to house, from factory to factory and from office to office, acquaint the public with our publications, and the publishers with the desires of the readers. This is not only commercial but also political work.

The Party widely popularizes and organizes the study of important political works (for instance, the documents of the Twenty-Second Congress and the Program of the CPSU).

We put out mainly the works of Marxist scholars and writers. However, we also publish — although more rarely — the best works of writers influenced by other trends. In doing this we draw attention in prefaces to the restricted outlook and contradictions contained in the particular book.

Quite recently Editori Riuniti inaugurated a new series of Marxist classics with detailed comments and prefaces, and *Socialist Thought and Struggle* — a series of documents on outstanding leaders and different periods of the Italian and international working-class movement. Taken together, these books add up to a history of scientific socialism. Mention should be made of the series *Soviet Writers*, designed to give—in poetry and prose—a picture of the development of Soviet literature from the very beginning to our days and, lastly, the *Pocket Encyclopaedia* — popular booklets on economic subjects acquainting the readers with the progressive trends in modern thought.

Forthcoming books include a series of essays and documents on the history of the Italian Communist Party. Also in preparation is the *History of Italian Painting* in 15 volumes. This will be a collective work of famous Italian research workers and art critics headed by Roberto Longhi, a renowned Italian art scholar. It is being put out jointly with the East German publishing house Verlag der Kunst.

Roberto BONCHIO



# From the Experience of the Underground Work of the Communist Party of Venezuela

**L**AST year the Communist Party of Venezuela marked its 30th anniversary. During this period the Party has worked legally only for six years; six more were spent in semi-legal conditions, while 18 years were spent in the underground. Our Party alone managed to preserve its organizations in the grim years of the Gomez tyranny and the rule of Jiménez, the henchman of the oil monopolies. This circumstance enabled it to become the soul of the Patriotic Junta which overthrew the tyrannical regime in 1958.

The Party's experience of illegal functioning is of great significance. It is dealt with, in particular, in Guillermo Garcia Ponce's pamphlet *Five Points on Party Building*, published recently.

## Forms of Party Work

The Communist Party of Venezuela, says the pamphlet, aims at carrying out the program of national liberation and establishing a progressive, democratic system. Its activity is in keeping with the vital interests of the millions of working people. The Party brings to the people the word of truth and progressive ideas; it exposes their enemies and shows the right way to a life of happiness, freedom, equality and fraternity. That is why it is persecuted by the classes and political forces opposed to democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Forms of organization and struggle, while depending on concrete conditions, are subordinate to revolutionary theory, to the political line of the Party, its goals and strategy. The Communist Party of Venezuela, like other fraternal parties in capitalist countries, is fighting for legal status. It knows, of course, that the reactionaries are doing everything to prevent its functioning, they smuggle their agents into the Party, subject Communists to repressions and persecution and often prohibit its activities. Hence, in a capitalist country the Party should combine legal with underground work. And while these forms may change and assume different dimensions, they always retain their significance.

The task of the revolutionaries, Ponce writes, is constantly to build and strengthen an apparatus experienced in the struggle against repressions, provocations and espionage and ensuring continuity of work in order to guard the Party against counter-revolutionary agents.

We should clearly distinguish legal from illegal work, he goes on. In the period of legality the principles of inner-Party democracy and democra-

tic centralism are fully observed whereas in illegal conditions the emphasis is on centralism.

## Preservation of the Leading Core

The experience gained under the Jiménez tyranny shows that the Party would not have been able to develop the struggle successfully and awaken the working people to action in January 1958 had it not preserved its leading core. The leading core of revolutionaries provides a center which can sum up the experience of the Party's work, ensure continuity of political and organizational leadership and quickly restore the organizations depleted by police repressions.

The leading centers should have bodies which could immediately substitute for them in the event of any breakdown. And these substitute bodies should be ready to work without delay.

## Revolutionary Vigilance

The Party member, states the pamphlet, must keep Party secrets and safeguard the security of his organization and leaders. Conceit, carelessness and mistakes which are likely to prejudice the security of the Party organization, cannot be tolerated.

The member is obliged to bring up for discussion in his organization every case of wrong conduct fraught with danger to the Party.

Excessive curiosity can do much harm to the revolutionary organization. The Party member, working illegally, should not ask what does not concern his work or try to find out more than is necessary for him. Conceited people and blabbers who boast about "being in the know" should be cautioned. Every member should know only what is absolutely essential for carrying out his particular task. This is vital for any illegal work.

Communists are comrades-in-arms. This is more than friendship, and mistakes and shortcomings should not be slurred over for fear of spoiling friendly relations.

Grave harm can also be caused by credulous people who are easily taken in and who fall for the police bait. Informers and those who "yield" under police torture merit the contempt of the Party. There can be no excuse here.

Experience shows that the Party should examine closely the reasons for every failure in its local organizations. The same should be done in the event of an arrest. In this way organizational defects are set right and the facts of carelessness,



denunciation and provocation are revealed more easily.

### **Organizational Aspects of Underground Work**

The pamphlet recommends certain organizational measures which make it easier for the Party to work underground. One of these is breaking up the big organizations into smaller units. Every organization should have shelters for persecuted revolutionaries and the technical and propaganda apparatus needed for any emergency. Party contacts should be reliable, they should be maintained even in the most difficult situation; appointments should be kept punctually.

Party pseudonyms should be strictly observed and periodically changed, especially when there is the suspicion that the pseudonym has been disclosed and the real name of the comrade has become known to others. Party members working underground, should not be seen together in public: if one is followed by the police, the others can be exposed too. Members released from prison should not be visited too soon, since they are usually under police surveillance.

### **Meetings**

Meeting places, writes Ponce, should be chosen in such a way that the comrades could be warned in time in case of a police raid. The members arrange beforehand how to enter and leave the house in which a meeting is held and how they will meet in case of urgency. Cars and other means of transport should be parked away from the meeting place.

At the beginning of a meeting the comrades agree on what to say and how to behave in the event of arrest. Meetings should be brief and should finish at the appointed time; any delay can jeopardize the members. Meeting places should not be used for other purposes, there should be no papers, documents or books there.

Propaganda materials should be distributed within the strictly fixed time. If the time is not fixed they are distributed immediately. Nobody should keep them longer than the time specified.

### **A Communist Under Arrest**

Several thousand members, including the Party's General Secretary Jesus Faria, have had experience of prisons and concentration camps where they were subjected to incredible torture. Many of them died. Even today the Betancourt government keeps many revolutionaries in hard-labor camps. The pamphlet shows in detail how the Communists acted in the face of the class enemy.

Joining the Communist Party, every revolutionary should be aware that he may be arrested, become a victim of the enemy's attack. It is therefore

important for him to be prepared politically and morally to endure these trials with honor.

The member should not give way to panic or feel nervous, he should always keep cool and be able to analyze the situation. He should not forget that he is a soldier of the revolution. Having fallen into the enemy's hands, the Communist should realize that he is now on a new battle-field, that his imprisonment is not a matter of his personal life but part of the class struggle, a political event, a blow at the Party, and that he must fight might and main on this new front in order to be useful to the cause of the Party and the revolution.

The member should let his family know that he may be arrested — the knowledge will help them to resist any violence and not to give way to police intimidation. This is important because the police will try to break the will of the arrested Communist by threatening the members of his family or to extract information from his relatives by promising them to release him.

Arrest is an act of violence on the part of the ruling classes and the Party member should firmly protest against it. When in jail he must knit together the arrested revolutionaries, keep up their morale and revolutionary vigilance, help the less experienced comrades and correct those who commit errors or who act imprudently.

### **No Bargains with the Police**

Matters pertaining to the activity of every Communist, to the Party organization and propaganda, writes Ponce, are a secret and by no means can be revealed to the police. To do so would be treason for which there can be no excuse.

To extract the necessary information and demoralize the Party, the police try to turn the arrested Communist into an informer against his comrades. Violence is not the only means used to achieve this aim; not infrequently more flexible means are used: they play on weaknesses, resort to lies and promises. For instance, the police can promise to release the prisoner or to take no action against his relatives if one or another document is passed to them. To demoralize the comrade they often tell him at the interrogation that someone else has already supplied the evidence. They indulge in conjecture and hint about details known to them to make the arrested man believe that they know everything.

The Party member should never forget that any promise or act of deception has but one aim: to turn him into an informer, to disgrace him and extract information which could be used as a pretext for repressions against the entire Party. He must say nothing to the police and he should refuse to answer questions about the Party or its members. No threat or torture should extract a confession



from the staunch Communist who prizes his honor highly.

To obtain the information they need the police often try to incite people against the Party leadership. An arrested member is told: "You run risks, but your leaders are hiding in a safe place." Sometimes they shower praise on the arrested man, worm themselves into his confidence and pretend to be his friend or the friends of his relatives. If the Communist is arrested with documents in his possession he must on no account betray the man who gave them to him.

The main thing is to be firm. A moment of weakness may disgrace the revolutionary for ever. A moment of cowardice may cancel out years of devoted service to the working class. Neither torture nor lack of experience, state of health, nor any other reason can justify betrayal of the cause of the Party.

A moment of weakness may signify that the man has ceased to be a revolutionary fighter and became a miserable coward who has committed a crime against his comrades, a despicable egoist who exposes to danger other fighters for the sake of saving his own skin.

Such are some of the thoughts set forth by Garcia Ponce in his pamphlet. They reflect only part, true the most essential, of the experience of illegal work gained by the Communist Party of Venezuela. The Party was able to preserve its organizations and emerge victorious in the struggle with tyranny not only because the cause it upholds is just and its policy is correct, but also because of the moral qualities of its members, because they have mastered the art of fighting back, the technique and art of underground work.

S. REGALADO

## Communist Education of the Youth in Czechoslovakia

FOR the young people socialism has opened wide the doors to education, to work for the common good, and to socio-political activity. And the overwhelming majority of them have taken up the lofty ideals of socialism and communism. In stating this, the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in November, which discussed work among the youth, pointed out that the new conditions in the country call for greater effort in this respect. "Our work among the youth," said Jiri Hendrych, Secretary of the C.C., "must proceed from the grand aims of communism, which have a special appeal to the young generation. From this standpoint we must see to it that the youth are thoroughly prepared, do what we can to enable them to carry out their grand mission."

### Responsibility Before the Future

The meeting characterized the young people in these words: "The young people are industrious, they have many splendid intentions and ideals and they have firm confidence in their strength; they are capable of straightforward criticism, they live a cultured way of life and are educating themselves. They are modern in our socialist understanding. The ideal of many is the new technology and scientific achievements. The vast majority of our young people are sincere and serious in their attitude to life and want to live it fruitfully and usefully, they cannot imagine life under any other system but socialism."

But in working to educate the young people it is necessary to bear in mind the new conditions in which their characters are moulded. Such things as the right to work, education and recreation, for which the working people had to fight under capitalism, are natural and inalienable in socialist society. Our young people tend to take these rights for granted. These rights, however, make it incumbent upon them selflessly to fulfil their duty to society. The meeting pointed out that the link between rights and duties is not always correctly explained. It often happens that people of the older generation are unable to find the right approach to the youth who, by virtue of the new conditions, are advancing towards socialism in a way different from that of their fathers who had to fight for socialism.

The youth can be trained to be disciplined and to carry out their duties in the correct way only by the force of good example, by inculcating in every young man and woman that inner discipline which follows from the logic of the process of work and study and which is based on this process.

The builder of communism can be moulded only in active work for the benefit of society. That is why the attitude to work is the first essential of the entire communist education of young people. In work the natural social inclinations of the young people acquire the features of collectivism.

A new youth ideal is taking shape: to perform the most difficult tasks and to test oneself under the



most trying conditions. This serious attitude is, more and more, becoming a matter of honor, whereas a weak will, indifference and laziness are seen as humiliating.

Our young people have done much of which they can be proud. They have done well in fulfilling the task set them by the Eleventh Congress of the Party — more actively to participate in major construction projects. Responding to the call, they built the hydro-electric station at Esenice, the cement mill in Lohkov, a housing development in Jirkov (before schedule), and they have taken patronage over 1,686 construction sites in different parts of the country; they have established over 8,000 check-up points — a form of youth participation in the management of industry. Young people are not only revealing the shortcomings in our work, they are helping to eliminate them. Over 150,000 young workers are members of the socialist labor teams.

The young people, who have already demonstrated their attitude to socialism, will tackle still grander undertakings when they proceed to the building of communism. The Party calls upon them to go to those sectors where they are needed most — in mining, building, rail transport, agriculture and other branches of key significance for the fulfilment of the economic plan.

#### **Society and the Young Generation**

The second half of this century, judging by its first decade, will see a sweeping development of science and technology. Man is acquiring an ever deeper knowledge of the laws of Nature, learning to use them for his own interests. In socialist society the all-round advance of science and technology in the years to come is aimed at developing all industry into a single vast laboratory in which the people will make the fullest use of the natural resources.

It will be largely by the effort of the young people of today that industrial production will have risen fivefold by 1980, and that of agriculture be nearly doubled. Technological saturation of all branches of the national economy will grow. Labor will become a truly creative process, and the new techniques will make it possible to abolish all distinctions between manual and mental work.

Modern technology will increase the demand for skilled workers. The number of specialists will increase from 770,000 today to nearly two million, and they will account for 27 per cent of the labor force.

This perspective presupposes a vast program of training and educating young people. The school system is called upon to play the decisive role in this respect. When the Central Committee issued its decision "On the Link Between School and Life and the Further Development of the Educational

System in Czechoslovakia," education and training were elevated to a new level, more in line with the requirements of a developed socialist society; educational work is now organically linked with labor, above all, with productive labor.

In the process of education — formerly believed to be the prerogative solely of the school, the parents and public organizations — a new factor is coming to the fore, namely, the factory collective. Direct association with workers on the job has a beneficial effect on the thinking and behavior of the young people.

Our schools now have their hostels, canteens, workshops, recreation halls, gymnasiums, playing fields, and swimming-pools; experimental gardens also are being laid out. This is done to enable the youth to engage in a wide range of spare-time activities which contribute to their harmonious development.

The government recently decided to provide grants and all-round aid to workers who study in their spare time. Each year more and more people working in industry enroll at secondary or higher schools. A new type of course which is being introduced combines attendance at classes with study by correspondence. People's universities are being opened; as well as people's academies of science, technology and the arts, colleges and vocational schools at factories, and other educational establishments. The Central Committee has advised that the working out of long-term plans for extending and raising the skills of the youth, as part of the general long-term plans of the factories, should be one of the main tasks of the Youth League.

#### **Variety and Unity of the Educational Process**

Communist education is a single process of moulding a harmoniously developed man, a man whose physical and spiritual qualities, knowledge and capabilities should meet the ideals of the new society. The Central Committee stressed that "the deepening of communist education of the young people signifies first of all strengthening their political and ideological education and, simultaneously, improving cultural work and encouraging sports activities."

Ideological education, the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, must receive priority. But, as pointed out at the meeting, work in this field so far has been confined largely to the Youth League, and does not extend to the youth generally. To reach the majority of the young people, our educational program should be concrete, linked to life, interesting and popular. It is obvious that the best teachers of practical socialism are those comrades who have the most experience in life and politics, the activists and workers in the most diverse branches who apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism in their daily work.



Along with acquiring knowledge, working and engaging in sports, the C.C. meeting pointed out, an important part in the life of the youth is played by socialist art and literature. Thanks to our Party, the arts are now widely accessible to the working people, and the youth in particular. Sixteen million copies of books for children and adolescents are printed annually (not to mention the millions put out for adults). Some 1,200,000 young men and women belong to amateur art groups. Literature and the arts help the youth to get a correct idea of life and to shape their intellectual outlook. From them the young people learn much about the past, about the society which no longer exists in their country and which not infrequently they cannot even imagine. It is the task of our literature and the arts to expose the anti-popular nature of the exploiting system and, on the other hand, to foster emotions and interests similar to those of the people who received their tempering in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

The requisites for the harmonious development of man are satisfaction of his material needs, education and culture, and physical fitness. That is why health protection is not only a man's personal affair but that of society as a whole.

Physical culture and sports are extremely popular in Czechoslovakia. However, the progress made to date falls short of the new tasks. The Party

holds that all young people should engage in sport at least one hour every day. "It is time," said Hendrych, "to pass from the traditional forms of gymnastics to varied and physiologically most beneficial types of sport. It is essential to go in more and more for track and field athletics, swimming, skiing and other popular sports."

The Eleventh Congress of the Party decided that the Youth League and its organizations should work under the direct guidance of the Party committees and organizations. This was an absolutely correct decision. Examples were cited showing what should be the guidance of the Party with regard to the Youth League. In particular, mention was made of the valuable experience of the youth organization at the Jan Swerma Works, which receives daily support and assistance from the Party organization.

At the same time instances are not unknown of a formal attitude to the young people on the part of some Party organizations which lecture young workers instead of supporting their initiative and showing them what is the main thing at the given moment or how a particular task should be tackled.

The Central Committee meeting stressed that correct Party guidance with regard to the Youth League should be an inalienable part of the work of all Party organizations.

Miroslav LAB

## Fourth Congress of the Korean Party of Labor

THE Fourth Congress of the Korean Party of Labor held last September 11-18 was a milestone in the history of the Party and the Korean revolution, and will be remembered as the congress of victors, the congress of unity.

Participating in the Congress were 1,157 full delegates and 73 consultative delegates, who between them represented a membership of over 1,300,000. Delegations from 32 Communist and Workers' parties were present.

The Congress summed up the victories won by the Party and people in carrying out the socialist revolution and building socialism in North Korea, generalized the experience accumulated, and endorsed the seven-year economic plan for 1961-67.

The previous Congress, held in April 1956, advanced the task of completing the socialist reconstruction of town and countryside, of laying the foundations of socialism. This task has been carried out all along the line. The Congress unanimously confirmed the correctness of the policy of the Party which had creatively applied the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country.

In guiding the cooperation movement in the countryside the Party saw to it that the Leninist voluntary principle was strictly observed, and pursued a class policy of firmly relying on the poor peasants, strengthening the alliance with the middle peasants, and restricting and gradually changing the nature of the rich peasant farms. Much has been done to consolidate the cooperatives politically and economically.

Along with the cooperation of agriculture, the Party effected the socialist reconstruction of the handicrafts, capitalist industry and trade. As a result, the socialist reorganization of town and countryside was completed almost simultaneously in 1958.

Thanks chiefly to changing the production relations, the Party succeeded in rapidly rehabilitating and expanding the war-devastated productive forces, and immediately started upon a technological revolution. As a result, notwithstanding the fact of a divided country, the Party has firmly consolidated the revolutionary base in its northern part both politically and economically.



The main tasks of the Party in building socialism were to lay the foundations of a socialist industry and to solve, in the main, the question of food, clothing and housing. So that these tasks could be performed, the Party steadfastly pursued the policy of priority development of heavy industry with a simultaneous growth of light industry and agriculture. This policy, elaborated immediately after the armistice, made it possible rapidly to raise the standard of living in addition to building an independent economic base in the country.

While pursuing this basic line of economic policy, the Party called for initiative in developing local industry, in land amelioration, electrification and mechanization of agriculture, for an all-round technological and cultural revolution, and won the people for the implementation of these tasks.

The Congress summed up the results of the Chullima movement which became the general line of the Party in building socialism and reaffirmed the life-giving force of this nationwide drive for the maximum acceleration of socialist construction in a country which had inherited a backward economy from the old society and was standing face to face with the U.S. imperialists. By firmly relying on this movement, the Party was in a position to maintain an exceedingly rapid rate of socialist construction.

Between 1957 and 1960 the annual industrial output rose on the average by 36.6 per cent, which signified a 3.5-fold increase. In 1960 the ratio between industry and agriculture in the economy was 71 to 29. The share of engineering in gross industrial output rose to 21.3 per cent, and 90.6 per cent of the machines used in industry were made in Korea.

In 1960 grain production increased by 32 per cent compared with 1956, and the 1961 grain harvest exceeded that of the previous year by one million tons.

Today the republic has abolished the last vestiges of colonial one-sidedness in all branches of the economy, has in the main overcome technological backwardness and is now a developed socialist industrial-agrarian country with an independent economic basis.

Big changes have taken place in recent years also in South Korea. The people there, inspired by the success of socialist construction in the northern part of the country and the correct measures taken by the Party of Labor for its peaceful unification, are stepping up the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies. The counter-revolutionaries, who are isolated from the masses, are trying hard to break the will of the people by means of a military-terrorist dictatorship.

The Congress adopted a declaration calling for the peaceful unification of Korea. On the basis of a

profound analysis of the situation in the southern part of the country, a policy was formulated aimed at forming in South Korea a united anti-American front of national salvation and rallying the entire nation to the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Congress noted that the achievements of the people were due to the monolithic unity of the Party — the guiding force of the revolution — to the unbreakable union between Party and people.

The Party has cemented its ranks both organizationally and ideologically, and has stamped out the factionalism inherited from the past. Working to strengthen its unity and to combat its enemies, internal and external alike, the Party mobilized the revolutionary forces for the building of socialism.

Much has been done to stamp out the bureaucracy and formalism which at one time were current in the Party organizations, and to inculcate a revolutionary style and methods of work throughout the Party.

The personal guidance given by Comrade Kim Il Sung in the village of Chkhonsanri, Kanso District, where he spent some time and helped the local Party organization, resulted in a sharp improvement in the system and methods of work of the Party and administrative bodies to meet the new situation characterized by the completion of socialist reconstruction of town and countryside.

The Chkhonsanri experience is now widely applied and it has become a regular practice for Party functionaries and state officials to make trips to the localities to help functionaries there. As a result, the Party's work among the masses has become livelier and more fruitful. Consolidation of the unity of the Party and the radical improvement in the methods of Party work have resulted in substantial progress in the matter of rallying the masses and educating them in the spirit of communist ideas.

The Party has based the communist education of the working people on revolutionary traditions and positive examples, linking it closely with production. In this way new moral qualities have been brought out in the masses — the desire to live and work in a collective, communist way, in accordance with the motto "each for all and all for each"; gradually the education of the masses and the remoulding of their outlook has become a nationwide movement.

The Congress put forward the task of furthering the Party line in the sphere of communist education, particularly in extending and developing the Chullima movement which is a splendid school of communist education.

The Congress was held in the spirit of international friendship and solidarity with the fraternal parties. The Korean Party of Labor, holding aloft



the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has always upheld the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, has made its contribution to the victory of socialism and communism by reinforcing its revolutionary positions in Korea, which is one of the links of the world revolution.

Summing up the results of the work done by the Party and people in the period under review, the Congress outlined the grand perspectives of the new seven-year plan, the purpose of which is to ensure all-round technological reconstruction of the economy as well as a cultural revolution, and to achieve a rapid rise in the standard of living.

During the first three years of the plan the emphasis will be on the swift development of light industry and agriculture and a sharp rise in the standard of living, on the basis of further expansion and more rational utilization of heavy industry. In the subsequent four years the Party will concentrate on further raising the well-being of

the people, plus a vigorous extension of the material and technical base of socialism by further expanding heavy industry and perfecting its technological equipment.

During the seven years gross industrial output, rising annually on the average by 18 per cent, will increase more than threefold, including output of means of production 3.2-fold, and consumer goods 3.1-fold. Agricultural output will increase nearly 2.5 times, including grain production 1.7-fold. The national income will increase 2.7-fold.

With the completion of the plan the Korean People's Democratic Republic will be a developed socialist industrial country. Both its appearance and the life of its people will have changed considerably.

Realization of the seven-year plan will add greatly to the power of attraction of the new system won by the Korean people and will create a climate favorable for the peaceful unification of the country.

KIM HO SEN

### Short Notices

## UNITY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM

THE delegations of the Dutch and Indonesian Communist parties to the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU exchanged views on questions of interest to both parties and the peoples of their countries and adopted a joint statement.

They expressed the view that the settlement of the West Irian question would signify the complete abolition of colonialism in what was called the Netherlands East Indies. Such a settlement, however, has been fiercely opposed for more than ten years by the Dutch reactionaries, despite the protests of the Afro-Asian peoples and the U.N. resolution on the complete liquidation of colonialism.

The two parties, the statement says, resolutely reject the shameful policy of the so-called "self-determination" for West Irian through the mediation of the U.N., as suggested by the Dutch Foreign Minister Luns. This is a barely disguised attempt to use the United Nations as a cover for the U.S.-Dutch colonization of West Irian. The two delegations reaffirmed their conviction that the way to settle the question lies in the immediate and unconditional transfer of West Irian to Indonesia.

If the Dutch reactionaries persist in their refusal to do this, they will deliberately provoke a war with Indonesia over West Irian. In the event of war breaking out this would be for the people of Indo-

nesia a just war of liberation which would complete the struggle for independence started by them on August 17, 1945. This war would, doubtlessly, get much greater support from all the anti-colonial and progressive forces, including those of the Netherlands, than was the case in 1947 and 1948. For the Dutch imperialists it would be a colonial war, a hopeless adventure which would shock the whole of mankind, a protracted and hard war in which the blood of both Dutch and Indonesian people would be shed. The two delegations stressed that the danger of such a war and its consequences should not be underestimated.

The two parties declared that they would do everything to consolidate and rally the progressive forces of their countries in the struggle for the transfer of West Irian to Indonesia and that this would be their contribution to the cause of preserving world peace.

Basutoland

## FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A NEW Communist Party — the Communist Party of Basutoland — was founded recently. Basutoland, a British protectorate, is entirely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. The democratic forces there are fighting courageously



for national liberation and social progress. As a result of many years of British domination the economy of Basutoland is in dire plight. Its natural resources are hardly developed, there is practically no industry and agriculture is primitive. Of the 800,000 population more than half are forced to sell their labor power outside the country.

But even in these hard conditions the national and democratic forces are becoming consolidated. A big event in the political life of Basutoland was the founding of the Amalgamated Trade Union Congress.

The struggle for independence is gaining momentum. The existing political parties, for instance, the Congress Party, were unable to provide adequate leadership for the national movement and to formulate a clear-cut program of struggle. Hence arose the need for a new party capable of heading the struggle for independence and decent living conditions. In November 1961 the best fighters founded the Communist Party. A meeting of the new Central Committee was held and the Program and Rules were published. "The Communist Party," the Program says, "will act as an independent party of the workers and peasants of Lesotho (Basutoland), aiming at a socialist republic of Lesotho."

The new Party will attach particular importance to the unification of the democratic forces in Basutoland. "The Party," the Program stresses, "will work for a united front with the Congress Party and all other progressive forces aiming at an independent, self-governing democratic Lesotho."

General Secretary of the new Party is John Motloheloa, prominent progressive leader. For his revolutionary activities Motloheloa has been persecuted by the South African racists.

The inaugural congress of the Party is scheduled for March 14, 1962 — the day of the first anniversary of the first general strike in Basutoland.

*United States of America*

## THE IDEAS OF COMMUNISM WILL TRIUMPH

**P**UBLIC life in the United States has entered a dismal period of reactionary brigandage. Under the pressure of the ultra rights, the authorities, in violation of the Bill of Rights, are now hounding the Communist Party and have virtually outlawed it.

But the sponsors of the anti-Communist hysteria cannot silence the voice of the people, and the growing interest displayed by the youth and by the working people in the progressive ideas of our century — the ideas of communism — is evident in numerous facts.

At the end of last year the faculty members of Queens College invited Benjamin Davis, national organizer of the U.S. Communist Party, to speak on communism. Alarmed by this the Council of Colleges barred Communists from speaking on college campuses. This decision upset the students. The students of Columbia University immediately invited Benjamin Davis and heard his lecture with keen attention.

In New York, students held protest meetings against the persecution of the Communist Party and picketed colleges with posters: "Repeal bans!" In December two student organizations of the Cornell University invited the Party's general secretary Gus Hall. So great was the interest in his lecture that the university's Bailey Hall could seat only half of the 4,000 people who wished to listen to him.

The people are eager to learn the truth about the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and the Program of building communism in the Soviet Union. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and James Jackson, fraternal delegates to the Twenty-Second Congress, have received many invitations from workers and students to speak on the Congress of the Soviet Communists. Their lectures are heard with interest and many questions are asked about Soviet life and the ways of building communist society.



## Meetings of Central Committees

### SPAIN

**T**HE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain held a plenary meeting to discuss a report delivered on behalf of the Executive Committee by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the C.C., on the tasks facing the people of Spain in the light of the international and domestic situation.

An important place in the deliberations was held by problems connected with the nationwide movement for peace, for the abolition of the U.S. military bases in Spain and for the repeal of military agreements which tie the country to U.S. war policy.

Discussing the international situation, Carrillo pointed to the danger of war hanging over humanity as a result of the aggressive policy pursued by the Western powers. Unfortunately, he said, the West European peoples, including the people of Spain, are not yet fully aware of the gravity of the situation.

Concerning the internal situation, Carrillo declared that "since our Sixth Congress all the problems that then faced Spain have become still more pressing . . . the opposition has grown and even within the oligarchy there are signs of a loss of faith in the regime."

The Right wing of the opposition movement wants the debilitated dictatorship replaced by a stronger government able to serve the oligarchy more effectively. This coincides with the policy of the USA and the other imperialist powers in relation to Spain. Still, the regime will not vanish automatically, for neither the USA nor the monopolistic oligarchy want any restoration of democracy. On the contrary, they are out to prevent it by all means in their power.

For the Communists the cardinal issue is not Franco personally but the destruction of Francoism, the reactionary dictatorship of the monopolists and big landowners.

The need of the moment is unity, the alliance of all the militants in the country, irrespective of their political views. It is imperative to build united mass organizations capable of leading the demonstrations and to organize actions that can change the situation.

As regards the tactical tasks of the Party, the meeting stressed that although the Communists are for a peaceful overthrow of the dictatorship, this does not signify that the reins of government should be allowed to pass from Franco to Don Juan, the pretender; nor does it mean sitting back and waiting for a "liberalization" of the regime

or for elections of the kind that took place, say, April 12, 1931. The Party visualizes the peaceful way as a process in which strikes and mass demonstrations develop into a nationwide general strike, an action of the entire people against the dictatorship. Needless to say, to bring this about the necessary conditions must be created first and the mass struggle raised to a higher plane. If, however, despite the efforts of the Party to find a peaceful way out of the situation, the reactionaries leave no other alternative than armed struggle, "it will assume the leadership of this struggle with the determination and firmness of purpose which have always been characteristic of our Party."

The meeting adopted a number of decisions aimed at strengthening the Party and enhancing its role as the organizer and leader of the masses. Particularly important is the decision to re-establish the Communist Youth League, with the task of uniting the young workers, peasants and students under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and of fighting together with the Party to deliver Spain from the Franco dictatorship.

### POLAND

**T**HE Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party met recently to discuss the economic plan for 1962 and the tasks to be carried out to ensure its fulfilment. Emphasis was laid on improving capital construction, technological progress, economy of materials, improving the structure of foreign trade, and the tasks of the Party in the sphere of economic management, all of which have a long-range significance transcending the bounds of the current plan.

The economy registered substantial gains in 1961. Industrial output increased by 10.3 per cent and the production plan was fulfilled 102.5 per cent. Gross value of agricultural output increased by 8.3 per cent as compared with the previous year (only a four per cent increase had been planned). The average yield of the four principal grain crops was 1.81 metric tons per hectare, or one-fifth of a ton more than in 1960.

A further advance in the economy as a whole is projected for 1962. Capital expenditure is to be increased, especially in developing the raw material base. Foreign trade is to grow substantially and the unfavorable balance reduced. Industrial output is scheduled to increase 8.3 per cent over last year, and capital expenditure by 9.5 per cent.

The meeting concentrated on a number of basic economic matters. One of these is the saving of



raw materials and power. All levels of economic management were instructed to take steps to ensure greater efficiency in the ordering, storage and use of materials, to put an end to misappropriation, etc.

The need to sell more abroad and to revise the structure of export trade was also stressed. This year exports are to increase by 8.7 per cent, and imports by 2.8 per cent. The important thing, it is pointed out, is not to limit essential imports but

for import organizations to make a thorough study of the actual needs and to eliminate excess buying.

The meeting also pointed to the need systematically to improve the work of the Party at all levels, to enlist more Party members in economic management, to establish closer contact with the masses and to stimulate initiative at the enterprises, paying special attention to workers' self-administration councils through which the personnel of enterprises can effectively participate in the management of industry.

### Exchange of Views

## The Communist Movement and the Youth\*

*S. Nishizawa (Japan)*

SINCE the Seventh Congress, held in July 1958, our Party has devoted more attention to work among the youth and has greatly helped the Democratic Youth League. In March last year, the Central Committee discussed youth problems at its 9th plenary meeting and adopted a special resolution which called for strengthening the Democratic Youth League. "In order to achieve the task of rapidly raising the membership of our Party," the resolution stressed, "and in order to develop on a still wider scale the national struggle for a peace-loving, independent, neutral and democratic Japan, the Party should regard as its main and urgent task the rapid extension of the ranks of the Democratic Youth League."

Thanks to the work of the Party after the Central Committee meeting, and thanks to the efforts made by our young comrades in the Democratic Youth League the membership of the League has grown considerably since the Congress and is now 50,000. It plays an important role in the political life of the young people and is becoming a rallying center in the fight for peace, national independence, democracy and a better future.

### The Things That Unite the Youth

Like all our working people, the youth suffers from the subordination of our country to U.S. imperialism and from the exploitation and oppression by Japanese monopoly capital which, betraying the national interests, wants to revive militarism and imperialism. The reactionary rulers are planning

to remilitarize the country, introduce conscription and equip the Japanese armed forces with nuclear weapons. Capitalist "rationalization" and mechanization, effected by the monopolies, are replacing skilled adult workers by young workers who receive half the wage of an adult worker.

The conditions of the rural youth are much worse than those in the towns. Not long ago the government forced through Parliament the so-called Basic Agrarian Law which serves the monopolies and is aimed at ousting from agriculture within ten years 3,500,000 families of middle and poor peasants because the monopolies need cheap labor. Free import of farm products from the USA makes things worse for the middle and small farmers. Rural youth are migrating to towns but there, too, they cannot find decent employment.

The U.S. imperialists and Japanese reactionaries are particularly concerned with brainwashing the youth. The decadent culture of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie permeated with anti-communism, is spread through the reactionary propaganda agencies. Juvenile delinquency is on the increase. Moral degradation, dissoluteness and the desire to live only for the day corrode and poison the minds of many.

Mention should also be made of the "democratic ideas" which appeared in the conditions of U.S. imperialist occupation and took shape in close connection with the occupation policy. We have in mind individualism, pragmatism and cosmopolitanism, ideas which have influenced some sections of the democratic movement, including the youth,

\*Continued from November, 1961 issue.



with the result that the energy and will of the latter to fight have been weakened.

Contrary to the expectations of the U.S. imperialists the struggle waged by the progressive forces has furthered the spread of genuinely democratic ideas which are winning ever broader sections of the youth. The young people are showing more interest in politics and are taking a more active part in mass political action. They played an outstanding role in the struggle against the new "security treaty," a struggle which deepened their consciousness and militancy. During the recruitment campaign launched by our Party most of the young recruits came from young workers who participated in that struggle.

There are, of course, many young people who, while dissatisfied with the present system, do not know how to fight for a better future. But they, too, are beginning to join the struggle. The situation at home and abroad makes our young people profoundly interested in the destiny of their country, in the progress made by the socialist countries and in the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The rise of the mass movement in the country and the changes taking place in the world arena inspire our youth to struggle and make it possible to unite them in a single national-democratic youth front.

#### United Action

The existence of numerous youth organizations confronts us with the task of developing unity of action among them in the fight for the vital interests of the people and the youth, and to isolate our enemies and their accomplices.

Since the beginning of the struggle against the "security treaty," a Joint Struggle Council of Youth and Students has been established, including the Democratic Youth League, the Socialist Youth Union, the Youth Department of the General Council of Trade Unions and the Youth Section of the All-Japan Federation of Peasant Unions. The setting up of this council was a remarkable success for the youth movement. Today, these democratic organizations are fighting shoulder to shoulder for the common interests of our youth.

Also of great significance for the creation of a single youth front is unity between the Socialist Youth Union and the Democratic Youth League. The program of the Socialist Youth Union, which was formed on the basis of the former youth section of the Socialist Party, contains demands similar to those of the Democratic Youth League, namely, complete independence, realization of the economic, cultural and social demands of the youth, action against militarism and against revision of the Constitution, etc.

It is the common demands that make unity possible. In fact, cooperation was achieved in

the course of the struggle against the "security treaty." On the other hand, we should not be oblivious to the fact that anti-communism has become more pronounced of late in the policy of the Socialist Youth Union.

In the interests of youth unity special attention should be given to the Seinendan, the local organizations of the Japanese Council of Youth Organizations (Nisseike) which cater mainly to the rural youth. Their membership is estimated at about 4.5 million. Before the war the Seinendan organizations were dominated by the ruling classes which used them as a reserve for the army. In the post-war years, however, they have become much more democratic. Many of their members are imbued with the spirit of democracy. And despite the fact that they are still strongly influenced by the Liberal Democratic Party, a bitter struggle is being waged within them. The reactionaries, bent on reviving militarism, and using their power, money and other means, are once again trying to use the Seinendan organizations for their own purposes. The fight between the democrats and the reactionaries is deepening the contradictions in the Seinendan, and the reactionaries are meeting with little success. Bearing in mind the contradictions and divisions in the Seinendan our aim is to isolate the reactionary elements and to win the majority in these organizations to the side of the democratic forces. This is of exceptional significance for the further development of the present movement and of a national democratic front.

The democratic forces include also the youth sections of the trade unions and the All-Japan Federation of Peasants' Unions, as well as numerous groups and research societies in factories and residential neighborhoods. The *Vakamono* youth organization, for example, is very popular among the working youth; it maintains friendly contact with the Democratic Youth League and publishes its weekly *Syukan Vakamono*.

But if we want to build a really firm youth front against U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital we cannot rest content with the results so far achieved.

In characterizing the youth movement as a whole, we have to admit that the enemy is still strong and our supporters have not yet won the upper hand. This is largely because the enemy, using his power and his money, is stepping up the reactionary drive, engaging in disruptive activity and, of course, resorting to repressions. On the other hand, the democratic forces are not sufficiently consolidated, and our Party and the Democratic Youth League, the core of this unity, do not yet enjoy sufficient influence among the broad sections of the youth, the working and rural youth in particular.



The so-called Liberal Democratic Party, guardian of the interests of U.S. and Japanese reaction, has its youth section and wields considerable influence among the politically backward masses of the youth. It is trying to turn the industrial youth groups, educational groups, and the youth sections of the cooperatives and other organizations into an instrument of reactionary domination; it is secretly nurturing Right-wing terrorist organizations. Some of the religious youth organizations are also being utilized by this Party for evil purposes.

The Democratic Socialist Party, a Right-wing body, too, is setting up youth organizations and cooperates with the leaders of the international Social Democratic youth movement. But its influence is not great.

Trotskyite youth organizations, which influence some students and young intellectuals, indulge in revolutionary phraseology and are trying to disrupt the democratic forces. These are groups of counter-revolutionary provocateurs. They want to see the destruction of the socialist countries and, of course, of the Communist Party of Japan.

Trotskyites, having seized the leadership of the All-Japan Federation of Autonomous Student Bodies (Zengakuren), attempted to use the latter for their provocations. But thanks to the resolute struggle waged by the progressive forces these disrupters are becoming increasingly isolated from the students. The progressive forces in the Zengakuren express the will of the majority of the students and are working to reorganize it and restore the unity of the student movement. Under the leadership of our Party they have set up an All-Japan Contact Council for the Autonomous Student Bodies (Zenziren).

As the struggle develops better conditions are being created to isolate the enemy and to strengthen the ranks of our supporters.

### **The Tasks of the Youth League**

Despite the favorable situation, the Democratic Youth League has not yet become a mass organization of hundreds of thousands of members. This task can be resolved by rallying all sections of the youth in the struggle for a peaceful, independent, democratic and neutral Japan, for the abolition of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," for peaceful coexistence and general and complete disarmament, against nuclear arms for the Japanese armed forces, against the American military bases and for the return to Japan of Okinawa and Ogasawara.

More attention must be paid to the struggle for youth rights. We must fight for a national minimum

wage, for rigid adherence to the principle of "equal pay for equal work," for the right to work and vocational training, implementation of the laws for juvenile labor safeguards, for an end to the "temporary workers" system from which working youth suffer, and for a better system of social insurance.

Activities in the realm of culture and sport, leisure and recreation is another important aspect of the work of the League. The American imperialists and the Japanese monopolies are on the offensive precisely in this area. The traditional people's culture should be popularized among the youth in the spirit of true patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Pride of place should be given to the ideals of communism, to developing solidarity between the Japanese youth and the youth of the world.

### **The Party's Daily Guidance Is the Guarantee of Success**

The Leninist principle of organizational independence of the Youth League under the guidance of the Communist Party fully applies to the Democratic Youth League of Japan. This independence enables the members fully to develop their activity and militancy and to learn Marxism-Leninism from their own experience. The resolution of the C.C. meeting says that the Party appreciates the courage and enthusiasm of our youth and pays due regard to the independence of the youth organizations, though owing to their political and ideological immaturity it is only under the guidance of the vanguard Party that the young people will be able to pursue a correct line in their practical work.

Under the guidance of the Party, the Youth League has improved its work and established closer contact with the masses of young people. Three categories of Youth League schools have been opened in many prefectures: classes for new members, schools for branch activists and schools for committee members.

The development of the Democratic Youth League has furthered the growth of our Party. In the past 18 months the membership of the Party has more than doubled. Many young people have joined the Party through the League.

The initiative displayed by the independent Democratic Youth League and the correct guidance given by the Party promise further success in strengthening the Youth League and in developing the united youth front.



## H. Campusano (Chile)

**T**HE big youth demonstrations in 1961 were striking evidence of the strength of the Chilean youth movement. Students from universities, technical colleges and evening schools came out onto the city streets to fight for their just demands. They were joined by thousands of secondary school pupils who put up a stiff resistance to the police. The demonstrations attracted the notice of Parliament and a special commission was set up to investigate the repressive measures taken against the youth. The government was obliged to concede a number of the youth's demands.

The imperialists and reactionaries are doing their best to educate the youth in the spirit of militarism and hostility to everything progressive and advanced. The flood of films, journals, books, gramophone records and of visits by "stars" like Paul Anka and others, luring the youth onto the path of vice and shallow amusements, has increased of late. A campaign has been launched against national traditions and national culture. Frequent trips to the United States are arranged for students, young specialists and university faculty members.

The Communist Party is doing its utmost to counteract the influence of imperialism and reaction on our youth. It has done much to strengthen the organizations of the Communist Youth League, and has been able to draw them into active struggle for the implementation of its policy, for extending the ties and cementing the unity of the working masses.

### Unity — One of the Chief Problems

The Left organizations which adhere to the Youth Front of National Action include the Socialist Youth Federation, the National Democratic Youth and the Communist Youth League. Their programs coincide on such points as the need for fundamental changes in the country, the struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy, support of the movement of young workers, students and peasants for their demands.

Hence this movement has what is most important for a national movement of this kind, namely, unity. But the ultra-Left position adopted by the Socialist Youth Federation on some issues hampers the work with the Radical and Christian Democratic youth organizations, and prevents the National Action Front from working with the broader sections of the youth.

The Communist Youth League pursues its own independent policy and joins forces with the Christian-Democratic youth and the youth organization of the Radical Party in all actions which are in the interests of the people of Chile, in demon-

strations of solidarity and in specifically youth actions.

The League works jointly with the Radical youth in defense of secular schools, autonomy for the universities, bigger appropriations for education and friendly relations with the youth of the socialist countries.

The League acts together with the Christian Democratic youth in support of the movement of solidarity with Algeria and for democracy in Chile, in particular for granting voting rights to young people from the age of 18.

### Forms of Activity and Young Workers' Fight

The working-class youth are organized in the youth committees of the trade unions, and in the provincial and national councils of the United Trade Union Center. Besides sports and cultural activities, these committees take up the basic demands of the working youth — grants to all young trainees, reinstatement of young workers returning from army service, grants for newlyweds, abolition of age discrimination in wages.

This form of activity is extremely important. Formerly all recreation and sports activities at the mines and big enterprises were under the control of the mine owners who did their best to prevent the workers from becoming class conscious and who strove to undermine trade union unity. Now the youth committees or their sport and cultural sections effectively serve to strengthen the workers' awareness of their class interests.

Youth committees took part in the strikes in the saltpeter and coal mining industry. Young workers actively assisted the strike leaders and formed detachments for maintaining order.

The youth section of the United Trade Union Center convened two national conferences which served to clarify some specific demands of the young workers. A third will be preceded by two regional conferences and conferences in Valparaíso and Santiago provinces.

These forms of work help to extend and consolidate the Party's ties with the working-class youth.

### Peasant Youth

The peasantry has always been a weak link in the revolutionary movement in Chile. With the establishment recently of the National Federation of Peasants and Indians, the organization of the peasant masses has begun. However, we have less experience in working with the peasant youth.

During the election campaign last March the Communist Party and the Youth League toured the countryside, showing films and giving perform-



ances by amateur art groups. This brought the Party a large number of votes in the countryside, mainly from the youth. We are now trying to consolidate these successes. The Party organizes Sunday outings to rural localities by youth organizations which circulate their magazine *Jente Joven* on the spot, hold meetings and diverse recreational activities — dancing, community singing, etc. These are only initial steps but they help to overcome the peasants' innate distrust and, what is most important, to lay the foundation for work in peasant organizations.

### The Students

The Communist Party's work among the students is carried on chiefly through its youth organizations in the universities and colleges. Every educational institution has its branch of the National Action Front, which embraces all the principal educational centers in the country. The Communist and Democratic youth are fighting against reactionary moves aimed at inducing more than 75 per cent of the students to choose the free professions in preference to those essential to national emancipation and industrialization.

For example, a furious ideological struggle occurred in the University of Chile between the supporters and opponents of autonomy for the university, between those who stand for genuine democratic forms of instruction and those who favor placing the university in private hands, subdividing it into the different sciences, and generally subordinating it to imperialism and the Church. Communist leaders were invited to attend the debates in some of the University departments where problems of education and the Cuban revolution were discussed.

Some of the results of the deep-going struggle and controversies waged in the University were reflected in the recent elections to the Student Federation. The Youth Front of National Action won in several important departments.

The student youth advance their own minimum and maximum demands. With the help of the Communist Youth League, the students in the Technical University joined in the fight for these demands by organizing last summer a strike in which the technical and industrial schools of seven provinces participated.

In view of the importance of the students' fight for revision of the university's curricula, methods and organization, the Communist Party decided to convene a national assembly of students and instructors to discuss the pressing problems of the University.

Secondary school pupils, including evening schools, have advanced their own demands (some of which were met) — reduced carfares for pupils, evening schools for young people under 18, evening university courses, more budget appropriations for

education, reconstruction of schools in the areas which suffered from earthquakes.

On the whole it can be said that thanks to the activity of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League, the role of the students in the youth movement in Chile has considerably increased and the students are becoming a reserve force of the working class.

### Work Among Young Women

Women comprise 51.8 per cent of the total population of Chile, and the proportion is roughly the same among the youth. But the increase in the number of female members of our youth organization has been very slow. Steps were taken at different times to remedy this situation, including a broad exchange of opinions with the active participation of young women, both Communist and non-Communist.

In the course of the discussion it was pointed out that the social environment, feudal survivals and the subordinate position of women in the family were some of the factors preventing girls from taking an equal part in the youth movement. It was suggested that separate organizations be created for girls which would pave the way for a national young women's organization. At the same time it was proposed that to attract members the organization should have sections where the girls could learn dressmaking and the art of hairdressing and be open to all young women regardless of political or religious beliefs.

After the discussion, the Party proceeded to organize the work. Members were trained for the work and girls' clubs were opened all over the country. Later on get-togethers between members of these Clubs of different provinces were arranged. Last summer arrangements were made for girls from various parts of the country to spend their holidays in summer camps.

Through the Young Women's Unity Committee we maintain contact and carry out joint actions with the Socialist, Democratic, Radical and Catholic young women's organizations. A national congress of all young women's organizations is scheduled to be held at which problems confronting the young women of Chile will be widely discussed.

The Communist Party helps young women members through its national women's committee. It plans to hold four regional assemblies of women Communists which will undoubtedly serve to promote the Girls' Clubs and ensure broad representation of our organizations at the young women's congress.

### Our Tasks

While we have achievements to our credit it cannot be denied that there are considerable sections of the youth which we have not yet been able to reach.



The Party is exerting every effort to improve the work of the Communist Youth League.

Orchestras and concert groups, sport clubs, choirs and classes for the study of our national culture are being organized.

The Party arranges debates in defense of the national culture with the participation of young poets, writers and actors not only from the Communists but from the progressive youth in general. These measures stimulate the development of young talent and have helped the Party to win the sympathies of the youth of other social strata including some of the most gifted representatives of our national culture.

The 28-year record of the Communist Youth League gives every ground for saying that it is playing an exceptionally important role in the national struggle. It is a splendid training ground for the Party. Some 5,000 leaders in the trade unions, the Mothers' Associations, the National Action Front, and other organizations, as well as middle and top level Party functionaries have risen from the ranks of the Communist Youth League.

With the help of seasoned Party members capable of applying the right tactics in their work with the masses we shall win success in the movement for unity which is now spreading among the youth of Chile.

### *J. Angenfort (Federal Republic of Germany)*

**T**HE West German rulers are bent on preparing the youth for war. To this end various means are used. For example, war stories alone are put out annually in editions totalling 20 million copies. The Communist Party is rousing the youth to action against militarism. Together with the other peace-loving forces it counterposes to the reactionary policy of the West German imperialists the policy of peace which accords with the interests of all, young and old. We explain to the young people that their demands can be satisfied only by combating the policy of Adenauer and Strauss.

#### **Our Specific Problems**

The West German youth has its economic demands. Among them are equal pay for equal work (a teen-age woodworker, for example, gets barely half the adult wage), better labor protection and vocational training, and equal opportunity for education.

The solution of these problems in the Democratic Republic helps the young people in West Germany to exert greater pressure on the ruling circles. Precisely because of this the Adenauer government was compelled to adopt a "federal youth plan" under which certain funds were allotted for youth needs.

An issue of vital concern to the youth is the danger of an atomic holocaust. The trouble is, however, that the fight for peace is not yet combined with action against the Adenauer government which is a real threat to peace. Many young people still believe the official demagoguery that West Germany is threatened by the socialist countries, primarily by the Soviet Union.

The ruling circles direct the youth's desire for freedom onto a false track, trying to convince them that bourgeois democracy is genuine democracy and identifying the worker-peasant government in the socialist countries with the Hitler dictatorship.

Young people are worried also by the problem of reunification. Here, too, their interests clash with the aims of the ruling circles who, bent on deepening the division of Germany, reject a peace treaty and pursue the policy of aggression against the Democratic Republic. The desire for reunification is used by the reactionaries to whip up chauvinism and revanchism among the youth.

This situation is aggravated by the fact that, on basic issues, the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders side with the Adenauers. This confuses many people. But the bulk of the Social Democratic youth disapprove of the Right-wing policy of capitulation. Our Party exposes the policy of the Right-wing leaders and works for cooperation with the Social Democratic youth.

Our aim is to draw the broad masses of youth, the unorganized as well, into the movement for peace, democracy and better living conditions. Above all we want to organize the working youth, to rouse it to action for concrete demands. This creates the conditions for enlisting the majority of youth in the struggle.

#### **Forms and Methods of Work**

We have no legal Communist youth organization. The Free German Youth was banned nearly ten years ago. Some young Communists are on the Party's youth committees and conduct their activities primarily among working youth.

The main thing is to get the working youth organizations to take part in actions for peace, democracy and social progress. We hold that cooperation can be achieved on a particular issue. This can be done more easily through the trade unions. The winning of the majority of trade union youth, numbering some 800,000 is, in our view, the decisive condition for involving the masses of youth in the struggle for our national policy.

Thanks to this orientation we helped to elect to trade union youth conferences delegates opposed



to the militarization of West Germany. This was not so simple, of course. To ensure the adoption of resolutions protesting against militarization painstaking work was needed in the trade union youth groups.

It was not without effort on our part that most of the conferences held by the big working-class youth organizations expressed opposition to the atomic armament of West Germany, demanded the removal of former high-ranking Nazis from their posts and the repeal of the emergency law.

Apart from the trade unions there is another important organization of the working youth called the Friends of Nature. Young Communists are active in this organization.

In working for cooperation with the various youth associations we rely mainly on the rank and file and on the local functionaries. At the same time we are trying to establish contact with the leaders of these associations. We enter into discussions with them, particularly Social Democrats, and do not conceal that we are Communists. It turns out during these discussions that not a few functionaries agree with us on some aspects of the fight for peace and democracy. Such discussions stimulate action by working youth.

We have had to combat the sectarianism of some young Communists who were against cooperating with the leading functionaries in such organizations as the Falcons, Trade Union Youth and Friends of Nature.

#### **Against Nuclear Weapons, Against Fascism**

The correct policy of cooperation enabled us to organize a number of big actions by the youth. These are, above all, the anti-nuclear Easter marches held on the example of our British friends. In 1960 only one march was held, whereas last year protest marches took place in 12 big cities in the vicinity of four missile bases. These marches were joined by young Socialists, members of the Friends of Nature, the Falcons, conscientious objectors, part of the Christian youth and Evangelical clergymen. Committees uniting all these forces acted as the organizers of the marches. In addition to four area committees local committees were set up in 23 towns.

The youth actions were held despite proscriptions by the authorities and the Right-wing Social Democrat and trade union leaders. This is highly significant, for hitherto these leaders succeeded in frustrating implementation of the good decisions adopted at the conferences of the working-class youth organizations.

The Easter marches showed that big opportunities exist for exposing anti-communism. When an official of the Falcons was asked: "Do you realize that you are marching at the head of the column in which there are many Communists?" he replied:

"Communists were also in the concentration camps together with Social Democrats."

Thanks to active participation by young Communists in the Easter marches and other actions, their prestige and the prestige of the Party have risen among the forces fighting against atomic armaments for West Germany.

We failed, however, to draw the trade union youth organization into the preparation for the Easter marches. This revealed the weakness of our work in the unions. That is why the Communist Party has taken steps to improve Communist work among the trade union youth. We have still to gain influence among the Christian, and particularly the Catholic, youth.

The Easter marches showed that the youth can be united and drawn into greater activity only by concrete action. The idea of the marches has become so popular that decisions have been taken to hold them again this year.

The weak side of these marches, however, is that most of the participants come out against the A-bomb in an abstract way, without a clear idea of the policy of the imperialists and the aims of the socialist countries. The slogan of the marchers was: "Against Atomic Armament in East and West." But it turned out that many of the marchers were not acquainted with the Soviet Union's proposals for general and complete disarmament under international control, and with the Democratic Republic's proposals to eschew the use of force in the relations between the two German states. This impels us to improve our propaganda and step up ideological work during the preparation and holding of mass actions.

Many young people are worried by the fact that ex-Nazis have been promoted to leading posts in the Federal Republic, especially in the army, whereas anti-fascists and those opposed to atomic armament are victimized and persecuted. A new wave of discussion of the Nazi past has been observed among the youth in connection with the Eichmann trial. An effective method of combating neo-fascism is the holding of days to commemorate the victims of fascism, those who died in the concentration camps and prisons. Also useful are exhibitions at which young people can get a clear idea of things on the basis of factual material. Youth and student organizations recently arranged exhibitions on the subjects: "Night Has Fallen over Germany," "We Were in Oswiecim," "The Eichmann Trial," etc.

Our Party decided to link the movement against the old and new fascism with the movement against atomic arms. We should help the young people to draw from the discussions on the Nazi past and their struggle against neo-fascism the conclusion that they must defeat the regime which engenders fascism and support the forces fighting for peace and democracy.



The progress made by the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, rouses the interest of our youth in socialism. In some places young people have set up groups to study Marxism.

These are some of our methods of work among the youth. Our Party has now decided to step up this work. Both in content and form, it should

aim at drawing the unorganized youth into the struggle. Work among the rural youth, too, must be improved.

Recent facts point to opportunities of drawing young people into the Party or into cooperation with it even in underground conditions.

### *S. Mitra (India)*

**A**FTER achieving independence the different political parties—the Nationalist, Social Democrat and reactionary communal parties — began to form youth organizations in an effort to win young people to their side. We Communists must admit that we were the last to get down to this. It was only in 1958 that the Party Secretariat called a conference of the young Communists working in the youth organizations on their own initiative. The conference discussed the conditions of our youth, their specific problems and the role which the Communist Party should play among them. Then in May 1959 an All-Indian Youth Federation was set up.

#### **The Conditions of Life and Struggle**

Now that the people of India are combating the powerful forces standing in the way of national development, the youth should be as active in this battle as it was in the liberation struggle.

That is why rousing the youth in support of the people's struggle, the unity of the various youth sections interested in national development, are of paramount importance.

It is often said that the young people of today are not inspired by the ideal of national reconstruction, that they have lost the spirit of self-sacrifice characteristic of the days before independence. Much is said about a lack of discipline among the youth. And these claims are not entirely without foundation.

Not a few young people have become disillusioned with life. This is so because the national development so far has not satisfied the needs of the people, they do not feel its results. This state of affairs does not inspire the people to tackle the vital tasks, which is particularly true of the youth who do not see any prospects.

Since independence new schools and universities have been opened but the problem of education remains grave. More than 300 million, or about 76 per cent of the population, can neither read nor write, among them many young people who have no access to modern civilization because of poverty and illiteracy.

Many of those who were fortunate enough to enter the university have to suspend their studies under the burden of high fees and the rising cost

of living. But even if they graduate they cannot find work and make use of their knowledge.

Unemployment is chronic in our society. We have got used to reading in the papers about young people committing suicide because they could no longer bear the unemployment.

As for recreation and sports facilities the vast majority of young people dare not even dream of them.

Although our youth took part in the national-liberation movement they did not have in pre-independence days an organization (with the exception of students) to fight on their behalf. Persuading the broad youth sections of the need to fight for their elementary rights themselves has, therefore, become an essential task of the youth movement.

Such in brief are the chief factors which influence our work among the youth.

#### **Forms of Work**

The All-Indian Youth Federation has its branches in nine states and four district organizations in two more states. Its total membership is over 150,000. Since April 1961 it has published the monthly journal *New Generation*.

Our organization has done much in educating the youth in the spirit of international solidarity. In keeping with their anti-imperialist traditions, our people, including the youth, resolutely protested against the foul murder of Patrice Lumumba. The Federation branches in Delhi, Calcutta, Patna, Madras and Vijayavada and other cities joined the demonstrations and held mass protest meetings against the crime perpetrated by the imperialists.

At the end of 1960 a Soviet youth delegation toured nine states for 35 days. Its members spoke at 25 rallies attended by nearly one million people and before students of various universities. During this visit the All-Indian Youth Federation and committees sponsored by it collected 70,000 rupees to entertain the guests. Apart from the Federation, the Soviet youth delegation was entertained by the Youth Congress, Bharat Yuwak Samaj and the All-Indian Student Federation. It was also received by government and political leaders, including the President and the Prime Minister of India, and by



governors and ministers of the various states. All this has enhanced the prestige of our Federation.

Of great interest are international Children's Film Festivals, held annually in Calcutta since 1957. The last of these festivals took place at the beginning of 1960. Over 90 children's films from 25 countries were shown for 15 days in 37 cinemas in Calcutta and in the nearby districts. Some 75,000 children saw these films free of charge.

The most popular form of activity are festivals with diversified programs for different sections of the youth. Such festivals are arranged in honor of World Youth Festivals, national youth conferences and on the occasion of the traditional popular festivals in various states.

In connection with the last World Youth Festival we organized festivals in nearly all states, the biggest being in West Bengal. Some 200 local and district youth festivals were held in this state. They were concluded by a nine-day state festival in Calcutta. More than 30,000 young men and women took part in the cultural and sports programs which were part of the festival.

Festivals in honor of youth conferences were arranged in Andhra and Punjab. Interestingly enough, although everyone knows that ours is a Communist-led federation, we get support from all sides when we hold our festivals. Even politically backward people cooperate with us and many of them eventually become members of our organization.

We attach great importance to combating illiteracy. In recent years we have opened 250 evening schools with a three-month term of study and an enrolment of 50 students in each. In these schools we also explain our views on current developments at home and abroad. Most of the school-leavers join the ranks of our Federation.

One of the forms of educational work is the establishment of libraries. In Kerala, for instance, we began to open our libraries only two years ago, and today there are already close to 3,000 of them in this state. These libraries become in effect the centers of activity where we can daily meet young people and talk with them. Nearly every day unofficial discussions on political issues are held in these libraries.

In Andhra State our Federation has opened centers, among them 500 libraries and 500 amateur art circles, where young people can gather and engage in the pursuits of their choice.

We realize that to consolidate our movement it is not enough to take up only educational issues and hold meetings, demonstrations and discussions which, of course, can be done from time to time. We are well aware that in order to strengthen our positions and retain our influence among the youth we should conduct everyday work, draw young people into actions which help organize and edu-

cate them, rouse them for the defense of their rights and urge them to take part in the nationwide struggle.

One of such actions was submitting to the Planning Commission a program for improving the well-being of the youth in the Third Five-Year Plan period. This document covered all aspects of raising the standard of living of the young people and safeguarding their rights. Several thousand copies of it were distributed all over the country; it was translated into the different languages and was discussed at mass meetings in nearly all states.

Our Federation called upon the youth to support the strike of government employees. A number of campaigns were carried out by local branches of the Federation. For instance, we conducted a mass campaign against higher bus fares in Andhra, which particularly affected students. About 25,000 signatures were collected, meetings held and representative youth delegations sent to government officials and ministers. As a result of the campaign bus fares were reduced.

During the flood in 1959 the youth organization, together with students and teachers, collected money, food and clothes for the victims. Some 250 young men from Calcutta and other districts took part in repairing and rebuilding roads and schools destroyed by the flood.

We have drawn many young people into welfare work. Last year, for example, over 2,000 members of youth labor teams built the canal and embankment in the Punjab. The canal made it possible to irrigate 4,000 acres of land. Thanks to this initiative our Federation has become very popular in this state.

In Kerala and Punjab our two district organizations have opened health centers where young people can have medical treatment free of charge.

Such are some of the forms of our work. The experience we have gained posed a number of problems relating also to our organizational work and the efforts to strengthen the youth movement in our country.

### Difficulties

Our Federation is a widely representative democratic organization. It includes not only Communists, and this creates certain difficulties. For instance, nearly all the political parties of India, even the ultra reactionary communal parties, talk about socialism. Inasmuch as our Federation is a broad democratic organization it does not propagate socialist ideas openly. This does not mean, of course, that we do not spread socialist ideas at all. We conduct this activity indirectly. For example, when we arrange a discussion on socialist countries we invite political leaders from different parties, including Communists. In this way we help disseminate the scientific conception of socialism.



Socialist propaganda on a wide scale is now one of the cardinal problems of the youth movement of India.

Prior to independence the young people were inspired by the ideals of freedom. But when independence was achieved, we had not developed enough to offer the young people the ideals of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. The bourgeoisie, too, failed to inculcate its ideology among them. Thus a peculiar ideological vacuum was created, which is fraught with a great danger. Recent developments show that petty-bourgeois tendencies are beginning to grip the minds of some young people. In a number of states the communal and religious forces provoked riots which involved thousands of young people. In Assam even some of our members fell under the influence of petty-bourgeois tendencies and reactionary ideas and also took part in the riots. These events revealed shortcomings in our work and the weakness of the entire youth movement. True, we succeeded in rousing the youth to the struggle against imperialism as a whole and against colonialism in different parts of the world. But this activity cannot supplant the ideals of socialism, and the reactionaries are taking advantage of this. It is essential to solve this problem. We are facing a very serious task:

how to preserve the broad unity of our organization, to strengthen this unity and at the same time popularize the ideas of socialism among the youth.

The second problem is to ensure that all Communists, mainly the Party cadres, fully realize the importance of youth issues. Far from all Party members understand the significance of work among the youth. This is explained by the fact that our movement emerged only two years ago. Many regional and state Party committees have not yet discussed the question of youth work. In a number of states there are no responsible Party comrades to deal with the youth movement.

Finally, I would like to note that the two-year experience of our work has revealed vast opportunities for winning the young people to the ideas of socialism and for drawing them into the struggle against imperialism, because there is no other ideology which can grip the minds of the youth. The young men and women of India see the progress made by the socialist countries, the dynamic and progressive nature of socialist ideology, the ideology of progress. If we tackle this problem more seriously we shall be able to win the broad sections of our youth to the ideas of socialism and finally draw them into the Communist movement.

### *S. Alvares (Spain)*

FOR years the fascist dictatorship, combining demagogic promises with repressions, has sought to indoctrinate the youth in the spirit of what is called "national syndicalism." This has been done through a ramified system of trade union, sports, recreational and other organizations.

Young people are told that an era of class concord has set in, that after a century of strife an order has at last been established which corresponds to the aspirations of all, workers and capitalists included. In this brainwashing business the Franco regime has a zealous aide in the Catholic Church.

Reality, however, gives the lie to the brainwashers. The terror, starvation wages, intensified exploitation and lack of educational opportunities impel the youth to struggle against the fascist regime.

#### **The Youth Against Franco**

As far back as 1954 the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain noted that the youth was turning away from the Falange, that it had actively joined the democratic, revolutionary movement.

The student actions of recent years, the emergence of a liberal opposition, the active part played by young people in the national strike, and such

things as the applause accorded every criticism of the Franco regime at the 1960 national convention of the Catholic working youth, which was attended by thousands of young people from all parts of Spain, all go to show that for the Communists the youth constitute a pillar of strength, a force capable of taking its place under the leadership of the Party in the forefront of the struggle to overthrow the fascist regime.

Communist influence is growing among the youth and Marxist ideology is taking firm root. Youth groups calling themselves Communist, which listen to our radio broadcasts, seek contact with the Party and express readiness to take militant action, have been coming into existence since 1956. One such group of young workers in Barcelona began, even before it contacted the Party, to put out a bulletin entitled *Red Star* and described as a "bulletin published by Communist organizations."

The peasant youth, who are forced off the land, and denied the opportunity to study, are the decisive force in the countryside. Hence each Party organization seeks to enlist young people through whom it can influence the rest of the rural youth.

Seeing the character of the struggle changing and with more and more people taking part in the mass actions, many Party organizations which previously had adhered to sectarian methods have



discarded these and are working to extend their influence especially among the youth.

The Sixth Congress of our Party in January 1960 stated that "thousands of young people are drawn to our Party and are becoming organized in the hope of establishing permanent contact with it." Youth groups have been set up not only by workers, but also by students and professionals who formerly belonged to the opposition wing of the Falangist organizations. The Congress stressed the need to recruit more young members and to tackle the problems facing the youth. With a view to strengthening our youth work, a special point was added to the Party Rules concerning the establishment of youth groups. Highly significant too was the call issued by Dolores Ibarruri, the Chairman of the Party, urging the young people to enter the struggle and to join the Communist Party. That the Party was right in adopting this line is fully evident today. It has become a mass party and with young people making up 50-60 per cent of its membership. In this way it has built up its strength, despite illegality, mainly by drawing on the youth.

#### Work in Legal Organizations

To win the young people for the Party we are strengthening our political work among them and consistently championing their interests and demands. The best way to reach out to the youth and to establish firm contact with it is through the legal organizations. The Party has made it incumbent on its members to be active in the Franco youth organizations—the Youth Front, Students' Union, the Education and Recreation Organization, sports and cultural clubs, Catholic Working Youth, Workers' Brotherhoods of Catholic Action, etc.

#### Young Workers

At trade union educational courses and during elections for union posts and in the "social instruction weeks" sponsored by the Church, we make a point of initiating discussions among the youth on the issues of the day, voicing our viewpoint on them. The burning questions are the low wages paid to young workers, the growing unemployment and the consequent increase in emigration. We make it clear that migration does not solve the problem, that things can be improved only by joint struggle. That our propaganda is reaching out to the youth is evident from the results of the trade union elections. Most of the newly-elected members of trade union bodies are young workers, many of them Communists, candidates elected on a joint anti-Franco ticket.

We have demonstrated that political work can be conducted in sports and cultural clubs. In Asturias, for instance, a young Communist won the

support of the majority of the members of his club within a short period of time; during the national strike on June 18, 1959, the club members joined him in distributing leaflets. He was able to hold many discussions on political questions. A large number of young people came to hear him talk about the Soviet Union.

#### Peasant Youth

Young Communists use various forms of work among the peasant youth. Sometimes they help with the field work (often without pay) and take advantage of the opportunity to establish contact. In Extremadura, in particular, the Communists have considerable experience of this kind of activity. In other cases they help to organize something in the nature of producers' cooperatives and by joining these bodies conduct educational work among the peasants with better chances of outwitting their persecutors. Where the farm work necessitates pooling of efforts, Communists initiate the organization of joint work teams, for the bigger the group engaged on a job from beginning to end, the easier it is to find the time and opportunity for political talks. This type of activity is widespread in Andalusia.

#### Students

Our Party has been working for a long time among the students, using all opportunities, both legal and illegal, to strengthen its influence in the universities. In 1957 we were able to build up a united front of the anti-Franco forces in Madrid University and to win the majority in the faculty councils.

At the University of Barcelona we gained ground gradually. At first what might be called an underground students' union was established, then various groups were formed to carry out particular actions and ultimately a committee with an anti-Franco program was set up to coordinate activities throughout the university.

The methods vary. The students' demands are discussed in the faculty organizations, whose legally published bulletins take up questions relating to culture, art and historical events of progressive significance. Questions such as war and peace, the threat presented by thermonuclear weapons, national culture, the realistic traditions of Spanish art, etc., are included in the cultural programs. Film shows, talks and debates on these issues are arranged, groups of followers of democratic writers are set up, and so on.

In recent months there have taken place a number of students' strikes—in the Seville and Valladolid universities, in the literature and philosophy departments of Oviedo University, the economics and pharmacology departments of Madrid University, the Engineering School in Madrid, and



the Industrial Workers' Technical School in Bilbao. Student strikes took place in March in Barcelona, and on May 13 the students of the political sciences department of Madrid University held a demonstration. Actions of this type acquire a mass character. At Barcelona University, for instance, some 4,000 students take part in political activity of one kind or another.

The students are demanding an amnesty for political prisoners, democracy in the Students' Union and autonomy for the universities, and are combating the reactionary political and religious sect known as Opus Dei. On the whole, the student movement is an important part of the anti-Franco struggle.

The Communists work not only in the existing legal organizations, they take part in establishing others. These range from football clubs to rambler's clubs and folklore circles. Much work is done in the evening schools by staunch anti-fascists—students, teachers, actors, etc.—who, while teaching people to read and write, throw light on the problems facing the youth.

## Reviews

# The Last Frontiers of Freedom

PEOPLE all over the world have been following with repugnance the latest exhibition of legal skullduggery in the United States. The victim this time is the U.S. Communist Party, now charged with conspiracy against American institutions. The powers that be—the law-makers, the administration and the courts—all are arraigned against it.

The first act of this unsavory spectacle was the adoption of a series of draconic laws. In the second act the Supreme Court upheld these laws as constitutional. And in the third act the executive branch, in the person of the Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, brother of the President, has instituted measures based on this police-state legislation. McCarthy's successors are screaming for blood. Meanwhile the President waxes eloquent about "American freedoms," and from time to time wags an admonishing finger at "right and left extremists." Only, for some reason the "lefts" are prosecuted while the "rights" are encouraged.

But since the ordinary American takes his democratic rights seriously, the latest anti-Communist witch-hunt is seasoned with a goodly measure of hypocrisy. In order to deceive the innocent, Rob-

## Important Conclusion

Our experience shows that in order to enlist the youth in active struggle it is not enough to concentrate solely on their conditions, wages, employment, recreation, etc., as was done formerly. Their attention should be drawn also to political issues with a bearing on the future of Spain and humanity generally. In view of the fact that our country is ground down by the Franco regime and is still suffering from the aftermath of the civil war, the solutions offered by the Communist Party to the crucial problems affecting the future of the nation, its suggestions for a way to national salvation, are bound to find an eager response particularly among the active section of the youth. This is evident from the support given to the policy of national conciliation advocated by the Party.

Young people are deeply concerned about the future; their interest in socialism and its achievements is greater than ever before. In recent years, ever since the Communist Party, while working to organize nationwide actions, began to popularize the idea of socialism among the masses, thousands of young men and women have joined its ranks.

ert Kennedy again declared on December 1, 1961, that the Communist Party is not being outlawed; it is merely being required, in accordance with the Internal Security Act of 1950, to register with the Department of Justice as a Communist action organization.

But, the gullible may say, since the Communist Party is surely a Communist action organization, why should it object to registering as such? And in any case what has this got to do with democracy?

This attitude of indifference, bred by ignorance of the facts, is threatening Americans with the loss of the last vestiges of freedom. For it is not only the fate of the Communist Party, but the fate of freedom itself that is at stake. That is what makes Herbert Aptheker's book *Dare We Be Free?*\* so valuable and timely. This is more than a chronicle of events; it is part of the struggle itself. The author does not confine himself to exposing the lawlessness, from the standpoint of the American

\*Herbert Aptheker, *Dare We Be Free? The Meaning of the Attempt to Outlaw the Communist Party*. New York, New Century Publishers, 1961, 128 pp.



Constitution, of the juridical methods of the witch-hunters, although this too is essential. As the subtitle of the book indicates, he points up "the meaning of the attempt to outlaw the Communist Party."

### From the Smith Act to the McCarran Act—and Why

The book opens with an analysis of the Supreme Court rulings of June 5, 1961.

On that day the Supreme Court by a majority of one vote (five to four) upheld the conviction of Junius Scales indicted on the basis of the Smith Act as an active member of the Communist Party.

Aptheker demonstrates the flimsiness of the evidence submitted by the government in an attempt to prove that Scales acted to bring about the violent overthrow of the United States government. The following evidence, considered "of special importance" by Justice Harlan, will give an idea of the level on which this trial was conducted. A certain Childs, a paid informer of the FBI from the age of 18, testified he had been taught at a Party school how to kill a man with a sharpened pencil. The instructor, he said, had demonstrated the correct way to hold the lethal pencil and the exact spot in which to insert it for the desired results. The author of the book under review was present in the court when this testimony was given and saw how it was treated with the hilarity it deserved. Yet this incredible nonsense was held by the Supreme Court to be evidence of "special importance" proving the existence of a direct threat to the U.S. government!

The same day the Supreme Court examined another membership case under the Smith Act — that of John F. Noto. But here the FBI informers were not up to the mark; they failed to produce anything nearly as impressive as the pencil-murder testimony. The prosecution "experts" used the same extracts from the same books and pamphlets as had figured in all the previous Smith Act cases. The Court reversed the decision in the Noto case, recognizing that in order to indict a Communist under the Smith Act "there must be some substantial direct or circumstantial evidence of a call to violence now or in the future . . ." And although the pencil horrors were deemed sufficient evidence in the Scales case, the persecution of Communists under the Smith Act proved on the whole to be far more troublesome for the government than had been expected. This may be due to a shortage of perjurers, informers and renegades and the expense involved — after all, an informer once exposed is of no more value. When the first group of Smith Act victims, the leaders of the American Communist Party, were sent to jail in 1951, the then Assistant Attorney General Raymond Whearty boasted that he had a list of 12,600 Communists he intended to put behind bars. The actual number jailed was 30. The government was unable to pro-

duce 12,600 perjurers, and the judicial machinery could not always be made to work on extracts from books and pamphlets written at different times, in other countries, for this or that purpose. On November 15, for example, after Aptheker's book had appeared, the Chicago District Attorney found that the prosecution had not been able to prove its charges against Claude Lightfoot, the Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party, and the Federal Court dropped the case. Before that the government had refrained from prosecuting in nearly all the other Smith Act cases.

These circumstances relegated the Smith Act to the background and, as Aptheker observes, "made the McCarran Act the favored weapon of repression" (p. 83).

The McCarran Act — officially known as the Internal Security Act\* — was passed in 1950 on the crest of the wave of anti-Communist hysteria that followed the outbreak of the Korean war. Even Truman vetoed it, declaring that it would make "a mockery of the Bill of Rights." Yet Congress adopted it over the President's veto. McCarthy, Eastland, Nixon, Jenner and Smith, the arch-reactionaries in Congress, were the godparents of this legal monstrosity.

### Lawlessness — in the Name of the Law

Tracing the history of the anti-Communist legislation, the author returns to two of the hoary arguments perpetually used by reaction. The first is that the American Communists are foreign agents, and the second, that they advocate the violent overthrow of the government. Aptheker stresses that although the McCarran Act regards Communists as foreign agents, this premise, on the basis of which the legal persecution was started in 1952, has never actually been established. No legal proof has ever been produced that the American Communists are financed from foreign sources. Nor has it been proved that the Communists use conspiratorial methods for the purposes designated in the law, i.e., the overthrow of the U.S. government. In general not one of the legal criteria by which the organization or its members can be classified as foreign agents has been proved.

The only criterion upon which the court based its "findings" is the identity of views held by the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This is the one and only peg on which the charge that the

\*The law requiring "foreign agents" to register. If the Communist Party of the United States were to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board of the Department of Justice as a "Communist action organization" it would be incriminating itself, since registration would imply agreement with the law's definition of the Communist Party as an organization functioning under the control of the international Communist movement and seeking to overthrow the government by all and any means, including deceit, espionage, subversion and violence.

The penalty for non-compliance with this law is 5 years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine for each day of non-registration.



Party "follows the dictates of a foreign power" hangs.

Professor Philip Mosely, Director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University and the chief witness for the prosecution, cited 45 international issues in recent history on which there had been "no substantial difference" between the declared positions of the Communist Party of the United States and that of the Soviet Union. On closer examination, however, it appears that in the majority of the instances chosen by the zealous Professor the positions stated by the Communist Party of the United States antedated the positions affirmed by the Soviet Union. And since to "follow" means to "come after," the one who followed proved to be before and not after the one followed!

The author devotes a special chapter to an analysis of the second argument beloved of reaction. In this chapter he explains the Marxist view on the role of violence in history. "When socialism comes to the United States," he says, "it will come and can come only because the overwhelming majority of American people want it and want it so passionately that it can no longer be kept from them. In no other way can socialism come to this land. That is a fundamental commitment and principle of the Communist Party of the United States" (p. 111.)

Contrary to the facts and to common sense, the McCarran Act interprets communism as a criminal conspiracy with the aim of overthrowing the government of the United States. The "definition" of communism contained in the law and in some of its formulations — as is seen from excerpts quoted in the book — differs in no way from the "definitions" given by Thiers, Bismarck, Mussolini, Hitler, Hirohito, Franco, Chiang Kai-shek and Al Capone.

When the Subversive Activities Control Board now orders the Communist Party to register, it is not simply demanding registration by the Party as a "Communist action organization," but in accordance with the McCarran Act's interpretation of a Communist action organization. Communists are required to call themselves foreign agents, conspirators and criminals, to libel themselves and to wear on their sleeves the American equivalent of the Nazi yellow star of David.

The reactionaries are jubilant. They believe they have caught the American Communists in a neat legal trap: whatever action they take they cannot escape imprisonment. If they refuse to register they will be charged with violating the McCarran Act. If they register they will be indicted under the Smith Act as foreign agents.

These moves are utterly unconstitutional. The Fifth Amendment states clearly that no one can be compelled to testify against himself. Registration

under the McCarran Act means compulsory self-incrimination under the Smith Act.

But the McCarran Act is positively bristling with illegalities. For one thing it contradicts the First Amendment which guarantees freedom of speech. Aptheker quotes from the dissenting opinion of the Supreme Court Justices who voted against the decision to recognize this monstrous law as constitutional. He shows that the six grounds cited by Chief Supreme Court Justice Warren for his dissent from the majority decision are "a scorching denunciation of the legal lynching of which the majority was guilty" (p. 45).

"Never before in the history of the United States," Aptheker declares, "has there been so unequivocal and smashing a dissent by a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court" (p. 48).

Associate Justice Hugo J. Black in his dissenting opinion emphasizes that the Internal Security Act violates both the letter and the spirit of the Bill of Rights. The argumentation of his opponents reminded him of the attempts made by the ancestors of the present reactionaries to outlaw the Democratic Party in 1798. A similar law was adopted at that time and Jefferson's supporters were labeled Jacobins and agents of a foreign power — at that time, France.

Justices William Douglas and William Brennan Jr. affirmed that the McCarran Act was "a plain violation of the Fifth Amendment." As in the Scales case, the Supreme Court decision was passed by a majority of one vote.

These are no mere legal technicalities. The point at issue is American democracy. "If only," Aptheker writes, "the incontrovertible arguments of the dissenting opinions in the Smith and McCarran Act cases . . . could be gotten to the American people, such a storm of protest would arise against both acts and the decisions sustaining them that they would soon be as dead as the British Crown's claim to New England" (p. 52).

The author shows that the American Communists refuse to accept the slanderous labels not only because they are false labels and not out of ordinary self-respect, or because they do not choose to inform on their comrades. In declining to register, the Communists are not only defending themselves, they are holding the frontiers of freedom and democracy against the assault of the reactionaries.

#### **Rest in Peace McCarthy, the "Good Work" Is Being Carried On . . .**

Aptheker notes with regret that the American people know very little about the history of fascism: "Had they a firmer grasp of that history—I make so bold as to say, if the President and a majority of the present U.S. Supreme Court



had a firmer grasp of that history — they would better understand that the path of anti-communism is the path of anti-democracy and national disaster" (p. 93).

The present anti-Communist campaign begins where McCarthy left off. Thousands of Americans were the victims of McCarthyism. Hundreds went to jail. At least 15 persons committed suicide rather than face the inquisitors of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Schoolteachers were dismissed, lawyers disbarred, clergymen unfrocked, actors fired, citizens denied passports. Robin Hood was denounced, Hiawatha not filmed, books by John Steinbeck, Herman Melville, Ernest Hemingway and Thomas Mann were removed from library shelves and, in some cases, actually burned. New concentration camps were prepared and old ones, formerly occupied by Japanese prisoners of war, fitted up. A point of view became a measure of loyalty, with the result that people preferred to have no point of view.

All this is now returning but in a more organized and, hence, more savage form.

Aptheker lists the names of many prominent American generals, businessmen and politicians who are active members of pro-fascist organizations. They are involved in an all-out offensive against democratic freedoms under the banner of anti-communism. This is not a handful of "right extremists" as the President would have the people believe.

At the present stage of the offensive the Smith and McCarran acts are the chief weapon. Their enforcement, Aptheker comments, "will make an America into the image of the Ku Klux Klan . . . All who do not want such an America — if reached with the truth — would unite to undo the decisions of June 5 and to repeal both the Smith and McCarran laws" (p. 117).

#### New Opportunities for Unity of the Left

"If reached with the truth . . ." An important reservation. The valiant struggle which the Communist Party of the United States is waging is

bringing this truth to millions of Americans, and Aptheker's book is a contribution to that struggle.

The American Communists have not given up the fight, they are laying the foundation for future victory. The struggle that is now being waged is rekindling the revolutionary spirit within the Party, it helps to do away with passive tendencies and to combat the germ of liquidationism that has appeared here and there. The battle against the Supreme Court rulings gives the Communists an opportunity to address millions of their countrymen, an opportunity by no means frequently afforded under the conditions prevailing in the United States.

Six years ago Walter Lippmann, denouncing the McCarran Act, condemned any connivance "at what is nakedly and simply lynch law." Justice William Douglas considers that by its June decisions the Supreme Court "has made serious Mark Twain's lighthearted comment that 'It is by the goodness of God that in our country we have those three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practice either of them'."

The appetites of the reactionaries are growing. It is the patriotic duty of the American public to curb those appetites. The people must be rallied to the struggle by showing them that it is not only a question of persecuting a group of Communists, but of encroaching on the rights of Americans to have their own opinion. The fascist tendencies that protrude through the legal casuistry of the Smith and McCarran acts are a menace to one and all. These tendencies can be combated by a united front.

The author of *Dare We Be Free?* believes that "the historic task of forging real unity of all democratic elements in our country can be accomplished on the basis of defeating June 5" (p. 118).

The Communist Party of the United States has announced that its officers will decline to register under the McCarran Act. "In taking this step," says its statement of November 30, "the Communist Party and its officers defend not only their own freedoms but the freedoms of all men."

## Tartuffe, Fourth Act

THE late John Foster Dulles once remarked that he did not think there was a single case in the history of the United States of an attempt being made to spread its beliefs by force of arms. This, in a nutshell, is the drift of most scientific (or rather pseudo-scientific) and other books by American bourgeois authors on the subject of U.S. foreign policy.

To put things where they belong, to unmask the militarists, is a responsible task. The importance of exposing U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of democracy and progress, was stressed at the Moscow and Bucharest meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties and more recently at the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The appearance, therefore, of a



book entitled *U.S. Foreign Policy in the Epoch of Imperialism\** by the Soviet historian Nikolai Inozemtsev is most timely. This is an important work, containing, as it does, a wealth of factual material that dispels the smoke-screen of "democracy" that conceals the aggressive nature of U.S. foreign policy. And U.S. imperialism, like Tartuffe in the fourth act of Molière's comedy, stands exposed in all its hypocrisy.

The author describes his objectives as follows: "The aim of this book is to analyze the basic trends and objectives of U.S. foreign policy in the epoch of imperialism, its typical features and laws. The book examines the basic foreign policy concepts and doctrines of American imperialism and shows how the essence of these and the practical measures deriving from them are whitewashed by bourgeois historians." And this is the chief merit of the book. The author does not confine himself to a simple description of the USA's foreign policy acts. He seeks and discovers their roots in the economy, home policy and, what is particularly important, in the ideology of US imperialism. Historical developments are shown not as a series of accidents, but as an objective process determined by the conditions.

Take, for example, the Monroe Doctrine, the nucleus of U.S. foreign policy, a doctrine the present U.S. government invokes as and when it considers necessary. It was directed, as is known, against intervention by European powers in American affairs. But, as Inozemtsev points out, in addition to its anti-colonialist, democratic principles there was inherent in the Monroe Doctrine an aggressive reactionary principle. And it was the latter principle which set the course. The U.S. bourgeoisie was opposed to any new colonization attempt by European nations on the American continent, but did not abandon its own expansionist policy. The demand for non-interference in American affairs was, in effect, a demand for complete control of the Americas.

The Platt amendments — appended in 1901 to the Cuban Constitution at gunpoint, and setting out the right of the USA to intervene for the purpose of safeguarding Cuban independence — were officially declared by the then State Secretary Root to be an application of the Monroe Doctrine. When the hundredth anniversary of this doctrine was observed, State Secretary Hughes spoke of the right of the U.S. to intervene in the affairs of the Latin American countries, to refuse to recognize governments not to its liking, and to establish democracy there by force. Little wonder, therefore, that the intervention in Guatemala and Cuba, the domination of U.S. monopolies in the Latin American countries, and the attempts to force other American countries to toe the pan-American line

on the assumption that what is good for the USA is good for both the Americas, are associated with the Monroe Doctrine.

Inozemtsev examines two other basic doctrines of American foreign policy — the "Open Door" policy and "isolationism." These three doctrines, implemented simultaneously, have been adapted to the different areas: the first to Latin America, the second to the East, the third to Western Europe. They were trimmed, as the book indicates, to the limitations imposed on American imperialism in these areas: for, while in Latin America, where the positions of the European imperialist nations were relatively weak, the Yankees could count on ruling alone, in Asia and Africa, where the spheres of influence had already been divided up, the "Open Door" policy was better suited to the swiftly advancing U.S. imperialism.

During the pre-monopoly stage of capitalism, "isolation" was a compensation of sorts for Europe's non-interference in American affairs. In the era of imperialism "isolationism" becomes a way of cashing in on the contradictions between the European powers and develops into interventionism whenever this suits the American monopolies. This policy was personified by Wilson at the time of the First World War and by Truman during the last war.

"Isolation" became the motto, too, of the democratic forces, who gave it an anti-war and anti-monopoly tilt, with a view to combating the aggressive and imperialist trends in U.S. foreign policy. That was what Debs, Ruthenberg and Foster, who later were to become the leaders of the Communist Party, did when they fought against the USA entering the 1914-18 war.

This contradictory nature of the U.S. foreign-policy doctrines — their increasingly reactionary essence as against a certain democracy in form, which at times can mislead even progressives — is well brought out in Inozemtsev's book. Democracy in form and even the democratic trappings of some foreign policy operations are to be explained not only by the tactics of U.S. imperialism, which has traditionally counterposed itself to its elder brothers in Western Europe, but also by the people of the United States — an important factor. The War of Independence (1776-1783) and the Civil War (1861-1865), being bourgeois-democratic revolutions, could not but influence the foreign policy of the North American Republic. Even when the monopolies had established their rule in the country — which continues to this day — this factor repeatedly made itself felt. "To make a correct analysis of U.S. foreign policy in the years before the war in Europe," writes Inozemtsev, "we must make a distinction between the Munich orientation of encouraging fascist aggression by most of the ruling elements, and the anti-

\*Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1960, 760 pp.



fascist attitude of the democratic forces in America." These words refer to a definite historical period, but could just as well apply to the epoch of imperialism, including the present. Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, once said that Kennedy was elected President by the workers, farmers and intellectuals because they did not like the brinkmanship of Dulles and Eisenhower. It is true that so far Kennedy has not continued the traditions of Franklin D. Roosevelt with which liberal intellectuals have associated his name, so that the American press is fully justified in describing Kennedy's administration as Eisenhower's third presidency. One cannot fail to note, however, that the democratic forces who made it possible for Kennedy to reach the White House are stepping up their activity.

The book does not take us beyond November 1960. But the author points so true a picture of the struggle around U.S. foreign-policy issues on the eve of the last election that, as the character and relationship of the forces have changed but little since then, his appraisal is interesting both from the historical and the modern viewpoints. Here are some of the internal factors, supported by numerous examples, influencing the foreign policy-making of the United States: "The fact that gradually millions of Americans are ceasing to be influenced by the reactionary propaganda fanning the war psychosis and denigrating world socialism and its ideas"; the growing belief that it is possible "to settle outstanding international issues by peaceful means", and "the growing role of the people in solving vital social and national problems."

The author also stresses the aggressive nature of U.S. policy. When, in Cuba or Laos, France or the Congo, the champions of democracy and socialism come face to face with American imperialism, they draw a conclusion similar to that set forth by the Soviet Communists in their new Program: U.S. imperialism has assumed the function of world gendarme. So far, the democratic forces in the USA have been unable to change this feature of U.S. foreign policy.

The bulk of the book is devoted to this particular feature — both in its exposition of the postwar history, when U.S. imperialism replaced "isolationism" by the doctrines of "containment" and "liberation," and its delineation of earlier history, when these doctrines were tacitly assumed. The facts cited by Inozemtsev are most topical.

He makes it clear that whenever the United States came up against revolutionary movements, isolation was immediately superseded by crude intervention. At the time of the October Revolution, to cite a case in point, the United States took part in the anti-Soviet intervention, and actively supported the counter-revolutionaries. Francis, the U.S. Ambassador to Kerensky's Provisional Gov-

ernment, had stated somewhat earlier that the surest way of killing the revolution would be to kill Lenin and the other Bolshevik leaders. And here, three decades later, is another fact. In a book published in 1947, the writer James Burnham, for a long time one of the "brains" of the U.S. ruling circles, called on the United States not to hesitate to strike a swift and decisive nuclear blow against the oil fields in the Caucasus, against Moscow and a dozen or so other Soviet cities and industrial centers. Today these thoughts are echoed in bellicose speeches; in the much-talked of proposal of Margaret Smith, the Amazon of the Senate, to use atomic weapons in retaliation for the signing of a German peace treaty. The U.S. reactionaries are still the sworn enemies of the Soviet revolution.

And not only the Soviet. Inozemtsev shows how, after the First World War, Washington took steps to crush the revolutions in Europe. It approved the use of German troops to quell the Polish revolutionary movement in Upper Silesia, subscribed to the decision against revolutionary Hungary and helped in concluding a truce between the Entente and Bulgaria, thus enabling the Bulgarian reactionaries of those days to crush the revolt in its army.

Wherever it furthered its interests, the United States crushed the national-liberation movements by fire and sword, despite the external democratic trappings of its doctrines. At the height of the Mexican revolution in April 1914, the author recalls, the U.S. Marines were landed at Vera Cruz. U.S. intervention installed a pro-American government, and the words of Woodrow Wilson the "peace-maker," who said that he would teach the republics of South America to elect decent people, were translated into reality. In the view of the State Department Batista and Jimenez were "decent" people. Yet they could easily be sentenced under any article of the criminal code of any country. Wilson's words are losing their potency: Latin America has elected Castro and has rejected Trujillo and Jimenez.

This does not mean that the United States has abandoned its positions of strength policy in relation to national-liberation movements. In the final chapters Inozemtsev mentions the intervention in the Lebanon, shows how the United States intervenes in the former colonial countries through the medium of military blocs. "Hand in hand with the British, French and other European colonialists, the U.S. imperialists have done everything in their power to halt the disintegration of the colonial system. By virtue of the general laws of the class struggle, the principle country of modern capitalism has become a forepost in the effort to hold



the capitalist system together, the chief bastion of colonialism as such." U.S. imperialism, the author underlines, wears an anti-colonialist mask.

The determining feature of U.S. foreign policy finds expression, too, in support of the ultra-reactionary forces everywhere. The book shows how the U.S. monopolies nurtured Hitlerism in the hope that it would destroy the Soviet Union. In the United States today the men of another generation pursue the same policy of encouraging the aggressors. But if yesterday these plans met with fiasco after prolonged struggle, they will be made short shrift of today should anyone attempt to carry them through.

Inozemtsev concludes with a broad delineation of the outlook for U.S. foreign policy. Socialism, he says, will have further opportunities to curb the aggressive imperialist forces; the struggle of the emergent Asian, African and Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism will grow; the share of the USA in the economy and politics of the capitalist world will shrink; and the fight in the USA for a new foreign-policy course will gain momentum. These conclusions coincide with the point made in the Program of the CPSU and approved by the international Communist movement — that U.S. imperialism's claims to world domination have absolutely no basis.

A. M. BARTZ

### Communications and Comment

## Albizu Campos—Symbol of Puerto Rico's Struggle for Independence

(Letter from San Juan)

DR. Albizu Campos, gallant fighter for Puerto Rican independence, recently "celebrated" his 70th birthday in a colonial prison where he is being slowly done to death by the North American imperialists.

Campos' whole life, his moral purity, his patriotism and revolutionary zeal, his prestige as a people's tribune and thinker, his scorn of flattery and bribery, his courage under torture and every conceivable form of imperialist attack, place him on a par with Betances, Marti, Bolivar and the other heroes of Latin America's struggle for liberation. His words: "My country signifies courage and sacrifice!" are the equivalent of Fidel Castro's slogan: "My country or death!"

While still a child Albizu Campos witnessed the brutality of the North American colonialists who seized Puerto Rico in 1898 and made it their colony. Later, as a student in the United States, he suffered all kinds of indignities and humiliations at the hands of the American racists, and it was only thanks to his talent and his remarkable capacity for work that he was able to complete his education.

On returning to his native land, Dr. Campos did not embark on the career of a prosperous lawyer then open to him. Instead he took the thorny path of a fighter for freedom and independence. To be closer to the people he took up

his abode in the poor quarter of the town where he began to practice law, accepting only those cases in which he could be of help to the poor and the oppressed.

At first Campos joined the Union de Puerto Rico (Unionist Party) which professed to be fighting for national liberation. But closer contact with the leaders of this party soon convinced him that the fine words of its program merely concealed its colonialist essence, and he at once resigned. When the Nationalist Party, which stood for independence, was formed in 1922 Campos joined it.

In 1926-29 he toured a number of Latin American countries (Haiti, Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela and others) as a representative of the Nationalist Party. He denounced the despatch of the U.S. Marines to these countries and urged the unity and solidarity of all the revolutionary forces in Latin America.

His return to Puerto Rico coincided with the outbreak of the severe economic crisis which brought further distress to the Puerto Rican working people.

It was in this situation that the Nationalist Party decided to contest the 1932 elections, although Albizu Campos, then the Party leader, was opposed to participating in elections under colonial rule. The Nationalist Party plunged into the election fray with no experience, meagre financial means and without any broad program of social reform.



Nevertheless it won an important moral victory. The election campaign furnished it with an excellent propaganda platform for spreading its influence among the masses, raising the prestige of its leaders and strengthening its organizations.

In the period between 1933 and 1936 Albizu Campos led a number of big actions against the U.S. monopolies and the politicians in their service. Under his leadership, the National Federation of Puerto Rican Workers was set up. Most of the municipalities came out in support of Campos's proposal to convene a constituent assembly to discuss the question of independence for Puerto Rico.

For the first time imperialism was confronted with a serious opposition which pursued a revolutionary policy (it refused to take part in elections and formed a "liberation army" consisting of groups of young people who were given military training, though unarmed) and which was headed by a sincere and capable leader who enjoyed the support of the people.

The colonialists then launched a general offensive with a view of wiping out the Nationalist movement. They began by trying to bribe Campos. A colonel of the police offered him \$50,000 in the guise of aid to the movement. When Campos rejected the offer, the imperialists mustered all their forces — political, military, economic and propaganda — and declared open war on him and his supporters. Wholesale arrests, repressions, torture and shooting followed. Campos knew what awaited him. But for him there was only one course — to carry on the fight, to return blow for blow.

In October 1935 the imperialists, planning to murder Campos and other leaders of the Nationalist Party, engineered shootings in Rio Piedras — the police opened fire and killed several members of the Party.

On March 21, 1937, during a demonstration held with the permission of the mayor of Ponce, the police opened fire on the unarmed marchers. More than 20 persons were killed and 200 wounded; the casualties included women and children. Nearly a thousand people were arrested. This incident is known as the Ponce Massacre.

In 1937 the first group of Nationalist Party people, including Campos, were thrown into jail in Atlanta, Georgia, to serve ten-year sentences. Altogether four groups of Party leaders were sent to prison, one after the other. More than 50 are still in prison in Puerto Rico and the United States. Among them are five women serving terms ranging from 13 to 135 years. Ten received sentences totalling 485 years each. The shortest term was ten years. Some of the prisoners (Ricardo Diaz, for example) were mortally ill when released. After serving seven years in Atlanta, Campos,

dangerously ill, was released on parole and transferred to a New York hospital where he spent two years undergoing treatment. At present Dr. Campos, in violation of the law, is serving his third term of imprisonment (he has been sentenced to a total of 79 years). Electric-shock torture to which Campos was subjected in prison weakened his heart and caused cerebral disturbances, which, ultimately, resulted in paralysis of the right side. He is now in a Presbyterian hospital and, though unable to move or speak, he is still held in solitary confinement under constant surveillance.

The sacrifice made by the Nationalist movement has not been in vain. Under popular pressure the Yankees have had to make concessions. Spanish has now taken the place of English as the main language taught in Puerto Rican schools. North American governors and other officials have been replaced by local hatchetmen like Munoz Marin, who, however, are strictly controlled by their masters. The imperialists have permitted the Puerto Rican flag to be flown over government buildings, but only alongside the Stars and Stripes. A garbled version of the national anthem, "La Borinquena," is played at official ceremonies, but only if immediately followed by the "Star-Spangled Banner." Industry is allowed to develop but at the expense of a growing burden of debt which merely tightens the grip of the oppressors. The colonial government has a free hand in secondary matters, but the imperialists retain full power in such key fields as the construction of military bases on our territory, which create a deadly threat to our security. The colonialists command the destiny of our young people; they forced them to shed their blood in Korea and are now preparing to use them for the invasion of the Latin American and other countries.

But the concessions wrung from the imperialists have not solved our country's problems. The struggle against the colonialists goes on. The most notable event of this struggle in the postwar was the 1950 uprising against the latest form of U.S. colonial domination in Puerto Rico, the "free commonwealth association with the United States." The uprising affected a number of towns and villages. The biggest victory was won in Jayuya where the guerillas, supported by the peasants, defeated the local police and proclaimed an independent republic. To crush the rebellion, the imperialists issued orders to "shoot first and ask questions afterwards." Faced with an enemy armed with heavy artillery and bomber aircraft, the revolutionaries were finally forced to surrender. Both sides suffered heavy losses. Thousands of revolutionaries were arrested.

Communist associations came into existence in Puerto Rico in 1931-32 when the Socialist and



Federationist leaders betrayed the working class. This coincided with the emergence of a new patriotic orientation of an anti-imperialist character—the struggle for independence led by Albizu Campos. Since then the Communists and Nationalists have fought side by side time and again in strikes, demonstrations and on the picket line, and have together suffered persecution at the hands of the imperialists.

With Albizu Campos we have propagated our ideas from his platform, while prominent Nationalist leaders have expounded their views from ours. This, however, does not mean that Campos is a Communist or that the Communists are Nationalists. The hostile propaganda of the imperialists and their colonialist stooges has consistently sought to sow dissension in our ranks and to cause a split between the Communists and Nationalists.

True, the Nationalists and Communists do not always see eye to eye on particular events or on the method of political actions to be used at a given moment. However, there are no divergences between them on the main issue—the struggle to abolish colonial slavery and to establish a free and sovereign republic.

In 1943 we had the good fortune to be able to visit Albizu Campos when he was in a New York hospital. We spent much time with him, and while he did not always fully agree with us, he never expressed any anti-Communist sentiment. He invariably received us warmly and treated us as friends and comrades. He spoke of his gratitude to the Communist Party of the United States and

its leaders (some of whom had been fellow prisoners in Atlanta). He emphasized that whenever the circumstances permitted, the U.S. Communists had given the utmost moral and material support both to him as a political prisoner and to Puerto Rico's fight for independence.

Albizu Campos always emphasized the role of the Soviet Union as the only great world power pursuing a consistent anti-colonialist policy and capable of waging a victorious fight against U.S. imperialism.

Albizu Campos is an example of peerless courage not only to his own Nationalist Party but to the entire Puerto Rican people. His life might well serve as a model for new generations of revolutionary fighters. In her book *Albizu Campos and Puerto Rican Independence*, Laura de Albizu Campos, his wife and faithful comrade, tells the story of her husband's remarkable life from the time he entered Harvard University in 1920 up to the present.

We patriots can best show our esteem for Albizu Campos by multiplying our efforts to save his life and the lives of the other imprisoned Nationalists. We demand their immediate and unconditional release, and we are determined to extend the struggle for Puerto Rican independence. We call upon the Communist and Workers' parties throughout the world, on all trade union and democratic organizations in the various countries to join in actions of international solidarity for the attainment of this noble objective.

Juan Santos RIVERA

## Let the People of Sierra Leone Decide

ON APRIL 27, 1961, after 175 years of British colonial rule, Sierra Leone became independent, but under circumstances that made a mockery of the celebrations. A state of emergency had been declared ten days before, and the whole of the Executive of the All People's Congress, the only opposition party, had been arrested and put in jail. Although some APC leaders were tried and acquitted a few weeks later, the state of emergency was not revoked until August 29.

No general election was held before independence and the Constitution drawn up by the British government was not submitted to the House of Representatives, let alone to the people of Sierra Leone. In fact this Constitution has still not been submitted to the Legislature.

The fact that the will of the people was not tested by an election before power was handed over to Sir Milton Margai, the present Prime Minister, was particularly serious as, in the pre-

vious election in 1957, his party, the Sierra Leone People's Party, did not receive a majority of the vote but only a working majority in the House by an unprincipled agreement with other parties at a later date.

It was clear that the SLPP feared to appeal to the electorate as, in the municipal elections, in November, 1960, they were defeated by the All People's Congress in two out of three seats in the capital, Freetown; and in the rural seats throughout the country, the APC won two-thirds of all seats.

After considerable pressure the British Colonial Secretary, while still refusing to agree to elections before independence, stated that Sir Milton Margai had assured him that they would be held within one year of independence.

All this makes it clear that the people of Sierra Leone are faced with a hard struggle to win their democratic rights, and that what the present



government fears most of all is giving them a chance to express their views in properly conducted elections.

I would now like to give the background to these recent events.

My country, Sierra Leone, lies on the West Coast of Africa and as you enter the capital, Freetown, through one of the finest and most beautiful harbors in the world, Guinea is on your left and Liberia on your right. That is true politically as well as geographically, and unfortunately our present government has greater affinity with our neighbor on the right than the one on the left. However, although our Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai, and I disagree on most things, we both agree that our population is around 4,000,000 and not the 2,200,000 given in most statistics of population and based on a census taken 30 years ago.

Like Monrovia, capital of Liberia, our capital, Freetown, as the name implies, was built up by freed slaves brought back to Africa, not, as in the case of Liberia, by America, but by Britain. As those returning had originally come from different parts of Africa and had acquired new ways on their travels, they did not easily mix with the people of the interior. The Negro settlers became known as Creoles and settled in the coastal area which became a British colony 175 years ago, while the rest of what is now Sierra Leone became a British Protectorate 75 years later. The Creoles were better educated and better off than the people of the Protectorate, and this led to divisions and friction which have lasted to the present day.

My country contains much mineral wealth, such as diamonds, iron ore, chrome and gold, great quantities of timber, especially mahogany, and fertile land on which coffee, cocoa, oil palms and rice could grow abundantly.

There could be no greater condemnation of colonialism than the conditions of my country when it became independent in April last year, for despite the natural potentialities, the vast majority of the people live in direst poverty and the average annual income per head is only £15, one of the lowest even in Africa.

Malaria, tuberculosis, and yellow fever are rife; and it is estimated there are 80,000 lepers, who are treated (if at all) in their villages as there is no leper colony. There are very few public hospitals. Only one in seven of the children of the entire population receives any education at all.

Yet Sierra Leone was one of the first African countries to provide advanced education, even though only for the few. Fourah Bay College, in Freetown, was famous throughout West Africa and many leaders of the African national move-

ment got their education there. However, British imperialism has been successful in Sierra Leone in finding "safe" African leaders to hand over to. The present Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai, himself told the people not to expect any big changes after independence.

Instead of giving attention to the all-round development of the economy, the government has concentrated on the diamond industry, and diamonds account for more than 50 per cent of the exports. The Sierra Leone Selection Trust, which has a virtual monopoly of the diamond industry, is linked with the Industrial Cartel, which is dominated by de Beers and Oppenheims of South Africa, with the result that huge profits go to the cartel and the people of Sierra Leone are left in poverty.

Other mineral resources are also exploited by foreign companies, while the miners receive a wage of about 6/- a day.

The majority of the population consists of peasants or small farmers, whose poverty is due to lack of transport and of modern means of cultivation. Means of communication are very poor. Roads are bad. My criticism of the government is that they have done little or nothing to help and encourage these farmers to develop cooperative farms and to provide them with fertilizers and machinery. All land in the provinces or interior is vested in the tribal authorities, and their traditions of mutual help would make the development of cooperative farms an idea that would appeal to them. Instead of doing this, the government prefers to waste money on importing rice from Italy and Burma, which could easily be grown at home.

Although the government professes a policy of non-alignment in relation to the capitalist and socialist sectors of the world, in fact all its relations are with the capitalist world. British monopolies like United Africa Company (subsidiary of Unilever) still control a considerable part of the import trade, and British and other imperialist monopolies control the exports.

The independence celebrations were hardly over when an agreement was signed with the USA for technical and economic "aid." A U.S. Operations Mission has been established in Freetown.

Half of the iron ore exports already go to West Germany, and the Krupps combine is extremely interested in the exploitation of a mountain of iron ore in Tonkolli. West German experts are also investigating a project for a hydro-electric station.

No steps have been taken to develop relations with the socialist countries, and the government shows no sign of profiting from the experience of other newly independent countries which has shown what a powerful factor aid from socialist countries can be in developing countries which



have been deliberately kept by imperialism as sources of cheap raw materials and markets for manufactured goods.

However, I am convinced that this position cannot remain for long because the people of Sierra Leone have a splendid record of struggle. In fact, in the first decades of this century, my country can claim to have been the birthplace of the national-liberation movement in West Africa.

During the Second World War the West African Youth League did a great deal to awaken the political understanding of the people. The colonial government was so alarmed by these developments that they kept me in prison and in exile from 1939 to 1944.

After the war, the demand for independence continued to grow, but the movement was split into different, conflicting, political parties, partly based on the differences between the people of the protectorate and the Creoles in the Colony.

After the 1951 elections, self-government was attained, and Sir Milton Margai, the leader of the Sierra Leone People's Party, took office but with a Legislative Council, with a large proportion of non-elected chiefs and with effective power still in the hands of the Governor.

Discontent among the workers continued to grow and in February 1955 the Artisans and Allied Workers, led by Marcus Grant, called a strike which was accompanied by mass demonstrations and led to a five days' general strike. This was suppressed with the utmost brutality. Witnesses said that more than 150 demonstrators were killed and 500 wounded.

Later, in the same year, peasants revolted against increased taxes and abuses by the chiefs.

During this period several attempts were made to form parties that would really represent the interests of the people, but the weakness was that such parties as the People's National Party did not have a constructive alternative policy and tended to fall into the hands of self-seeking politicians.

At the constitutional talks in London in April, 1960, a number of parties, including the Sierra Leone People's Party, the People's National Party, the United People's Party and the Independent Progressives were represented. They formed a united front to put their proposals to the British government.

At the constitutional talks it became clear that an agreement for a British military base in Sierra Leone was one of the conditions for independence. One delegate, Mr. Siaka Stevens, a former trade union leader and the Minister of Mines in the 1951 government, refused to sign the agreement in protest against the proposed military base.

After the delegates returned to Sierra Leone, Mr. Stevens was the only one who explained to the people what had taken place at the talks.

In September, 1960, Siaka Stevens, myself and a number of other progressive leaders formed the All People's Congress and started to campaign for elections before independence and for the Constitution to be made known to the people. At first only a few dozen people attended our meetings but soon the dozens became thousands.

The support for the All-People's Congress was revealed in the November 1960 municipal elections, and the government, by arresting our leaders before independence, revealed its fear of our growing influence.

The Sierra Leone Council of Labor has also been active in the industrial field. It is a well-organized body with over 30,000 affiliated members. However, it is under very moderate leadership and has stood aside from the national-liberation movement. It is affiliated to the ICFTU and was not represented at the Founding Congress of the All African Trade Union Federation at Casablanca last May. A good sign, however, is that the Council of Labor has recently sent a delegation to the Soviet Union, despite government attempts to prevent this.

There is no doubt that disillusionment with the Margai government is increasing, for it has become clearer than ever since independence that there is a conspiracy between Britain and the conservative and reactionary elements in our country to maintain the status quo.

We are nominally independent but little has changed. This is a typical example of what the Cairo Conference of the All-African People's Movement denounced as neo-colonialism.

It is this which the APC is determined to fight. We demand a radical change in the constitution and a repudiation of all the oppressive laws. We demand the review of all mining agreements, especially those of the lucrative diamond industry. We propose a plan for the development of agriculture and industry. We also work for a big increase in the social services.

We utterly reject any military agreement with Britain, and are against any military agreement between an African country and a non-African country. We support the concept of the United States of Africa. Our foreign policy would be based on cooperation with other African states and with the peace and socialist forces in the world.

I am convinced that if such a policy is put to the people in properly conducted elections the All People's Congress will win an overwhelming majority.

I. T. A. WALLACE-JOHNSON, M.P.



# The People Defend Democracy

(Letter from Uruguay)

**C**RIMES, violence and repressions against the people, preparations of yet another invasion of Cuba—these are all links in the plan of U.S. expansion in Latin America. A component of the plan is the establishing in these countries of a terrorist machine for carrying out the provocations and killing of people blacklisted by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The list includes leaders of the working-class and Communist organizations and, generally, all who oppose imperialism. How this plan is being implemented and the attitude of the people to reactionary designs can be gauged from the events that occurred in Uruguay in connection with the Inter-American Economic and Social Conference in Punta del Este.

The Cuban delegation to this conference was headed by Ernesto Guevara. The enthusiastic welcome accorded Guevara infuriated the U.S. imperialists. Their propaganda stepped up its attacks on the Cuban revolution and its leaders.

The reactionaries, however, failed in their efforts to intimidate the people. After the conference, Guevara was invited by the Students' Federation and the Artigas-Martí Recreation Center to visit Montevideo where he lectured before an audience of 40,000. The lecture was also broadcast all over the country. His appearance in the hall evoked a demonstration of public support for the Cuban revolution. It was at this forum, in the presence of tens of thousands of people, that the reactionaries essayed a show of strength. As the people were leaving the hall, a group of fascists, hiding behind the police, opened fire killing Professor Arbelio Ramirez, a well-known democrat. Not only did the police fail to arrest the criminals, they actually helped them to escape, taking action against the people.

But the organizers and inspirers of the foul murder are known. They are the fascist gangs—MEDL, Alerta, Gallo, En Guardia and Tucuará—which have been set up and are financed by the U.S. Embassy.

The murder of Professor Ramirez shocked the public. The people realized the need to bar the way to fascism. This gave rise to a nationwide anti-fascist movement embracing over a hundred organizations—political parties, educationalists, the United Center of Working People, the Students' Federation, cultural institutions, etc. The movement has become the biggest rallying center of the national forces. The participation in it of the Communist and Socialist parties and of some sections of the Batllista and National parties, should be emphasized.

The first action undertaken by the movement was a big public demonstration held under the slogans: defend our rights, dissolve the gangs, punish the murderers. The gathering was addressed by Hector Rodriguez (United Center of Working People), Eugenio Petit Munoz and Minello (Students' Federation), Fernando Elichirigoity, M.P. (Batllista Party), Ariel Gollazo, M.P. (Oriental Revolutionary Movement), Rodney Arismendi, M.P. (First Secretary of the Communist Party), Senator Alba Roballo (Batllista Party), Enrique Erro, M.P. (National Party), Zelmar Michelini, M.P. (Batllista Party) and Vivian Trias, M.P. (Secretary of the Socialist Party).

The fascist repressions launched against the anti-imperialist movement are having a boomerang effect; they simply add to the hatred felt for the Yankees and their local stooges. The people of Uruguay have taken the cause of defending democracy into their own hands. Rita IBARBURU

## As Specific as a Bullet

**I**N HIS interview with *Izvestia's* editor A. Adzhubei, President Kennedy, upholding the position of the United States and its allies on West Berlin, had this to say:

"Now the question is . . . can we provide for the protection of our rights in West Berlin. . . ." In other words, can the United States remain in West Berlin as an occupation power indefinitely?

Commendable frankness! But is the U.S. government motivated by noble aspirations?

If we are to believe Mr. Kennedy, the American, British and French troops are in West Berlin to

safeguard the interests of its people and their "freedom."

We shall not dwell on the hoary question of Western "rights" in West Berlin and on whether its freedom is threatened. What interests us is something else.

Some time ago the *New York Times* carried a full page advertisement inserted by what the paper calls "the world's largest Corporation for Economic, Industrial and Operations Research," or C-E-I-R. The advertisement, the theme of which was the U.S. stand on West Berlin, was subse-



quently reprinted by other newspapers, including some in Europe.

Larded with the usual anti-Soviet slander, the ad reflects the motives of U.S. policy.

It is not a matter of "democratic idealism or ideological abstractions," says the advertisement. "It is as specific as a bullet, or a bit of bread."

It is this:

"West Berlin is the political key, West Germany is the industrial lock, Western Europe is the economic gate to the world."

The advertisement then goes on to explain that "to control the world by force requires a superior economic-industrial base in support of arms," and

the conclusion is finally forced on the reader that it is the job of the United States to control the combined West European and U.S. resources. For in that event the West, it is claimed, will be able to retain its superiority over the "Soviet bloc," i.e., the socialist world.

That, concludes the advertisement, is why the United States must be ready to fight—and indeed may have to fight—the USSR over West Berlin.

And so we have the President and Big Business—two points of view, two explanations of the U.S. position. The contradiction is evident. But what is the real issue? "The freedom of West Berlin" or the struggle for the "political key" to world domination? What's the answer, gentlemen?

## Against the Persecution of Democrats

### COLONIZERS ON THE RAMPAGE

(Letter from Reunion)

**O**FFICIALLY, Réunion is an "overseas department" but, actually, it is one of France's colonies. Its people live in extreme poverty, the result of the colonial exploitation of the island by the French monopolies. A profound economic, social and political crisis is fermenting in the country. Anyone who wishes to get a correct idea of the situation on the island should remember that its economy is almost wholly sugar-cane growing, a crop imposed on us by the French imperialists. Sugar cane amounts to 90 per cent of the island's export. The colonialists arbitrarily determine the sugar quota as well as the price, and in the same way they fix the prices and assortment of manufactured goods delivered to us. The French government keeps down the price of sugar. That is why the small and middle peasants totally dependent on the state of the market, are faced with the prospect of ruin. The working class, too, is in dire plight. Wages are miserably low. Unemployment, which is chronic, is rising, and now embraces 15 per cent of the labor force.

The exploitation is accompanied by political oppression. The people are deprived of elementary democratic rights. Suffrage is practically non-existent, and the elections that are held are falsified and designed to ensure the election of the flunkies of the imperialists.

The working people of the island, understandably, are protesting against the colonial oppression. They want complete autonomy so that they themselves can run their country and base their relations with France on cooperation and not colonialism. This basic national demand was formulated at the first

Congress of the Communist Party of Réunion in May 1959.

Powerless to overcome the grave economic and social crisis, the French government has taken the path of repressions. The advent of the Gaullist regime in France was followed by the abolition of the limited democratic liberties we had, the Communist-led municipalities were dissolved, elections, with crude interference on the part of the police and the army which precluded any possibility of electing Communists, were falsified, workers active in the struggle were subjected to persecution, trade unionists were victimized and administrative pressure brought to bear on union officials. These reprisals in Réunion are the sequel to the one-man rule in France. They are spearheaded against the Communist Party and against the trade union and other democratic organizations heading the anti-colonial struggle.

The authorities are zealous in their hounding of the Communist paper *Témoignages*. Confiscation of editions and court cases against it are commonplace. One of the June issues was confiscated simply because it featured the election program of the Communist Party, although the French authorities themselves had published it in the form of a circular in 60,000 copies. It was confiscated on another occasion because it carried an article on the political "perspectives" facing the "overseas departments" in the light of the Gaullist constitution. And believe it or not, the "incriminating" article was based on excerpts from statements made at different times by Prime Minister Debré. In October an issue was confiscated on



the grounds, presumably, that it contained the communiqué on the meeting of representatives of the Communist parties of France, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion, although the document had previously appeared in the press of the other participants in the meeting. Then the authorities confiscated the paper on the pretext that the layout of the front page was "tendentious."\*

Of late the colonialists have applied such forms of political repression as banishment — many Party and trade union activists have had to leave the country.

In the long run these methods attest to the weakness and fear of the colonialists. The repressions have shocked the people. All the newspapers, except one, have denounced them. Solidarity is voiced even by people remote from the Communist Party. Public indignation is such that the President of the General Council, who is well known for his anti-Communist views, openly informed the prefect — the direct representative of the French government — about the "practically universal condemnation" of these measures which are seen as "sanctions against people adhering to different convictions, as a serious encroachment on freedom and on the inalienable rights of man."

\*The author of this letter, Comrade Paul Verges, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Reunion and director of *Témoignages*, is also a victim of political persecution. The government has charged him with "encroaching on the security of the state."—Ed.

The unanimous condemnation shows that in our country the conditions are becoming increasingly more favorable for combating colonialism. In their struggle the people are becoming aware of the significance and effectiveness of the support accorded them by the trade unions and other democratic organizations in France and, above all, the French Communist Party.

French policy in Réunion has failed in every sphere of economic, social and political life. *Forces Nouvelles*, an MRP weekly, drew attention to this at the time of the resignation of Lécourt, Minister for Overseas Territories. "Lécourt," it noted, "had sensed the approach of the storm in these countries" and realized that everything should be done to "prevent them from going the way of Algeria and, in their turn, demanding independence."

The Communist Party of Réunion ceaselessly exposes the anti-democratic actions of the French authorities, and is calling on all democrats to unite to put an end to the repressions. At a meeting held in Paris last autumn representatives of the Communist parties of France, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion emphasized that in view of the acute political crisis in the Antilles and Réunion, the struggle against colonialist repressions is of special significance. The people of Réunion know that they can rely on the support and solidarity of progressive people throughout the world, and this adds to their confidence in final victory.

Paul VERGES

## FREEDOM FOR D. A. SIQUEIROS

DAVID Alfaro Siqueiros, renowned Mexican painter and one of the Communist Party leaders, has been in prison for more than 16 months now. With him in prison is the veteran revolutionary journalist, the 84-year-old Filomeno Mata.

Siqueiros was arrested at the home of a friend on August 9, 1960, at the time the police were breaking up a demonstration of teachers and students in Mexico City. Conscious that this was an unlawful act, the government at first tried to maneuver. The State Prosecutor hypocritically announced that Siqueiros was not under arrest but merely detained for the purpose of carrying out a juridical formality. Then in a few days it was officially announced that Siqueiros had been taken to a preliminary detention prison.

Siqueiros and Mata were charged with causing a breach of the peace, with illegal possession of arms, causing bodily injury and resisting the authorities. The case was linked to that of a group of working-class leaders who had been in custody since March 29, 1959.

All the charges, however, are unfounded, being based on the false claim that Siqueiros organized a student demonstration in August 1960 and hence he must be made answerable for all the actions of its participants. To "buttress" this absurd charge, speeches made by him at different times and regarded by the authorities as subversive, were also produced as evidence.

The charges are not only absurd, they are unlawful, because they challenge the democratic rights of the people — freedom of speech, press, assembly and association guaranteed in the Constitution. But the violations of the law did not stop at the arrest, they have continued all the time.

Siqueiros and the other defendants appealed against the preliminary detention. According to the law an appeal must be heard without delay. But in this case it was pigeon-holed for months.

On November 20, 1960, the anniversary of the Mexican revolution, Siqueiros and other political prisoners declared a hunger strike. At the time of the strike a special defense committee urged the



authorities to hear the appeal immediately. To this they received the cynical reply: "The fact that the accused is a famous personality is of no importance; as far as we are concerned he is a prisoner and nothing more. In the event of his dying we shall consider the case closed and that will be the end."

It was not until August 1961 that action was taken on Siqueiros' appeal. But this, when it was taken, was a mockery of public opinion in our country and throughout the world. The judge supported the painter only in what related to . . . editorial changes in the text of the court's decision on preliminary detention. In the main the charge remained in force.

The Siqueiros case is now drawing to an end. In September the prosecution upheld the charges against him and demanded a 15-year sentence. Soon the verdict will be pronounced, and the judge, no doubt, will do everything to please the government.

But it is not only the ruling circles who will decide the fate of Siqueiros and the other political prisoners. The court will have to heed the voice of the people.

Before sentence is passed on Siqueiros and the other accused we urge all people battling against the repression and persecution of democrats to redouble their efforts, which more than once have demonstrated their power and have yielded good results.

The immediate release of Siqueiros, the only living representative of the famous group of modern Mexican painters, is all the more essential because he is seriously ill and badly in need of care which cannot be provided by the prison medical service. But just as was the case with the heroic U.S. Communist leader Henry Winston, the Mexican gaolers claim that Siqueiros' illness "is not serious" and that he can be treated in the prison hospital. Yet his health is getting worse every day and is causing grave alarm.

To wrest Siqueiros from prison is an urgent task of the movement for democracy and culture, the duty of all democrats, of all men and women of science and culture in Mexico and throughout the world.

Gerardo UNZUETA,  
member of the Political Commission,  
Central Committee, Mexican Communist  
Party

## WHY WAS HYMAN LUMER ARRESTED?

**A**LL friends of freedom and democracy are shocked by the attitude of the U.S. government in using the fascist-type McCarran and Smith Acts against Communists. The rulers of America, who without blushing, pose as the defenders of the "free world," are jailing the best sons and daughters of the American people.

Your readers will know the name of Dr. Hyman Lumer as a contributor to the journal. The September 1961 issue, for example, contained his article on the economic situation in the United States. Since November 8, Lumer and other comrades

have been in prison. He was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for "conspiracy," aimed at violating the ill-famed anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act. This law, used not only against Communists but also against all labor leaders, has been described as a "slave" law calculated to cripple the trade unions.

Democrats and forward-looking people everywhere are protesting against the victimization of the representatives of American Labor.

James MURPHY  
Chicago, Illinois, USA

## STOP THE LATEST WAVE OF TERROR IN IRAN

**I**N mid-October the police in Isfahan, a large industrial center of Iran, secretly arrested a group of 90 patriots. But it was only on November 8 that the Military Prosecutor's Office reported the arrests. Most of the arrested are workers, the rest intellectuals. This reactionary step of the government has touched off another wave of terror in the country.

The authorities are now busy engineering a noisy political trial. The Prosecutor's Office is circulating volumes of propaganda through the press and radio, raising a hue and cry. Without furnishing the slightest proof, the Military Prose-

cutor denounced the accused as "an instrument in foreign hands," charging that they had "set up a spy ring." On the basis of these absurd charges he demanded the death penalty for all.

The workers are charged with having held strikes which, the Prosecutor maintains, were incited by the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran. It is common knowledge, however, that the people of Iran are in the grip of poverty. Industrial enterprises are being closed, the home market is inundated with foreign goods and prices are soaring. Compared with prewar, the price index has risen 17-fold. Work has been stopped on nearly



all construction projects, bankruptcies are a daily occurrence and more than half of the budget is expended for military purposes. The country has been turned into a U.S. military base. The crisis has worsened the conditions of the workers. It is precisely here that the basic reasons for the strikes should be sought.

The Isfahan patriots are charged with supporting the National Front candidates in the general election in 1961, with attending the meetings and rallies sponsored by the Front, which is a bourgeois organization. But its activity was permitted by the government, under pressure from the masses. What talk of democracy can there be if the working people are forbidden to support even this legal organization and patriots are threatened with the death penalty if they do so.

Is it necessary after this to say anything about the absurdity of the other charges, such as listening to foreign broadcasts, reading banned pamphlets, etc.? The very mention of them shows that these are framed charges.

The reactionaries, naturally, are trying to convince the people that the trial is being prepared in accordance with the law. But let us see how matters really stand. In peacetime a group of workers is to be tried by a military tribunal. Even the harsh anti-Communist law of 1931 does not envisage a special procedure for members of the Communist Party. According to this law, the defendants can choose their own defense counsel, trials are heard in public and with a jury. Practice shows, however, that to this day people charged with Communist activity have been tried by military courts which completely ignored the prisoners' rights ensuing from the 1931 law. This time, too, by bringing innocent people before a military tribunal, the reactionaries are preparing the same fate for them. How can we speak of justice in these circumstances? Clearly the authorities are preparing another act of violence and lawlessness.

What aims are the rulers pursuing in staging the new frame-up?

The fact is that the acute economic and political crisis is making the Shah more and more dependent on U.S. imperialism. He begs the United States for dollars and arms. Always greedy for more, he complains to the Americans of a growing "Communist danger" and obsequiously expresses his readiness ruthlessly to crush the progressive forces in the country. The trial is designed as another demonstration of this kind.

Further, there is no Parliament in Iran. The people are insisting on democratic elections which

must be held sooner or later. The Shah and his clique are trying to intimidate the people by repressions so that the forthcoming elections should go through "smoothly," that is, not a single progressive deputy should be elected. And it is this "preparation" of the electorate that explains why the reactionaries have changed their habit of dealing with progressive elements in secret and have publicized the trial long before its start.

And, lastly, now that the national-liberation movement in Iran is gaining momentum, the prosecution of the Isfahan patriots and the propaganda around their arrest are a blow against the progressive forces, designed to provoke a split in the anti-imperialist front of the working class and the national bourgeoisie. For the Shah and his imperialist friends dread above all the unity of patriotic forces. That is why not only the Tudeh Party is persecuted. All progressive and national parties opposing the autocratic rule are subjected to brutal repressions. Ex-Premier Mossadeq is still under house arrest and is kept isolated from the people, who give him their wholehearted support. The arrest of a large group of workers and intellectuals in Isfahan is a link in the long chain of terror and repressions launched by the Shah and his clique.

The threat of execution hangs over the Isfahan patriots. The world public should take action to halt the new wave of terror.

With a view to awakening world public opinion, the Central Committee of the People's (Tudeh) Party has issued a statement calling on "all progressive, peace-loving and democratic parties, all organizations and public personalities throughout the world to take action to save the lives of these people and secure their release."

"We urge everyone," says the appeal, "to send protests to the Iranian government and to condemn its anti-democratic and inhuman measures.

"There is no time to be lost. The lives of 90 innocent people are in grave danger. We can save them and secure their release only by the joint action of freedom-loving people throughout the world."

The statement has met with warm response in many countries and there is no doubt that the powerful voice of international solidarity will render invaluable support to the Iranian people in their hard and courageous struggle against the terror of the Shah.

Teheran

A. ARDEKANI

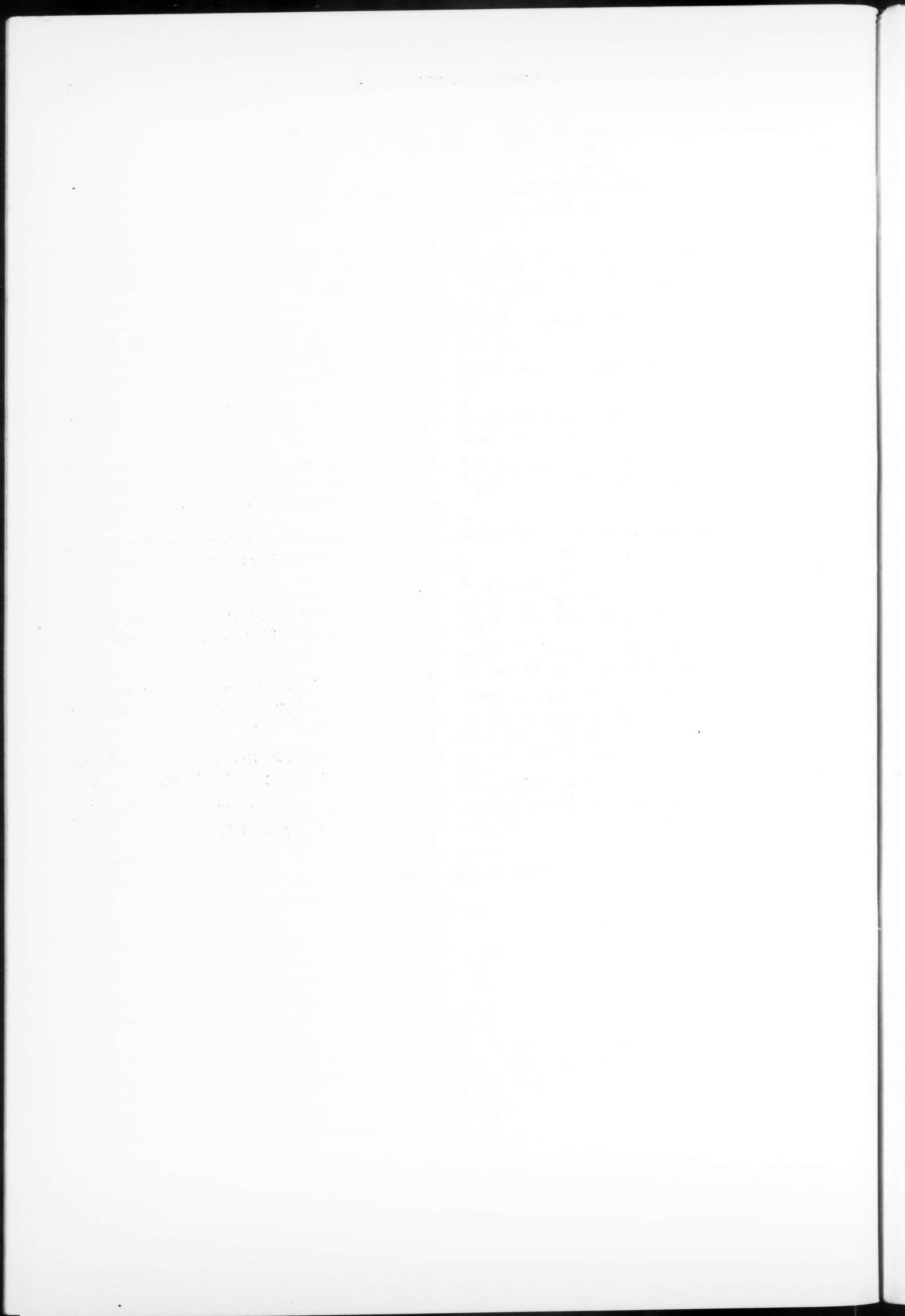


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(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication; the titles are given in English)

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- V. I. Lenin. *Complete Works*. Fifth Edition, Vol. 23, March-September 1913. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1961, 618 pp.
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