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# **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**

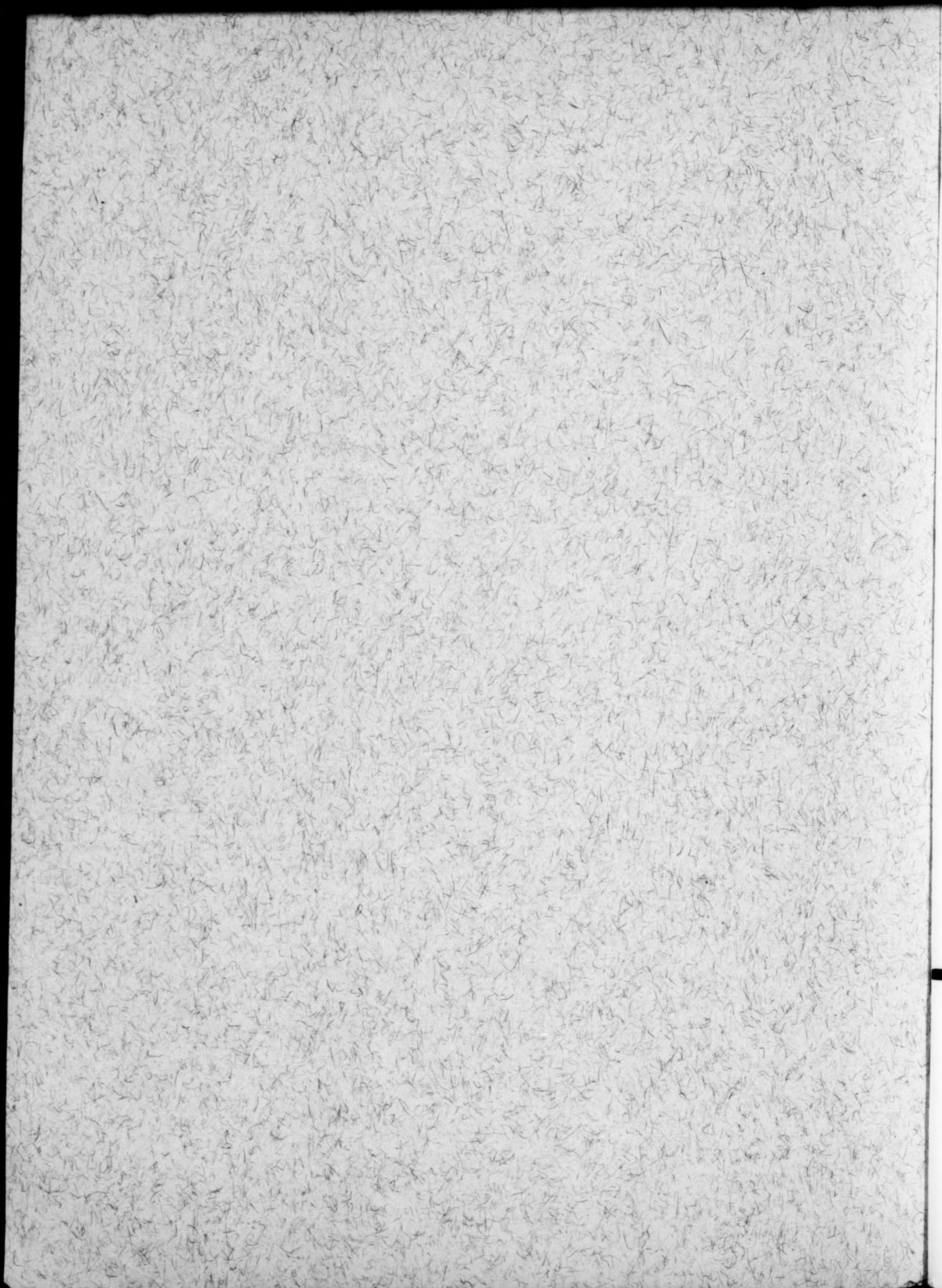
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# World Marxist Review: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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# Peaceful Coexistence and the National-Liberation Struggle

*Mamum*

**T**HE disintegration of the colonial system is one of the great events of our time. World imperialism is no longer able to contain the powerful upsurge of the national-liberation movement which has gripped Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the vast expanses of the Asian continent only fragments remain of the once great colonial empires. Literally in a space of a few years the face of Africa—once the citadel of colonialism—has completely changed.

The break-up of the colonial system is testimony to the prevision of Marxist-Leninist theory. Already in 1922 Lenin said that "the morrow of world history will be that day when the peoples oppressed by imperialism finally awaken and the long, heavy and decisive battle for their liberation begins."\* This conclusion was based on a profound analysis of the laws of imperialism when the antagonistic contradictions between the oppressed peoples and monopoly capital come to a head. Hence the inevitable national-liberation struggle against imperialism and colonialism which Lenin foresaw. In our time this struggle is aimed not only against colonial regimes but also against such neo-colonialist forms of exploitation and subjugation as economic enslavement, military bases and imperialist-dominated military blocs.

It is only natural that the Communists should support the national-liberation struggle and take an active part in it, for its aims are close and understandable to them. They have always regarded the national-liberation movement as a component of the international revolutionary movement destined to play a big role in shattering the foundations of the capitalist system.

"...In the coming decisive battles of the world revolution," Lenin said, "the movement of the majority of the world's population, at first aimed at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and may play a far greater revolutionary role than we can foresee."\*\*

\*V. I. Lenin. *The Question of Nationalities or "Autonomization."*

\*\*V. I. Lenin. *Report on the Tactics of the RCP at the Third Congress of the Communist International.*

**T**HE Second World War was followed by a rapid rise of the national-liberation movement. Objectively, this was because the war had weakened world imperialism. But does this imply that the further development of the national-liberation movement, its advance to higher stages and solving of the new problems in the interests of the peoples depend on another world war? It would be a grave mistake to think so. In Africa, for instance, the national-liberation movement has grown in step with the emergence of new factors in international relations, above all with the growth of socialism into a world system and the change in the world balance in its favor. And this has been accompanied throughout by a successful struggle for peace on the part of the socialist countries, which steadfastly pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence.

"The policy of peaceful coexistence," the statement of the 1960 Moscow meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties declares, "meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and international influence of the socialist countries and promotes the prestige and influence of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism and against capitalism."

Peaceful coexistence is in no way a retreat in the face of imperialism and does not signify any weakening of the anti-imperialist movement. It is unthinkable without determined day-to-day struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces in the political, economic and ideological spheres.

"The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism," says the statement of the meeting of Communist and Workers' parties.

This struggle is an objective, law-governed process of our time. It can cease only with the final victory of one system over the other, the victory of the proletariat over the bour-



geoisie. There is no other way. We Sudan Communists base our policy on the incontrovertible Marxist truth that peaceful coexistence is a *specific and complex form of the class struggle between the two social systems carried over to the world arena, a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie organized in their respective states*. This is a struggle waged by peaceful means, without war, without interference by one country in the internal affairs of another. By virtue of its very nature communism is profoundly humane; the very idea of a resort to war in order to abolish capitalism is alien to it. Peaceful coexistence is the form of struggle which best corresponds to the interests of the Communists, of all working people of all nations. The imperialist bourgeoisie, on the contrary, regards war as the only way to solve the sharp internal and external contradictions, and therefore it seeks to evade peaceful competition with socialism. But the forces of socialism, backed by all peace-loving and democratic elements in the world, are compelling capitalism to accept it. And the more the world balance shifts in favor of socialism, the more successfully this competition proceeds.

In forcing peaceful coexistence on capitalism, the socialist countries are reaffirming the basic Marxist-Leninist thesis that revolution—be it socialist, democratic or a national-liberation revolution—cannot be “exported.” A revolution can succeed only if it is in accord with the objective process maturing in the country concerned, if it is carried out by the people of that country. Needless to say, the socialist states are not indifferent to popular revolutions in other countries. They regard it as their international duty to support them—not by military means, not through intervention, but by the force of their political influence, the impact of their economic progress and their example in raising society to higher levels.

It follows, then, that compelling the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence does not mean compromise or entering into compact with them; on the contrary, it signifies a big victory over imperialism. As a specific form of class struggle in the world arena, peaceful coexistence can be described as a *grand historical offensive against imperialism* conducted by the forces of socialism in alliance with the national-liberation and other democratic movements of our time.

Indeed, if one could imagine a world war being a factor favoring the growth of the national-liberation movement, the peoples

fighting to win or to consolidate their independence might, perhaps, welcome it. But who in his right mind would even dare to suggest such a monstrous idea.

THE only correct conclusion that can be drawn from the developments in the national-liberation movement in Africa and elsewhere since the Second World War is that they accrue from the general crisis of capitalism and the disintegration of the colonial system, from the growth of the socialist world system, and also from the varying levels in the colonies and semi-colonies. It is this that determines the tasks of our peoples in the struggle against imperialism and in shaping the internal conditions essential for the consummation of this struggle in the interests of the people. Hence, too, the tasks facing the peoples in the fight for peace, which ensures the best conditions both for our progress and for the strengthening of the socialist camp.

The march of events since the Second World War shows that the rise and consolidation of the socialist world system is a new factor for progress, that its existence and its determination to win the competition with capitalism are decisive in opening new perspectives for the national-liberation movement.

The achievements of the Soviet Union in the social sphere, in building the most democratic system of government in the world, in science and in technology—achievements which have raised the prestige of the socialist camp so high and given so much inspiration to the national-liberation movement—are the result of its peace policy, not a by-product of war preparations.

Since the socialist camp is the decisive source of inspiration and support for the national-liberation movement, the fight for peace provides the socialist states with highly favorable conditions for surpassing the capitalist world in strength. In a word, the fight for peace is the primary condition for the achievement of full freedom by the formerly oppressed peoples.

By posing the question in this way it will be possible to win the masses, to find a response among the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, since this corresponds to their needs and gives logical direction to their struggle against imperialism and for social progress.

Peaceful coexistence not only implies eliminating war as an instrument of international policy. It also implies struggle for disarmament, for the abolition of foreign military



bases and aggressive military blocs. Realization of these aims would greatly advance the national-liberation movement.

Indeed, do not countries fighting for freedom stand to gain from the disarmament of their imperialist oppressors? For disarmament primarily means dismantling the gigantic war machines of the highly-developed countries.

Would the disarmed imperialists have the strength to hold countries like Angola in their grip? Ideologically they are powerless and have no excuse to offer for the continuation of colonial rule. The structure of lies built up by them has collapsed; their "civilizing" mission has been completely exposed, and they no longer can invoke the "need to maintain tribal peace" as they did in the past. Nor can they talk of any "constructive economic mission," for they have laid waste African lands and condemned the peoples to a wretched existence. The only "argument" in favor of remaining in Angola which the Portuguese imperialists can produce is brute force and the generous handouts received from their Atlantic Pact partners.

The constructive proposals for general and complete disarmament advanced by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries would create infinitely better conditions for the peoples of Angola to win their freedom. For a disarmed Portuguese imperialism could not retain its grip on the country. Colonial rule can be maintained only when it is backed by the force of arms. Disarmed, the imperialists would be powerless to prevent the people from attaining freedom.

General disarmament does not mean disarming the peoples fighting for national liberation. On the contrary, it would deprive the imperialists of the means to halt progress and crush the struggle for independence. It would strengthen the position of the peoples waging a just struggle for freedom. Those African peoples who won their first victories over imperialism in achieving political independence did so despite the fact that their weapons were far inferior to those of the imperialists. They won because their cause was just, because they fought—and still are fighting—in favorable conditions thanks to the existence of the socialist world system, and thanks to the support of the socialist countries.

In our time, when the principle of peaceful coexistence has won wide recognition, the imperialists are less inclined to resort to armed interference in the affairs of other countries and to take action to crush the liberation movement. Yet there still are cases when

people have to take to arms to uphold their right to self-determination and freedom. These just national-liberation wars, popular liberation revolutions through armed action, cannot but have the support of the Communists. Such wars have always enjoyed the sympathy and support not only of the Communists but of all peace-loving democratic forces.

Needless to say, the struggle for peace does not remove from the agenda the fight for national liberation. No matter how favorable the conditions which peaceful coexistence creates for the national-liberation movement, the oppressed peoples cannot win independence without struggle. And this fight, too, is an important contribution to peace and peaceful coexistence.

International relations since the war have revealed the profound interconnection between the spread of the idea of peaceful coexistence and the advance of the national-liberation movement. This link is evident, for instance, in the peaceful solution in Laos this summer. We all remember how the imperialists exerted every effort to shackle Laos once again with the chains of colonial slavery, how many military provocations they and their stooges engineered in this small peace-loving country, and how they tried to prevent a peaceful settlement and to continue the cold war in South-East Asia. Patience and good will on the part of the countries pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence were needed before Laos ceased to be a focal point of the cold war and a possible source of bigger military conflicts, before the Laotians were given an opportunity to decide their own destiny.

The victory of the Algerian people in their long war against French imperialism became possible because the idea of peaceful coexistence is gripping the minds of the masses, compelling the imperialists to retreat on important sectors of the national-liberation struggle. In turn, this victory has helped to strengthen world peace.

**T**HE peoples which have already won national independence are striving to consolidate it. These include most of the new sovereign states of Asia and Africa.

Although the problems confronting these peoples differ greatly, they all are working for economic and cultural regeneration. But the imperialists, ejected from these countries through the front door, are trying to slip back in through the back entrance, resorting to every possible device from so-called "economic aid" and shackling loans to anti-communist



propaganda and whipping up war hysteria. The imperialists are doing their utmost to involve these countries in military blocs and, thereby, to undermine their sovereignty.

The policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the socialist states exposes and isolates the imperialists. It gives the peoples new strength in the struggle against the local reactionaries who are trying to embroil their countries in imperialist military alliances. It should be said that the machinations of the imperialists have proved singularly futile (especially in the period since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which has seen the rapid strengthening of the socialist camp and its redoubled efforts for peaceful coexistence), failing to draw a single African country into the imperialist military blocs. And the popular resolve to thwart these designs is fortified by the steadfast devotion of the socialist camp to the idea of peaceful coexistence. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the struggle waged for peace by the socialist camp, and the international prestige of the latter, have helped the peoples of the newly emerged countries to preserve and consolidate their independence.

These peoples are anxious to abolish the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from imperialist rule and to join the mainstream of progress. Clearly, the best road for the African and other countries whose development has been retarded by colonialism is the non-capitalist road. This would be a shortcut to prosperity. But a subjective desire to take this road is not enough, the objective conditions, too, must be favorable. And a decisive part in creating these conditions is played by the growing role of the socialist countries.

Most of the politically independent African countries were ruthlessly exploited by the imperialists in the past. They were disunited (especially West Africa) and economically weak. As a result they have hardly any accumulations of national capital. This makes the friendly aid of the socialist camp and economic ties with it vital for Africa, although each country will, of course, go ahead in keeping with its own economic and social conditions and relationships.

Peaceful coexistence and disarmament would afford Africa wider opportunities to draw on aid from the socialist camp with which to raise living standards and to put an end once and for all to the backwardness. As for foreign monopoly capital—and we know full well that its aggressive nature

cannot change—it would be driven into an impasse by general and complete disarmament and the resultant opportunities for the friendly participation of the socialist camp in developing the African economy. The peoples of the underdeveloped countries would thus gain new strength to attack the positions of imperialism.

Are the people fully aware of the relationship between a policy of peace, on the one hand, and progress and independence, on the other? Hardly. And the Sudan is a case in point. The confusion in this respect in some African countries is due to the local conditions and the internal class relationships, owing to which the reins of government are held by the bourgeoisie, or, as in the case of Sudan, even by pro-imperialist elements. Such governments profess neutrality and maintain one or another measure of economic contact with the socialist countries. They do so, under popular pressure, to alleviate the chronic economic crisis, for nowadays no government leader can close his eyes to the growing opportunities afforded by the socialist market. But at the same time the ruling group—for instance, in Sudan—is capitalizing on its “neutrality” in order to stifle the class struggle, to strengthen its hold on the state machine and to divert the masses from political activity.

Such a policy cannot of course prevent the revolutionary movement and the progressive classes from carrying on the fight for a better life and working to consolidate independence and to accelerate progress. Exposing the insincerity of the official “neutrality” and demanding closer economic relations with the socialist camp, the progressives are working to open the eyes of the people to the reactionary character of the ruling circles and to pave the way to the formation of anti-imperialist and democratic governments. This question, of such vital importance for us, was elucidated at the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers’ parties and in its statement.

The Communist Party of Sudan fully endorsed that statement and, championing the vital interests of the people, is resolutely opposed to the military dictatorship which is retarding consolidation of the political independence and preventing the national-democratic regeneration of our republic. The Party exposes the efforts made by the dictatorship to stifle the popular movements and to paralyze the class struggle by urging the working people to support the official policy of “neutrality.” In this respect the Party regards the



struggle to consolidate independence in the light of the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which declares: "Political independence can be made secure only by a nation that has won democratic rights and freedoms and is taking an active part in governing the state."

The fight for democracy, to ensure the active participation of the masses in the administration of the country, and to exert pressure on the government is at the same time a struggle to make political independence more secure, a struggle for a policy of peace. It is a struggle for the adoption of an anti-imperialist democratic course.

The fight for peace, for a policy of peaceful coexistence, accords with the vital interests of the national-liberation movement. It creates highly favorable opportunities for the class struggle, for combating imperialism, for implementing social reforms. Peaceful coexistence does not contradict our struggle

against imperialism or our class struggle, for it is in itself a form of class struggle waged by the victorious working-class movement against the imperialists. The national-liberation movement is part of the world revolutionary movement, the leading detachments of which have created the socialist camp and are waging a determined and effective struggle against the common class enemy — world imperialism.

Forging ahead to surpass the capitalist countries both economically and culturally, they have blazed the trail for the other detachments of the liberation movement who will one day also take the road of socialism. They are proving by their deeds that socialism is the only system capable of ensuring progress and freedom. And this, lending impetus to social progress in the countries fighting for freedom, is winning millions of new supporters for socialism, for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

# The Science of Socialist Economic Management

*Eugeniusz Szyr*

**T**HE economic achievements of the socialist community are indisputable. Suffice it to mention the rate of growth in production and the productivity of labor, and the success of the socialist world system in its economic competition with capitalism.

These achievements stem above all from socialism as a system, from its superiority over capitalism, the advantages of socialist planning based on scientific methods.

But it is also clear that our achievements could be greater were the advantages of the socialist economy utilized fully, if our system of planning and management was not hampered by the shortcomings which have been rightly criticized at recent meetings of representatives of the countries affiliated to the Council of Mutual Economic Aid.

## 1. THE PRIME CONDITION FOR SOUND GUIDANCE TO THE ECONOMY

The socialist world is now entering a new stage in its development. The opportunities for accelerating our economic advance on the basis of expanding the international divi-

sion of labor are better. All the more intolerable, then, are the shortcomings both in coordinating the economic development of all our countries and in management of the national economies. Overcoming these shortcomings is a task of prime importance. Indeed, the need for a more profound scientific approach to economic management is making itself felt more and more. An important role in this belongs to economics as a science. For this reason and also for a number of others connected with the scientific and technological revolution and the high level of modern production forces, interest in the economic sciences is growing in the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

## The Need of the Time

In order to make full use of the advantages of socialism it is essential to make wide use of new methods in managing and organizing production as well as in planning on the scale both of the separate countries and of the entire socialist system. Tasks of this magnitude cannot be solved without a



scientific approach, without due attention to the needs of economic development. Realization by executives of the need for a strictly scientific approach to questions of management has changed their attitude to economic theory. Whereas formerly there were managers who scorned theory and regarded economics as the bailiwick of the arm-chair scientists, today executives are more aware of the need for a parallel development of production and economic science, for a close tie-up between them.

As I see it, the managerial shortcomings in some enterprises and in the economy as a whole are largely due to the fact that the divergence of theory and practice has not been fully overcome. The practice of management needs something more from the investigation of the economic laws of socialism than general postulates. Charting economic policy as well as practical management calls for a thorough analysis of the concrete phenomena and for conscious utilization of economic laws in every sphere. Moreover the purely empirical methods of assessing things no longer answer the needs of the day. Experience has shown their inadequacy as a means of elucidating the sum total of economic processes and mastering the mechanism of economic growth.

To link theory with practice it is essential to eliminate another shortcoming inherited from the past, namely, insufficient attention to research at the point of production. In Poland, for instance, the comparatively high level of theoretical research notwithstanding, not enough attention is paid to combining theory with practice and vice versa. In addition to extending the technical research services in the enterprises, the technological and designing offices, and the experimental shops and pilot plants, it is necessary to provide facilities for investigating the economics and organization of production and labor, and to utilize the results of the investigation. Experience will show how this can best be done — whether by establishing what might be called economic laboratories in the factories, or by arranging to have, in addition to the chief engineer, a chief economist, or in some other way. We in Poland feel that it is necessary to have these facilities in industry and in other branches and to adapt the organization and methods of economic research generally to the needs of practical activity.

No one any longer has any doubt that economic theory should be ahead of economic practice so that any discrepancy between the general level of production and the forms

of its organization can be revealed and eliminated in good time. But economic science can play its full role in promoting production only if it is closely linked with practice. Consequently, planning and economic research in strict accord with the requirements of the day, as well as the application of the results of the research, are urgent aspects of the work of the Communist and Workers' parties and the governments of the socialist countries in the economic sphere.

### Science and Planning

Economic theory is called upon to ensure rational guidance of the entire process of production. For this it is essential to elaborate the methods of socialist management scientifically and to make extensive use of mathematical and electronic techniques. Sound guidance of the economy presupposes charting not only the basic lines of the development of the productive forces and establishing the general proportions of production and distribution, but also devising the forms, methods and means of ensuring optimal results in every sphere of activity.

Hitherto planners — for instance, in Poland — were mainly concerned with coordinating the annual and long-range programs. Today the primary problem is to draw up optimal plans, i.e., to compile numerous variants with a view to choosing the best. And the best can be chosen by way of scientific analysis employing modern methods of collecting and processing data, mathematical methods of striking balances, and electronic computers.

Some of the socialist countries are already taking steps towards optimal planning. The initial results obtained in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and especially in the USSR show that research into the highly complex causal connections in the national economic organism can effect a substantial economy of labor and, in some cases, of guaranteeing a rapid growth of production with the same or even less expenditure. The gains to date should not of course be overestimated. They are only the *beginning*. But this beginning is eloquent proof of the very great benefits promised by optimal planning.

Especially important is planning of production on the scale of the entire community of socialist countries. The task here is to ascertain the optimal forms of concentration, specialization and coordination, as well as the most efficient ways of combining the production effort with a view not only to the technological and economic factors but to har-



monizing international specialization and all-round development of the economies of the separate countries and of the entire socialist system.

The unsound, in a sense autarchic, tendencies which occurred in the past and occasionally still make themselves felt in the People's Democracies were engendered to a certain extent by theoretical and methodological inadequacies and the lack of serious studies showing the economic effectiveness of international division of labor. This reflected an obviously inadequate inter-state specialization and excessive expansion of the assortment of output, without taking into account the possibilities contained in international socialist division of labor. In some countries this shortcoming, incidentally, made itself felt even more when it came to fixing the output programs for the enterprises, both for those in operation and those under construction. Some branches, combines and enterprises often sought to set themselves up as "self-sufficient entities," engaging in non-specialized production and building shops and even plants which in reality were superfluous.

An insufficiently scientific approach to basic production organization hampered the overcoming of duplication — manufacture of similar or even identical items — excessive expansion of the assortment of output and building of new production units that fell short of modern requirements as regards both size and productivity. This kind of thing was particularly widespread in the first years of the People's Democracies.

Science and technology are now widely used in compiling the economic plans. However, the actual process of the planning and the diverse methods used should conform to the findings of research, experimentation and experience. Habit and conservatism and a predilection for the formal aspect of planning techniques — these are dangers to be guarded against. Take, for instance, what is known as "calendar blindness" (sticking to dates in planning and in practice). This habit can only lead to artificial breaks in the intrinsically uninterrupted production-economic process, to non-rhythmic working in terms of quarterly, annual and five-year planning, with the decline taking place at the beginning of the period. The present system of indices of gross production and labor productivity, as well as the wage and bonus funds based on them, also suffer from flaws. What is particularly felt in the present planning techniques is the lack of effective stimuli in plans drawn up for factories which

would help to harness the full output potential.

Further elaboration of scientific principles of management and observance of these principles in practice will, undoubtedly, help to remove these shortcomings.

### **Wanted: General Criteria**

Scientific management and, hence, the science of economics play a very important part in the planned development of socialist society. Here, too, we see confirmation of the thesis that science is becoming a productive force in the full sense of the word.

Further advance in scientific management will accelerate the laying of the groundwork for coordinating plans on the scale of the entire community of socialist countries. And this is essential in order to make their economic cooperation more effective, to ensure the conformity of economic policy to the requirements of a higher type of international socialist division of labor. Above all this is a matter of finding a common "economic language," a common, comparable analytic basis, common criteria for ascertaining the best ways of coordinating planning.

The disparities and the unevenness in the development of economic science, and also the slowness with which the results of the research are applied, make themselves felt at the present time when we are taking the first steps toward an analysis of the economic problems on the scale of the socialist world system. The role of prices and wages and of methods of measuring productivity of labor, production costs, expenditure on capital construction, the effectiveness of investments, technological progress, specialization of production, principles of territorial distribution of the productive forces, etc., appear now in a new light. The matter of national-economic balances, supplier-consumer ties between branches, material supplies, manpower and monetary balances are no longer merely the internal affair of each socialist country. The new stage in international cooperation within the framework of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid calls for common principles and methods of compiling these balances and working out the theoretical and methodological foundations for compiling and coordinating plans on an international scale using modern computing techniques.

Similar problems exist in the various branches (manufacture, mining, agriculture, construction, transport, etc.) Each of these has its own specific laws, which should be



taken into account in planning the division of labor on the scale of the Council. But this calls for identical methods of economic analysis in the member countries. Hence the prime importance of the long-range program for unifying the basic elements of analysis and accounting on which the Council is now working.

In my view special attention should be paid to joint elaboration of a scientific approach to the organization of production processes and labor. Pooling experience and new decisions in this sphere should not present any great difficulty inasmuch as the means of production and the technological processes are more or less identical in all the countries concerned, and also because the structure of their productive forces, especially in the matter of employment and skills, is rapidly acquiring common characteristics.

A conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties in the member-countries of the Council, held earlier this year in Moscow, stressed that closer coordination of scientific and technological research was one of the most important tasks of the Council, and a coordinating committee is now being set up to help promote international cooperation in this sphere.

Formerly more attention was paid to planning and coordinating research in the natural sciences and technology than to economic research. Recently, however, the need for coordinated effort in this field, too, has found greater recognition. Organizational steps are being taken in all the socialist countries to direct efforts to the most important lines of economic research and the speedy application of the results of the research. It would be expedient to establish in the Council a coordinating centre which would ensure systematic international cooperation and promote exchange of experience in the economics and organization of production and labor.

## II. SOME URGENT TASKS

We will dwell on only some of the problems of socialist economic management the solution of which by the joint efforts of practical workers and theoreticians would greatly benefit both the various countries and the socialist community as a whole.

### Economy of Materialized Labor

Decisive for economic progress in the socialist countries are growth of the productivity of social labor, and a steady increase in the effectiveness of the labor expended.

This above all implies a more rational and effective employment of both living and materialized labor. Yet there is a definite tendency to underestimate the importance of the problem generally as well as the need for practical measures to save *materialized labor*, although the latter accounts for 70 to 90 per cent of the total expenditure of social labor in industry.

Far more has been done to work out technical standards in regard to the expenditure of living labor than materialized labor, and also to ensure observance of these standards. The situation is also unsatisfactory as regards substitutes for certain types of raw materials in short supply as well as in the matter of enriching and improving these materials. In allocating funds an unwarranted preference is often accorded to increasing the productivity of living labor, while less importance is attached to allocations designed to save power, raw materials and auxiliary materials.

The different approaches to these equally important problems are strikingly evident in the wage systems in Poland. Very little is being done to stimulate economy of raw materials, auxiliary materials and power or effective utilization of plant and equipment through bonuses. More effective solutions have been found for these problems in the USSR and in the German Democratic Republic. There is no doubt that pooling of experience and scientific analysis of the incentive to effective utilization of materialized labor in the various socialist countries will accelerate the solution of this important task.

### Circulating Funds

Of no little importance in ensuring rapid economic progress are optimal stocks of raw materials, auxiliary materials and finished products for both industrial and personal consumption. Their proper proportions can be assessed and the requirements envisaged by studying and summing up the experience, the actual needs of economic development.

Stocks should be adequate to ensure uninterrupted renewal and expansion of production, but not bigger. For they are part of the accumulation fund, and to allow them to exceed the established norm would be tantamount to increasing, to no useful purpose, accumulation at the expense of consumption; moreover, this would upset the rational proportions between the two components of the accumulation fund — reserves and investments — to the detriment of the latter.

The socialist countries are devoting much attention to reducing reserves to the essen-



tial level and accelerating turnover in the national economy. In practice, however, we still encounter serious departures from normal standards due to faulty organization of supply and sales, unpunctuality in deliveries and the resulting tendency to overstock goods.

At the same time there are instances of the opposite order when, owing to miscalculations in planning production and consumption, to delay in deliveries, etc., stocks are allowed to shrink below the rational level. Regulating the complex mechanism involved requires the solution of a multitude of interwoven problems — problems of planning and financing, material incentives and cost accounting, technical progress and commodity circulation, specialization and cooperation in production.

Proper organization in the flow of supplies has a big role to play in more effective utilization of turnover funds. Above all, there must be a balance between demand and supply, which presupposes efficient organization of deliveries by factories and supply organizations.

Steady improvement of the supply system should make for a considerable reduction of the quantity of stocks held by the consumer. The experience gained in Moscow in combining the stocks of several branches of industry and also our own experience prove that in many instances quantity of stocks can be substantially reduced through better organization of the flow of supplies. Steps are also being taken to establish closer contact between suppliers and consumers and to make the plans more sensitive to the changes in demand. In all countries control of turnover funds by the banks is being tightened and a study made of the principles to be followed in planning consumption and stocks.

#### Basic Funds

The utilization of basic funds (plant and equipment) poses many serious problems. The extent to which these funds — especially machinery and other equipment — are used determines to a considerable extent the volume of production. Substantial though the achievements of the socialist economy are, they could be considerably greater if the basic funds were used more rationally and all reserves tapped.

In Czechoslovakia, in the German Democratic Republic and elsewhere measures are being taken to make fuller use of machine time. In Poland enterprises with an uninterrupted production process are successfully working four shifts, including Sundays and

holidays, with a reduction in time for maintenance repairs. Time reserves in this respect are still substantial, however, and it is the job of the economists and the organizers of production to make full use of them.

Associated with this is the matter of accelerating the modernization and reconstruction of plant. In Poland, for instance, far too small a portion of the overall investment goes for machines and other equipment, even though it has substantially increased in recent years. This is due to a tendency to lay emphasis on building new plants, then on expanding them, and to regard reconstruction of factories and departments as being least urgent. Much of course depends on technological policy and the level of engineering and designing. But the fact remains that only a scientifically grounded technological and economic policy can give correct direction to modernization and reconstruction, especially on the scale of entire branches of industry. The very nature of the modern productive forces makes technological reconstruction of plant an inseparable aspect of specialization and coordination, and not only on the scale of one country but on that of the entire socialist community.

#### Investments

The volume and effectiveness of investments determine the rate of extended reproduction of plant and equipment, above all the rate of the growth of production capacity. Of all the problems of the economics and organization of production and labor, those connected with the extended reproduction of the basic production funds are the most important. At present, however, with the scale of capital construction steadily growing in the socialist countries and its structure becoming more complex, it is impossible to increase the effectiveness of the investments without devising more exact methods of planning.

As is widely known, methods of analyzing the effectiveness of investments have been the subject of a broad discussion in the socialist countries. In the course of this discussion a growing measure of agreement has been reached that these methods should be worked out in conjunction with an analysis of experience, taking a critical approach to both the plans and the capital construction. Improvement in the methods used in the various countries would greatly facilitate the proposed extension of coordinated investment on the scale of the Council. This applies primarily to study of the experience gained



in priority financing of enterprises yielding the highest returns in the given branches of the economy, as well as of those branches of national industry the development of which is the most advantageous from the standpoint of the socialist commonwealth as a whole.

Implementation of the general principles of the international socialist division of labor adopted by the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties of the Council countries requires, in particular, methods of analysis and allocation of investments that would facilitate economically justified joint financing of capital construction and concentration of investments in certain industries in one or another country. In the long run this would increase concentration of production and make it more profitable.

### Consumer Demand and Production

Planned, proportional development of production presupposes not only taking full account of the interlocking of the various branches of industry making the means of production, but also fixing the necessary proportions for the production of consumer goods on the basis of an analysis of consumer demand. Lenin said: "The 'consumption power of society' and the 'proportionality of the various branches of production' are far from being some kind of separate, independent and unrelated conditions. On the contrary, a definite level of consumption is one of the elements of proportionality."

Unless the structure and trend of consumer demand is known it will be impossible to fix the correct output targets for industries making consumer goods and foodstuffs. In the socialist countries, however, study of consumer demand and long-range forecasting in this sphere are a new branch of economic science, though a rapidly developing one, for the dogmatic concepts which retarded it at one time have now been overcome. The biggest obstacle to its development was the thesis that disproportion between production and consumer demand was an economic law of socialism.\* This postulate, moreover, claimed that such a disproportion actually stimulated production.

Now that we have got rid of these dogmatic misconceptions it is the urgent task of the economists and organizers of production to ensure proper planning in conformity with the demand, to ascertain how demand is affected by changes in prices and wages,

\*The reference is to the erroneous view that under socialism growth in the production of consumer goods is bound to lag behind the growth of effective demand.

growth of the urban population at the expense of the rural, etc., and to devise ways and means of influencing it. This would help to regulate purchasing power, i.e., ensure a proper balance between income and expenditure of the population, and foresee the effects of planned increases in purchasing power.

To do this it is necessary to re-examine the present system of planning and material incentives, which at times is an obstacle to the proper fulfilment of plans as regards assortment and quality.

### Once More About the Law of Value

The operation of the law of value is one of the crucial questions of the political economy of socialism. To ignore it, or to interpret it incorrectly, would but harm the economy, as, indeed, has been the case in many instances.

The main point here is price formation. All instances of the operation of the law of value in our economic practice are in one or another measure connected with the system of prices. Yet many fundamental questions of the theory, methods and machinery of fixing prices for means of production and for consumer goods have as yet been inadequately explored. Not long ago it was widely believed that there was no objective connection between prices for means of production and consumer-goods prices, and that the former could be fixed arbitrarily. This view gave free rein to chance in fixing prices for means of production, retarded economic research and prevented due cognizance being taken of the operation of the law of value.

A rational system of prices for the means of production will facilitate effective utilization of the law of value as an accelerator of growth. Devising such a system of prices requires unified methods of computing costs and scientific evaluation of accumulation and profit levels. There is no need to go into the details of the complex interaction of the factors influencing price policy, the finances of the enterprises or the role of material incentives in increasing returns and in cutting production costs; I should merely like to stress the importance of these problems and the need for more international cooperation in this sphere.

The Fifteenth Session of the Council decided to work out a system of prices for trade between the member-countries. For this, as well as for establishing comparable indices of capital investments, national income and its distribution the statistical data



will have to be adjusted in the light of the prices in the various countries. Computations essential for comparing the income of the population and expenditure on goods and services have already been made in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary. Of considerable interest also is the work undertaken to obtain comparable indices of investments and the cost of producing means of production.

All this is highly important in coordinating the economic plans of the socialist countries, and it also paves the way to the gradual approximation of their price systems. In my opinion the aim in this work, which will take a number of years to complete, should be the maximum approximation of prices and value. Needless to say, this depends on how fast the technological levels and the levels of the organization of production and labor are evened up in the different branches of the economy, and on the degree of socialization, above all in agriculture.

### Division of Labor

In the light of the decisions of the above-mentioned Moscow conference, of particular urgency just now in the socialist world is extension of the socialist division of labor on a scientific footing. This applies in equal measure to the division of labor within the national boundaries and on the scale of the entire commonwealth, and presupposes an improved structure and organization of production in conformity with the laws of development of modern productive forces. The opportunities for mechanizing and automating production processes will be greater.

It is also exceedingly important to accelerate the job of standardizing and unifying parts going into finished products of different dimensions and types, and also to start production of standardized sub-assemblies. This would facilitate rapid reconstruction of machines and the installing and operating of multiple production units and automated lines.

It was for this reason that recent Council meetings stressed the urgency of drawing up a program for extensive standardization and unification. For delay will but hinder technological progress.

Equally important is concentration of production. What are the optimal dimensions of a certain type of plant in the given industry and a given country, and how does cooperation between the socialist countries affect these dimensions? This question can be answered scientifically by dynamic planning

based on knowledge of the changes brought about by the new technology, changes in transport costs and other factors.

To this day plants under central management and those under local jurisdiction are artificially separated. This separation violates scientific organization of production and labor. Each branch of production should be regarded as an entity governed by the same laws of concentration, specialization, integrated organization of production and distribution of the productive forces. On the basis of an analysis of these laws the Soviet Union is now introducing far-reaching changes, transferring the majority of the so-called local enterprises to the jurisdiction of the economic councils.

A complement to concentration, specialization and coordination is a comprehensive system of inter-industry and inter-departmental supply relations for the various economic areas. Similar tasks have been posed by the Council, taking into account, of course, the principles of international socialist division of labor. In tackling these tasks, it is essential to ensure, on the one hand, rapid progress in specialization and coordination on an international scale, and on the other, comprehensive development of the economy of each socialist country.

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When we speak of shortcomings, of unutilized reserves, and of the inadequacies of economic research, we proceed from the fact that in our countries the social sciences are called upon not only to explain reality but to change it.

The socialist countries are confidently marching forward, hence the economic sciences should look at the present from the standpoint of the future, to regard what exists today as a springboard to what there will be tomorrow. And it always will be so. Therefore, it is the duty of the economist and of the business manager to take a critical view of even the most optimistic realities.

The socialist economy has reached maturity. What was but a dream yesterday is now the practical program for the building of communism by our generation. To produce more, better, faster and cheaper — this is no longer just so many words; it is the pulse-beat of our epoch, the onward march to the communist future, the builders of which are the working people led by their vanguard, the Communist and Workers' parties.



The rising efficiency of our economic endeavors imbues us with confidence in the future. At the same time it is an example to the peoples who are throwing off the yoke of capitalism.

And equally an example to all is the fraternal cooperation of the socialist countries and the growing socio-political and ideolo-

gical unity of their peoples. The new forms of this cooperation worked out at the June meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the Council countries will, unquestionably, help to ensure rapid economic progress in the socialist camp and cement the friendship of the socialist nations.

## The Bourgeoisie in Senegal and Neo-Colonialism

*Will Mac Lorin*

**T**O build a United Independence Front in Senegal, our main objective at the present time, it is essential that the African Party of Independence (Senegal) should have a correct policy in the matter of alliances with diverse classes, social groups and individuals. Needless to say, viable and effective alliances can be built only if full cognizance is taken of the structure of society as it is today, and of the role of the different classes in the economic and political life of the country.

Under colonial rule the process of class differentiation in African society was submerged and moved very slowly. By undermining the position of one feudal group and relying on another and ruthlessly exploiting the remainder of the population, imperialism turned the people against colonialism. The resultant unity of nearly all sections of the population (including some feudal groups) against colonial exploitation also tended until recently to conceal class differentiation. The fact that in the course of the last 20 years some of the petty bourgeoisie, in particular the lower grade civil servants and clerical workers, were, through their trade unions, the most active and, up to a point, the most faithful exponents of the popular aspirations likewise helped to obscure the similarities in the development of the African and in other, more developed societies.

Because of this some theoretical writers and political leaders claim that African society is a society without classes and class struggle, or that it is only now and only in a few African countries that classes are beginning to emerge, though the people are barely aware of this themselves and are not

conscious of having any specific class interests. Some, like President Senghor of Senegal, deny the existence of classes in the proper sense of the word. Others concede that there are different strata (rich and poor). But in both cases the object is to justify the idea of class collaboration between the worker-peasant population and the bourgeoisie. As regards Senegal, Senghor eschews the very word "classes" and speaks instead of "vanishing professional groups." This argument is an attempt to prove that there is no need for a party like ours, a workers' party of a new type; the object is to mislead our natural allies, above all the peasants, to spread opportunism among them and, in the final analysis, perpetuate the imperialist exploitation.

The most zealous preachers of the no-classes theory are those who already belong or aspire to belong to the bourgeoisie. In approaching the fundamental problem of the worker-peasant alliance it is essential to know what sections of the population are really interested in changing the existing state of affairs, which sections want fundamental changes and which are interested only in partial reforms and, on the other hand, who is it that seeks to perpetuate colonial exploitation in the new forms which we call neo-colonialism. The answer is: *all the people of Senegal, with the exception of the handful who profit by Senghor's neo-colonialist regime, want far-reaching changes.* As regards this handful and their associates, it is essential to ascertain whether they are merely chance elements or whether they are a group bound together by economic interests and occupying privileged positions in the



system of production relations, ownership of property and in sharing the fruit of the peoples' labor.

In our country, as elsewhere in Africa, the bourgeoisie as a class already plays the same role as the bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries. The interests of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie are diametrically opposed to the interests of the peasants, the workers and the entire working population. The features which distinguish it from the capitalist class of other countries make its rule no less oppressive, for it is a class linked with imperialism.

### **The Rise of the Bourgeoisie**

Pre-colonial society in Senegal was predominantly feudal, with some pre-feudal survivals. Its basic features were political fragmentation into provinces and districts forming a system of vassalage and tutelage, and the institute of "grand electors"\*. The two main classes were the feudal land-owners and the peasants.

When the colonialists first appeared in the country they encountered resistance on the part of some chiefs who often waged a long and bitter struggle in defense of their lands. This laid its imprint on the colonial penetration; on the one hand, the colonialists sought to remove the intransigent local rulers and to annex the conquered provinces, and, on the other, to preserve the feudal institutions as auxiliary instruments of government and to use the subservient chiefs as tools of colonialism.

After the economic exploitation had acquired a systematic character, and after trade had got under way and political alignments had crystallized, the colonial system became dominant. At the same time the disintegration of feudalism began. This break-up of the old relationships gained pace with the development of industry and the establishment of a parliamentary and bureaucratic form of government, all of which aggravated the antagonism between the new and the old socio-political set-ups.

Like the capitalist class in any other country, the Senegal bourgeoisie emerged in the process of the break-up of feudalism from which it sprang and with which it is linked politically. This link is evident in our time in the mutual support rendered each other by the bourgeoisie and the ultra-reactionary and anti-national religious sects. Moreover,

\*The "grand electors" were chosen by the tribal chiefs and had as many votes as there were "voters" in their respective areas. They, naturally, voted for the chiefs to whom they owed their office.

*the bourgeoisie took shape with the assistance, both direct and indirect, of the colonialists, whose associate it was from the outset and whose reliable agents most of its members are to this day. These two features, i.e., feudal origin and ties with the colonial system, are the hallmarks of the Senegal bourgeoisie.* Its feudal roots link it with the most reactionary groups in the country, and as the agent of imperialism it is tied to neo-colonialism. The present-day bourgeoisie in Senegal is incapable, as M. Diop has said, of completing even a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It has shown itself powerless to break the paralyzing grip of feudalism, even though the development of capitalism has been accelerated to some extent by the fact that in recent times, in the conditions of neo-colonialism, it has been at the helm of state. In our country there is no national bourgeoisie in the sense of a bourgeoisie opposed to the imperialist monopolies. The existing elements of this bourgeoisie are at best embryonic, potential rather than real.

### **The Economic Base of the Senegal Bourgeoisie**

Landed property, ownership of the means of transport, trade and financial operations, on the one hand, and the utilization of the state machine, on the other, are the two basic factors in the rise and consolidation of the bourgeoisie.

Owing to the restrictions imposed by Senegalese common law, however, ownership of land did not lead to the formation of a big land-owning bourgeoisie, while poor development of industry prevented the emergence of an industrial capitalist class. Of an overall annual turnover for the entire economy of 55,000 million African francs, more than 35,000 million or 64 per cent, accrues from the trade sector, which accounts for slightly more than 25 per cent of all the enterprises in the country. It is understandable, therefore, that the attention of the bourgeoisie should be focused on this sector, even though its share in it is still very small; the commercial bourgeoisie accounts for about two per cent of the total turnover of all sectors of the economy and three per cent of the enterprises. In industry the local bourgeoisie owns or controls four per cent of the enterprises and 15 per cent of the capital in construction and road-building. In the sphere of finance its share is no more significant. The operating capital of four out of the nine big banks (Banque Sénégalaise de Développement, Crédit Sénégalais, Union Sénégalaise



de Banques and Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie au Senegal) is guaranteed by the French treasury.

The Senegal bourgeoisie has a hand in these banks both directly and through the government\*. A relative of the President of the Republic sits on the board of the Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie au Sénégal (Pierre Senghor, who is also on the board of the Société Maritime et Commerciale du Sénégal), and many African industrial, construction and commercial entrepreneurs hold considerable packets of shares in the Union Sénégalaise de Banques pour le Commerce et l'Industrie, which is a new front for the Crédit Lyonnais of Dakar. Two years ago two of the big colonial trading companies—Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale and Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain — were reorganized in the neo-colonialist AFRIDEX and SOGECOD Companies with "independent" African managers and boards consisting of Africans. At one time rumor had it that Premier Mamadou Dia was also a member of the board of one of these companies, but he promptly denied the fact.

There is, then, a tangible economic base for the growth of a capitalist class, a base which, though still not too solid, nevertheless is gaining strength. Here, too, are revealed the bonds that link the Senegal bourgeoisie and government with neo-colonialism and make them anti-national associates of the colonialists.

*At present there are no serious contradictions between the Senegal bourgeoisie as a class and foreign imperialism.* On the contrary, the expansion of the activity of imperialism (or, more correctly, of a number of imperialist powers, since each of these has its own agents among the Senegal bourgeoisie) is in the interests of the bourgeoisie, which has in the government an instrument for intensifying the exploitation by the foreign monopolies.

The top men of the bourgeoisie are members of the government, deputies of the National Assembly, or function as high-ranking civil servants. The trade unions have estimated that the income of the ministers and members of Parliament (about 100 in all) runs to one per cent of the annual national income. These people have voted themselves salaries which, not counting income in kind, are 60 times as great as the annual income of

the Senegalese peasants. The same coterie has handed 90 per cent of the country's economy over to the foreign monopolies.

Utilizing the state machinery, as well as trade and other economic agreements with the French and West-German imperialists and also the machinery of the Common Market, the bourgeoisie is lining its pockets and at the same time facilitating the exploitation of the people by the foreign monopolies, to whom it extends all manner of guarantees, tax exemptions and other privileges. It is common knowledge that Senegalese capitalists also have holdings abroad. Some have properties in France and transfer capital to Europe, especially to Switzerland, for they have little faith in the Senegal banks and the prospects of the economy of their own country.

The main reason why the bourgeoisie has adopted this anti-national stand is political. It is an element of neo-colonialism, a vehicle of the colonial policy of imperialism. In view of the superiority of the socialist world system over imperialism, of the inevitable spread of socialism throughout the world and the gradual awakening of the masses in both town and countryside, the bourgeoisie has no confidence in the morrow. Hence, instead of pursuing a national policy, it uses its governmental power to squander the wealth of the country, to share in plundering its resources, to facilitate the export of the bulk of the national income, and to deceive and shackle the working people — all in the interests of neo-colonialism and capitalism. Thus neo-colonialism is accelerating the rise and consolidation of the Senegal bourgeoisie, which is corrupt to the core right up to the highest levels.

Under the slogan of Africanization, which is carried out along colonialist lines, the imperialist monopolies are handing over executive positions and packets of shares to Africans who have entered their service, distributing rewards in the shape of trips to the West, and buying the conscience of trade union leaders. For many of these, bank accounts have been opened in the Lebanon or in Israel. Some 20 deputies to the National Assembly (25 per cent of its total membership) are managers or presidents of commercial or industrial firms.

The Senegal Minister of Finance, speaking in Dakar last June, declared that the "economic, financial and monetary position of Senegal is good." What he had in mind was evidently the position of the monopolies and the bourgeoisie. The Lesieur vegetable oil

\*See A. Thiaw, M. Thiam and M. Sarr, *Le "Socialisme Africain" en Senegal (Mythes ou Realites)*. Dakar, June 1962.



concern, for instance, made a net profit of nearly 429 million African francs in 1960. In 1961 the Peterson concern netted over 247 million, Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain over 273 million and Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale nearly 264 million African francs.\*

These figures do not include the depreciation fund or sums debited to future payments, which often exceed the total announced profits as much as sixfold.

The Finance Minister made no mention of these figures, nor did he contrast the growing impoverishment of the peasantry to the prosperity of the monopolies. The peasants get no more for their ground nuts than before, although their taxes are steadily mounting. This year they had to pay back in kind a loan for the purchase of agricultural implements and seed which was extended to them at exorbitant interest rates running up to 25 per cent. The result was still greater pauperization of the peasants and bigger profits for the vegetable oil monopolies. Hunger set in in the countryside almost immediately after the harvest.

There is no doubt, then, about the existence of a Senegal bourgeoisie, though its rise and the base on which it is developing are marked by certain specific features. And equally clear is the contradiction between this bourgeoisie and the worker-peasant population.

### **Basic Features and Prospects of the Bourgeoisie**

From the foregoing it can be seen that the Senegal bourgeoisie may well be likened to a confidential agent of the foreign monopolies, that its origins are feudal-colonial and that its rise coincides with neo-colonialism. This explains its pro-imperialist, anti-national character and policy, and the general trend of its development. A bourgeoisie which has sprung mainly from feudal elements and from the colonial bureaucracy can hardly be anything but an agent carrying out the neo-colonialist policy of the monopolies, an intermediary for the latter in exploiting the people. The interests of the bourgeoisie are so intertwined with those of the neo-colonialists that it has come to believe that whatever is good for neo-colonialism is good for it — and this includes even the foreign military bases which, besides serving the general strategic aims of NATO, are designed to intimidate (and eventually to suppress) the democratic forces in Senegal and in all Africa.

\*Bulletin of the Dakar Chamber of Commerce, April 1962.

Hence the concern shown by the foreign monopolies for strengthening the bourgeoisie. This concern finds expression in economic and financial aid to the leading sections of the bourgeoisie and in political support to the handful of reactionaries in the government. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie, resigning itself to economic, political and military dependence, has enabled the colonialists to continue to exploit our people in a more modernized fashion. The government is bound hand and foot to French foreign policy. Senegal is represented in the Common Market in which the government is out to involve the country; there is also a representative at the Vatican, which exerts direct pressure on the head of state and many of the ministers; through a system of military agreements with France the government has linked itself with the aggressive NATO bloc, irresponsibly exposing the country to possible retaliatory blows in the event of the imperialists unleashing war, since there are major French secret military bases in Dakar, Thies and other centers; and, in deference to the monopolies, democracy is being suppressed.

But although the bourgeoisie as a whole has never subscribed to the idea of genuine national independence, it has not been able to prevent some of its members from awakening more and more to the contradictions between their own class interests and imperialism. At present, however, the neo-colonialists, resorting to intrigue and bribery, are bending every effort to prevent these contradictions from coming to a head.

### **Features of the Struggle Against Neo-colonialism**

The class struggle in Senegal has already assumed considerable proportions. This is evident if only from the fact that the government of the bourgeoisie and the monopolies, while seeking to perpetuate illiteracy and ignorance in the countryside, building up a vicious system of plundering the peasants and upholding the interests of the foreign capitalists, is introducing one oppressive law after another, abolishing trade union rights and banning the organizations of the working people. It has outlawed the African Party of Independence, the leading worker-peasant party. Due to the pro-imperialist character of the bourgeoisie, to the fact that it has no future, and to the complexity of the political relationships, the basic contradiction in Senegal is that between the people and imperialism now cloaked in a neo-colonialist garb. The feature of the situation is that *neo-colonialism and imperialism can*



be combated only by waging a consistent struggle against the bourgeoisie in power. Associated with this pro-imperialist bourgeoisie are also the top-ranking army officers and those intellectuals who have been deluded by the neo-colonialist type of Africanization. To deny that there is a bourgeoisie in our country is to exclude every possibility of waging a consistent struggle for far-reaching democratic changes. The bourgeoisie in power serves as a screen for neo-colonialism, and hence neo-colonialism cannot be defeated without defeating the pro-imperialist and anti-national bourgeoisie. Under the pressure of the masses, it has had to give way on repeated occasions, as, for instance, when the government was compelled to establish diplomatic relations with the socialist countries. But it would be a grave error to think that the ruling bourgeoisie is capable of steadfastly pursuing a policy of national independence. It cannot do so because of its pro-imperialist character; consequently it is the duty of the people, of all the democratic forces, to defeat it in order to go over to a policy in keeping with the interests of the peasants, workers and other sections of the working population, a policy without which there can be no social progress.

Some sections of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie are beginning to see through the ruling group and, consequently, are standing aloof from it. These sections are primarily those without any direct links with the monopolies in the spheres of construction, transport and manufacture, and especially the middle strata of traders. Their interests now clash with those of the pro-imperialist capitalists who have a stake in mixed companies.

The fact that there are such sections does not in any way change the overall nature of the bourgeoisie as a class acting with the imperialists. But not to pay attention to the differentiation within the bourgeoisie could lead to one-sided, sectarian policies, just as an incorrect understanding of the basic aspects of the fight against neo-colonialism could engender a Right-wing opportunist trend toward class collaboration and relaxation of the struggle against colonialism.

### Alliances: Strategy and Tactics

The people can already see some of the signs of the tie-up between the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The period since formal independence was achieved and the bourgeoisie assumed responsibility for the nation's destinies has made it amply clear that the capi-

talist class is incapable of solving the problems confronting the country. This class, having lost all popular support, depends solely on the foreign armed forces and the internal reactionaries. The people will have nothing to do with any alliance with the bourgeoisie. The program of the African Party of Independence declares that, as a Marxist-Leninist party, it is fighting against the consolidation of the bourgeoisie and its leadership, for national democracy, which can be brought about by a government of national alliance. To quote what Lenin said in regard to the Russian Social Democrats, the African Party of Independence is resolved "to raise aloft the general democratic banner in order to rally around itself all those strata and elements which are capable of fighting for political freedom or at least supporting this struggle in one way or another."\* Hence the Party advocates the policy of a broad alliance based primarily on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and including all democratic forces interested in changes beneficial to the people. Clearly, once the question of the character of the bourgeoisie has been solved, there will be no difficulty in respect to strategy. *There can be no question of any let-up in the struggle our Party has always waged against the ruling group, which represents the pro-imperialist Senegalese bourgeoisie and the foreign monopolies.* Experience has shown that every time the masses take action this coterie has to reckon with their pressure. Moreover, the popular struggle for economic and democratic demands, liberal traditions, and the anxiety evinced by the monopolies lest their agents give in to the popular pressure have a definite effect on the uncorrupted section of the bourgeoisie. This section subscribes to nationalist views and is interested in a shift towards a national policy which would accord with its interests rather than those of the imperialists.

The policy of our Party in regard to alliances proceeds from recognition of the need for the working class to support the democratic demands of all sections of the population, including the national-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups. But while advocating such support, which is implicit in the idea of a united independence front, our Party stands fast by its principles. "To support the democratic demands of the petty bourgeoisie," Lenin said, "by no means signifies supporting the petty bourgeoisie."\*\* The program of the African Party of Independence

\*V. I. Lenin, *The Draft Program of Our Party*.

\*\*V. I. Lenin, *The Draft Program of Our Party*.



declares: "The objective conditions exist for a realignment of the national forces in the face of the colonialist forces of oppression and exploitation." The alliances we advocate are based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of these conditions.

The working people approve of the idea of building a united independence front which would put forward a program for a government of national unity. This is an idea they can accept and for which they are ready to fight. Besides, the issue of the united front, which would open definite perspectives for the national bourgeoisie, is bound to cause rifts among the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie. Although the local capitalists and the neo-colonialists are working to block the formation of a united front, the decision no longer

rests with the present rulers and their foreign backers. Some sections of the nationalist bourgeoisie are likely to agree with the united front program, since it reflects the powerful urge toward complete national independence which is so deeply rooted among the people.

Complete national liberation can be achieved, the economic and cultural problems facing the country solved, the productive forces unshackled and production relations changed to conform to the interests of the working people only if our party and all the other democratic forces *join in a united front of independence*. The struggle to build this front is a struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and against the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie in Senegal.

## Marxism-Leninism and Its Influence on Cultural Life in Brazil

*Pedro Motta Lima*

**T**HE present situation in Brazil, all that concerns its internal life as well as its position on the international arena cannot be correctly understood unless examined in the light of the role played by Marxist-Leninist teaching in the cultural development of the country and the positive results of the work done by the Communists in alliance with other broad democratic and national strata.

For many years the ideological life of the country was dominated by Catholic theology and scholasticism which encouraged superstition and prejudice and offered pseudo-scientific concepts as "eternal truths."

According to the purveyors of these ideas four-fifths of Brazil's boundless expanses were unfit for cultivation or for live-stock breeding; the country was alleged to have no coal, oil or any of the mineral wealth which is being extracted today. Similarly widespread was the racist theory that the people, being of mixed ethnic groups of a "lower order" — Indians, Negroes and Portuguese — were an "inferior" race.

Incredible though it may seem, these theories were taken seriously by Brazilian historians and sociologists and even by the more

progressive writers like Silvio Romero or José Verissimo. Capistrano de Abreu, a historian and critic of considerable renown in his time, was frankly sceptical concerning the future of Brazil, believing it "doomed to produce nothing but coffee and sugar for the tables of the civilized world."

And this struggle between reaction and progress, naturally, found its reflection also in cultural life. In the second half of the 19th century there appeared a group of philosophers and sociologists who expressed the interests of the democratic sections of the population. Among them were Antonio Pedro Figueirado who published the journal *Progreso*, José Francisco Lisboa, who as far back as 1864 defended the people's right to revolt, and Silveiro Fontes, one of the first Marxists in Brazil. Some progressive thinkers, such as Tobias Barreto, for instance, drew heavily on the materialist theories current in Europe at that time.

Positivism, which was popular among intellectuals in the seventies of the last century, and which had outstanding exponents in Luiz Pereira Barreto and Miguel Lemos, had a salutary effect on ideological life in 19th century Brazil chiefly because it was used by



the rising national bourgeoisie as a philosophical weapon in the struggle against the monarchy and the slave-owning system. But it could not provide the answer to all the questions agitating the minds of the people in those years. Rejecting revolution as a means of remaking society it became an obstacle to the spreading of more radical social-political ideas that were beginning to take root. This, however, was a slow process, and as late as 1922, when the Communist Party was founded, the spirit of pessimism, springing from a distorted view of things, prevailed in intellectual life.

### 1.

After the First World War, with the changes in the social structure brought about by the development of manufacture and the penetration of capitalism into agriculture, the need for radical reforms began slowly to make itself felt. Inevitably the question arose: What way should Brazil take?

The intellectuals were the first to endeavor to find the answer to this question, but they were not consistent in their efforts.

The critic Silvio Romero, for example, wrote at the beginning of the century: "The economic and social relations of the time of the colony and empire remain to this day. The time has come to put an end to them and start a new phase in national life and thinking." But that was as far as Romero got. He believed the situation could be remedied by the "growth of the productive classes" (by which he meant the owners of the means of production) and the education of "a larger number of citizens fitted for life under modern conditions."

The Positivists had nothing to offer either. Having played a leading role in the preceding battles against slavery and for the republic, Positivism in Brazil began to decline.

Catholicism in its turn was concerned solely with securing its positions and privileges, its own as well as those of the other reactionary forces. Its spokesman was the philosopher Parias Brito, author of the book *The Goal of the World*. The Liberals, through Alberto Torres, proclaimed the threadbare "back to the land" slogan which meant a rejection of industrialization.

It was at this juncture that the hurricane of the October Revolution in Russia began to scatter the dead leaves of the tree of reactionary ideology and to sow the seeds of Marxism-Leninism over the entire earth. In Brazil the soil for these ideas had been prepared by the big strikes in Rio de Janeiro,

Sao Paulo and other industrial centers between 1917 and 1920. The first Marxist groups — precursors of the future Communist Party — appeared. At strike meetings, in the trade unions, in the student and other organizations a fierce struggle was waged against anarcho-syndicalism and other petty-bourgeois tendencies. A debate on the question of the economic, political and cultural development of the country was launched in the press, and especially in the journal *Movimento Comunista* which later became the central organ of the Communist Party, a debate that continues to this day as one of the manifestations of the class struggle.

From this time on the prejudices and false concepts that had long held sway began to lose their seeming infallibility. The Communists, the first to question them, expounded their own ideas, suggested solutions to the national problems and revealed the "mysterious" reasons for the country's backwardness and the poverty of its people. It was the Communists who revived interest in exploring the natural resources which had formerly been publicly renounced. They pointed out that for these resources to be used for the benefit of the nation it was necessary to struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

At first the reactionaries underestimated the power of the Communist theories, asserting that "exotic ideas would never take hold in Brazil." But it soon became clear that they had quite a formidable rival on the political and cultural arena. The Church, headed by the paladins of neo-Thomism, Jackson Figueiredo and Tristao de Ataíde (the pseudonym used by the manufacturer Alcei de Amoroso Lima), launched a counter-offensive. The arsenals of Western Europe and the United States supplied the reactionaries with ideological weapons. And when one weapon became blunted and useless in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, it was forthwith replaced by another more "up-to-date."

### 2.

The Communists waged a determined struggle against the reactionary ideology in all its manifestations. The results of this struggle began to make themselves felt around the middle thirties, when a new trend appeared in the cultural life of the country, anticipating to some extent the changes in the social and economic structure. The various sections of the intelligentsia adopted less conciliatory positions, and began to pay more attention to research. Many writers and



artists took a more serious attitude to problems of their country and its people. Their art flourished, even as regards form. Interest in folklore and respect for the national traditions were revived. The European culture which had been absorbed by Brazil was now enriched by Brazilian and Afro-Brazilian elements. The national literature thrived afresh and soon earned world recognition (Graciliano Ramos, Jorge Amado). This was the age of revival in the theatre, cinema, architecture, folk song and professional music. Progressive thinking began to dominate in intellectual activity, beginning with education and ending with the theoretical branches of learning and laboratory research.

It would be an exaggeration to attribute these changes exclusively to the polemical and practical activities of the Communists. For part of the intelligentsia, in search of the material they needed, turned to other sources. This applies above all to the work of the non-Communist sociologists, economists and researchers. Nevertheless their study and research, their philosophical positions and their social and political actions were influenced by the national and international revolutionary movement, and in particular by the October Revolution, by the progress made in building socialism in the countries of the socialist camp and by the successes of the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. There is no doubt that the constructive and revitalizing force of Marxism-Leninism, which for the past 45 years has been changing the pattern of the world — and not only within the framework of the socialist system — played its part here. Marxist-Leninist ideas have penetrated to all countries, exerting a particularly powerful influence on the nations fighting for national and social emancipation.

The grim experience of the epoch of the "new state" of a fascist type\* showed that without democratic freedoms, without the active participation of the working class and the whole people there can be no progress and advance towards national independence. It was only with the restoration of civil liberties that the struggle against imperialist domination assumed major proportions. Here too the intelligentsia made a valuable contribution. The Second National Congress of Writers held in January 1945 discussed important political issues. It defied the police restrictions and overcame the press and radio censorship. Its resolutions were published

and elicited enthusiastic response. This marked the beginning of the national movement which resulted in a broad amnesty and the establishment of a Constituent Assembly, thus putting an end to the corporate state and the authoritarian regime by peaceful means.

The survivals of feudalism in the rural areas, the monopoly ownership of the land by a small group of latifundists and the dependence on foreign imperialism had retarded, and still do, the country's development economically, politically and culturally. For a long time progressive ideas of any kind had been ruthlessly persecuted. And so long as prison threatened anyone who advocated structural reforms based on theories hostile to the ruling classes, life in the country remained stagnant. Important branches of industry were, and still are, controlled by foreign monopolies. To this day there has been no agrarian reform. And although Brazil is the biggest country in Latin America it long occupied a mere third place for volume of output. Only in the past five years has the national income doubled and it has moved up to first place in Latin America for volume of production.

There is no doubt that were it not for the ideological struggle initiated by the Communists together with the other progressive forces, Brazil would still be in a state of ignorance and backwardness. Thanks to their method of study and analysis — the dialectical, materialist method — the Communists, despite the mistakes which they themselves have recognized, did much to open the eyes of the people to the true state of affairs and to rid them of false notions which played into the hands of the land-owners and pro-imperialist bourgeoisie. As a result, big changes have taken place not only in the economy and in politics, but in the cultural sphere as well. And change could not but emphasize the existing contradictions and eventually awaken the masses to the need for far-reaching social reforms.

This process is becoming more and more apparent, although it is still not recognized by the intelligentsia as a whole. The traditional opponents of social and economic changes are resisting it, while renegades from the Communist movement and others who have fallen under revisionist influence, maintain that cultural progress is merely a direct reflection of the economic development, and that the development is simply the result of capitalist accumulation. This one-sided explanation, a tacit justification of economism

\*The years of the Vargas dictatorship (1937-1945). Vargas proclaimed Brazil a "corporate" state after the pattern of fascist Italy.—Ed.



and sporadic development, ignores the interaction of the objective and the subjective, the essence of historical materialism; it does so in order to deny the force of the ideas and the role of Marxist-Leninist theory, the role of the Marxist-Leninist party.

On the other hand, the bourgeois sections are trying to conceal the influence of the Communists so as to preserve their political hegemony and to limit the changes of the present revolutionary period to their own narrow class aims.

### 3.

Many sections of the intelligentsia, particularly at times when the reactionaries are on the offensive, are affected by the instability that is a feature of the national and petty bourgeoisie. It is precisely the intelligentsia that has suffered most from the cold war. Invoking anti-communism, agents of North American imperialism such as Carlos Lacerda, for example (governor of Guanabara State), tried to exclude progressives from the Brazilian Writers' Association. The mistakes committed by some groups of intellectuals, Communist included, owing to dogmatic and sectarian views, have played into the hands of the enemy and made it easier to alienate people who would otherwise have opposed the political discrimination and stood solidly for unity. The enemy thus was able to win a dual victory — the temporary isolation of the Communists and the collapse of the Writers' Association founded in 1945.

Later, during McCarthyism, when a reactionary propaganda barrage was unloosed against the intellectuals, many lost their bearings. Even some writers and artists who had joined the Communist Party lost faith in the working-class movement, both national and international. They incorrectly interpreted the struggle to restore the standards violated during the personality cult, and they regarded the eradication of that cult as the end of the idol-worship which had been their *raison d'être*.

Disillusioned, they prostrated themselves before the bourgeoisie. Their thirst for self-flagellation bordered on self-destruction. That period witnessed many things — from the morbid "*mea culpa*" of the honest man to the panicky flight of the renegade. A whole gamut of positions might have been observed between these two extremes. But one thing is common to them all — they are all grist to the mill of the "third force," pluralism, economism, anarchy, Trotskyism, liquidationism with its numerous revisionist manifesta-

tions. Revisionism takes diverse forms, beginning with undisguised liquidationism and ending with insidious denial of the leading role of the working class and even doubts as to the validity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, principles which have found supreme confirmation in the existence of the international Communist movement, and the achievements of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist world system.

Another manifestation of anti-communist and anti-working class influence among the Brazilian intellectuals, not excluding the most progressive sections, occurred during the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary, the true nature of which was not immediately apparent. Focusing attention solely on the mistakes which had made the enemy's task so much easier, they closed their eyes to the central issue—defense of the political power of the working class and of all the people.

At that time imperialism and its auxiliaries concentrated their fire against the Communists. Naturally their principal target was Marxism-Leninism which, they shouted, had been "overcome," to say nothing of its having been revised. "Experts" of all shades and descriptions, old hands at the game as well as novices, vied with one another in contrasting the successes of "neo-capitalism" and "people's capitalism" to the "historic defeat" of the Communist theory. The entire propaganda network of the U.S. State Department in Brazil was seized with a paroxysm of rejoicing that could only be compared to the gloating of the Hitler fascists over the fruits of their own propaganda. The more vulnerable elements in the literary and art world were unable to resist this psychological pressure. This was reflected in the appearance of extreme forms of abstractionism in painting and sculpture and formalism carried to absurd lengths in music, in the folk songs and dances reduced to the "bossa nova samba" and rock-n-roll; in the retrogression in the subject-matter of some novelists who had recently been classed among the best writers of their time and now began to turn to eroticism and other forms of escape from revolutionary reality. These trends, wholeheartedly encouraged by the reactionaries, were rewarded with prizes and honors.

But history reacted to this fiesta in Lilliputia with its customary relentlessness. One fine morning the very stars marvelled to behold a ship that had invaded the sacred precincts of outer space. The space era had dawned. And to cap it all, this feat had been



performed by none other than the Soviet Union, in other words, by Soviet science nurtured and directed by Marxism-Leninism. The desperate efforts exerted by the capitalist camp to soften the blows to its prestige served merely to emphasize the success of the Soviet land in the sphere of peaceful competition. This triumph which marked the beginning of a series of similar feats in diverse spheres of public life swept away the mountains of scurrilous slander against the new world. The effect on the cultural life of Brazil produced by the latest accomplishments of the Soviet Union, and particularly the Program of building communism adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, can only be compared to the reaction caused when the first faint echoes of the October Revolution reached our hemisphere. Writers and news commentators, even Conservatives, admitted, albeit from their own positions, the significance of the CPSU Program, though, of course, a few of the traditionally anti-communist newspapers are still raising a fuss about the steps taken to eradicate the consequences of the personality cult.

An entirely different attitude to the problems discussed at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU has been taken by those Brazilian intellectuals who are beginning to understand that the way to national emancipation, economic and cultural development, to material and spiritual progress lies not through capitalism but socialism.

The writer Franklin de Oliveira, one of the theoreticians of the Workers' Party whose leader is Jaoa Goulart, wrote in his *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* published in December last year: "Socialist revolution alone creates the conditions for a simultaneous offensive on all fronts . . . and in such a way as to ensure the rapid and even development of the country."

Leonel Brizola, governor of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, lecturing at the Law Faculty of Brazil University in Rio de Janeiro, said that what is happening in Brazil today is undoubted evidence of its gradual but inexorable occupation by the United States. "If the democracy we enjoy," he said in conclusion, "continues to be used as a screen for laws concealing the plunder of our people and the occupation of our country by any foreign power, we solemnly declare: we reject such a system as an instrument of oppression and domination of our native land, and we shall use the methods of struggle at our disposal. The day will come when we shall drive out the oppressors of our people.

Better to lose one's life in struggle than for life to lose all its meaning." Brizola is the President of the National Liberation Front and one of the eight state governors belonging to this Front.

In the present situation, thanks to the struggle of ideas which the Communists are waging on the scale of the national and democratic united front, the progressive intellectuals, and mainly, broad sections of cultural workers, are beginning to adopt a more correct position. There is a reuniting of forces, and the initial steps are being taken to establish a Brazilian Writers' Union. A definite tendency to eschew politics and to adhere to purely professional interests continues to prevent this organization from acquiring the strength of its predecessor. But the desire for unity and the prevailing atmosphere of healthy criticism may help to overcome these obstacles. Moreover, experience is dictating the proper course, as is indicated by the strongly worded statement made by a number of prominent intellectuals condemning North American aggression against Cuba and in defense of the rights of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia to self-determination. During the visit of Yuri Gagarin to Brazil prominent writers and poets voiced admiration for the Soviet Union. In the person of the world's first cosmonaut they saluted the superiority of socialist science and technology.

#### 4.

Disagreement with the Communists even on questions of principle has not prevented many intellectuals from arriving—by devious routes and sometimes through their own questing — at certain conclusions differing greatly from those which dominated the cultural scene in Brazil 40 years ago. And at present a reasonable unanimity can be observed if not on all then at least on the basic questions. One may say that the ideas now prevailing in our country accord with the needs of those multifarious forces which are acting in a united front in search of a solution for certain basic issues.

This is borne out, for example, by comparing what Tristao de Ataíde, the Catholic critic, wrote some years ago with what he writes today. Further evidence is afforded by the evolution of Monteiro Lobato who was able to advance from his famous character, the apathetic peasant Jeca Tatu, symbol of backwardness, to Ze Brazil, a living challenge to fight the latifundists, personified in the exploiter Tatuira. From the apologia of Hen-



ry Ford, Lobato switched over to the struggle against colonialism, and before his death he joined the Communist Party. No less striking an example is that of the eminent art critic and modernist writer Mario de Andrade, a man of great erudition. At the last stage of his fruitful literary career Andrade wrote some superb self-critical pages recognizing all that had been erroneous in his former position. He called for progressive militant activity, for faith in the working class and the other revolutionary forces. Dozens of other writers and top ranking literary critics like Joao Ribeiro, Azevedo Amaral, Fernando de Azevedo and Nestor Vitor went through a similar evolution.

Quite recently during a public debate with the Communist writer Jacob Gorender, the Jesuit Lourencino Puntel, lecturer at Sao Leopoldo University in Rio Grande do Sul, declared: "I admit without reservation that the most amoral aspect of the society in which we live is the exploitation of man by man." And he went on: "As you see, we share the same views on some points. We differ in principle, that is true, but in practice we are united." "He who professes to love God and yet continues to exploit his fellow men is a hypocrite," he added. The Catholic professor confessed an admiration for Marxist teaching.

Another prominent thinker, the Jesuit Father Machado, professor of physics and higher mathematics at the Catholic University in Recife, addressing a meeting during the Second National Student Week, expressed the opinion that a United National Front could be created if ideological differences were waived. He upbraided the Catholics of the Right who condemned the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. He denied that bishops and other members of the Church hierarchy had any right to veto decisions of the government in matters which had no bearing on Church affairs and in which the opinion of economists or jurists carried far more weight.

That a realistic view of things is becoming universal is evidenced also by the recently published book *Whither Brazil?* by the non-communist J. Salgado Freire, which is but one of many.

Another illustration of the changes taking place in the sphere of thought is afforded by the book *Labor in the Modern World* by the above-mentioned Catholic theoretician Tristao de Ataide. In this book, published at last under his real name Alceu de Amoroso Lima,

the author writes: "If by capitalism we mean an economic system in which labor is the *means* and capital the *end*, and where profit represents the *only* economic criterion, then we cannot remain Christians and defend capitalism at the same time."

Today the democratic and national demands advanced years ago by the Communists figure in the programs of nearly all the parties, and even in official documents, and hence the supporters of colonialism and latifundism are finding themselves increasingly isolated. But this does not mean that the ideological battle is over. Far from it. The Communists are engaged in a lively debate on the so-called "ideology of development." Ardent exponents of this "ideology" are some professors in the Higher Institute of Brazilian Studies (ISEB), who, while anxious to end the backwardness of Brazil, are trying to find a way of development without class struggle. The Communist Party, while paying due tribute to the scholarship of the economists and sociologists of the ISEB, criticizes them for their bourgeois limitations and many of their theoretical conclusions, pointing out that they fail to take into account the predatory nature of imperialism, which is the chief cause of Brazil's economic backwardness.

During the serious political crisis of August-September 1961, when the reactionaries brought all their reserves into action in order to retard the democratic processes, to set up a military dictatorship and place it in the service of U.S. imperialism, the intellectuals quickly sized up the situation and sided with the people. The action taken by the cultural organizations, the organizations of writers and artists, and particularly the militancy displayed by the students once again demonstrated the democracy and patriotism of our intelligentsia. Together with the working class and other decisive forces of democracy they opposed the coup engineered by the Ministers of the Armed Services in the Quadros government, and marched under slogans advanced by the Communists: defense of constitutional rights and recognition of Vice-President Joao Goulart as President of the Republic. This episode demonstrated the practical significance of the evolution of ideas in the sphere of culture. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress and all the rest of his demagoguery are daily being unmasked in the pages of newspapers and in the public statements of individuals who are by no means Communists.



The experience of Brazil is that of a country which for one and a half centuries remained in a state of stagnation and which is only now able to step out along the road of economic and political emancipation. The cultural development of Brazil is at once a reflection of and one of the factors for the material progress of the nation.

From this experience we, finally, can conclude that no other party, no other teaching of the many teachings used in the past has

had the power to bring the masses into motion, to change the thinking and point the way to the solution of fundamental problems, a solution facilitating the advancement of Brazil. This honor has fallen to the Communists and to the teaching by which they are guided in their ideological work and in their revolutionary struggle for national independence and democracy at the present stage, and for their noble goals — socialism and communism — in the future.

## A Glimpse into the Future

(Survey of Opinion Poll among Soviet Youth)

IT WOULD hardly be an exaggeration to say that at all times the youth has been something of a problem for the older generation. But never before, perhaps, has the problem presented itself so forcefully as in our days of the great competition between the two social systems, when the peoples of our planet are called upon to make their decisive choice. How will the youth of the world vote in this historic referendum? To what extent is it aware of the problems confronting the world? Is it equipped to tackle those problems? These are questions which fathers and mothers on all continents are asking themselves today.

The Soviet youth is the object of particular interest, both as regards the *present*—for it is the product of a new, socialist way of life—and its *attitude to the future*, inasmuch as this generation is destined to be the first to complete the building of the communist society and to live under communism.

### **Komsomolskaya Pravda Public Opinion Poll**

To ascertain the sentiment of the young people, their ideals and aspirations, it is necessary to know something about the way they live. Illuminating in this respect are the results of a poll conducted last year among young people in the USSR by the Public Opinion Institute of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in the form of twelve questions under the general heading: "What Do You Think of Your Generation?"

The program for building socialism as envisioned by the generation which carried out the October Revolution, in addition to the revolutionary transformation of the social and economic structure of society, was de-

signed to change man himself, to educate him in the spirit of communist ideology and morality. As Lenin foresaw, the struggle for the new man proved to be an extremely complicated process, involving a host of difficulties, some of which have yet to be overcome. Among other things, the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* poll helped to bring to light a number of serious problems in the sphere of the communist education of the young generation. For example, a scornful attitude to labor on the part of some young people, a reluctance to stand on their own feet, their limited intellectual interests, and a variety of problems associated with aesthetic and moral upbringing.

But by far the most important result of the poll was its convincing testimony to the soundness of the policy of the Communist Party and the socialist state with regard to the moulding of the new man. A striking indication of the qualities of the Soviet youth and its healthy outlook on life is its attitude to the future; the 17,446 questionnaires which were filled in afford an impressive picture of the principles by which the younger generation is guided, of its ideals and its goals.

The poll, it should be emphasized, was conducted in such a way as to rule out the possibility of any one-sided or tendentious approach. Moreover, it was carried out on a far bigger scale than are polls of a similar type in the West where, as a rule, the numbers polled range from 3-4,000. The questionnaires were answered by young people between the ages of 14 and 30 from literally every part of the country and representative of all groups of the population (factory and office workers, engineers and technicians, collective farmers, servicemen, students, members of the free



professions and non-workers\*). Thus a thoroughly *objective* picture was obtained, a fact recognized even by the most sceptical Western commentators. The new Soviet Public Opinion Institute, wrote the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, for example, "has right from the beginning demonstrated some amazing results. The highly promising questions were matched by an astonishing variety of answers, indicating full freedom of opinion."

What, concretely, did the poll reveal?

### Fathers and Sons. Ideals and Principles

To begin with it shed light on what is known as the problem of "fathers and sons." In the capitalist world this is essentially a problem of part of the youth rejecting the ideals of the "fathers" — or to be more exact, of contemporary society — and either openly challenging them by joining the struggle against the existing social order, or retiring into the shell of passive protest, indifference and nihilism. Some sociologists, moreover, assert that this conflict of the generations is the inevitable concomitant of the times, with their tempestuous social and technological progress.

The outlook of the vast majority of the Soviet youth, on the other hand, is entirely different. The poll showed that for the young generation the supreme criterion is loyalty to the revolutionary ideals and traditions of their fathers and readiness to carry forward their great cause.

The building of the new world has passed through a number of stages, each of which has confronted the people, and particularly the youth, with specific problems. But certain permanent ideological, moral and psychological factors have operated at each stage without which building the new life would be inconceivable. And these are transmitted from fathers to sons.

The third point in the questionnaire was: "What, in your view, are the most pronounced features of the Soviet youth; in what are they most clearly manifested?" The answers reflected the moulding of the new man, whose communist character is manifested in a variety of ways.

More than half of the answers\*\* cited devo-

\*This group is made up of young mothers, and also of persons temporarily out of work for some personal reasons or owing to ill health; it also includes some work dodgers.

\*\*For a correct appreciation of the figures concerning the characteristics of the generation it should be borne in mind that the third question (like most of the others in the questionnaire) was an open one, in the sense that it did not offer a list of replies to choose from (if it had, the figures would have been considerably greater); those questioned were expected to name the main features of their generation and formulate them in their own words. A total of 18 characteristics was cited of which the first ten were: patriotism, love

tion to principle, loyalty to the communist cause, the desire to overcome obstacles for the sake of the common good, active participation in public life, enthusiasm — i.e., *the things for which the older generation of revolutionaries was distinguished, the things which are the essence of the revolutionary ardor of the Leninists.*

"The revolution is still going on," is how Nikolai Artamonov, a 28-year-old concrete-worker from Volgograd, puts it. "In labor and in everyday life millions are being remoulded, all that is sham, shoddy and outworn is being swept away, leaving only the grand and the beautiful."

A total of 3,865 or one in every four young people polled answered: *loyalty to the Leninist Party, readiness to answer its every call, and devotion to communism.*

"My generation," says Georgi Varavva, 24-year-old student from Minsk, "is always the first to respond to the call of the Party. It suffered frostbite in the steppes, but never gave in. It defied the elements on the Angara. It has been steadfast on all the most difficult and responsible sectors of our homeland. And I firmly believe that it will continue to act in this way to the end. . . . This we have learned from life, the first and best of all teachers. I was one of the legion of Komsomols who helped to open up the virgin lands. And it was there that I really learned to understand and appreciate the splendid qualities of my generation."

More than two thousand, 12 per cent of those polled, declared *enthusiasm and a zest for life* to be one of the main characteristics of the youth. This opinion, incidentally, was shared by nearly all social groups of youth—factory workers (11.3 per cent), engineers (11.8 per cent), office workers (12.7 per cent), servicemen (11.4 per cent) and students (13.7 per cent).

The ardor of the youth of the 60's is manifested in various aspects of Soviet life. But the fact that large numbers of those questioned associated the concept "revolutionary ardor" primarily with the concept "labor" is a definite sign of the times. This is understandable, for today when we are engaged in the all-out building of communism the revolutionary fervor of the previous gen-

of the socialist homeland; lofty moral qualities: will-power, courage, honesty and sincerity, consideration for others; devotion to the Party and to communism; thirst for knowledge and a conscientious attitude to work; collectivism; active participation in public and social life; the desire to be a pathfinder; love of peace; internationalism, the absence of nationalistic prejudices.



erations is expressed mainly in *labor valor, in the struggle for abundance, for the triumph of communist ideas*. This aspect of the Soviet youth, their enthusiasm, was noted by 3,460 or by one in five of those questioned.

And, lastly, in speaking of the continuity of the generations, the passing on of the revolutionary traditions from father to son, another factor must be mentioned. This is the heroism of the Soviet youth generally. The big construction projects of the seven-year-plan and the cultivation of the virgin lands — Komsomol undertakings — are landmarks in the history of the young generation. Some 4,730 answers mentioned the construction sites and the virgin lands among the big achievements of their generation. Moreover, all the groups questioned, irrespective of profession and age, shared this view. Pride in these exploits was expressed by one in every four factory and office workers, one in every five engineers and collective farmers, by about 27 per cent of the students, approximately 30 per cent of the servicemen, 35 per cent of the school pupils, one in every four persons between the ages of 18 and 30, and one in every three under 17. How ridiculous in the light of these facts are the Western propaganda allegations that the Siberian construction and the virgin land projects evoked little enthusiasm on the part of the youth and that they had practically to be forced to go there!

The poll confirmed once more the fact that the youth is carrying on the traditions of its fathers, that it is consciously fighting for the realization of the ideals cherished by the older generation and is applying itself wholeheartedly to the task of building communism.

It is not difficult to see that this unity of the generations\* is an expression of the unity of the people as a whole, which is a feature of socialism. The predominance of the socialist property relations which rules out once and for all the possibility of some living at the expense of others, has transformed society into a community of men and women united by a common goal. This goal is inscribed on the banners of this society, it embodies the aspirations of each and all; moreover, the entire practical life of society is subordinate to it. Here, then, is the key to an understanding of many aspects of Soviet life. And it is

\*This unity of the generations is evident also from the results of the poll taken among the older generation on the subject of the youth (some 2,000 people, including 100 especially selected leading personalities, writers, workers, teachers, scientists, etc.). Their opinion with regard to the positive and negative features of the youth coincided in large measure with that of the young people.

here that one finds the explanation for the unity of the Soviet generations.

### Purposefulness or Lack of Purpose? Looking to the Future

"If I were to stop a man in the street and ask him the way to the railway station or the general post office, he would respond at once and show me the way. But were I to ask a man about his purpose in life, about the future, he would regard me as a lunatic and would hurry on his way." This observation was made by Father Lelotte, a learned monk, who has made a detailed study of the youth in the West.

Young people in the Soviet Union do not shy away from questions of this kind, for *purposefulness is one of the distinguishing features of the Soviet youth*. This was confirmed by the vast majority of those polled. The figure was even higher when it came to the question of their personal aim in life. A total of 16,674 (or 95.6 per cent) replied in the affirmative to question No. 7: "Have you, personally, an aim in life?" The following table is revealing in this respect:

Replies to Question No. 7 (in %%)

| Age                 | "Yes" | "No" | "I haven't thought about it" |
|---------------------|-------|------|------------------------------|
| Under 17            | 81.6  | 1.0  | 17.4                         |
| 18-22               | 96.6  | 1.5  | 1.9                          |
| 23-30               | 97.2  | 2.0  | 0.8                          |
| Overall percentage: | 95.6  | 1.7  | 2.7                          |

The table shows that the replies of the 4.4 per cent (772) who did not answer in the affirmative were not necessarily negative.

However, here the poll did bring to light one problem—that of the young people who have no aim in life or who for one reason or another have lost it. As we have seen, there are not many of these, but this does not make the problem any the less grave. Analysis of this question has shown that the disillusionment of some young people can be traced mainly to dissatisfaction with the work they happen to be doing. Hence more effective ways should be devised for ascertaining at an early stage the interests and abilities of young people. Another factor is that the morale of some of the youth, especially those who were between 15 and 19 years of age in 1956, was adversely affected by the facts revealed in the course of the struggle against the personality cult of Stalin, the man with whose name the youth had associated the great victories won by their country. Being too immature to think for themselves and having too little experience of life, these



youths were, naturally, unable to grasp fully and properly evaluate the decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress.

In discussing purposefulness as a characteristic, an analysis of the goals the young men and women set themselves can be extremely revealing. M. Chevalier, a young French journalist, who conducted a poll among the West German youth obtained a rather depressing picture of their purpose in life. "Can you say in two words, on the spur of the moment, what your aim is in life?" was the question he put to a cross-section of young people in Munich. "Money," was the reply. "Money and again money."

"The metallic ring of the word 'money' repeated over and over," writes Chevalier, "gave one the illusion of attending a shareholders' meeting. . . . They were interested in the future solely insofar as it concerned the possibility of making money. . . ."

Let us see how the young people polled by the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* replied to the same question. As is evident from the table given below (and a detailed study will make this even more apparent), the most significant thing about the aims cited by the vast majority of young people is that *they accord with the ideals of communist society, that they are, indeed, a synthesis of social and personal interests*. The answers given by 16,674 young men and women can be classified roughly as follows:

| Aim in life                                                  | No. polled | %%   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------|
| To be of service to the people and to the country            | 5,589      | 33.5 |
| To become expert in a particular branch                      | 5,533      | 33.1 |
| To be a person of the highest moral and intellectual calibre | 2,595      | 15.5 |
| To become a writer or artist                                 | 993        | 5.9  |
| To bring up a good family                                    | 715        | 4.2  |
| To make a discovery or perform an exploit                    | 440        | 2.6  |
| To make a successful marriage                                | 381        | 2.2  |
| To win renown as a sportsman                                 | 216        | 1.3  |
| To travel                                                    | 121        | 0.7  |
| To have plenty of money and live a life of pleasure          | 23         | 0.13 |

The main thing, as the table shows, is to be a useful member of society, to be a good Communist.

"My aim in life is to join the Communist Party and become an active member. To live the life of the collective. To bring up my son and daughter to be persevering, diligent, and sensitive to all that is good. To have a happy family life, and to work side by side with my husband for the good of society." (From the questionnaire of a young woman railway worker of 25 from Mednogorsk.)

"I want to be a Communist and a building expert. . . . I went to the virgin lands

at the call of the Party. I exchanged a comfortable job as a supply department chief for the pioneer's axe because I believe that here I am more usefully employed." (From the questionnaire of a worker, 26, Saratov region.)

"Our common aim is to build communism, not tomorrow but today. This means that right now we must reach the level of consciousness that will fit us for the Communist morrow. My personal aim is to help the Party to combat the careerists, hooligans and wastrels who live at the expense of society. I want to pattern my life after Lenin." (From the questionnaire of a Lenin-grad engineer.)

While noting these lofty aspirations of the majority of the youth we cannot ignore the fact that there are some whose ideals are in glaring contrast. These are the philistines, the worshippers of Mammon, those who slavishly imitate the "gilded youth" of the West, who do not recognize the socialist motto: "He who does not work neither shall he eat." This category, small though it is, is a problem that is being resolutely tackled by the Komsomol organization and by the Soviet youth generally.

Another noteworthy feature of the goals of our young people is their *range and diversity*. The statistical heading "to be of service to the people" covers thousands of concretely expressed yearnings and aspirations: one plans to dedicate his life to building new cities, another wants to make some great scientific discovery, while a third wants to organize an amateur theatre in his home town.

A wide range of interests and a striving for intellectual achievement is evident in the desire expressed by 993 young people to take up literature and arts. These are by no means starry-eyed juveniles whose dreams of becoming a writer or an artist are frequently born of a naive yearning for glory and fame (there are those too, but only 105 of them). On the contrary, most of the 993 are young people who already have a trade or profession (e.g. 7.2 per cent of them are engineers) and hence literature or art would not be their main occupation.

A feature of this diversity of interests is that in planning their lives, the young people do not confine themselves to their present occupations; as often as not one finds them looking farther afield to the sphere of intellectual and moral self-improvement.

These facts reveal the absurdity of the bourgeois propaganda that socialism means conformity and standardization.



On the contrary, the nurturing of talent and ability is one of the prime tasks in building communism, a social system the supreme aim of which is full flowering of the personality. Socialist society seeks to provide its members with occupations in which they can best reveal their abilities and their talents, and to enable each to engage in the activities which afford him the greatest satisfaction while being of maximum benefit to society.

In tackling this problem the socialist system has removed all class and caste barriers to individual fulfilment, it has guaranteed the individual the right to work in any field and to acquire professional skill in any line; it has emancipated him spiritually, released his initiative and created the social conditions enabling each one freely to choose his path in life. Lenin spoke of the "inexhaustible reserves of selflessness, devotion to principle, honesty, zeal, constructive fervor, all the immense stores of energy and talent latent in the so-called 'ordinary people' — the workers and peasants." Today, analyzing the variety of spheres which claim the interest of the Soviet youth, we recall these words.

That the many paths chosen by the youth leading to the *fulfilment of a single ideal, the goal to which society as a whole aspires—communism*—is only natural, for the youth see communism clearly before them, they are moving towards it, working to bring it nearer. And in this unity of purpose lies the secret of their happiness.

"My generation has a grand future before it," says Mikhail Alexeyenko, a student from Novocherkassk, voicing the sentiment of his age group. "It will complete the building of communism. It will be the first to reap the benefits of a social system which will banish all injustice from the earth. The thoughts and the actions of the Soviet youth are projected towards this future."

#### **The Nature of Optimism. The Individual and Society**

From what has been said above it will be seen that our youth have no fear whatever of the future. This is evident also from the assurance with which they speak of attaining their aims.

A Moscow engineer of 24 who dreams of designing some device to lighten the labor of his fellow workers, puts it this way:

"I firmly believe that I shall accomplish what I have set out to do. Generally speaking, there is nothing a man cannot do provided he sets his mind to it. This may

sound somewhat bombastic, but there is a lot of truth in it."

Svetlana Pashkovskaya, a tenth-grade schoolgirl from Mogilev, shares this sentiment:

"I want to be a doctor. I want to help people, to relieve their sufferings and to make them live longer. And I shall achieve my purpose. In our country all professions are open to us. All that is needed is to fix the aim and work hard to reach it. Of course you won't get what you want right away. I may not be enrolled in college this year, but I am sure to get in next year. But I won't sit at home twiddling my thumbs in the meantime. I'll combine work and study, and I know I shall succeed. My motto is: 'When you walk, be careful not to fall, but should you fall, pick yourself up and carry on. If you get hurt, don't whimper! Keep your eye on the aim and go ahead!'"

The Moscow engineer and the Belorussian schoolgirl voiced the opinion of 13,665 others (81.9 per cent of the total who said they have an aim in life), every bit as optimistic and avid of life as themselves. Here is how this optimism looks in figures (the answers to question eleven: "Do you feel sure that you will achieve your aim?"):

|                    | (in %%) |      |            |
|--------------------|---------|------|------------|
|                    | Yes     | No   | Don't Know |
| Workers            | 78.4    | 3.2  | 18.4       |
| Engineers          | 76.5    | 5.6  | 17.9       |
| Collective farmers | 71.5    | 2.6  | 25.9       |
| Office workers     | 79.9    | 3.4  | 16.7       |
| Students           | 82.9    | 2.1  | 15.0       |
| Servicemen         | 87.8    | 0.9  | 11.3       |
| Professionals      | 73.8    | 5.6  | 20.6       |
| School pupils      | 92.3    | 0.7  | 7.0        |
| Non-working        | 62.0    | 13.0 | 25.0       |
| Overall percentage | 81.9    | 2.6  | 15.5       |

What strikes one about this table is the small number of "Noes." This applies particularly to school pupils, students and servicemen (incidentally, there were less "don't knows" among them than in the other categories). Most of the "Noes" came from non-working groups, due to their present circumstances, and also from professional people and engineers (in the case of the former this, evidently, was due to the specific character of their occupation, and in the second, to the nature of the tasks set, and also to a more self-critical turn of mind).

But whatever group we examine, we find that the uncertainty with regard to attaining the aim (the "Noes" and the "don't knows") is not so much a matter of any social deterrent as it is of the aims themselves. Some young people, for instance, have aims the realization of which does not depend (at least not altogether) on themselves: for example, G. Nikiforov, a bricklayer from Karaganda



region, who found it difficult to answer the question with a straight "yes," because he wants to build a garden city, and that, he admits, is rather "a tall order." Others confuse the aim with the desire (at times illusory). Without possessing the necessary qualifications they want to become cosmonauts, artists or poets, or, like the 23-year-old Kiev student, who declared that he wanted to be "in the front line, to fight alongside the people of Algeria or Laos," although he admits that he is not in a position to do this. And lastly, there are those who, cautious by nature, prefer not to anticipate things.

But undoubtedly the most impressive column of figures is the first, in which the overwhelming majority of those polled replied: "Yes! I shall do what I have set out to accomplish!"

Whence this optimism?

A glance at the replies to question twelve, the final point in the questionnaire ("On what do you base your confidence?"), reveals the source of this assurance. One in every three emphasized that the attainment of his aim is ensured by *the opportunities afforded by socialist society*.

The more than ten thousand answers to this question can be summed up in the words: "I have confidence in myself, in my abilities." But here, too, the influence of the new, socialist life on the psychology of the young people is clearly discernible. One has only to subject this seemingly arrogant statement to closer scrutiny to realize that we are dealing here not with some kind of hard-boiled, self-centered supermen for whom nothing is sacred, but with youngsters of splendid moral fibre who find themselves in favorable social conditions and who take these conditions for granted—young men and women who are strong not only by virtue of their personal qualities but, above all, by the fact of their belonging to the communist brotherhood.

This is evident too from the answers to point nine in the questionnaire: "What must you do to achieve your aim"? The main conclusion to be drawn from these answers, which throw light on the way in which the aims are attained, is that the Soviet youth do not build their happiness on the misery of others, but by doing their bit in the common effort and, what is most important, by their own labor. Only 63 wrote: "To save up money"; on the other hand, 10,576 wrote: "To study"; 4,841 wrote: "To work better"; and 3,597 declared they wanted to improve their skills. The credo of the new generation was,

perhaps, expressed most poignantly by a young agricultural expert from Moscow region. "I should like to start somewhere from scratch," he wrote, "a collective farm, say, that is lagging behind; find comrades to help me and invest ideas, labor and imagination and be rewarded by seeing my efforts bear fruit in the shape of abundance, beauty and happiness."

The optimism of the Soviet youth, like its purposefulness, bears the clear stamp of its origin. Just as the purposefulness of the youth derives from the lofty goal of the socialist society which educated them, so is the confidence with which they look to the future a reflection of the confidence of the people building the new world.

### Atomic Threat and Morality

In speaking of the future of the youth one cannot pass over the question of war and peace. In what way, if any, has the imperialist threat of atomic war affected the morale of the young Soviet generation?

In the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* poll the attitude of the youth to the danger of nuclear war was not specified. Nevertheless, the whole intellectual and emotional outlook of the young people, as revealed by the poll, shows that they are not burdened with the fears and depression caused by the war hysteria to which so many in the West are prey. Here we have a manifestation of the humanism of the socialist state and the Communist Party, whose foreign policy *not only safeguards the people of the world against nuclear annihilation but also protects the minds of men, especially the youth, against the deadly effects of pessimism and terror*.

In May 1960 the Public Opinion Institute conducted a special poll in ten towns and villages situated along the 30th (Pulkovo) meridian. A total of 507 persons under 32 years of age were asked: "Will mankind be able to avert war?" The overwhelming majority—97 per cent—said "Yes." Only eight said "No" and as many others gave an indefinite answer. These young people, too, demonstrated not only a devotion to peace (this, as we have seen, was noted as one of the ten most distinctive features of their generation), but a remarkable optimism, for many of those who replied so confidently in the affirmative had experienced in full measure the sorrow and suffering of the past war.

The 1961 poll confirmed that socialist society provides all the conditions for bringing up a morally sound generation.



*Socialist patriotism* was singled out by the young people as the most distinctive trait of their generation. This was endorsed by 5,592 out of a total of 17,446, or about one in three.

Next to patriotism come high *moral standards*—staunchness, courage, integrity, comradeship. This was the opinion of 5,411 (31 per cent) polled—factory and office workers, engineers and students, townspeople and farmers.

The question of the spirit of *collectivism*, which merits special attention, was specifically mentioned in 2,598 of the questionnaires.

"No one in our society need be alone, either in joy or in sorrow," wrote Y. Kotayev, a mining foreman from Northern Ossetia. "Each one of us feels that he has a friend and comrade at his side, ready at any moment to come to his aid. In love, too, genuine companionship is all important. For us love cannot be a matter of mercenary gain. . . . Another splendid trait of our young people is their fraternal attitude to the people of other countries and nationalities. With us a man is valued not because of his origin, but for what he does and what he is. I am an Ossetian by nationality, my wife is a Russian, and we have no fears that some official will begin measuring the amount of Ossetian and Russian blood in the veins of my sons: the main thing is that they should be real *human beings*."

Worthy of note is that internationalism, in the opinion of the youth, is listed among the ten chief characteristics of their generation. This is as it should be. Only 28 mentioned nationalism among the negative traits of the youth.

On the whole the poll showed that the seeds of the new communist morality sown in October 1917 have borne rich fruit. It is not so very long ago that the protagonists of this morality stood out like beacons in an ocean of bourgeois ideals, the private property psychology, individualism, slavish humility and distrust of other nations. And whereas all that is left of that ocean nowadays are a few stagnant people here and there, the traits that distinguished the soldiers of the revolution have become an integral part of the moral make-up of millions.

More than that. The young men and women of today are themselves helping to bring up their younger brothers to be worthy members of society. They have declared war on "everything that is incompatible with the principles of communist morality — on bureaucracy,

fraud, careerism, slander and parasitism—all that hinders our constructive efforts." They want everyone around them to possess the finest qualities. And that is why so many of the questionnaires filled in by people who are far from being teachers by profession speak of the desire to "help educate the new man."

It is worthwhile noting that while recording the distinguishing features of their generation, rejoicing in the present and looking forward to their future, the Soviet youth do not minimize the difficulties still outstanding in their way. Nor do they claim that the young people in the USSR are paragons of virtue. On the contrary, in many cases they are self-critical to a fault. The young people of today, they aver, do not look at the world through rose-colored glasses, "they have normal eyesight, they can distinguish all the colors, all the shades." And if the generation as a whole emerges from the poll in this positive aspect, the reason, as one student put it, is not because "we do not see spots on the sun, but because we see the main thing, namely, the sun itself."

### The Myth of the "Lost Generation"

The dissatisfaction observed among young people in many Western countries after the Second World War, engendered one of the most preposterous ideological concepts of our time, namely, the "crisis of modern youth." This concept was, perhaps, most cogently formulated by the French critic M. Nadeau who, some years ago, described the 20th century as the "century of lost generations."

Seizing on this sweeping formula, some writers in the West have emphasized two aspects of the question. In the first place they maintain that the so-called "crisis of the youth" is a *total* crisis, embracing not only a particular section of the youth in one or another country, but all young people in the given country, that it is a crisis of the *generation as a whole*. And secondly, that the problem of the "generations" is a *world-wide* problem, engendered not by imperialism, but by the specific nature of present-day technological and political development, that it is a concomitant of the 20th century, knowing neither geographical nor social boundaries and common to *all* countries, including the USSR.

It is not hard to see that these two "theories," although they have a single aim — defense of imperialism — serve two distinct immediate objects. The first is to mislead the youth of the capitalist countries by persuad-



ing them that they are "a failure," that they are "no good"; the second is to mislead all the people by removing the responsibility for the plight of the youth in the capitalist countries from the real culprit, namely, imperialism.

We shall not dwell on the first aspect of the question, it is too obvious a distortion of the facts. "Bourgeois propaganda," said N. S. Khrushchov, "is spreading lies about the present-day youth calling them the 'lost generation' and claiming they are not interested in politics. But recent revolutionary actions in a number of countries show that the youth are an effective revolutionary force."

As to the second aspect, the spokesmen of imperialism claim that the hopeless individualism of those condemned to "life imprisonment within the solitary confinement of their own skins," the incurable cynicism, the limited horizons, the utter lack of confidence in oneself and in the future, in a word, the "malaise" from which a good part of the youth in the West suffers, is equally widespread under socialism. The *Komsomolskaya Pravda* poll as well as other materials on the life of the Soviet youth make nonsense of these claims: there is not and never has been a "crisis of the youth" in the USSR.

Some Western sociologists and politicians, while ready to recognize this fact, tend to ascribe some "mysterious" qualities to the Soviet youth in order to find the explanation for the ideological and moral characteristics that puzzle them. But the Soviet youth are no more a "mystery" than is the economic, social and political system from which they spring and which is called socialism. Nor is there anything mysterious in the fact that a country which has been able to build a new and highly developed social system in the brief space of four decades, and which required only four years to advance from the first sputnik to the flight of the first cosmonaut, could, in the lifetime of a single generation, achieve so much both in freeing man from the fetters of the old, bourgeois morality and psychology and affirming the new system of socialist moral and spiritual values.

From this standpoint an analysis of the image of the new Soviet generation reveals

the essence of the youth problem in the world today. "For us Communists," Dolores Ibaruri declared at the Sixth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party, "the youth is not an unknown quantity. It is a clear and shining mirror reflecting the social reality in which it lives, works, dreams and suffers. And if diseased sprouts shoot up in its midst, it is not the youth that is to blame but the soil, the environment, the atmosphere that breeds them . . ." And this is perfectly true.

It is not the times, not the 20th century, nor even the nuclear bomb *per se* that has produced the "angry" and deluded young men and women. The modern "beat generation" begins and ends in the imperialist society of today. The maladies affecting sections of the youth in the West are the signs not of a "crisis of the youth" but of the crisis of the society in which the youth live; they are the direct product of that deep-going crisis of ideas and principles, goals and political doctrines which has seized the entire postwar capitalist world.

Many in the West are beginning to sense this, and not only the critics of imperialism but its apologists as well. Neither the policy pursued by an Adenauer nor the policy of the United States can grip the imagination or even hold the interest of the young generation, writes W. S. Schlamm, former editor of *Fortune*. And without inculcating in the youth the feeling of responsibility for a cause to which they could wholly dedicate themselves, they will be bound to founder and go to the bottom. This, he concludes, is a matter of Western survival. What Schlamm does not say is that imperialism is incapable of inspiring the youth, a fact to which the entire history of the past decades bears witness.

The youth of the world today are inspired by ideas of an entirely different order, by the ideas of peace and progress, and a bright future for man. Hence they are joining more actively in the fight for communism, ranging themselves under the banner of the Communist parties. And the life of the youth of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries shows that this is the only correct road.

B. GRUSHIN



**In the Communist  
and Workers' Parties**

## Program of the South African Communist Party

**C**OMMUNISTS, class-conscious workers and progressives generally in the Republic of South Africa are discussing the draft of the new Program of the Communist Party, which is a milestone in the life of the Party both ideologically and organizationally. The draft not only gives a statement of the immediate aims and perspectives of the Party but also a general review and introduction to the theory of the Party, a review of its answers to the burning problems of the times.

### National Problems in South Africa

Much space is given in the draft Program to an analysis of the national problems in South Africa. It points out that the Republic of South Africa is known throughout the world because of the vile system of apartheid, a special type of colonialism. Nowhere else is racial and national oppression practised so nakedly, with such systematic brutality and disregard for human rights and dignity.

Three million Whites have a monopoly of political rights and economic opportunities. They alone can vote for and be elected to Parliament and other governing bodies. White capitalists and financiers own and control the mines, factories and banks, most of commerce and 81 per cent of the land. They have fortified themselves behind a wall of privilege in every field — in the civil service, in jobs and professions, in schools and universities, in culture, sport, religion and in a hundred others.

The ten million Africans, two-thirds of the population, suffer ruthless national oppression. They have been driven from their ancestral lands. The reserves are mere breeding grounds for cheap labor. Comprising but 13 per cent of South Africa, these reserves are grossly overcrowded and the soil exhausted. There, three and a half million exist in poverty and near-starvation. Hunger and the network of pass laws and special taxes drive Africans to work for White-owned mines, industries and farms, where they are exploited and underpaid. The growth of their national cultures is stifled.

Real power is in the hands of the monopolists who own and control the mines, the banks and finance houses, and most of the farms

and major industries. The gold and diamond mines are owned by seven mining-financial corporations and controlled by a handful of powerful financiers. In commerce and agriculture, too, monopoly dominates.

The South African monopolists act as allies and agents of foreign imperialist interests. One quarter of the capital of the seven mining-financial groups is owned abroad, mainly by British and American investors. In 1958, dividends of £21.5 million were paid out abroad. The two biggest banks, Standard and Barclays, are largely controlled from Britain, and in recent years United States capital investment in South Africa has grown rapidly, exceeding all other American investments in the rest of Africa put together.

Effective economic domination in South Africa is thus exercised by an alliance of local White monopoly interests in mining, industry and agriculture, together with foreign imperialists and representatives of state monopoly capitalism. They find common ground in the perpetuation of the colonial-type subjugation of the population and the system of forced, cheap labor.

The draft Program describes the various political parties existing in the country. It points out in particular that the ruling Nationalist Party is the instrument of the ultra reactionary and racist sections of the White capitalist class. The Liberal and Progressive parties, seeking to avert the South African revolution, oppose the more obvious forms of racial discrimination. They hope that it will be possible for the White minority, by way of minor reforms and concessions, to continue indefinitely to hold a special, privileged position in South Africa. They refuse to contemplate fundamental economic reforms and redistribution of the land and resources which alone can put an end to colonialism.

The only group among the Whites which wholeheartedly and unreservedly aligns itself with national-liberation movements of the oppressed people is the Congress of Democrats. This organization, formed in 1953 at the request of the leaders of the African National Congress, is the most advanced and progressive section of the White population.



Corrupted by concessions and privileges extended to them by the monopolists, a majority of the White workers have, as yet, little faith in socialism and working class unity. African miners receive an average of £69 a year; White mine workers £1,190. Non-White farm workers average £33 a year, Whites £373. Whites have a monopoly of the best paid jobs and of entry into skilled trades. The Communist Party calls upon the White workers to assert their own fundamental, long-term class interests by joining forces with their non-White fellow workers in the struggle against the capitalists for higher wages and better conditions, for democracy and equality, and eventually for ending capitalism and establishing workers' rule and socialism.

The workers of the towns, the Africans employed in factories and in transport, in steelworks and power stations, in shops and offices, comprise the most dynamic and revolutionary force in South Africa. This is the most numerous and experienced working class on the African Continent.

The special character of colonialism in South Africa, the seizing by Whites of all the opportunities which in other colonial countries have led to the growth of a national capitalist class, have strangled the development of a class of African capitalists. In some respects this has been a source of weakness to the African national movement. But it also accounts for the predominance in that movement of the influence of the workers and peasants, and for the revolutionary and progressive nature of the movement as a whole.

The 1.5 million Colored people, mainly in Western Cape, are a national group made up of workers, farm laborers, professional people and small business men. For many years, this community occupied a privileged position in relation to the Africans. The ruling group extend various concessions—such as a qualified franchise, trade union rights, property rights—in order to prevent the emergence of a Colored national consciousness, and the formation of a united front of non-White peoples, for equality and the ending of White colonialism. But, with the deliberate removal by the Nationalist government, one after another, of the privileges extended to the Colored people in the past, a powerful movement developed among this section of the population, in which working class and democratic leaders have more and more come to the fore.

The South African trade union movement has a magnificent tradition, extending over a period of more than 70 years, of militant and vigorous struggle for the rights of the orga-

nized workers. A new chapter in the trade union movement has been opened by the South African Congress of Trade Unions, a militant federation of South African workers of all races which adheres to the best principles of trade unionism, and is faithful to the cause of the South African workers whatever their race or color. The Congress of Trade Unions campaigns ceaselessly for higher wages for the low-paid workers, for organizing the unorganized workers, particularly African workers. The Congress is a foundation member of the All-African Trade Union Federation, which aims to unite workers throughout our continent, and to enrol them as full and equal partners in the ranks of the labor and trade union movement of the world.

### **The Path Ahead for the African Countries**

The great process—the return of Africa to the rule of the African people—the draft Program says, will be a victory for the forces of freedom and progress in our continent. It must be completed as soon as possible. It is the key and the condition to all future advance. The working class, and its most advanced leaders, the Communists, are intimately concerned with this great movement for political independence; they are its most determined and uncompromising defenders.

In their drive towards rapid economic and social development, the only basis for higher standards of life, health and culture, of genuine independence and equality in the world family of nations, the African peoples have to choose between the capitalist way and the socialist way. More and more, the revolutionary workers and peasants, the radical intellectual youth of Africa are turning towards the socialist path. Non-capitalist forms of development, aimed at building socialism, are the only way in which Africa can rapidly liquidate racism, feudalism, tribalism, poverty, backwardness and disease, and exploitation of man by man, and achieve a status of dignity, equality and freedom among the world family of nations.

Recognizing the attraction of socialist ideas in Africa, various leaders have advanced the concept of a special kind of "African socialism" different from Marxism-Leninism. These concepts are mistaken. It is true that due to differences of national tradition and history, to the long period of colonial domination, the precise paths of the African peoples towards socialism will differ from those of the peoples of other continents. But the whole international experience proves beyond any shadow of doubt, that the basic truths of Marxism-



Leninism, creatively applied by revolutionary workers' parties to the conditions prevailing in their own countries, are fully applicable to countries at every level of social development, and are the only way towards a socialist and communist future. In most parts of Africa, the needs of the people will best be met at the present time by the formation of states of *national democracy*, as a transitional stage. The basis of a national democracy is an alliance of workers and rural people. Such a state will provide the most favorable conditions for advance along non-capitalist lines, to socialism.

The South African Communist Party regards as a dogmatic distortion of Marxism, the concept that those African countries which are in a pre-capitalist stage of development must necessarily pass through a period of capitalism before achieving socialism. We are living in the epoch of the transition, on a world scale, from capitalism to socialism. The experience of the Soviet Asian Republics, of People's China, Vietnam, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and People's Mongolia, show that developing the united forces of the anti-colonial struggle, defeating the attempts of internal reaction in alliance with foreign imperialism to halt the uninterrupted development and consummation of the national democratic revolution, it is possible for the people of colonial countries to advance along non-capitalist lines towards socialism.

We also do not regard as inevitable the formation of capitalist nation states, mutually antagonistic, amongst the peoples of Africa, as has been the case in the other continents. The concept of all-African unity is dear to the hearts of African patriots. It is being brought closer to fulfilment by the common struggle of the peoples of Africa against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

### **Colonialism Retards the Country's Advance**

In South Africa, colonialism has taken a special form. The domination of the political life and the wealth of the country is not exclusively in the hands of a foreign, capitalist country. Political power is in the hands of a local ruling class. South Africa as a whole is not a colony. All state and political institutions are controlled by White South Africans. South Africa is not underdeveloped; apart from the reserves, it is the most highly developed industrially and economically of all African territories.

On one level, that of "White South Africa," there are all the features of an advanced capitalist state in its final stage of imperialism. There are highly developed industrial

monopolies, and the merging of industrial and finance capital. The land is farmed along capitalist lines. Greedy for expansion, White South African imperialism reaches out to incorporate other territories, South-West Africa and the protectorates, to impose political domination over them and to use them as areas for capital investment and to exploit their wealth and their manpower.

But on another level, that of "non-White South Africa," there are all the features of a colony. There is extreme national oppression, extreme poverty and gross exploitation, complete lack of self-government. The African reserves show the complete lack of industry, communications, transport and power resources which is characteristic of African territories under colonial rule throughout the continent. Non-White South Africa is the colony of White South Africa itself.

It is this coexistence of the worst features both of imperialism and of colonialism, within a single national frontier, which determines the special nature of South Africa's state system, and has brought upon its rulers the justified hatred and contempt of progressive and democratic people throughout the world. Colonialism has become a fetter on the further development of the country. It is a barrier to all economic and social advance by the population. The mounting crisis in South Africa is reflected in the protest and resistance movements of the non-White people, which, rising to ever greater proportions, are accompanied by general strikes, mass demonstrations and rural rebellion. The Nationalist government cannot resolve the crisis, nor can it suppress the resistance movement, despite its terror. Nor can the crisis be resolved by a mere change of government. It can only be resolved by a revolutionary change in the social system, which will end the causes of the crisis by abolishing the colonial oppression of the non-White people.

### **The Tasks of the National-Democratic Revolution**

The immediate and imperative interests of all sections of the South African people, excepting a tiny handful of monopolists, demand the carrying out of sweeping, revolutionary changes in South Africa, leading to the establishment of a state of national democracy. This revolution will establish new government forms, both nationally and locally, based upon the principle "one man one vote"—the right of every adult man and woman to vote for and to be elected to all bodies which make laws. It will eliminate landlessness and rural poverty



by dividing all large estates among the people who actually work on the land. It will guarantee trade union rights and freedom of movement. It will open all jobs to people of all races. It will rapidly increase production, by the planned development of national industries, and raise the living standards of the masses. It will take over control and domination of the country's main mineral, industrial and agricultural wealth from the hands of the monopolists, and place it at the disposal of the people as a whole. It will guarantee security of tenure to smallholders and working farmers, shopkeepers and traders of all races, and give them opportunities to expand and develop in step with the rapidly growing internal market.

The South African National Democratic revolution will put an end to all forms of race discrimination and inequality, and make the propagation of race-hatred and exclusiveness punishable by law. The revolution will sweep aside the whole system of White domination by police rule, bureaucracy and government by force. It will guarantee democratic rights and civil liberties to all sections of the population. In international relations, it will base its policy upon the principles of peace, disarmament, and the coexistence of countries with different social systems and non-interference in internal affairs. It will follow a policy of close cooperation and unity with all our neighboring African countries directed towards mutual aid and advancement, and all-African solidarity.

The main content of this revolution is the national liberation of the African people. Its achievement is, at the same time, in the deepest interests of the other non-White groups, for in achieving their liberty, the African people will at the same time put an end to all forms of racial discrimination. Even for the White working class, middle class and professional groups, the revolution offers the only prospect of a decent and stable future. In place of unjustified privileges and concessions, crumbs from the table of the rich, maintained at the price of constant fear and insecurity, a South Africa based upon the principles of freedom, equality and fraternity will ensure for White South Africans a future of self-respect and security.

Elaborating on the ways and means of achieving revolutionary changes, the draft Program says that the South African people have sought, and would still prefer, to achieve their liberation by non-violent means. But, as one act of oppression and repression is piled up

on another, the people will have no alternative but to meet force with force.

Whether its end is brought about by non-violent or by violent means, whether by negotiation or by insurrection, the overthrow of the vicious type of colonialism embodied in the present Republic of South Africa cannot long be postponed. Because of external and internal pressures, of the fatal contradictions and conflicts which it creates with ever-increasing intensity, its downfall, and the victory of the South African National Democratic Revolution are certain in the near future.

### **What the South African Communist Party is Fighting For**

The supreme aim of the Communist Party is the abolition of the capitalist system, establishment of a class dictatorship of the workers in alliance with the broad masses of the peasantry, to end private ownership of the means of production, and, through socialist reconstruction of the economy of the country, ending the scarcity through a vast development of the natural resources, educating the people in socialist principles, to attain the highest form of human society, Communism, whose slogan is "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The Communist Party unreservedly supports and joins with the struggle of the South African people for the overthrow of White supremacy. It supports the struggle for national liberation which is headed by the alliance of the African National Congress, the S.A. Indian Congress, the S.A. Colored People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions. It works loyally with them for the overthrow of the government, and for the establishment of a provisional revolutionary government of liberation, which will be representative of all who have participated in the national struggle. It demands the immediate summoning of a sovereign national convention to draw up and promulgate the Constitution of a state of national democracy in South Africa.

The Party favors a Republican form of government, with all local and national representatives in legislative bodies subjected both to election and recall by universal, equal, direct, secret adult franchise, without regard to race, color, sex, religious, property, educational or other qualifications whatsoever. The Party declares that the revolutionary people of South Africa cannot merely take over existing state and government institutions, designed to maintain colonialism, but must



destroy them and create new people's institutions in their place.

Every vestige of apartheid and racial discrimination will scrupulously be removed in every field of state service and public life. Every rank of the civil service, of the army, navy and air force, of the judiciary, police, municipal services and other public institutions will be open to all South Africans. The aim of the state shall be to replace all officials who are disloyal to democratic, non-racial principles, and special measures will be taken rapidly to train and promote African and other non-White personnel so as to ensure that all state institutions are fully representative of the nature of the population of South Africa.

In order to ensure the rapid development of South Africa as a well-balanced industrial-agricultural country, overcoming the lopsidedness inherent in colonialism, to remove the scourge of unemployment, and to ensure continuously rising material and cultural standards of the people, the Party advocates the massive planned development of the economy of the country, controlled and directed by the State.

The mines and heavy industry must be taken out of the hands of the colonialists and monopolists, and transferred to public ownership. Together with nationalized railways, steel, petrol and power industries, they will form a powerful basis for the development of a state-owned sector of the economy.

At the same time, the state should protect the rights of private initiative where this is not incompatible with the public interest. It should offer assistance, by way of state loans, to non-monopolist producers, in return for a state share in their undertakings, thus paving the way for a gradual and peaceful transition towards socialism.

In order to rally the support of the masses of rural people, to raise their living and cultural standards and to rectify the injustices committed by the White colonialists in seizing most of the land of South Africa, the democratic revolution will take immediate and drastic measures to restore the land to the people. All such land must immediately be confiscated and placed in the hands of those who live and work upon the land. At the same time, the state should guarantee security of tenure to peasant farmers and smallholders who fruitfully cultivate the land by their

own labor. The state should encourage the widespread development of cooperative and collective farms, under democratic administration, over the greater part of South Africa. It should take vigorous measures to mechanize and electrify farming operations, to conserve water supplies and create large-scale irrigation schemes, to encourage scientific livestock breeding and diversification of crops.

The Communist Party will demand the protection and substantial advancement of the workers' standards of living—housing, working conditions, wages, leisure and recreation. It proposes that all workers, including farm, mine and domestic workers, be entitled to full trade union rights and the protection of labor laws, including a national minimum wage, annual paid holidays of at least three weeks, sick leave, unemployment and workmen's compensation benefits for all, adequate safety regulations in all mines, factories, farms and other places of work.

The Party will demand that the state provide special protection for women workers, their exemption from heavy work, and the removal of all restrictions against married women employees. The Party will fight for full and equal rights for women in every aspect of state, social and private life.

The Party proposes the provision of free meals at school to all children; that all workers be guaranteed cheap transport to and from work, and that the state provide adequate pensions, without discrimination, to all old people over the age of 60.

The Party demands exceptional measures to preserve and strengthen the national rights, the human dignity, the indigenous culture, the national pride and self-respect of all national groups inhabiting our country. All languages used by the peoples of South Africa should enjoy equal rights and status. The Party stands for a united South African state but recognizes the rights of all national groups in the country to develop and determine their own future.

The South African Communist Party is a part of the world Communist movement. It participates in meetings of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, and abides loyally by their common decisions. True to the principles of working class internationalism, the Party stands for unity of the workers of the whole world, and especially of the various Marxist-Leninist parties.



## British Communist Party: the Force of Printed Propaganda

WHILE Communist propaganda has not behind it the resources on which bourgeois parties can rely in their efforts to extol capitalism and blacken socialism and the Communists, it has an asset that its opponents haven't got—it tells the truth. It reflects and represents the true interests of the working people, speaks in their behalf and, for this reason, can count on increasing success.

For this, however, it is necessary to present material in a modern style, attractive in appearance, clear and vivid in language, and expressed in terms familiar to the majority of people. Our Party has some experience in this respect.

We have published illustrated pamphlets, some of eight pages, some 36 pages. The most important of these was *A World of Difference*, a three-color, 20 page, illustrated pamphlet. Some features of this pictorial are: A huge octopus illustrating the capitalist stranglehold on Britain, with its tentacles grasping industry, government, press and propaganda, the land, finance and imperial possessions. The Two Britains—one of the people, one of the monopolists — are explained with contrasting pictures and facts: the miner at the coalface and the top-hatted idlers at a fashionable race meeting; the poor housing conditions of millions of families and the fabulous luxury of an aristocratic home.

In the section on socialism representations of items appearing on new posters show the changes a socialist government would make—Government Bans H-bombs; Rents Down, Houses Up; Equal Pay for Women. We explain how the people would run Britain, the "old school tie" set would be cleared out, and a good life would be possible for every family, for children, the youth and the aged. The work of the Communist Party is explained and some of its leaders and members are featured, showing them to be drawn from all sections of the people and truly representative of the men and women of our country.

The reception given to the pictorial has been good—56,000 copies being sold in a brief space of time. A veteran Labor Party worker said that it was the best piece of socialist propaganda published in his lifetime.

*The T.V. Tie-Up* is a lively, well-illustrated explanation of the monopoly control of television. *The Development of Higher Education*

in Britain shows that only the rich have access to higher learning. *Together Say No Discrimination* is a vigorous answer to Tory and Fascist propaganda against immigration from the Commonwealth countries. *The Strategy of Revenge*, a reprint of the Ernst Henri articles on the character and aims of German militarism, proved very popular. We have answered the misleading Tory and Right-wing labor arguments about the Common Market with our *Alternative to the Common Market*.

Other pamphlets have been: *End Terrorism in Iraq*, *Smash the Pay Pause*, *Let Nothing Divide Us*, *Sport—A Communist Party Plan*.

The pamphlet *Who is to Blame?* was on sale at the great Aldermaston peace march at Easter. It discusses the origins of the cold war, answers those who claim that the two great powers, America and the Soviet Union, are equally responsible for the international tension, and shows the role of U.S. imperialism in preparing another war.

Our Party Building Year called for some special material about the Party itself, appealing to people to join the Party. The principal recruiting material has been a series of ten small four-page folders, each with a full-page picture on the front with the caption — *Meet the Communists*.

Our first was *The Family with a Difference* and featured a mother and father, members of the Communist Party, and their three teenage children, members of the Young Communist League. It told who they were, what they did and why they had become Communists. Going on then to deal with the Party and to explain its program and policy, it shows the Communists as part and parcel of British life, offering the answer to the problems of today and showing the prospect of a happy and prosperous future under socialism. This has been the theme of all the folders.

Similar special folders have been addressed to: women, railwaymen, youth (with the caption *Adventure Into Socialism*), building workers, agricultural workers, dockers and transport workers, miners, engineering workers and co-operators. They have been prepared with the help of our members working in these trades, and each discusses the problems of the particular industry, the attitude of the Party to these particular problems and our struggle for



socialism. We have also produced folders, well illustrated with pictures and cartoons, containing facts, figures and arguments combatting Tory and Right-wing Labor propaganda and lies. The numbers produced have been between 200,000 and a half a million. Here are some of the titles: *The Tory Attack on Wages; No War over Berlin; The Health Service in Danger.*

We have also published special pamphlets on issues in the local elections.

Our biggest, in quantity, productions have been our agitational leaflets dealing with some current topic of burning interest. Thus, we issued half a million leaflets with a picture of a German tank, the words NO! NO! superimposed upon it, and short, pungent, hard-hitting facts and arguments directed against West German panzers training in Britain.

Other leaflets issued have been: *Twenty Years Ago* on our war-time alliance with the Soviet Union and the danger of alliance with German militarism; *Danger, Flashpoint Berlin*, with a picture of an American tank and troops at one of the city's checkpoints; on West Germany and Hitler's men back in power; against high rents; against any color bar in Britain; an explanation of the attitude of Communists to the trade unions, etc. *Clear Out the Tories* is a call to the people from our National Executive Committee to combat the policy of the Tory government.

We have also two series of leaflets, one called *Talking Points for Women*, and two issued in the past year have dealt with conditions of work for women in industry — *Eight Million Pairs of Hands* and the situation in the schools—*Your Children's Education*. The other series, *Topical Talks*, is directed especially to industrial workers and deals with some current problem, with the aim of starting off discussions in the factories. The most recent in this series was on the Common Market.

Posters are another important aspect of our propaganda. Huge posters have been displayed on hoardings throughout the country, particularly in the parliamentary constituencies where we have prospective Communist candidates.

We have succeeded in getting posted throughout Britain our three recruiting posters with the wording: Join Britain's Party of Peace and Socialism, the Communist Party. For a Socialist Policy to Beat the Wage Freeze—Join the Communist Party. Make a Change! For Peace, Prosperity, Independence, Socialism, Join the Communist Party.

And we have produced many smaller posters which have been displayed on the public hoardings and used at meetings, in poster parades and demonstrations and displayed at factory gate and pithead meetings.

A set of five posters used in the demonstrations against German bases in Britain; a small poster calling for mass pressure to make Parliament act—all this was widely used in the summer of 1961.

A new departure for us was a set of posters with the use of very bright and attractive colors, each containing about 100 words of fact and argument on NATO, West German militarism and Berlin.

We also issued special large folders dealing with the issues of the local elections.

Each piece of our material has on it a recruiting form, inviting the reader to join the Communist Party. In one area alone the *Talking Points for Women* leaflet, *Keep Them Out*, on West German bases here, brought in twelve applications for membership of the Party.

The variety of our propaganda methods yields useful results in our efforts to acquaint the people with the policy of the Party, to make the branches more active, and ensure that our targets for building the Communist Party will be realized. **GLADYS BROOKS**

## Party Education in Australia

**T**HE nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Australia pointed to the need to recruit new members from the ranks of militant workers and others active in the people's struggle. "The main concentration," said the resolution adopted by the Congress, "must be in building up new branches in factory and workplace." On the matter of Party education and ideological work generally, it was pointed out that "the widespread system of Marxist-Leninist study built up by the Party is a fine

achievement giving testimony to its firm Marxist-Leninist character."

In line with the Congress decisions the Central Committee has instructed the Party committees regularly to view the theoretical training, to plan the ideological work well in advance to make sure that each member undertakes some form of study.

Several hundred members have attended full-time and spare-time courses, the syllabus of which includes political economy, phi-



losophy, strategy and tactics, and methods of work. Many of these are now acting as tutors for classes and seminars. Lectures and seminars are arranged for members engaged in self-study. The principal medium, however, is the branch class, the branch meeting and the discussions in different subjects.

More attention is being paid to classes for new members. Experienced comrades are assigned to assist them in studying the Party's Program and its Constitution.

Education aids in the shape of pamphlets are a big factor in improving branch and personal study. These pamphlets include: *The Party of the Working Class*; *The State*; *Socialism in Australia*; *The Trade Unions*; and *Economics for Workers*. We are planning to publish booklets on such subjects as state-monopoly capitalism in Australia, the monopolies, the national question and the working class, and more material on the Party and on working-class history.

The leadership in drawing up the syllabus for the education network keep in mind tasks confronting the Party and the suggestions made by members. Last year, for example, the Central Committee discussed the proposals of the Education Committee for the 1962 education program. Comrade Aarons, Secretary of the Central Committee, said, apropos of the program: "It is not a matter of re-arranging or reshuffling the old courses; it is a question of adapting our education as closely as possible to the requirements of our Party at the present time, and as far as we see it the period ahead."

It was suggested that attention should be concentrated on those aspects of the subjects which would facilitate an understanding of the present situation in Australia. For example in studying political economy, the "laws of capitalist accumulation and how they produce progressively a reserve army of unemployed; the boom-bust cycle of capitalist production and its characteristics today; the growth of monopoly and of state-monopoly capitalism."

In strategy and tactics there are such questions as the fundamental nature of the state; the chief class enemy in the Australian proletarian revolution and the content of the slogan "The People versus Monopoly," our attitude towards the Labor Party, the relation between immediate programs and long-range objectives, and so on.

Lastly, in methods of work the accent is on the mass line, combating bourgeois ideology and inculcating the Party spirit and the lofty moral qualities of a Communist; overcoming

subjectivism, individualism and bureaucracy and developing criticism and self-criticism, and so on.

The Central Committee pointed to the need closely to integrate the study of all subjects with the experience of the Party. The material used in the study should combine readings from the classics and digests of the classics such as form part of the book *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*, edited by O. Kuusinen, with our own Australian material—that already on hand and new material which will appear in our magazine *Communist Review*.

In his report to the Central Committee, Comrade Aarons pointed out that "the recruiting of students for all these classes is a major responsibility of all Party committees, without exception." One simple organizational point here, it was suggested, is that every Central Committee member and every member of State, District and Section committees should carry a copy of the education program, recruiting students in the course of their daily work and contact with the members. The close integration of Party education with practical experience, with the problems agitating the masses, is also seen in the choice of subjects. Interest in basic economic and political questions is now greater among the working class. And this interest has been given a further stimulus by the publication of the program for advancing from socialism to communism in the Soviet Union, and by the material on the progress made in the other socialist countries.

For this reason, and also taking into account the requests from the branches, the Central Committee decided that the study course for the first half of 1962 should be on political economy. To this end, E. Aarons has revised his *Economics for Workers* and added new material to this booklet recommended as the principal publication for use in the classes.

Multifarious forms have been used by the Party organization in the course of studying this pamphlet, such as fortnightly classes, after-work discussions, off-shift groups and weekend schools.

There have been some interesting experiences in this respect in Sydney on some building jobs during lunch hours; growing numbers of non-party workers are showing increased interest in our ideas by attending classes.

The press, and above all the central organs of the Party, *Tribune* and *Communist Review*, play an important role in educating the members and raising their ideological level. Documents of the world Communist movement,



materials on the experience of the fraternal parties, resolutions and documents issued by the Australian Communist Party, articles with profound theoretical analysis published in the *Review*, make it an irreplaceable assistant of

the Party in the matter of ideological education of cadres.

The militant organ of the Party, our weekly *Tribune*, enjoys a deserved prestige as testified by the growth of circulation. J. ROBERTS

## New Rules of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

**B**IG changes have taken place in the life of the people of Czechoslovakia during the decade since the adoption of the present Party Rules in 1952. The exploitation of man by man has been abolished forever, the means of production have become the property of the people, and the socialist principle, "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work," has been put into effect. The moral and political unity of the people has grown stronger as have the fraternal ties between the Czechs, Slovaks and other nationalities. Socialist production relations predominate in all branches of the economy. And the draft of the new Rules, submitted for discussion by the membership in preparation for the Twentieth Congress of the Party, reflects these historic changes. The draft is based on the Leninist principles of Party building and the experience of organizational work of the Communist parties throughout the world, and above all the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Tens of thousands of members and non-Party people have expressed their views on the draft. Many letters from members containing suggestions and opinions, have been published in the Party press.

In the discussions at Party meetings attention was centered on such questions as the member's attitude to the Party, his rights and duties, etc. In recent years tens of thousands of new members, mainly young people, have been admitted into the Party. The membership now comprises 12 per cent of the population. Seventy-five per cent of the new members are engaged in productive labor, and of these 57 per cent are workers at the bench.

The growth of membership, on the one hand, and the complexity of the tasks in further developing the socialist society, on the other, make greater demands on the members. The draft Rules point out that membership is open to any citizen who accepts the Program and Rules of the Communist Party, takes an active part in building socialism, is a member of a

Party organization, carries out the decisions of the Party, and pays his dues. The point which stipulated that membership was open to those who did not exploit the labor of others has been deleted since in the conditions of victorious socialism there is no exploitation. Instead, there is the demand—to take an active part in building socialism—which is in keeping with the present stage in the development of the Party and country, and with the objective of advancing to communism.

The meetings stress that the Communist must set an example both by his labor and in personal life. The draft defines the duty of the member as follows: "to display initiative in propagating all that is new and forward looking, to see that the advanced methods are taken up, to master the latest techniques and improve his skill."

Other paragraphs, too, place the accent on greater activity and initiative by the members. Paragraph Two, for example, points out that the member must steadfastly carry out the policy of the Party, popularize it among the masses, and rally them for its realization. "Active political work," said Jan Tomicek, Party member in the iron and steel plant in Trinec, "should not be left to a small group of activists, it is the duty of each member."

A feature of the discussion is the desire to see all the members taking part in the day-to-day work of the Party organizations. Much has been said at the meetings about active and passive members, and about the reasons why some of them are not active enough.

The principle of democratic centralism is carried forward in the draft. The unity of democracy and centralism is important for the Party. "Democratic centralism," we read in the Rules, "signifies that all organizations and members should, in the conditions of the enterprise or the given area, actively and creatively implement the policy of the Party and the decisions of its leading bodies. Democratic centralism makes it possible to utilize in the everyday work of the Party the experi-



ence gained by the Communists and all working people in building socialism." This formulation emphasizes the unity of the two aspects of democratic centralism as manifested in the main thing: in implementing the Party line and in verifying its soundness. The experience of the socialist construction, verified by practice and summed up by the Party, is the criterion of the soundness and efficiency of the Party's decisions, plans and measures.

The draft formulates in a new way the role and tasks of the regional and district organizations and also the point about collective leadership at all levels; it speaks, too, about establishing control and auditing committees with wider powers, about more extensive participation of members in management and leadership, about granting the right of control to Party organizations in many branches of production, and of the members' part in appointing business executives. These points, which deepen the Party's democracy, have met with the approval of both members and non-Party people.

Much attention is given to Party education and to the ideological work of its organizations. These questions are considered in practically all sections of the draft—from the introduction, in the paragraphs on the tasks of the Central Committee, of the regional, district and primary organizations, all the way to the chapter on the rights and duties of the members.

In the course of the discussion many members have suggested modifying the structure of the organizations. R. Jurak, from Praha-Branik, suggests that the territorial organizations should enlist more extensively Communists from the factory organizations for mass political work and for work among the youth.

The discussion has been accompanied by greater activity on the part of the members. Conclusions are being drawn with a view to improving Party work, tapping new reserves in industry and agriculture, and enhancing the leading role of the Party in the socialist construction.

Miroslav LAB

## Meetings of Central Committees

### COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

#### **The Question of Unity of the National and Democratic Forces**

An enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina discussed the report of Victorio Codovilla, Secretary of the Central Committee, on the significance of the Peronist turn to the Left.

The resolution reviewed the political situation in the country since the *coup d'état* of March 29. The coup was spearheaded not so much against the Frondizi government—since its organizers are continuing his policy in an even more blatant form—as against the growing working-class and popular movement.

In characterizing the Guido government, the meeting described it as a "government of flunkies who are running the country and disposing of its resources on orders from and in the interests of the big landlords, financiers and foreign, chiefly U.S., monopolies while in foreign policy they obediently follow the *diktat* of Washington, thereby injuring the interests of the people."

This treacherous policy goes hand in hand with such reactionary and fascist measures as the adoption of special regulations designed to regiment the activity of political parties.

These regulations exclude the Peronists and Communists from the political life of the country, and make anyone liable to 10 years' imprisonment for the use, either in the press or over the radio, of words or symbols associated with communism or the socialist countries.

This dictatorial policy, which deepens the social and political crisis, (adds to the instability of the government which is riven by the growing contradictions between the British and U.S. imperialists and the struggle for power waged by the various military cliques. The government, which has the support of only an insignificant minority of the population, is opposed by the vast majority of the people, who want to see the military dictatorship abolished and far-reaching economic, social and political changes effected along democratic and progressive lines.

Never has the militancy of the working people been so high and the anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses so profound. Strikes, demonstrations and actions by the peasants, students and other sections are frequent. "As a result," the resolution continues, "the time is ripe boldly to rally all the forces into a



united front, to rouse them to fight for the creation of a government in which the working class would be represented and play the leading role."

The meeting gave an analysis of the Peronist movement. It should be recalled that the policy of the Communist Party in the March 18 elections was to secure a united bloc of democratic and progressive forces which would support the Peronist candidates under the slogan "Defeat the government, which is a tool in the hands of the International Monetary Fund and the oligarchy!" This line was elaborated at the Central Committee meeting in January and, as events have shown, has proved to be correct. "What we foresaw," said Comrade Codovilla, "either has taken place or is taking place now: a growing rapprochement between the Peronists and Communists in the struggle for economic, social and political demands in the sphere of both trade union and political action."

Neither socially nor ideologically is the Peronist movement homogeneous; it is made up of workers—the majority—peasants, members of the free professions, bourgeois people and even landlords. It includes both sincere nationalists and champions of the so-called Western Christian world. The fact that its leadership is heterogeneous explains its contradictory attitude to many domestic and international problems as well as to the Communists.

The working-class and the forward looking people in the Peronist movement have gained political experience, in which they have been aided by the Communist Party and the Movement for the Unity and Coordination of Trade Union Action. As these sections became alive to the danger inherent in collaborating with the present government—towards which they were impelled by the Right—they began to resist this policy. Thereby the conditions became favorable for their drawing closer to the Communists with a view to fighting jointly on a variety of issues.

The victory won in the March 18 elections, which was due not to the Peronists alone but to all the working-class and popular forces who voted for real democracy, social progress, independence and peace; further exacerbated the antagonisms between Left and Right in the Peronist movement.

Peron himself, who had learned a thing or two from the recent developments at home and abroad, has advised his supporters to pursue the line of cooperating with the rising political forces, or, in other words, to turn Left in order to reinvigorate the Peronist movement. Any different decision, it is clear, would have been

rejected by the workers and forward-looking Peronists. "Contrary to what the enemy says, the turn to the Left was not ordered from abroad. It is the outcome of the situation which has taken shape in the country," said Comrade Codovilla, "a situation which Peron has correctly grasped and with which he agrees."

The resolution emphasizes that a process of change is taking place in the political thinking of the Peronists and most of their leaders; this process is helped by the correct political and tactical line of the Communist Party, i.e., the line of struggle for unity, while criticizing from the standpoint of principle those anti-communist Peronist leaders who are against unity.

Two kinds of errors should be avoided with regard to the "turn to the Left"; first, we should not underestimate the level of political consciousness reached by the Peronists or their ability to head and guide, together with the Communists, the united front of struggle, and second, we should not overestimate this level because bourgeois nationalism is still strong in the Peronist movement leading as it does some of its leaders to the idea of class conciliation. However, inasmuch as the Peronist movement as a whole agrees that joint struggle is the only way to secure democratic changes, and also because this struggle deepens the political consciousness of the Peronists and brings them closer to the Communists, which is the main thing, any criticism of the vacillations of the Peronist leaders should be in a comradely, objective form and should aim not to repel them, but to draw them closer to our position.

As the situation develops the Peronist movement will gradually, under the influence of the Communists, arrive at an understanding of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. "The time will come," says the resolution, "when the present turn to the Left of the Peronist movement will lead it to merging, on an equal footing, with our Party and with other Left forces such as the Socialist Vanguard. We shall work towards this with the object of forming a strong united party of the working class and of all the people based on Marxism-Leninism, a party which will ensure victory over the landlord oligarchy, the imperialist monopolies and comprador capital, resolve the problems of the agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution, and advance steadily towards socialism."

With regard to the other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties the Central Committee noted that a process of bifurcation is taking place in these parties with two wings emerging: the Right wing which demands the banning



of the Communist and Peronist parties and supports the election swindle in the hope of coming to power, and the Left wing which favors unity of action without exception and is gradually becoming aware of the need to fight for a new type of government. The Central Committee addressed greetings to the Socialist Vanguard Party which, having excluded the Trotskyite and other adventurist elements, has adopted Marxism-Leninism as the basis of its activity, a fact that will doubtlessly be instrumental in forming the future united Marxist party of the working class.

Proceeding from the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties the Central Committee reaffirmed its attitude to the national bourgeoisie whose interests are at variance with the interests of the big landlords and the imperialist monopolies and which, therefore, can and must be included in the anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist front.

In view of the fact, however, that at the time the national bourgeoisie was in power it pursued a policy of appeasement of imperialism and reaction and, in some cases, even connived with them, the Central Committee emphasized that although the national bourgeoisie can and should take part in the bloc of the patriotic forces, it cannot and should not play the leading role in such a bloc since this would result in the defeat of the revolution.

The national democratic front will be victorious only if the working class in alliance with the peasantry and under the leadership of its vanguard—the Communist Party—becomes the motive force of the revolution. The meeting noted that the organizations which could be the core of this front already exist and are cooperating with each other—Communist Party, Peronist Party, Socialist Vanguard Party, the Popular Movement and most of the trade

unions, student and other mass organizations. All other democratic forces can and must be united around this core which is working on the basis of a common program.

Whether the masses will come to power in a peaceful way or not will depend on whether the ruling circles bar the way to all opportunities for a peaceful way to power, including parliamentary activity. However, the meeting pointed out, the mass movement is the basic thing in all cases. Organizing the working class and the entire working population in trade unions, in action committees around the various issues, the goal towards which the Communist Party is striving, mass action under united leadership on a local, provincial and nationwide scale—these are the factors that pave the way to victory.

The meeting paid special attention to building the Party organizationally and ideologically, to the need for closer contact with the masses and for a greater effort to win more members. It decided to intensify the work of popularizing Marxist-Leninist ideas and the policy and tactics of the Party not only among the membership but also among the working class and working people generally.

In view of the increasingly aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and its allies, the Central Committee holds that it is the paramount task of the Party to help strengthen the peace movement and ensure its growth, to do more to acquaint the public with the resolutions of the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace. The Central Committee called for solidarity with the Chinese People's Republic which the imperialists and their agent Chiang Kai-shek are planning to attack, and also for more active solidarity with Cuba threatened by imperialist aggression, and all the countries of America fighting for their liberation, particularly Venezuela.

## HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKER'S PARTY

### 2. Theses for the Eighth Party Congress

An enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in August, adopted the theses for the Eighth Congress of the Party to be held next November.

The theses, which review the international and domestic situation and outline the next tasks of the Party, note that the main aim set by the Seventh Congress has been reached. By reconstructing agriculture along socialist lines socialist production relations now predominate

in the country; the laying of the foundations of socialism has been completed. Today 95.5 per cent of the arable land is cultivated by producer cooperatives and state farms.

In the process of building the cooperatives, agricultural production rose, and this must be regarded as a big success, as striking proof of the soundness of the Party's policy.

The consolidation of workers' rule, the socialist reorganization of agriculture and the basic changes that have taken place in the class structure of society have reinforced the



political unity of the people. Building the socialist economy and moulding the socialist consciousness are today the main forms of the class struggle.

The political content of the socialist national unity is expressed in the struggle to develop and defend the socialist system for the complete victory of socialism and for peace, to uphold the national independence against international imperialism and the hostile forces and trends in the country.

The development of the country the theses emphasize, calls for further perfecting socialist democracy, improving the work of administrative bodies, and extending the powers of the councils, particularly the local councils.

Important economic gains have been registered since the Seventh Party Congress. During the Three-Year Plan the national income rose 22 per cent instead of the 13 per cent as originally envisaged, and will register a further 14 per cent increase in the first two years of the Five-Year Plan. In 1961, first year of the second Five-Year Plan, industrial output rose 12 per cent, with two-thirds of the increase accruing from higher productivity of labor.

The share of industry in the national income rose from 55 per cent in 1958 to 60 per cent in 1961, and the share of heavy industry in the state-owned industry as a whole has also increased, particularly engineering and the chemical industry.

The main factors in the effort to build a complete socialist society are: higher labor productivity, more efficiency and greater output.

The theses approve and welcome the document "The Main Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labor" and the decisions adopted by the recent Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. The interests of our country and of the socialist world as a whole call for enlarging the functions of the Council and enhancing its role and responsibility.

The task of the Party, the theses continue, is to raise the cultural level of the population, to meet the steadily growing demand for specialists, to mould socialist thinking and ethics, persistently to combat manifestations of petty-bourgeois ideology. In the period ahead, the theses point out, we shall continue to work for the fulfilment of the task set by the Seventh Congress—to teach the people to live, work and think in a socialist way.

The gains of the socialist revolution are due above all to the fact that the working class and all the working people have a united

Marxist-Leninist internationalist party fulfilling its historic tasks.

During the struggle against the counter-revolution and in the course of the socialist construction the Party put an end to the personality cult. In the Hungarian Communist Party the Stalin cult was combined with the Rakosi cult. Beginning with 1949 Rakosi and a small group of supporters gradually abandoned collective leadership and placed themselves above the Central Committee, above the Party and the people. Their sectarian pseudo-radicalism distorted the policy of the Party, nor did they care very much about socialist law. The personality cult undermined the Party's prestige and its contact with the masses; it adversely affected the socialist construction and froze original thinking and all initiative. It was fertile soil for careerism, intrigue, servility and conservatism. It contributed to the growth of revisionism and the counter-revolutionary activities of enemies of the people.

After November 4, 1956, the Socialist Workers' Party removed the Rakosi clique from leadership and political life. It restored the Leninist standards of Party life and socialist legality. Today an atmosphere of genuine comradeship prevails throughout the Party. In the process of working out and implementing the Marxist-Leninist policy the Party combated both Right and "Left" views.

The most important aspect in the theoretical work of the Party is its creative application of Marxism in solving problems of socialist construction. On the basis of Leninist ideas the Party has provided the answers to such intricate social questions as the correlation of the class struggle and class alliances during the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries, in the period of socialist consolidation and socialist construction, the interaction of economic and political factors in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, remaking social relationships in the countryside while simultaneously raising agricultural output, the role of the middle peasant and the question of the rich peasant in the specific conditions of Hungary. Our experience proves the correctness of the conclusion that during the dictatorship of the proletariat, given a correct policy and a favorable international situation, even the big turns in the socialist revolution do not necessarily lead to exacerbation of the class struggle and a fall in production.

The Party is aiding people of a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois frame of mind to draw closer to the people's democratic system. But, as is the case in the international arena, there



is no peaceful coexistence, nor can there be, with anti-Marxist ideological trends also inside the country.

Mutual trust is the basis of the contact between the Party and the people. The Party regularly carries out explanatory work among the people, openly and sincerely speaks to them about its policy, the difficulties and the remedies.

The Party, the theses continue, holds that it is its internationalist duty to do all in its power to cement the unity of the international Communist movement. The Party staunchly upholds Marxist-Leninist unity against revisionist and dogmatic distortions.

The Central Committee calls upon all organizations and members to prepare, in the spirit of the present theses, for the important event in the life of the Party and people—the Eighth Congress.

## **2. On Closing the Unlawful Cases against Working-Class Leaders during the Personality Cult Period**

The meeting adopted a decision on this question which points out that in preparing for the forthcoming Congress the Central Committee deems it necessary to take account of the lessons of the period of the personality cult so that the mistakes made then shall not be repeated.

The political trials were the direct result of the personality cult. The erroneous theses formulated by Stalin to the effect that with the advance to socialism the class struggle grows sharper and that the class enemy should be sought above all in the Party, caused much harm. Special responsibility, the meeting point-

ed out, for spreading the personality cult, for the grave damage it caused to the people, the Party and the socialist cause, and for the political trials, rests with the Rakosi clique, which seized the leadership of the Party and sought to maintain it at any cost. The Central Committee has at its disposal documents which prove that not a small part of the false charges preferred during the trials was framed by Rakosi personally, which he has admitted on more than one occasion. \*

Erno Gero, one of the initiators of the trials, shares responsibility with Rakosi. As a Minister of Internal Affairs after 1953 Gero delayed rehabilitation with the result that hundreds of innocent people were not rehabilitated for a number of years.

Having examined the materials of the political trials of the time of the personality cult, the Central Committee decided completely to rehabilitate the comrades innocently condemned and to expel from the Party Matyas Rakosi and Erno Gero as bearing the main political responsibility for the trials. The Central Committee also decided that persons who took part in hearing the unlawful trials can no longer work in the internal security bodies, in the courts and prosecutor's offices. Former members of the Central Control Commission are also responsible for violating the elementary rights of Party members.

The merit of the Socialist Workers' Party is that it has put an end to the personality cult once and for all. Law and the socialist system have been consolidated. Every law-abiding citizen in Hungary lives and works tranquilly in his socialist country.

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## *Among Our Contributors*

**MAMUN:** *member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Sudan.*

**EUGENIUSZ SZYR:** *member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.*

**WILL MAC LORIN:** *member of the Central Committee of the African Party of Independence (Senegal).*

**PEDRO MOTTA LIMA:** *Brazilian journalist.*

**BORIS GRUSHIN:** *Soviet journalist.*

**JOHN GIBBONS:** *British journalist.*



**Exchange of Views**

# The Role of Women in Modern Society\*

*Henrietta Rouget (Switzerland)*

THE situation in the world today, and in my own country, impels us to tackle and solve with all urgency the problems raised by this exchange of views.

Switzerland is one of those few remaining countries where women are deprived of the franchise. Only in three cantons (out of 22) is political equality of women recognized. It is not by chance, incidentally, that our Party's position is rather strong in these cantons.

Women are playing an increasing role in production. The latest official figures we have here are for the year 1950 and we do not know when the figures for the more recent period will be available. According to 1950 data, there were 640,424 women working in industry and in the professions (26.2 per cent of the total number of women and 29.7 per cent of the total labor force). Women comprised 32.8 per cent of all wage-earners (572,489). Since these figures seemed questionable, we investigated and established that the number of women wage-earners was actually 650,000, and in 1957 exceeded 840,000.

In 1950 married women comprised 16.3 per cent of all working women, and only 10.3 per cent of the married women were engaged in work outside the home. Today, too, the majority of married women leave their jobs after the birth of their first child and return to work only after their children are grown up. In the past 10 years, however, the situation has noticeably changed, especially in industrial centers. Married women are given unskilled jobs and do not work a full day, and it is this that keeps them more or less steadily employed. At present it is hard to find a woman in Switzerland who would be willing to go into domestic service. Apart from the watch factories, where the work is clean and well-paid, women tend to leave the factories for jobs as sales-clerks or in offices where the wages are higher. Nowadays most young girls

go out to work, and as a rule they too look for office jobs. There is also a marked tendency to acquire a good professional training.

Married women are forced to work chiefly because of the high rent (25-30 per cent of the husband's earnings), and also the need to meet some of the heavier expenses. In most cases these women hope in time to return to their housekeeping.

Many comrades in our Party have tried to find a theoretical justification for this desire to leave work, on the grounds that one exploited member in the family was sufficient, and that the less surplus value the capitalists obtained the sooner they would perish. A few years ago the demand for shorter working hours was widespread, and some of our comrades believed that this should be the main demand until the public services were adequate. It is quite possible that with the rising cost of living and as new needs arise women will be forced to work a full day in order to earn more. Under these circumstances it is all the more important not to limit ourselves to the demand for more public services to ease the burden of housework. Unfortunately, a common sense of responsibility on the part of both husband and wife for all aspects of family life is still lacking. Of late, however, in the big towns all members of the family are gradually beginning to take a share in the household chores.

It should be stressed that the average hourly wage of a Swiss worker is considerably lower than is generally claimed: in October 1961 it was 3.83 Swiss francs for men and 2.44 francs for women.\* Nevertheless, under the government plan for revising the system of sick benefits, women must contribute 25 per cent more than men to entitle them to the benefits.

Despite the unfavorable conditions, more women (especially young women) are becoming

\*Continued from our Nos. 7 and 8.

\*The lowest paid and most exploited are the 500,000 foreign workers, many of whom are women.



ing attached to their jobs and find little satisfaction in returning to housekeeping. Until quite recently women, under the influence of capitalist propaganda, regarded themselves merely as part of the reserve army of labor. Today they are coming more and more to appreciate their important and steadily growing role in social production and are fighting for better conditions.

So long as the burden of housework falls on the shoulders of the women (even with the increase in the number of public catering establishments), it will be difficult for most women to rise to the professional level of the men; they are bound to lag behind men in all spheres of public life (this applies equally to members of our Party). Both in the family and in society, women are still looked upon as destined to play a secondary role. And there is no doubt that it will not be easy to overcome this prejudice. The fact that the disfranchisement of women was endorsed by the referendum of February 1, 1959, when the majority of the male electors voted in effect for the inequality of women, is indicative. Noteworthy, too, is the fact that in 1959 there were only 43,846 women members of the Swiss Trade Union Federation, i.e., 10 per cent of the total membership of that organization.

If we do not want to limit ourselves to complaining about the poor participation of women in public life we must devote more attention to the family. In Switzerland the family laws are antiquated. The wife does not have the same right as the husband with regard to property or children; the husband can forbid his wife to work, it is he who decides where the family shall live, etc.

In the course of the past 15 years the Party has put forward many demands affecting women (franchise, equal pay for equal work, abolition of the practice of dismissing married women, protection of motherhood, organiza-

tion of nurseries, schools, etc.) both on a cantonal and national scale.

We are devoting attention to training permanent cadres of women Communists. The Party already has a group of active and devoted women workers, most of them over 40, chosen from among housewives whose husbands are Party members.

In a number of cantons we have women's committees which help the leadership to draft and carry out the policy on the women's question. But there is no national committee, and in the past five years the Central Committee has not once discussed the problems of the women's movement.

Here are some of our difficulties: 1) Women engaged in Party work sever contacts with the women's mass organizations on the grounds that this is "a waste of time." 2) At times our women activists tend to carry out the line of the Party in the women's organizations too mechanically, with the result that little is done to develop the initiative of the women. 3) Some comrades claim that there is no such thing as a women's problem, that there is only the class problem and hence there can be no alliance between the women of different classes, which means there is no need for any differentiation in the work among the different strata of women.

What conclusions can be drawn from the situation? In order to draw working women into the struggle for socialism and communism they must not only have something to look forward to but must be given immediate and active assistance to enable them to change their unequal position in all fields. Not a single stage in the emancipation of women can come about automatically. At each stage a serious struggle is needed, one that must be waged primarily by the women themselves and which the Party regards as an important sphere of its activity.

### *Santiago Alvares (Spain)*

**W**ITH the defeat of the Spanish people in 1939, democratic development in our country ceased. The Franco dictatorship destroyed everything progressive the republic had created. Discrimination against women, and not only working women, but members of the middle classes as well, again became the order of the day. The Franco regime proclaimed the slogan: "Back to the kitchen." Working women were paid half the wages of men for the same work. The lot of the peasant woman was especially hard. Mar-

ried women became the slaves of their husbands, they had no rights either to family or personal property. Political rights for women were out of the question. At last the situation became intolerable. Even the Franco newspaper *ABC* (November 22, 1953) was obliged to admit that Spanish civil law placed woman in the position of an inferior being. An Italian journalist who visited Spain in 1955 commented that "the position of Spanish women corresponds approximately to that prevailing in the 15 century." *Ya*, organ of the Catholic



Church, described (January 10, 1958) the conditions of Spanish women in these words: "Strictly speaking, we are living practically in the age of Justinian law."

The struggle to end this discrimination against women assumed particular scope during the past ten years. Beginning with 1951, the problem of women's rights became a matter of wide debate; it found its way into the press, where it was the subject of a lively controversy.

In July 1961 the law on "political, professional and working rights for women" was adopted. It recognized women's equality with men in all spheres of state and public life and even proclaimed the principle of equal pay for equal work. The dictatorship made this gesture for purely demagogic reasons. Nevertheless the law was an important victory for the women and for all the progressive forces of Spain, the result of the increasing participation of women in production, the crisis and disintegration of the dictatorship, and above all, of the general struggle waged by the working class and the masses in general, including the women.

According to the 1940 census, Spain had a population of 25,800,000, of whom 13,500,000 were women. A total of 1,570,000 women were wage-workers (including 332,853 domestic servants, 261,443 day laborers in agriculture and 462,774 industrial workers).

In the 1960 census the figure for the population as a whole had risen to over 30 million; there were 2,000,000 women wage-earners (of whom 25 per cent worked in agriculture, 25 per cent in industry and in handicraft workshops, seven per cent in offices and 40 per cent as domestic servants). Another fact to be taken into account is emigration (in the past two years some 69,000 women have left Spain for France, Britain, Switzerland and West Germany, of whom 40,000 emigrated to West Germany).

Even the far from complete data available show that as before there are more women than men, that the number of working women has greatly increased although their share of the labor force remains comparatively low, and that women are being forced to do the hardest jobs.

The struggle for women's rights is part of the general struggle of the working class against the dictatorship. In the spring of 1951, during the strike which opened a new chapter in the anti-fascist struggle, the women showed themselves to be an impressive force. In subsequent years women workers, peasants and intellectuals also took part in the strike move-

ment and in other actions against the Franco regime. Their militant spirit was manifested during the recent strikes and demonstrations, especially in the Asturias last spring.

Women's protests against repressions and their demand for an amnesty for political prisoners have played an important part in developing their political consciousness. Women collect signatures, work on special committees sending deputations to cabinet ministers, governors, church dignitaries, and lawyers, and, most important, they take part in mass demonstrations and rallies. The fight for an amnesty has now become a semi-legal movement.

It is noteworthy that a strong and reliable core of women intellectuals (young writers, poets, artists, etc.) is emerging and finding various ways of expressing their opposition to Franco.

In recent years the regime has undertaken a number of moves calculated to undermine the emancipation movement, and especially the women's movement. The Falange and the Church have been virtually forced to recognize their failure to win over the broad strata of women, and especially the working women. A big influence in re-orientating the Church in this respect was exerted by the message of Pope Pius XII to the Eighth National Congress of the Catholic Center of Italian Women and his speech at the Fourteenth International Congress of the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations. The Pope spoke of the "equality of the sexes" and warned against the danger that women might "take other roads" than those of the Church if the Church failed to heed the demands for women's rights. The women's Catholic organizations and the women's section of the Falange are now seeking — with Franco's blessing — to gain the leadership in the fight for women's rights.

This makes it incumbent on us to broaden our ideological struggle, taking into account the changes in the status of women as well as the maneuvers of the Church and the Falange.

It is clear that for us the law adopted in July 1961 means new opportunities to carry on the fight legally, though this does not mean abandoning illegal activities.

In 1956 the Central Committee of our Party decided to set up special women's organizations. This decision accorded with the wishes of the women Party members. However, some of our women still prefer to work in mixed Party organizations. Perhaps some combination of these two forms will have to be found.

Much remains to be done to rid ourselves of the tendency to underestimate the revolu-



tionary, anti-Franco sentiment of the women, and to overcome the prejudices held by some of the men on the question of work among women. This is all the more necessary since the influence of Communist ideas on Spanish women is growing daily.

It is our aim in the not distant future to build up a united women's movement on a broad democratic foundation, a movement which would fight both for specific women's

demands and for the freedom of the nation as a whole. The road to genuine and full emancipation for women lies not through a limited feminist movement but through the overthrow of the regime of the oligarchy and big landowners, through fundamental changes in the structure of the economy, and especially a far-reaching agrarian reform, through the conquest of democracy and its development into socialism, for this alone will give women full freedom.

### *Amador Adaya (Honduras)*

**F**OR many years it seemed that time in Latin America had stopped. Feudalism and colonialism laid a heavy weight on the minds of the people, especially the women, who are still regarded by many men as beings of a lower order.

Of late, however, with the development of the struggle of the working people for emancipation, a radical improvement has taken place. Women have been given the right to vote. Four women were elected to the Constituent Assembly, and subsequently to the National Congress. At present women occupy posts in the government (deputy ministers, ambassadors, mayors, etc.). But the most striking evidence of the new status of women is to be found in the family, where women have won a certain measure of independence in relation to parents and husbands.

These changes are due to the independence women have acquired by becoming wage-earners.

Since 1954 when the first labor unions were organized in Honduras women have played an important part in the unions, although their inexperience and political immaturity has often made them the dupes of bourgeois and government agents. Most militant are the young women who are eager to acquire an education, including technical training, and who are active in building progressive organizations.

The changes in the conditions of the urban population are beginning to make themselves felt in the rural areas as well. Here women are taking part in the struggle for a democratic agrarian reform.

It is in the capitalists' interests that women should break away from the feudal family relationships and go to work in the factories, where they are paid less than men for the same work (in some cases less than half).

But what the capitalists don't like is to see these same women joining trade unions, the Women's League, the Peace and Human Rights Committee and the Communist Party, or to see them taking part in strikes, demonstrations and meetings. The women are carrying on the fight for better conditions. Expectant mothers are fired despite the fact that the law entitles them to aid during pregnancy. Although women are no longer debarred from higher education, this does not make it any easier for them to find work in their chosen field.

To keep women in subjection, the ruling classes rely on religion, on the one hand, and, on the other, are preaching the "freedom" of "having a good time" (American style), which is the road to prostitution.

Nevertheless the realities of life, the truth about the new socialist world and their own intuition impel even the non-political victims of anti-communism to take the right road.

Ten years ago there was not a single woman Communist in our country. Today there are many, and their number is growing despite the difficulties of illegal work and the lack of experience in political struggle.

The work among women is not easy. Nor is it limited to extending the activities of our women members. Our job is to enlist in the struggle women belonging to other parties, or women, both religious and non-religious, who do not belong to any party, to work for united action by women in the fight for their immediate demands as the only way to extend the struggle. And this means that our people (women included) will not stop at the demands realizable under capitalism but will go beyond that — to socialism. We have the example of the socialist countries and the Cuban revolution to inspire us in this struggle.



*Giglia Tedesco (Italy)*

**I**N AN address to the women in June 1945, Comrade Togliatti described the emancipation of woman as a major national issue, and one of the principal issues of the Italian road to socialism. The mass participation of women under the banner of unity in the war for liberation, which was not merely an anti-fascist war but a broad political and social movement headed by the working class, struck a mortal blow at the traditional backwardness of women. The experience gained in the war by the people shattered the Catholic conception of woman as an inferior member of the family and of society, and helped to overcome the feminist attitude which had reduced the women's question to a simple equation of the rights of men and women within the framework of capitalism.

In January 1945 Italian women received the right to vote. It is interesting to recall that some people in the labor movement feared that the vote of the "backward" women would but benefit the conservative forces. But our Party held that the principal and permanent factor was the broadening of democracy and the opportunity afforded women to acquire direct political experience.

We posed the question of women's emancipation on the broadest plane: equality in all spheres; the opportunity for all women to take part in production; the development of a genuinely humane society capable of reconstructing social life in a way that would free woman from domestic drudgery and guarantee her the right to special protection as a worker and mother. It is obvious that capitalist society cannot solve the women's question — a fact, incidentally, which the capitalists do not deny.

The struggle for the emancipation of women, as we understand it, hastens the maturing of conditions for the advance to socialism.

We try to link concrete issues with problems of a more general character. In the first place we advanced the demand for equal pay for equal work. This led to greater participation by the workers in the conclusion of labor agreements. Today there are about 60 agreements defining labor conditions for 2,370,000 women; about 20 of these recognize the principle of equal pay. The gap between the wages of men and women has diminished in industry and in trade from 19 per cent in 1948 to 5-7 per cent at the present time. In agriculture this gap which in 1948 comprised 30 per cent, has now been closed; this, in its turn, has

helped in advancing the demand for a general agrarian reform.

Labor and motherhood protection laws, laws protecting the labor of women working at home, and prohibiting the dismissal of women upon marrying are among the gains of recent years. Our long struggle for pensions for housewives highlights the need for a change in the general system of social security. The fight for more public services (nursery schools, creches, better organization of schools, etc.) raises the whole question of budget allocations, and of the rights of the local authorities. The old conception of the family is being shaken, and the demand for equality of women in family legislation also implies a reform in the legal code inherited from the fascist regime.

All this has served also to bring large sections of the women into the fight for peace as well. More women are now aware that disarmament, easing the international tension, and ending colonialism and imperialism are essential conditions for a far-reaching social regeneration.

Our position in the fight for women's rights has had a salutary influence not only on the Left in Italy, but on the Catholic movement as well. In recent years the representatives and organizations of this movement have begun to speak about the emancipation of women. There has even been joint action by the different trade unions, including Catholic, on the question of equal pay, protection of motherhood, etc. Naturally we do not lose sight of the fact that the Catholic movement, while working to strengthen its influence among the women, is bent on preserving the class foundations of Italian society.

An objective reason for the upsurge of the movement for women's emancipation is the rapidity with which women are being drawn into production. The number of working women in the period 1955-1961 increased by 1,157,000; of these 521,000 are employed in industry, 391,000 in the services and 245,000 in agriculture. In agriculture the relative increase is greater since the figures for general employment for this period sharply declined. Today the labor force in Italy includes some six million women (i.e., 27 per cent of the total).

The entry of women into industry has not been accompanied by the necessary changes in the social structure, which means that women are materially worse off since they have to cope with the dual burden of work at home and work in the factory (it should be borne in mind that the creches take in a mere 20,000



children whereas the demand is a hundred times greater). The majority of women are still excluded from production (Italy has eight million housewives). There is a growing disproportion in the employment of women in various branches of industry. Women (in the South, for example) are frequently drawn into the backward branches which are being deserted by the men. Female labor is used, as a rule, for low-skilled jobs and is marked by a high rate of fluidity. Although the percentage of women students in schools and universities has increased, the number at the higher levels of the educational system is diminishing (especially in the science and technical branches). As yet nothing has been done toward a reform of family laws.

To sum up, the development of capitalism, far from solving the women's question, has aggravated it. At the same time, this fact gives further impetus to the general class struggle in which women are playing a growing role.

The ruling classes are trying to hold back the popular movement not only by taking repressive measures but also by making partial concessions, and by all kinds of maneuvers.

In these circumstances the unitarian democratic organizations acquire particular importance. Moreover, the role of the Communist Party becomes greater than ever before.

Our Party today has 450,000 women members (i.e., 25 per cent of the membership). The Christian Democratic Party is the only party that can compete with us in this respect (it has 500,000 women members, or approximately 30 per cent of the total). In recent years the proportion of working women and young women generally to the total membership of our Party has increased. The participation of women in leading bodies of the Party is no longer

regulated by the formal need to "have at least some women represented" in these bodies, but is based rather on the abilities of the women members.

But we are not satisfied with things as they are. We aim to recruit new members (chiefly women workers and young women) and increase the number of women members doing specific Party work. These questions were examined at the Third National Conference of Communist Women. We came to the conclusion that we have gone beyond the stage of organizing separate branches for women. Nevertheless, the need for special work among the women and for women's committees to work on specific issues of women's emancipation still exists.

We believe that the need for international solidarity among women in the fight for emancipation and for peace is felt more strongly today than ever before. For example, we feel that in the Common Market countries immediate action should be taken on the question of wages and other questions affecting all workers, including the women.

We pin great hopes on the forthcoming Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation. Big changes have taken place in the world since 1945 when the Federation was founded. We believe that it should not only represent the common interests of women associated directly with the working-class parties, but unite the most diverse sections of women in the movement for peace and democracy, that it should act as an organization with the special objective of combining the fight for the emancipation of women with effective struggle for peace.

And, lastly, we would express the wish that conferences of women Communists of the different countries such as the present exchange should be held more frequently.

### *Nonna Muravyova (USSR)*

**I**N THE struggle for the emancipation of women, which our Party has waged from its inception, it has always proceeded from the principle that this goal can be reached only through revolution, through the abolition of the system of exploitation and private property which lies at the root of all oppression. But emancipation would have been impossible had not the Party released the revolutionary initiative of the women. Lenin stressed — and his words became the slogan for the Party — "the emancipation of working women must

be carried out by the working women themselves." Our women contributed no small share to the victory of the October Revolution.

The Soviet republic, having proclaimed equality for women, concentrated on ensuring equality *in practice*. For the first ten years or so after the revolution this work was carried on through the Women's Departments which formed part of district and regional Party committees and functioned under their direct guidance. These departments took an active part in drafting new laws covering improve-



ments in the conditions of women, held meetings and arranged conferences. Conferences of women delegates, the principal form of the mass work among women at that time, were held under the auspices of the Women's Departments. Every factory and office as well as groups of housewives elected delegates to the conferences. At their meetings the women discussed current political events and the work of their enterprises, heard reports on the work of the local Soviets, helped to draft measures for labor protection and child welfare, exposed bureaucracy and combated backward conservative tendencies among women.

The press played an important role in the political education of the working women. Many papers had "women's pages," which regularly reported on Party work among women, women's achievements on the job, their cultural progress, etc. Magazines like *Rabotnitsa* (The Working Woman) and *Krestyanka* (The Peasant Woman) did much in the field of propaganda among women.

As a result of the Party's policy in bringing women into production we soon had large numbers of skilled women workers. It was they who during the last war replaced their husbands and brothers in the factories. The proportion of women in the labor force was 47 per cent in 1960 (nearly as much as the proportion to the total population).

In drawing women into production, socialism takes into account the specific character of their physical and mental make-up. It is not by chance that 75 per cent of the doctors and 70 per cent of the school teachers in the Soviet Union are women. These are professions suited to the temperament and abilities of women. And it is also understandable that the proportion of women engineers is lower — about one third (although this, too, is many times higher than in capitalist countries).

Much has been done to lighten the labor of women. But we do not claim to have solved this problem completely. One still finds women doing arduous work. This is the result of the war and the depletion in the male population. True, in recent years laws have been passed forbidding the employment of female labor in mining, subway construction and in the fishing fleet. But this is not the only way out. It is necessary to further intensify mechanization and automation, especially for auxiliary jobs and also in farming. The Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU raised the question of abolishing night work for women. In his concluding speech at the Congress N. S. Khrushchov said that the Central Com-

mittee and the Government were studying this matter.

The problem of providing conditions enabling woman to combine work with her duties as a wife and mother is a very difficult one. Women employed in industry are entitled to nearly four months' paid maternity leave; moreover, the management gives nursing mothers additional time off (without, of course, in any way affecting their earnings). The network of pre-school institutions is constantly being expanded. By the end of 1962 some 5,500,000 children will be accommodated in these institutions. The total of pupils in the boarding schools will be 920,000, while 1,160,000 children whose mothers are working will be taken care of after school hours. And all this is still far from enough.

"The development of a ramified network of children's institutions," states the Program of the CPSU, "will make it possible for more and more families, and in the second decade for every family, to keep children free of charge in children's establishments if they so desire. The Party considers it necessary to do everything possible to satisfy in full the demand for pre-school facilities within the next few years."

People from other countries sometimes ask: do not the state and society play too big a role in the upbringing of children? In the first place no one is compelled to keep their children in a kindergarten or boarding school — this depends entirely on the parents. Secondly, the principal difficulty in this sphere is that as yet the number of creches, kindergartens and boarding schools fall far short of the demand. And thirdly, a harmonious blending of social and family influence tends to strengthen the role of the family in the upbringing of children rather than the reverse.

Lenin said that the real emancipation of women and real communism would begin only when and where war should be declared on domestic drudgery, or rather when this drudgery would be replaced by large-scale socialist economy. Although we have a system of public catering establishments serving more than 40 million, most people still prefer to eat at home. This is due both to the shortage of catering establishments and to the comparatively poor quality of the cooking as a rule. Within 10 or 15 years, according to the Program of the CPSU, public catering should take precedence over home cooking. Mechanical appliances are coming more and more to the aid of the housewife. It is estimated that the use of electrical appliances for housework would save each housewife about 1,600 hours a year. Production and sale of these appliances



are steadily increasing. Public services of all kinds are being expanded and new types of services are appearing, such as the "Help to Housewives" offices which function in residential areas.

It is sometimes asked whether it is not more advisable for women to work shorter hours than men. This is a much debated question in our country. But now we are solving it by reducing working hours for all workers, primarily for those engaged in arduous work. The new Program of the CPSU contains the suggestion that women be given easier work but without any lowering of wage rates. On the other hand, it is evidently necessary to do more to make men see the necessity of taking a bigger share in bringing up the children and helping with the housework.

The socio-economic equality of woman is the basis of her equality in the family. The emancipation of woman from material dependence enables her to choose her partner in marriage without being influenced by mercenary considerations. The number of marriages per thousand in the USSR in 1960 was higher than in the capitalist countries. The solution of one of our biggest problems, namely housing, will have a beneficial effect on marital relations.

The Party has always combated moral laxity. But we sometimes lose sight of another danger which springs from the difficulties of

obtaining a divorce.

Our state renders substantial aid to unmarried mothers. But the need has now arisen to abolish the law which penalizes children born out of wedlock.

Abortions, formerly prohibited in our country, are now officially sanctioned, but their number has nevertheless diminished.

Our people are encouraged to raise large families. Families with two children receive a lump sum from the state on the birth of the third child, and monthly allowances for each child born after that.

The enlisting of women in social labor and the rise in their educational levels has led to greater participation by women in public and political life. There are 390 women deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Women make up 41 per cent of all the deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics and local Soviets. A large number of women occupy posts in the government, in the Party, trade unions and in the various branches of the economy. There are 1,900,000 women members of the Party (nearly 20 per cent of the total).

The building of communism demands from all women, from all Communists and the people as a whole more initiative and greater efforts to achieve the final solution of the women's question. We realize that this is our international duty as well.

### *Inkeri Lehtinen (Finland)*

**A**T THE end of 1950, 808,000 women were engaged in production in our country (40.7 per cent of the total labor force, which is a very high percentage). Half of them worked in agriculture or forestry. The second largest group was engaged in industry and in handicrafts. The service industries came third.

That so many women work in production only makes their inequality all the more glaring, a fact which is highlighted by the refusal of the employers to accept the principle of equal pay for equal work. Though espoused by the Finnish labor movement as far back as 1905, wage equality was not even discussed in the Diet until 1945, when the parliamentary group of the Democratic Alliance and Communists introduced the first of its many motions on this question. After years of endless sittings, the special committee appointed by the government finally declared last year in favor of adopting the recommendations of the In-

ternational Labor Office, but, with the proviso that a "national plan" be drawn up and the question "examined" on the local level first.

Most glaring is the discrepancy between men's and women's wages for exactly the same work in the sphere of trade. Here the annual difference amounts to 177,000 marks.

Low wages for women affect the men as well. For instance, in the third quarter of 1961 the average hourly wages for men in the engineering industry were 275 marks, but in textiles, where the majority of the workers are women, it was 231 for exactly the same type of work.

Although more young women are now being trained for such jobs as operators in clothing factories, etc., the vocational training available to women is on the whole restricted mainly to housekeeping and sewing.

More young women than men now finish secondary schools (where, incidentally, the fees are very high). In the case of technical



colleges, however, only 2.1 per cent of the graduates are women. Only 17.9 per cent of the college graduates engaged in agriculture and the timber industry are women, and 29.1 per cent in trade. Women's advancement, too, is slow. For example, of the 40 inspectors in the Elanto Cooperative Stores in Helsinki only one is a woman. Only men are now promoted to store managers, and women who had been managers are demoted. The same happens in banks, insurance, and in government and municipal offices.

The working woman, then, has not such an easy life in Finland. All the more so since the number of creches, nursery schools, and day-care groups is utterly inadequate, and prepared foods are expensive and the choice limited, besides which old habits tend to limit their use.

Although women have been able to vote in parliamentary elections since 1907 and in municipal elections since 1917, their turnout at the polls is usually less than that of the men.

Of the 200 members of the Diet 29 are women, of whom nine are Democratic Alliance deputies or Communists. In the municipal councils women are even fewer (7.6 per cent). This reveals one of the weaker aspects of our activity. True, there are women in the leadership of the Communist Party and its parliamentary group, and also in leading positions in many of the mass organizations. But at district and local level we have failed to promote and train any appreciable number of women activists (though we do not think that women's rights is the domain of women only — it is the duty of all Communists and democrats to uphold them).

Many members of our Party also belong to the Democratic Women's Union, which conducts extensive activities on peace and civil rights issues. Although its activists are comparatively few in number, this organization reaches far out and is in touch with the other women's organizations, including the Social Democrats. Generally speaking the Union responds promptly to all social problems.

The successful campaign fought in 1957 to maintain the family allowances brought home to the women the value of exerting pressure on Parliament. Current problems (such as health insurance and the 40-hour week) have also evoked a lively response. Last year nearly

6,000 women took part in a fact-finding campaign which established that of the 30,000 people polled 80 per cent had to go without timely medical attention or hospital care because of the lack of a health insurance scheme.

The attempts made by the reactionaries to spread imperialist ideology are meeting with resistance on the part of broad sections of the population, and especially women, who have come to see that peace and the maintenance of good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union are closely interlinked. It is worth noting that most of the delegates to the recent national peace congress were women. The debate at the congress showed that they were keenly aware of the connection between the struggle for peace and responsibility for the youth and children.

As regards the work of our Party among women, we must frankly admit that it leaves much to be desired. Women comprise nearly a quarter of our membership; but many of these are new members who joined during the recruiting campaign conducted last year. Nearly 80 per cent of the new members are between 18 and 40 years of age.

For time to time we hold conferences of women members. There are no special Party education facilities for women, who attend the general study groups and schools. It should be said, however, that the study programs are not sufficiently interesting for them.

In the course of the preparations for our forthcoming Party congress we shall hold discussions on the role of women in the social struggle and on work among both organized and unorganized women so as to focus the attention of the entire Party on this question.

Day-to-day struggle for equal rights for women in all spheres of endeavor also helps to spread socialist ideas among the working people. The achievements of the socialist countries and the new Program of the CPSU are influencing the class struggle waged by the working people in other countries. Appealing to all sections of the population that suffer from the monopoly yoke, we are working to build a broad anti-monopoly front in defense of civil rights, for friendship among the peoples, and peace.

The conditions are more favorable than ever before for winning a radical improvement in the status of women.



## Rosa Schulz (Federal Germany)

**T**HE militarization, carried on under anti-communist and revanchist slogans, places a heavy burden on the women in Federal Germany. The Communist Party and other democratic organizations such as the Democratic Women's Union, the Free German Youth and the Peace Committee have been banned. "Emergency" laws have been introduced to stamp out all opposition to the reactionaries and to impose, ostensibly as a "defense" measure, compulsory labor service for women between 18 and 55. Hence the struggle for women's rights in Federal Germany is part of the fight against militarism.

The female population of Federal Germany in the 15 to 65 age bracket is 19.1 million, of whom 9.3 million — 38 per cent of the total labor force — are wage-earners. Women factory and office workers number 7.1 million. Although woman's equality has been written into the Constitution and there is an equal pay law, these principles are not observed. Women's wages are on the average 37 per cent less than men's (the annual difference of nearly 6,000 million marks means so much more profit for the exploiters). The monopolies, with the tacit agreement of the Right-wing union leaders, pay some groups of women workers less than the lowest wages paid to unskilled male workers. Moreover, they have launched an offensive against one of the most important gains of the working women—the monthly day off with pay granted to women working 40 or more hours a week so as to enable them to attend to household duties.

Working women account for 87 per cent of all deaths in childbirth. Federal Germany shares first place in Europe with Portugal and Italy for mother and child mortality. Its disability rate among women, too, is the highest in Europe (85 per cent of all working women are diagnosed as invalids before reaching pension age, which is 65).

In striking contrast is the status of women in the German Democratic Republic. "In East Germany married women accounted for 41 per cent of all wage workers in 1957," Professor Kirchoff said in a report delivered at a medical congress last year. "Parallel with this extraordinary increase in the participation of women in production is the improvement in social benefits for women, in legislative protection of their interests, in social insurance provisions, and especially in motherhood protection. As a result — and statistical data bear this out — there has been no adverse effect

on the health of working women or expectant mothers, or on the birth and infant mortality rates."

Federal Germany has 20.3 million women voters (2.5 million more than men). Yet the number of women elected to Parliament, always small, is now declining. Of the Bundestag deputies elected in the last election only 8.3 per cent are women; in the previous election the percentage was 9.2. In the Landtags the percentage is even smaller (7.5). Indicative too, is the fact that of the 7.1 million engaged in production in 1959 only 1,089,527 were members of the trade unions.

The militarists and their associates are doing their utmost to win the support of the women. The entire propaganda media have been mustered to persuade them that the aggressive revenge-seeking policy of Bonn is needed for "defense" against a "threat from the East." Not to speak of radio and TV, this propaganda is spread through the numerous women's organizations (nearly 200 in West Germany, of which the 81 biggest have a total of nearly six million members). Many women come under the influence of the church, especially the Catholic, for 90 per cent of all women are in one or another way connected with the churches.

The Right-wing leaders of the trade unions have included in the draft of the new trade union rules provisions restricting the activities of women members to specifically women's problems and barring them from discussing general political issues.

But in spite of the ideological pressures, many women are opposed to the emergency laws and the "prepare for defense" drive. Now that the economic situation is not so rosy with armaments swallowing one-third of the budget, and with the government launching a general offensive against the standard of living, it is easier for the working women and housewives to see the connection between militarism and the worsening conditions. The fight for wage increases is gaining in intensity. Last year the attempt made by the employers to abolish the day off for housework was foiled through public meetings, collecting signatures to petitions and the threat to take strike action (though many women were deprived of this privilege by a ruling of the Federal Labor Relations Court). In March and April this year impressive meetings of women were held in many cities against the armaments drive, and large numbers of women and girls took part in the Easter marches for peace. The



women's conferences held by the metalworkers' union (March) and the Trade Union Federation (April) declared in the name of one million women for disarmament and against the emergency laws. Many women members of the Social Democratic Party do not agree with the policy of their party. Progressive women are courageously working in all kinds of organizations.

The opportunities, then, for enlisting the women in the fight for peace and progress are good. Our Party, however, even before it was outlawed, neglected systematic work among women. Though driven underground, it is now working to make up for lost time.

Taking due account of the particular interests of women, the Party is working to win them for the struggle for peace and against

militarism and imperialism. Our policy is founded on the document "The Historical Task of the German Democratic Republic and the Future of Germany," issued by the National Council of the National Front of the GDR. We are concentrating on work among working-class women in the trade unions, and we want to advance more women in our Party to leading positions and awaken all our members to the importance of the women's problems. The fight for women's rights is essential to win immediate improvements in their position, and it should be waged day in and day out, not only around the general issues but on the specific problems in each factory. It is part of our general struggle to defeat the militarists and imperialists and to build an anti-fascist, democratic, peace-loving system.

### *Lene Berg (German Democratic Republic)*

OUR republic has entered a new stage in its development. Its aim, set forth in the decisions of a recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party is to complete the building of socialism and to go over to building a communist society, irrespective of how the international situation and the relations between the two German states develop. Fulfilment of this task requires the concerted efforts of women as well as men. In view of this, the leadership of our Party issued after the meeting a special statement entitled "Woman and Peace and Socialism."

Lenin's counsel that not a vestige should be left of the laws discriminating against women has been carried out in our country. Women take equal part with men in political, economic and cultural life. The ideals of August Bebel and Clara Zetkin have been realized in the main. Forty-seven per cent of all industrial and office workers are women. This means that 70 per cent of the women from 16 to 60 are engaged in productive labor. Nearly 36 per cent of the members of socialist labor teams in industry, and 46 per cent of the members of agricultural cooperatives are women. Women account for 20 to 25 per cent of the members of various elected bodies.

Women are also drawn into social life through what are called housewives' groups, of which there are over 7,000. The members of these groups devote some time each week to work in industry, agriculture, trade organizations or medical institutions. They play their part also in the public committees functioning under the local authorities.

The new life that has opened up for the women of the GDR is an example for all of Germany.

Our experience confirms two important points:

1. The basic prerequisite for any fundamental change in the status of women is government by the workers and peasants, although the Communists strive even under capitalism to utilize every opportunity for winning more rights for women, as well as democratic rights generally.

2. The equality of women before the law, important though it is, is not automatically followed by real equality in everyday life. Deep-seated habits and relationships with roots that go back hundreds of years cannot be eliminated by a stroke of the pen, by handing down decrees. The attainment of equality in all spheres of life is a complex and contradictory process necessitating steadfast struggle. For it is impossible to provide at once all the creches and nursery schools that are needed, or fully to solve the problem of skills, etc. Moreover, there are difficulties that stem from the survivals of the bourgeoisie outlook and West German influences. Many, especially men, including top officials and executives, underestimate woman's role in socialist society (some even say that it is enough for her to be a good mother and housewife). This attitude is reflected in the fact that there still are few women in intermediate and leading executive positions. Among technicians, too, their proportion is far too low.



The statement of the Political Bureau of our Party stresses that the realization of women's equality as a principle of Marxism-Leninism is the duty of the whole of society. Fulfilment of this duty is the next step. Equal rights for women means more than equal pay for equal work, or equal opportunity to acquire an education. The task now is to make full use of the opportunities and to create additional opportunities for the full development of women's talents and abilities. Above all they must be given every support in order to advance to intermediate and top executive posts.

The Party statement found an eager response among the public. Useful discussions were held with both men and women in the factories, cooperatives and in residential areas on how to achieve these aims.

In conducting work among women our Party has been guided by Lenin's injunction that "the Party should have special bodies — working groups, commissions, committees, departments or whatever they may be called — charged with awakening the broad masses of women, bringing them in contact with the Party and keeping them under its influence."\*

An important part in this work has been played by the women's committees which were formed some ten years ago, first in the factories and later elsewhere, on the initiative of the Socialist Unity Party. Comrade Muravyova has given us a vivid account of the activities of the working women's delegates in the Soviet

Union in the twenties and early thirties. I remember very well how we in what was still the Weimar Republic, before Hitler, began to apply this experience, in conformity with our specific conditions, of course. Now we are again drawing on this experience, using it in conformity with our new conditions. The Party has concentrated on helping the women workers and workers' wives. Today there are over 20,000 women's committees with more than 140,000 members functioning on a voluntary basis in industry, agriculture and in distribution. These committees, which largely consist of non-Party women and carry on their activities after working hours, help to enlist women workers in the Socialist Labor Team emulation movement, see that factory managements draw up plans for improving conditions for women, check up on the fulfilment of these plans, etc.

To build socialism, especially in our complex conditions, requires the participation of all sincere people. Useful work in rallying people to the common cause is being done by the Democratic Women's Union, which unites 1.3 million members of varying views and religious beliefs, irrespective of their social background. Most of the union's work is done on a spare-time basis, with the emphasis on reaching women who do not go out to work.

In conclusion I should like to second the suggestion made by Comrade Tedesco that we Communist women should get together more often at international meetings like this.

\*Clara Zetkin, *Reminiscences of Lenin*.

### *Rosa Pantaleon (Argentina)*

**T**HE Argentine Communists are working to enlist the women in the common struggle for national liberation, against U.S. imperialism, for structural changes which would make it possible to satisfy a number of specific women's demands even before the victory of socialism.

A powerful spur to women's social and political activity is their participation in production. At present they account for about 35 per cent of all the working people in the country.

When women workers join with the men to fight for their class interests their political awakening is also accelerated. They have already compelled the ruling classes to grant the right to vote and to include the principle of equal pay for equal work in the Constitution.

But the position of women still remains very difficult. Women of high skill are paid

very low wages. As the law stands women have no say in deciding the future of their children and no share in disposing of the family property. A working class woman may join a trade union, but even in the predominantly women's unions the leading posts are held by men. Very few women have been elected to government bodies.

Especially hard are the conditions of the rural women. Besides taking care of the home, the peasant woman has to work hard in the fields. In the legal sense she has no identity of her own in the family, for only the head of the family has the right to conclude contracts. And it is next to impossible for her to join any organization or take part in its work.

Lenin said that for work among women "specific methods of agitation and organizational forms are needed. This is a matter not



of any bourgeois defense of 'women's right's but of practical revolutionary expediency.'"\* Therefore, taking into account the double burden borne by many women Communists (at work and at home) and also the fact that owing to old prejudices some of them cannot leave the house in the evenings to do Party work, we have formed special women's branches. These branches spread the ideas of communism and the truth about life in the socialist countries through both personal contact and printed matter. The Communist women talk to their fellow workers and their neighbors and invite sympathizers to their meetings to acquaint them with the stand of the Party on one or another question. This kind of political work has helped to increase the number of our women activists and also the membership (30 per cent of our members are women). But we are conscious that this work needs to be improved.

Our Party holds that the women's movement should be a broad non-party movement. Therefore we attach importance to building the mass organizations conducting work in defense of the rights of women and children. Most important of these is the Argentine Women's Union, which unites people of different political views.

\*Clara Zetkin. *Reminiscences of Lenin*.

A sign of the growing political awakening of women generally is their participation in the campaign in support of Cuba. With money collected peso by peso they bought and sent to Cuba an airplane and a tractor. And now, despite hounding by the authorities and the high cost of living, women are campaigning for funds to build a school in Cuba.

There still are difficulties and shortcomings in our work. Not always (especially because of the repressions) are we able to respond promptly to issues agitating the women. There have been cases when we set too ambitious tasks without adequate preparation, with the result that our contact with the masses was weakened. In other instances struggles for concrete demands were not carried to the end and in the course of these struggles insufficient attention was paid to organizational work. Sectarian forms and methods are still an obstacle. But with the help of the leadership of our Party we are doing our utmost to eliminate these shortcomings.

We are aware that in order to win the majority of the women we must speak to them in a language they can understand; we must begin with the most urgent problems so as to proceed from the simple to the more complex, to help women learn by their own experience and thereby deepen their political consciousness.

### *Madeleine Colin (France)*

OUR Party has always attached importance to work among women, who constitute more than 51 per cent of the population of France and more than one-third of its working class. Without mobilizing this powerful social force there can be no question of successful struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

Women are best of all aware of the danger of militarism. They suffer most from exploitation by the monopolies. In spite of the fact that equal pay for equal work has been written into the law, the discrepancy between the average hourly wages of men and women with equal skill ratings increased from 6.4 per cent in 1956 to 9.5 per cent at present. If we take into account the discrimination against women in vocational training, and as regards promotion, bonuses, etc., the difference averages 40 per cent. The employers, on the pretext of competition in the Common Market, are trying to reduce women's wages to the lower levels existing in other EEC countries.

This offensive against the working people has, naturally, encountered resistance. Not only

have working women taken part in all recent struggles for economic demands, but in some trades they have been the initiators of such actions. They took part in all the big political strikes and demonstrations in defense of the republic, to halt fascism, and for peace in Algeria. The overwhelming majority of working women in Paris marched (many of them for the first time in their lives) in the streets during the funeral of the victims of police terror on February 13 this year.

Such active participation in the struggle awakens and develops the women's political consciousness. And the Communists should make use of the new opportunities this opens.

Working women in their mass have faith in our Party because it fights for their demands and because it carries on an unflagging struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. Ever since 1804 the rights of the citizen, and, consequently, woman's status in the family, have been governed by the *Code Napoleon* which gives prerogatives to men as the heads of families. The proposals made by our parlia-



mentary group to give married women the same parental rights as men have been turned down, while the draft of the new family statute submitted by the government would perpetuate the inequality of women.

The bourgeoisie is now campaigning to make women work only half-time. The purpose of this maneuver is to hamper the struggle for shorter hours without cuts in wages; to counter the demand for creches and nursery schools (the existing ones accommodate only 56,000 out of a total of four million children under four); and to make women not only an auxiliary labor force employed on second-rate work but an isolated reserve which could be used against the working class in the event of social conflicts.

While waging a struggle for civil rights and improved legislation relating to family relationships, we realize that no real emancipation of woman is possible before the emancipation of the working class as a whole, i.e., before the victory of socialism.

Only the Communist Party opens to women the perspective of genuine freedom. The decisive role of the Party cannot be fulfilled either by the trade unions, whose task is to defend the workers' economic interests, or by organizations of the type of the Women's Union, whose aim is to unite all women in the struggle for peace, democracy and social rights.

The Party regards the recruitment of more women as a vital task. In conformity with the decisions of its Sixteenth Congress, it is concentrating on the factories, seeking to organize the women workers and to form new local branches. This is not an easy task. It should not be forgotten that the deification of the "savior of France" which induced 80 per cent of all Frenchmen to vote "yes" in the 1958 referendum sowed more confusion among the women than the men. Their own experience and the explanatory work conducted by the Party opened the eyes of the working people to the issues at stake, but not at once. It took months before economic and then political struggle got under way once more. Moreover, the difficult conditions make it harder to conduct work among women, to organize them and enlist them in political activity. But apart from these objective difficulties there are obstacles of another order. One of these is the susceptibility of some Communists to the bourgeois concept of woman's "inferiority."

In the course of preparations for our theoretical conference on Party work among women, meetings of Federation committees with the participation of women activists were held in nearly all the Departments. At these meetings it was revealed that at times not a few

members of the Federation committees do not consider it necessary to attend meetings where work among women is discussed. This examination of the question in which some 3,000 comrades took part proved very useful. Ways and means were outlined for correcting the situation.

Since then good results have been obtained. Several thousand women have joined the Party this year and branches have been established at many factories employing women.

These branches should be adapted to the local conditions. For instance, lunch-breaks can be used for brief meetings to hear a political announcement or to exchange views.

It is also necessary to take into account the specific conditions in which the Party organizations work in residential areas. For instance, mothers with young children can hardly be expected to go out in the evening to a Party meeting. We suggest that such meetings should be held in the afternoon when the children are at school or during the week-end, and that the women members should not be overtaxed with assignments.

The Party is devoting attention to developing women functionaries, especially among factory workers. But this work still suffers from shortcomings. It has been established that in some important industrial areas with large numbers of women workers, none of the members of the women's committees of Party organizations are workers. Enlisting housewives, teachers and government workers in active and even in leading Party work is something that should not be ignored. We are facilitating in every way the attendance of women at Party schools.

We recognize that the Party must pay much more attention to the many problems connected with housework and care of children, and also to convincing husbands that they should help their wives with the household chores.

Determined and constant effort on the part of the Party will be needed to carry out these tasks. But the main responsibility rests with our women members. And our Party has many of them — 50,000.

The Central Committee meeting in June 1961 which reviewed the matter of Party cadres recommended that each Federation should place definite comrades in charge of women's work relieving them of all other duties. Most of the Federations have already carried out this recommendation. The important thing is, however, that the comrades assigned to this sphere should work in contact with the entire Federation organization. This is essential in order to ensure collective work at all levels.



We are doing everything to recruit more women, especially women working in the factories for they can become a powerful force

for uniting the democratic and peace-loving people in the struggle against monopoly rule, for restoring and regenerating democracy and for socialism.

### *Annie O. Averink (Holland)*

**I**T USED to be the tradition in Holland for a woman to give up her job when she got married and to devote herself to her home. This was mainly due to the fact that industry got along without the labor of the married women, especially since the economy was, until recently, predominantly agrarian.

But in the last few years the need for female labor has been growing. The women themselves, the men, the employers and the authorities all take a different view of this trend, which is all the more noteworthy since the former preponderance of the female population over the male has disappeared and the two are almost equal (due to the decline in the mortality rate for male children). The probable outcome is that there will be very few single women in the future, whereas it is unmarried women who account for the bulk of the female labor at present. Moreover, a monopoly economy calls for more workers in the services and in distribution, where most of the employees are women. Hence the capitalists are compelled to draw more and more on the last reserve of labor power in Holland — married women.

But the fact that one now sees women delivering the mail and working as bus and tram conductors and drivers or in the police force does not mean that the doors have been thrown wide open to women in those professions which used to be considered the prerogative of the male. The point is simply the general shortage of labor power.

According to law, all forms of vocational training are equally accessible to young men and women. In reality things are quite different. Of an enrolment of 110,000 in the lower technical schools in 1960 only 484 were girls, of whom only one was training to become a metalworker.

Of all the EEC countries except Luxembourg, Holland has the lowest wages and, what is more, 25 per cent is deducted from the earnings of married women in conformity with the obsolete marriage laws which regard the wife's earnings as additional income earned by the husband as the head of the family. Clearly, the capitalists want to maintain this state of affairs and hope to do so by making minor

concessions, such as a slight reduction of the tax on married women's wages.

The government, too, has refused to introduce equal pay for equal work. The farthest it has gone is to promise to raise women's wages to 85 per cent of the men's. In these circumstances married women, naturally, are not too anxious to go out to work. Nevertheless more of them are doing so, although the statistics do not show this since for the most part it is done "unofficially" so as to evade the heavy tax.

What compels women to work is need. Above all this applies to the mothers of large families. High rents, hire-purchase payments, the fact that owing to the higher school-leaving age children begin earning later than before, and, lastly, the urge to keep up with 20th century standards make it necessary for women to seek employment and to learn some trade. In the case of widows the lack of a trade is literally a calamity, for the pension provisions for dependants are utterly inadequate.

At a conference sponsored by the Amsterdam Regional Labor Office and attended by representatives of business, the trade unions and women's organizations, it was unanimously agreed that a new approach was needed in order to encourage married women to go to work. For instance, at present part-time work would be most suitable; mothers should be released from work to look after a sick child with pay in accordance with the social security regulations (80 per cent of the basic wage); canteens providing cheap meals should be opened in the schools and enterprises. It is also important to facilitate vocational training and to provide opportunities for retraining in new skills on the same basis as men, i.e., without stopping the minimum wage.

Now that there is a demand for female labor (and in the future this demand is bound to increase) the working class as a whole should come out for equality for the working woman, above all as regards wages and taxes. The working class should not oppose women's participation in production but fight to ensure that this participation should not be at the expense of the women and their families, that it should



not be used to lower living standards. Above all the working man should regard the woman worker not as a competitor (as is often the case) but as a fellow fighter in the common struggle. To help develop this common class approach, we urge women to join the trade unions and to take part in union life (so far women are still poorly organized, accounting for only 100,000 of the one million union members).

It would be absurd to think that the struggle for equal rights for women will begin only when — as a result of the working class taking over power and establishing a socialist society — an end has been put to private ownership of the means of production. The working people can win a great deal for women right now in the course of the struggle for general democratic demands.

### *Anna Karlovska (Czechoslovakia)*

**T**HE Fifth Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation is approaching and it would be a good thing to take this occasion to give thought once again to the relationship between the fight for peace and the fight for the emancipation of women. The question of war and peace is so vital that until it is decided the solution of many other problems cannot be tackled. Despite the fact that the women in a number of countries have made some headway in the struggle for their emancipation since 1945 when the WIDF was founded, their gains are constantly being threatened by the danger of nuclear war. And if 17 years ago the WIDF placed the fight for

peace at the head of its list of tasks, and if this task has been paramount throughout the intervening years, it is even more so today.

The women representatives of the Communist parties both in their own countries and on the international arena unanimously endorse the ideas expressed in the statement of the Moscow meeting of November 1960: *"The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time."*

### *Abdallah Layachi (Morocco)*

**O**N gaining independence (March 2, 1956) Morocco, like all the newly-liberated colonial countries, found itself burdened with a legacy of social and cultural backwardness. The national economy, which is largely agrarian, still has semi-colonial, semi-feudal features. But despite the handicaps, industry is making headway: whereas in 1926 it comprised only 3.3 per cent of the total production of the country, by 1962 its share had risen to 15 per cent.

There has been an increase in the number of women engaged in public education and health services, but most working women are to be found among the poorer sections of the population; 65 per cent in agriculture, 17 per cent in industry and in the mines (mainly as auxiliary workers), four per cent in offices and 14 per cent as domestic servants. Only 20 per cent have permanent jobs.

In industry women receive five-sixths of the wages of men (for the same work) and in agriculture, three-fourths. Women are always

the first to be laid off. The new labor legislation, progressive compared to the old, is aimed at protecting women as "the weaker sex" and seeks to "keep them away from dust and harmful vapors," but this point of the law can be interpreted in many ways and it threatens to become an obstacle to women who want to learn a trade and achieve promotion. The laws providing for improvements in labor conditions for women and children are, unfortunately, seldom observed.

The recently adopted social insurance law is a definite step forward compared to what we had before. At the same time, it is very limited as regards the actual interests of the women: it provides for sick benefits, but only after the 15th day of illness, and the sum paid is miserly. Moreover, agricultural laborers and servants are not entitled to this privilege.

Women's participation in production helps to develop their class consciousness. Their arduous conditions impel them to join the fight. Women take an active part in strikes



and demonstrations. Some women acted as pickets during a long strike at one of the spinning mills.

Safeguarding women's interests calls for proper organization. And in this respect we have some achievements to our credit. The Moroccan Labor Union, the biggest trade union center in the country, has 100,000 women in its ranks. Last April the working women of Morocco held their first congress for the purpose of setting up an organization, under the auspices of the Union, to unite all sections of democratically-minded women.

Only a few years ago the position of the woman in the family could be described in the words of the proverb: the woman's road lies "from her mother's womb to her father's house, thence to the house of her husband and from her husband's house to the grave." The woman's consent was not required in marriage contracts. The husband could have as many wives as he pleased. Now, however, important amendments have been made in the marriage and divorce laws. For example, the first wife can insist on the marriage contract containing a stipulation that her husband will not take other wives. Moreover, the woman has the right to be informed before the marriage if the husband has other wives. The woman's right to work, to participate in social and political life can also be recorded in the marriage contract, in which case the husband is obliged to respect her wishes. On the other hand, dowries are still compulsory and the husband has the right to dissolve the marriage without the consent of the wife.

Prior to liberation women in Morocco were totally illiterate. At present the educational system has been substantially improved. But here, too, much still remains to be done.

Thanks to their participation in the independence struggle women have received the right to elect and be elected, and to join trade unions and political parties. At the same time, the Koran with its reactionary doctrines concerning women still has wide currency in the country.

There can be no question of talking to the Moroccan woman today about building socialism, she has first to learn what socialism is, what it can give her and how she can participate in the struggle for immediate demands and in the political struggle generally.

At present it is the task of the progressive organizations to draft a charter for women that will serve as a platform of struggle for immediate demands (e.g., equal pay for equal work and access to professional education), for laws guaranteeing equality with men in the family and in society, abolishing polygamy and the unrestricted power of the husband, punishing those who humiliate women and force them to observe old customs, and for ending domestic slavery. We believe that these demands cannot be satisfied outside the general democratic struggle of the working people as a whole for agrarian reform, for example, for nationalization of the key sectors of the economy, for a Constitution, for the liberation of the still occupied territories and the closure of foreign bases, and last but not least, for peace.

As regards work among women inside the Party, as distinct from the more highly-developed countries we must first concentrate attention on building up women's branches. Here our first job is to end illiteracy, and to explain our objectives in a language the women will understand.

### *Aisha Amir (Sudan)*

**T**HE women of the Sudan are faced with the same problems as the nation in general. Traces of the imperialist oppression are in evidence everywhere in Sudan. Our national economy is very weak. Semi-feudal and tribal relations prevail in the villages, where 80 per cent of the women live. The backward religious ideology which makes woman the slave of her husband still holds sway.

Apart from a few occupations women have no right to independent labor, and women receive 80 per cent of the wages of men for the same work. Single women are given preference in employment. Expectant and nursing

mothers get no material support whatever. As a rule, the employers do not conclude labor contracts with women. There is no social insurance. Pre-natal and post-natal clinics, few and far between, are located mainly in the capital and in other towns. A woman cannot choose a husband or seek employment without the consent of the head of the family. The right to vote is granted only to women with a higher education, and the vast majority of our women are illiterate.

At present one can speak of three basic categories of women in the Sudan. First, those who have thrown in their lot with the Com-



munist Party and have joined the struggle for socialism. These women are organized in the Communist Women's League. Second, there are women who have had some kind of education and who have attained a certain level of national, political consciousness, and who, while they are not altogether free from the influence of bourgeois ideology, are our allies in the struggle for women's emancipation. Lastly, there are the women organized in the nurses' trade unions.

In 1952 the Women's Union, the first women's democratic organization in the country, was founded on a broad platform of democratic action. School teachers formed the core of the union, which united 90 per cent of all educated women. Many branches of the union were opened in towns and rural localities.

After the unlawful seizure of power on November 17, 1958, by the Abbud government, the Women's Union was dissolved, and all the gains won by the women are being reduced to nought.

Despite the many repressions, the women are carrying on the fight for the right to organize, to take part in demonstrations against the reactionary regime, against the arrest of progressive leaders, and are demanding an anti-imperialist policy of democracy and peace.

Our Party and our League (which function illegally) are fighting for the demands of the women and for establishing a national democracy which would pave the way to socialism. The League has been able to reach out to the masses of women, to organize their more advanced sections and prepare them for revolutionary struggle and to train experienced cadres. However, the League is not without its shortcomings, the chief being that its activity is concentrated mainly in the towns. In the rural localities we still have no permanent branches. The League must become a truly mass organization capable of leading all Sudanese women. Without this, Sudan will not be able to win any far-reaching changes.

### *Khadicha Suleimanova (USSR)*

**WE**, in the Soviet East, have had much the same problems to contend with as those confronting the women of many under-developed countries today. Before the October Revolution the plight of our women was appalling. They had no rights whatever, they were kept in complete seclusion, and subjected to class, national and democratic oppression. Women were taught to be humble and submissive, ready to sacrifice themselves at the whim of their lords and masters. Marriage was a simple business deal, in which women were bought and sold like chattels. The wife became the property of her husband, and in the event of his death passed automatically, along with her children and the rest of the property, into the possession of the husband's brother. Girls of 11 to 12 were often given in marriage. And this was done with the blessing of Islam.

The October Revolution brought deliverance to our women. However, owing to their backwardness many of them were not able to make full use of the rights granted them. It took much time and effort, patience and skill to make their liberation a reality. To eradicate the illiteracy, schools and libraries were opened. Women's halls were opened in the towns and villages. The Women's Departments played a most important role in the work among women. The Party, the government and the pub-

lic organizations devoted much attention to improving the conditions of women. Special committees were formed to ensure strict observance of laws guaranteeing equality. The wives of Communists were the first to discard the veil. They led the others also in study, in work and in public life. Russian women, and above all women Communists, who worked alongside the local women, played a big part in the emancipation of the women of the Soviet East, enlisting them in building the new life.

What handicapped the struggle for the emancipation of women was that the priest, equipped with the Koran, encouraged the unlettered men to mete out cruel punishment to women taking the road to freedom. The new legal code played its part in the struggle against those who violated the Soviet laws proclaiming the emancipation of women.

Now everyone can see the results of our Party's policy on this question. Many of our women occupy leading posts in the Party and government. Before the revolution even as witnesses in court women were considered inferior to men (the testimony of two women was considered equivalent to that of one man); today 35 women have been elected People's Judges in Uzbekistan, 4,413 people's assessors and five members of the Supreme Court of the Republic. The collectivization and



mechanization of agriculture has made women of the East the decisive force in this branch of the economy.

There are more than 600 women candidates of science in our republic, and 20 holding doctor's degrees. The educational reform law of 1959 which provided for an increased enrolment of girls of the Eastern nationalities in all technical colleges, gives them priority in admission to higher educational institutions where they are admitted without the preliminary two years' production work required of all other applicants.

Nevertheless we must admit that survivals of the old still persist. Some women continue to wear the veil. There are more women believers than men, although it must be said that many of the women who observe religious customs do so more out of fear of offending religious parents or relatives than because of any true religious conviction.

Young girls are sometimes forced into marriages, and there are cases of polygamy and

even of the marriage of minors. Naturally, our judicial organs, aided by the public, are combating these tendencies. The problem is thrashed out in the press and at public meetings which discuss means of putting an end to such things.

We now have new problems to cope with. One of these is the need to relieve the working woman of the burden of household drudgery. Some comrades believe that women ought to have a shorter work day. But perhaps in conditions when equality has already been won, it is not advisable to place women in a position which, while appearing to be privileged on the face of it, may in reality amount to an infringement of her rights by shifting her to second-rate jobs. It is necessary to concentrate on expanding the sphere of services, day nurseries, creches, etc., and to put an end to a situation in which men consider it beneath their dignity to help their wives with household chores.

### *Rada Todorova (Bulgaria)*

**B**EFORE the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria the position of women in our country was much the same as in the oppressed countries of Latin America.

Eighteen years ago Bulgaria was one of the most backward countries in Europe. The bulk of the population (80 per cent) was in the countryside, and feudal survivals, inherited from the times of the Turkish yoke, prevailed in the family. Women were denied all political rights.

After the socialist revolution big changes took place. One of the first laws introduced by the new, people's-democratic government guaranteed full equality to women. Later this equality was written into the Constitution.

Today women account for 33.5 per cent of all factory and office workers. There are more women doctors and teachers than men, and the number of women receiving higher education is steadily growing. Women comprise 22 per cent of the members of the local councils, and 20 per cent of the National Assembly.

Women are entitled to paid maternity leave

(four months in the case of factory and office workers and three months for peasant women).

The number of mother and child institutions and of public-catering establishments is constantly growing. At present about a third of the population have their meals in canteens. One no longer has to persuade women to leave their kitchen and go to work, since they have realized themselves that this alone makes them fully equal with men and enables them to develop their talents and abilities.

As yet, however, we are not doing enough to help women in the bringing up of the children or in their work in the home. Besides, there are many prejudices from the past in the minds of women, and especially of men, prejudices which cannot be extirpated by any law. For this long and painstaking work is needed.

In this work the Party pays close attention to publications for women. We have a women's monthly journal *Zhenta Dnes* (circulation 300,000), and a special page for women in the dailies — *Otechestven Front* and *Kooperativno Selo*.

### *Zofia Staros (Poland)*

**F**OR country women to achieve full equality is a much more complicated and longer process than is the case with townswomen.

The socialist industrialization, however, has resulted in big changes in the countryside. In the old Poland women who could not or did



not want to remain in the countryside, where work was scarce, had only one outlet — to become domestic servants in the towns. Today this occupation has all but disappeared. Rural women are now in a position to choose jobs in keeping with their ability and inclination.

The village shops, of which there are 50,000, and the milk delivery stations (30,000) are run mainly by women. They are also in the majority in the food-processing enterprises. Of the 12,000 employees in the rural savings banks and cooperative banks 8,000 are women.

Ours is a country in which natural growth of population is one of the highest in Europe. For women with many children life often becomes difficult. The Mothers' Society is especially active in the countryside where the birth rate is particularly high. The idea of family planning encounters the resistance of the Church, which is an influential force in the Polish countryside. However, the consultation centers of the Women's League and the Mother's Society opened four years ago and which instruct women in hygiene and matters relating to marriage, bringing up children, and so on, are growing in popularity.

The economic and cultural development of the villages calls increasingly for the provision of public catering, health and other services. And it is essential that, apart from the state, the villagers themselves should display initiative in meeting these requirements. Women are particularly active in this respect. In many cases it is on their initiative that committees are formed in the villages, responsible for building village halls, recreation homes, laundries, maternity homes, etc.

Quite a few organizations are functioning in the countryside today. One of these, the cooperative organization known as Samopomoc Chlopska has 3.5 million members of whom nearly one million are women. Agricultural classes are attended by 600,000, including 250,000 women. Nearly two million peasants (250,000 of them women) are members of the cooperative savings banks. Women are active also in the local councils.

As yet there are many obstacles in the way of what we call the social advancement of peasant women. Even some people holding responsible jobs still believe that woman is unable to do professional or public work on a par with man. And many women themselves shun participation in public life. Despite the progress that we have made, we still fail to achieve women's participation in the leading bodies of the rural organizations in proportion to their membership of these organizations.

With housework being made easier, farm work mechanized and public-catering services ensured, the opportunities for drawing woman into public life, for improving her professional and general knowledge, and for developing her personality are all the greater. This makes it easier to overcome the prejudices and backward views.

In conclusion I should like to say that in working among women in the countryside the Party organizations concentrate on getting rid of the things that still prevent woman from making full use of her rights and the opportunities made available by the socialist state, on enlisting women for active economic and public work, instilling in them a feeling of responsibility not only for their own village or region but for the country as a whole.

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The exchange of views held by our journal showed that the Communist parties attach very great significance to the women's problem, regarding women as a truly progressive force. Many common features stand out in the work conducted by Communists in many countries. This is proof of the profound and firm ideological unity of the international Communist movement, of the growing proletarian internationalism.

All who took part in the discussion were unanimous in saying that there can be no radical improvement in the position of women under capitalism, that the solution of this problem is the historical mission of communism. On the other hand, they were equally unanimous in stressing that in the capitalist countries struggle for the concrete demands advanced by women is being extended, and that the possibilities of winning at least partial satisfaction of these demands are now much greater.

A new feature is that the center of gravity in the struggle for the emancipation of women in the capitalist countries is shifting more and more to the demand that they be allowed to exercise their rights already recognized by law. Step by step, relying on the rights already won and aware that these rights are restricted, women are going over from the struggle for particular demands to general political struggle, becoming conscious of the need to fight for socialism.

Each in his own way arrives at an understanding of the truth of communism, and this is true also of women. Moreover, different sections of women do so in different ways. Hence the need to take cognizance of the specific features of these sections and groups, and to vary the forms of work accordingly.



The Communists regard it as their task to achieve democratic unity of action among women as a precondition for building a broad anti-imperialist front.

The exchange of views posed a highly important problem, that of coordinating the struggle of all working people, including women, in the countries now being drawn into the process of imperialist integration, of finding new forms of the international alliance of the working people of these countries.

The exchange showed that it is absurd to believe that the Communists separate the wo-

men's question from that of the struggle for peace and democracy, for national independence and socialism, or from the questions of the revolution, and socialist and communist construction. In reality these problems form a single dialectical complex.

The keynote of the contributions was that the conditions of the struggle have changed, that excellent opportunities are opening up before the entire democratic, working-class and Communist movement, and that much hard work, enthusiasm and initiative will be needed to make sure that these opportunities are utilized.

## Anti-Communism, the Enemy of Mankind

*Henry Winston (USA):*

**T**HIS seminar has great meaning for the Communist Party in the United States. U.S. imperialism emerged from the Second World War as the dominant power in the capitalist world. It accumulated tremendous reserves and uses them to further its struggle against peace and peaceful coexistence, against the movement for national independence and against the working class and the Negro people within the country, and against socialism.

Anti-communism was the weapon used by the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis which led to the Second World War and the loss of tens of millions of lives. Present-day anti-communism is pregnant with still greater horrors. The proponents of anti-communism today have in their hands thermo-nuclear weapons which could kill hundreds of millions of people and destroy cities, countries and continents.

Simply put, this is the central importance of this discussion and the initiative taken to organize this gathering is to be welcomed. I am very happy to greet this conference.

As is known, the heartland of world reaction has now shifted to the United States. A feature of the postwar times in the USA is the special role played by new fascist groupings supported by big finance. For example, there are various

fascist groupings such as the Birchites, the racist White Citizens' Councils and the KKK, there are also elected officials like Goldwater, Mundt, Eastland and Walter who are supported by the biggest money in the country—the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, the big banks and insurance companies—by all the reactionaries combined in a struggle against peaceful co-existence and the democratic rights of the American people. These forces wage this campaign in the name of anti-communism.

Recognizing the danger of anti-communism, Gus Hall, the national spokesman for communism in the United States, in a letter proposing joint action with the Socialist Party, makes the point that "the price our people have paid and are still paying for anti-communism, particularly in the last decade, is beyond calculation." He continues, "the price the Left and especially the Socialist forces have paid for either falling prey to its insidious influence or retreating before it, has been a catastrophic weakening in their historic role in the political life of our nation. For this our entire people and not alone the Socialist forces have paid."

The danger against which Communists in the United States are fighting is described by Hall in these words: "Anti-communism is the hypodermic needle which spurs on a runaway arms

\*Continued from Nos. 8 and 9.



race. Anti-communism is the monkey-wrench the pro-war forces throw into any promising beginnings of negotiations of differences between East and West. Anti-communism is the spawning ground from which every new McCarthy springs . . . Anti-communism is the bipartisan banner borne by a Goldwater and a Thurmond, a Margaret Chase Smith and an Eastland." The reason for this is explained by Hall, "it has been in the name of anti-communism that our people have been saddled with ever-mounting military budgets that devour our schools, enrich a handful of monopolists, and leave but crumbs to be rationed for the welfare needs of our nation."

The main weapon used to undermine democratic liberties in the country is the fascist-like McCarran Act. The starting point of reaction's offensive is directed against the Communist Party. The McCarran Act is, in fact, an enabling act for fascism. Thus, Communists fight not for themselves alone but for the national interests of all the people when they oppose the McCarran Act.

The Communists in the USA are leaving no stone unturned in the fight against the fascist danger. In this respect the Party resolutely fights against the program of the ultra-Rights, and at the same time against all those who directly or indirectly give comfort to the reactionary and pro-fascist elements in our national life. This comfort takes many forms—use of reactionary provisions of the law against Communists and progressives as is now being done by the Kennedy administration, and the failure boldly to challenge reaction.

The anti-communists in the U.S., having at their disposal the press, the radio and television, are deliberately concealing the real meaning of their crusade. They clothe themselves in a democratic gown to conceal their reactionary essence.

Anti-communism is not only a slogan against the socialist system, it is aimed also against the movement for peace, against the national-liberation movement and against the working class.

There is, however, a new development in America that is especially heartwarming. From the ranks of labor and the Negro people, professionals, students, etc., there is a growing resistance against fascism. This movement, while directed against the ultra-Right as the main enemy of democratic liberties, is taking a more critical attitude to the policy of the Kennedy administration. Naturally Kennedy cannot be regarded as an ultra-Right nor can he be regarded as a Roosevelt. And the aim of the democratic movement is to exert the kind of

pressure that will influence Kennedy to take up an aggressive fight against the ultra-Right.

You have correctly given thought to the theoretical questions connected with the fight against anti-communism. It would be well to give thought to the tactical problems flowing from the discussion and thus help millions into the fight for democracy and peace. We should keep in mind the necessity of developing the fight on the ideological front, the theoretical front. It is necessary to find ways and means of bringing the masses into motion. This means that it is essential for labor and the progressive forces in the United States to organize the fight for reforms and partial demands, the fight on the issues that the masses are now ready to engage in. It is from this experience that the masses will learn the true nature of anti-communism. There are people who are not yet ready to take up the cudgels directly in the fight against anti-communism, but in their fight for the immediate needs they are objectively participating in the fight against the anti-communist hysteria in the country.

I can give you several interesting examples. In New York State the board of trustees of colleges acted to ban Communist speakers from the campuses. In response the students on their own initiative undertook a petition campaign. These students were moved into action because the administration had denied them the right to listen to a Communist speaker; the fight for the right to listen by the students merged with the fight for the right of a Communist to speak. The students succeeded in getting the support of most members of the faculty. The result was that the struggle became so broad, including wide sections of the population of the city, that the board of trustees had to rescind their order. Campus after campus are requesting and receiving Communist speakers. Even the *New York Times* editorialized on this fact. And it concluded that the youth in the United States no longer could be regarded as a silent generation. They said that what is happening on the campus is a revolt against McCarthyism. The students are beginning to think about the future. They are worried about the growing dangers to peace and freedom. It should be noted that similar moods are growing among all sections of the population.

Another example can be seen in the struggle of the Negro people for full equality. The growing movement for real freedom, for the right to travel in dignity and equality is symptomatic of intensified activity on the part of broad strata of the population in the struggle for bourgeois democracy. The Negro masses, fighting for the right to vote and against all other forms of



segregation, are seeking the support of all progressive forces, including the Communists.

Or take the labor movement where the Communists are banned. Kennedy, for example, is for a wage freeze and calls upon the workers to tolerate this state of affairs. But in the United Auto Workers' Union, for example, contrary to the Kennedy policy, workers are demanding wage hikes. So that if you take the front of labor, the front of the students, the front of Negro struggle, you see emerging a picture in

the United States against the policies of the monopolies, against anti-communism.

Our Party is a small party but it concerns itself with those problems of interest to the people. In the pursuance of its policies the Party will extend its contact with the masses, involve the masses more actively in defense of their needs, succeed in the fight to rout anti-communism and thereby make a contribution to the peace and happiness of our people and the peoples of the world.

## MATERIALS ON ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE USA\*

Anti-communism has deeply colored every phase of social life in the United States. It is being used by big business as an ideological and political weapon of the cold war to promote U.S. imperialist domination of the world, to penetrate the economy of other nations and to embroil them in military pacts.

In the United States anti-communism is the main force behind the anti-democratic process corroding the social and intellectual life of the country. It is the smokescreen behind which everything goes on. Anti-communism has proved costly to the American people, not only socially and politically, but economically as well.

The government has carried on an intense witch hunt for years, particularly through the House Un-American Committee headed by ultra-reactionaries. The practice of the Committee has been to hold widely publicized hearings at which progressive persons would be named as Communists. The publication of these names often has led to dismissal from their jobs.

The government has enacted a host of anti-communist laws, most important of which was the requirement of loyalty oaths in government, defense industries, or industries working for defense, in schools and colleges, and other government controlled institutions. Even the newly appointed Justice to the Supreme Court, Byron White, was obliged to take a loyalty oath against communism. The Taft-Hartley Law and the Landrum-Griffin Act outlaw Communists from holding office in labor unions. Under the Smith Act many Communist leaders were convicted and many served long prison terms. New inhuman amendments to this law were adopted recently, which define enrollment of new members and organization of Party nuclei as a serious crime.

At the present time the chief weapon of anti-communism in the United States is the McCarran Act. This fascist-like law is being used

for persecution of Communists and progressives on a wide front. The law is based on the Hitlerite-Goebbels definition of the Communist Party, USA. It declares the Communist Party to be an arm of a worldwide Communist conspiracy "to overthrow existing governments by all available means in order to set up Communist totalitarian dictatorships which will be subservient to the most powerful existing Communist totalitarian dictatorship." On this basis it orders the Communist Party, its leadership and membership to register with the government as agents of a foreign power, refusal of which order may lead to five years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine for each day. There are other penalties, including the labeling of the Communist press, denial of jobs in defense industries, refusal of passports, etc. The McCarran Act also has a section which empowers the President to order the internment of Communists without trial on the declaration of a national emergency—in what are really concentration camps. The Communist Party as an organization and Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis as spokesmen of the Party have been indicted on six counts, which may bring 30 years' imprisonment and \$60,000 fine each, for failing to register the Communist Party under the vicious law. Further prosecutions are threatened against other leaders and members for not registering.

The anti-communist campaign has not only taken the form of repression. It has been conducted on the ideological front as well—by the government directly and through the press, radio and television, in the schools, by special courses in the army, etc. The monopoly dominated foundations, such as the Ford-controlled Fund for the Republic, the Rockefeller Foundation, and others which have vast sums at their disposal, have been developing "experts" in Marxism and communism.

In a number of states, obligatory courses have been introduced with official outlines issued by the Educational Department against

\*These materials have been compiled by a group of leading workers of the C.P., USA.



communism. In Louisiana a high-school student must receive a certificate of having taken and passed a six weeks' course against communism in order to get a diploma of graduation.

The main content of anti-communist propaganda is that the Soviet Union and China threaten the security of the USA. A number of works issued about the Communist Party are directed to proving that the Communist Party is the creation of the Soviet Union, notwithstanding the fact that it arose from the Socialist Party, IWW, and other American working-class bodies, which functioned long before the Soviet Union came into existence. The "foreign agent" cry is an old weapon to which the bourgeoisie has always resorted in order to divide the workers.

Central too has been the issue of democracy—the attempt to present socialism as a bureaucratic dictatorship devoid of humanism. In this regard fullest use was made of the exposure of the Stalin cult.

Another aspect of the anti-communism is the literature attacking Marxism in depth. While the police-type books, based on the "findings" of the Un-American Committee, are intended for the general public, the works by anti-communist professors are aimed at the schools and colleges. Their aim is to show that Marxism is neither democratic nor humanist, that it subordinates the individual to the state. The central thread running through these "scholarly works" is that Marx was wrong, particularly in regard to the United States, that communism is un-American and an importation from abroad. Then there is the theme that there are many kinds of Marxism. In this the revisionists have played a helpful role to reaction.

Attacks on communism have been within the context of propaganda that in contrast to the "slave world of socialism," the United States and its allies represent the "free world." Freedom—free world, free enterprise, democracy—this has been the mantle under which reaction has conducted its cold war. Even the direct attacks on the Communists have been carried out in the guise of defense of democracy.

The anti-communist campaign has taken a serious turn in the past two years with the mushrooming of fascist-type organizations. These organizations are dangerous because, working in secret, they are backed with considerable funds by sections of the monopolists, they have contacts with powerful groups in Congress and in its committees. They have contacts in the armed forces, and in the Central Intelligence Agency. The ultra-Right control state governments in the South and have members or allies in other state governments.

The new fascist formations embrace some 2,000 groups, but none of them is of a mass

character. The most important are the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade. The tactic of the John Birch and other ultra-Right groups is to penetrate and capture the two major political parties with concentration on the Republican Party. They also seek to penetrate community organizations and labor unions, issuing many newspapers, pamphlets, films and using the radio and television. They are well supported by sections of the monopolists. Fred Schwartz, head of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, reported an income of \$1,250,000. Others have equally large sums.

An important aspect of the anti-communist movement is the role of the military, who carry on systematic indoctrination of troops in anti-communism. The army spends millions on agitation against communism.

Then there are the many emigre groups and, of course, the churches. The Catholic Church is the most aggressive force against communism, but Protestant groups, particularly in the Middle West and West, are extremely active.

The program of the ultra-Right, the center of its propaganda and activities, is its opposition to negotiations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, and its advocacy of preventive war. It is to be noted that in contrast to the fascism of Hitler, anti-monopoly demagoguery plays a slight role in the USA. In fact, the fascist groups seek to win the masses on the basis of nationalism, chauvinism, racism, anti-semitism and, above all, anti-communism. They utilize the discontent with high taxes, and with wasteful government spending. They favor abolition of income tax, favor the anti-union right-to-work laws sponsored by the monopolists, and "states rights" generally, thereby appealing to the Southern reactionary elements. They are against the social security system and Federal medical aid. They attack the United Nations; they have stepped up anti-semitic propaganda, which has overreached the McCarthyite period, and carry on racist propaganda against the Negro people.

The secret ultra-Right groups, particularly the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, emerged into the open immediately following the Cuba invasion fiasco. The Communist Party at this time signaled the danger of the ultra-Right by issuing the well-known article, "The Ultra-Right and the Kennedy Administration," by Gus Hall, urging unity of all democratic forces against this danger.

The open war stand of the ultra-Rights, their attacks on all liberal forces, their denunciation of the Kennedy administration, particularly its foreign policy, together with exposures of the fascist type of organization in the case of the John Birch Society, called forth a mounting



protest against the ultra-Right. This led the Kennedy administration, in response to this protest and because it found itself hampered by the ultra-Right in maneuvering in the difficult, complex international situation, to attack the ultras. President Kennedy, in a speech in California, where the Rights were particularly vociferous, denounced them for opposing negotiations with the Soviet Union as appeasement. Kennedy coupled this with criticism of the left which was really the broad peace movement as favoring a policy of surrender. The President also declared that the danger of communism came not from within, but from without.

This apparently middle-of-the-road position of the President, while aiding reaction and the war forces in keeping the issue of communism as the main danger on a world scale, nonetheless had the effect of widening the opposition to the ultra-Right.

It is clear from this that within the ranks of monopoly capital there are differences as to policies and tactics. The Communist Party differentiates between the ultra-Rights and the Kennedy administration. It has called on the people to press the Kennedy administration for action and not merely for words on peace, disarmament, testing, and for a change of policy on the Berlin issue, on Cuba, Vietnam, etc. It has also opposed its reactionary measures on the home front while giving support to any progressive measure or program. In the main the Communist Party lays stress on the development of *independent mass action*. Its aims is to align all the democratic pro-peace forces, including those who have illusions about the Kennedy administration. It distinguishes also between the ultra-Right anti-communists and those who are for peace and democracy but have anti-communist prejudices. This is of considerable importance because it helps the fight against the fascist ultra-Rights.

This Goebbels-like anti-communism demagogically uses the most sensitive mass emotional reactions. It invokes national pride and patriotism. And it plays on the inherent desire of all peoples for democratic relations and democratic rule. Therefore, in order to use these highly sensitive emotional reactions, the "foreign agent" charge is made, and also the charge that communism is fundamentally anti-democratic.

We must differentiate at all times between the ultra-Right type of anti-communism based on the Hitler-like falsehood and the opinion of those who honestly disagree with us. Communists will always welcome debate about the Communist viewpoint. There are people who have genuine disagreements with us, but we do not lump them together with the anti-communism based on the total falsehood. These people must

be shown the dangers involved in the use of anti-communism no matter by whom. The trade union leaders, the Liberals, Progressives and Socialist leaders must be made to realize that anti-communism is a reactionary, big-business, Hitlerite weapon. The concentration camp section of the McCarran Act stands as a monument to the cowardice and panic of those liberals who in the 1950's were ready to destroy the Bill of Rights in order to get immunity from the attacks of the reactionaries. One cannot use the weapon of anti-communism without some of it rubbing off.

Anti-communism can be defeated. The fact is that the majority of Americans can be won for the struggle against the reactionaries whether they agree with the Communists or not. The fight is against the Hitler kind of anti-communism. Most Americans will join forces on common issues affecting them. They will argue with Communists and debate with them, but they will join with the Communists against the Hitler anti-communism because of their determination to safeguard democracy.

It should be noted that the Right Social Democrats advocate unity of the "democratic Left," but without the Communists. The anti-communism of these Right-wing leaders and their exclusion policy, it appears to us, must be fought vigorously within the context of struggle for unity against the reactionaries and fascism. Democracy or fascism, peace or war—that is the issue before the country. It is the way to check the false policy of two fronts which only aids reaction.

The ultra-Rights have received a setback in the recent period, but, supported by big capital and having support in Congress and in a number of state governments, they are still strong. What is encouraging is the rising movement against them. Anti-communism carried over for so many years had undoubtedly frightened large numbers of the middle class and of the politically backward workers. But the people do not want a repetition of McCarthyism. There is a deep democratic tradition among the American people. And this tradition is a reservoir of strength in the fight against anti-communism and fascism. This tradition along with the vigorous protests made abroad explains why the Party, despite persecution and harassment, is still able to have national and, in several states, local headquarters and to make public appearances, though these are severely combated and restricted as far as industry and the unions are concerned in which the Communists are illegalized.

The people in the USA are not quiescent. There have been turbulent mass movements for peace, for Negro rights, for democratic liber-



ties, and also a growing strike movement affecting not only industrial workers but also teachers of which the most significant was the recent strike of 20,000 teachers in New York. To a degree it can be said that the anti-communist excesses are beginning to boomerang. This arises from the worsening conditions in the country, on the one hand, and the successes of the Soviet Union in space exploration, science, education, theatre and arts which are widely known, on the other. Large numbers want to know the reason for contrast in these fields.

Outstanding has been the upsurge of youth who are deeply dissatisfied with the economic deterioration, unemployment, and job insecurity (there are a million unemployed youth), dissatisfied with the conscription and danger of war and profoundly disturbed by the moral decay and corruption in the country. Many are hostile or opposed to communism but most believe in the right of Communists to speak, and they want to hear the Communist side on the issue of communism, which has been debated for years with the exclusion of the Communists. The Communist appearance at the schools has been the biggest mass event of the Communist Party for years. It represents a breakthrough of the youth from the straitjacket of McCarthyism. The action among youth for a hearing for the Communists is probably the harbinger of what in time will also affect other layers of the population.

The fight to abolish the House Un-American Committee has taken on wide scope and militancy. Organized nationally and locally, wide agitation has been conducted against this vicious committee. Well-known Americans have called for its abolition, including members of college faculties and a considerable number of religious and public organizations, including many labor unions.

A national conference in defense of democratic rights, supported by many liberals, was followed by local formations and actions by religious and liberal groups calling for repeal of the McCarran Act. A section of the press, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *New York Post*, *Minneapolis Tribune* and others, have either condemned the Act outright or called for curbing its use.

In the peace movement, in the Negro movement and in the labor movement anti-communism is still present, particularly in the latter as a result of Right-wing Liberal, Labor, and Socialist inspiration. Nevertheless, here too certain changes are making themselves felt.

The fight against anti-communism is a central task which is bound up with the fight for the people's needs, particularly the struggle for peace and for ending the cold war.

It appears to us that the following is essential:

1) A wider educational campaign exposing anti-communism as an instrument of war, of fascism and reaction and as destructive of democracy. This educational work, conducted in a popular way, should bring out the real essence of communism. It is essential, and this is a task of the Communists in both socialist and capitalist nations, to combat the lies about socialist democracy and the status of the individual under socialism. It is also necessary to carry on more effectively the battle of ideas in regard to Marxism and to reveal its deep humanistic, progressive character. It requires also a heightened struggle against chauvinism and racism, particularly in regard to the Negro people.

2) For our country the "foreign agent" falsehood must be exposed not only ideologically but by practical political struggle. The Communist Party must show more effectively that it is a product of American soil and that communism cannot be imported. It is also essential to demonstrate that the Party strives to be representative of the best in American life and that at all times it expresses and serves the interests of the American people while its internationalism by no means conflicts with U.S. patriotism. Of great importance in this, in our opinion, is the presentation and struggle for an alternative program for peace, democracy, and national well-being, an anti-monopoly struggle for peaceful coexistence, disarmament, against testing, for more trade with the socialist countries, increased taxation of the monopolists, and nationalization of certain industries. Unity between the American and the Soviet people, ending the cold war, peaceful coexistence—this is the road to peace and national survival.

3) In this struggle for peace, the role of Cuba plays an extremely important part for our country and for our hemisphere. It must be a Hands Off Cuba policy.

4) The fight for democracy is closely related to the battle against the cold war and anti-communism. This means, as we see it, the struggle against the ultra-Right and also against the reactionary policies of the Kennedy administration, and for restoring the Bill of Rights, abolition of the House Un-American Committee, repeal of the anti-communist laws, particularly the McCarran Act, lifting the ban on Communists in industry, in the unions, and in other popular organizations, for a ban on the fascist organizations, prohibiting their hate literature, and removing the fascists from the armed forces.



In the center of this fight is the defense of the Communist Party. The Communist Party wishes to warmly thank all Communist and Workers' parties for their solidarity and continued support to the U.S. Communists in this struggle.

5) In the fight for democracy, too, the struggle for Negro rights assumes increasing importance in order to defeat the racist Dixiecrat forces that menace the whole nation.

6) The widest development of the united front is the key to the battle against the anti-communists. The unity of Communists and Left forces occupies a special place in the efforts to mobilize wider masses. The Communists strive for unity with the Socialists, trade unionists, Liberals, and other groups. It is essential toward this end to combat the "third force" splitting policy of the Right-wing Socialist leadership.

7) Finally the struggle to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement will aid

the fight against anti-communism. Disunity aids the reactionaries and imperialism.

The progress made by the Soviet Union is a powerful weapon in the struggle against anti-communism. The policies forcefully presented by Comrade Khrushchov especially in his visits to capitalist countries have been of invaluable aid in this struggle.

In its struggle against anti-communism the Communist Party is animated by the spirit that the balance of world forces makes possible the defeat of the cold-war warriors and the fascists. The Communist Party is faced with serious obstacles and difficulties, but it is convinced these are not insurmountable.

While the struggle is intense it is also different in many ways from that of the past. The difference lies chiefly on the side of progress. The new conditions must, and in our opinion can, be used for complete victory over fascism, reaction, and war.

### *Ernesto Giudici (Argentina)*

**A**NTI-COMMUNISM as the political and ideological weapon of the imperialist reactionaries, big compradore capital and the latifundist oligarchy has received new impetus in Argentina, especially in recent years. It assumed a particularly aggressive character after the victory of the Cuban revolution as the virus of anti-communism penetrated to all, or nearly all, spheres of economic, social, political, religious and cultural life and also to the army. This campaign is inspired, instigated, directed and largely financed by the U.S. imperialists who, naturally, want to continue plundering the Latin American countries and exploiting their peoples.

These actions on the part of the USA are "substantiated" by the concept of the "internal front," which is formulated as follows: communism is the enemy on a global scale, and so long as there is no war against the USSR, the fight must be carried on against the Communists in each country. This concept of the "internal anti-communist front" is reflected also in the present strategic and tactical concepts of the Argentine army. Instead of being prepared to defend the sovereignty and the frontiers of the country, the armed forces are being groomed to fight the people of Argentina, and geographical frontiers are being replaced with an ideological frontier.

With this in view, the country has been divided into zones in which the military have assumed control of political and social life.

The military, having included the "Communist problem" in the sphere of their competence, are now claiming that they have equal prerogatives with the constitutionally established government. "For the armed forces," General Landa said in Cordoba, "the struggle against communism with or without support (of the government established in conformity with the Constitution) is a matter of life and death."

Anti-communism is used to force on the people a policy of "retrenchment and sacrifice" and to turn the national resources over to the foreign monopolies. The initiator of this infamous policy is the International Monetary Fund. The top military institutions link the reactionary doctrine of the "internal front" with the economic concept of "free enterprise."

The Church hierarchy fully supports anti-communism. In August 1960 the Catholic Church, backed by the Vatican, conducted an extensive and costly anti-communist campaign. Naturally this campaign found a favorable response in the USA, and was aided by the government and the armed forces.

Apart from the army, the Church and the government, anti-communism in Argentina operates through some 50 organizations. These organizations unite all the anti-communist elements, from the spokesmen of the big cattle ranchers and the monopolies to the war criminals and other fascist elements who found refuge in Argentina after the war. These are



chiefly small groups without any roots in the people. They include the so-called Argentina Association for Freedom and Culture, the Political and Social Research Center uniting reactionary intellectuals and politicians, and the so-called Tacuara groups consisting of young people — scions of the big cattle ranchers. These groups leaven their anti-communism with pseudo-nationalism of a clerical-fascist type. In reality these are armed bands equipped and trained by the military and headed by the Catholic clergy. With the connivance of the authorities these bands engage in gangsterism, in gun raids on embassies of socialist countries, on the premises of the Left parties and student centers, and attacking Communists and democrats generally.

With the backing of the government, the Church and the parties of the Right, the most outrageous and crude anti-communist propaganda fills the pages of the newspapers (with the exception of the progressive press, most of which is published illegally) and the programs of both the government-owned and the commercial radio and TV stations. This propaganda covers the whole gamut of infamy, anti-communist provocations and crude "rebuttals" of Marxism. Every mistake committed in one or another field in the socialist countries is distorted and magnified as "proof" of the "failure" of socialism.

Although ever since 1930 freedom and democracy have been absent in Argentina, the slogan of the anti-communist propaganda is the "freedom and democracy" of the so-called "free world," as distinct from "communist dictatorship" and "red totalitarianism." The anti-communists no longer deny (or at least they gloss over) the growing prosperity and the scientific and cultural progress in the USSR, knowing that in this respect they cannot deceive people who are living in misery and poverty. Therefore they speculate on "moral values," declaring that "man does not live by bread alone." The main thing, according to the anti-communists, is defense of the "individual," his "freedom" and the values of "democracy," since these are the ingredients of the Western way of life as opposed to the "crude materialism" and denial of individuality" under communism. And this talk about "freedom" and "democracy" goes

on in a country where the Communist Party is banned, its premises closed and the publication of its press prohibited by a government decree issued on April 27, 1959. Similar measures were taken against other progressive organizations on the pretext that they were co-operating with the Communists.

The reactionaries are trying to bar the way to democracy and to retard the processes which, whether they like it or not, will lead Argentina and all Latin America to the democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution. They are stopping at nothing to prevent the Communists from playing their part in the growing front of the democratic and progressive forces, for they fear that the Communists will impart to this front vigor and militancy. Hence the offensive against the Communist Party.

The anti-communists suffered a heavy defeat in the election of March 18. This defeat was a result of the policy of unity pursued by the Communist Party during the election campaign. A serious blow was thus dealt at the policy of the International Monetary Fund and the much-lauded Alliance for Progress. To this popular victory the ultra-reactionaries in the army retaliated by forcibly removing President Frondisi from office since they saw that in spite of his reactionary, anti-communist policy and complete obedience to orders from the USA, he was no longer able to hold back the revolutionary tide.

To "justify" their actions, the men behind the coup are hysterically waving the flag of anti-communism. All the statements made by the military junta and the reactionary circles backing it call for defense of the "Christian and spiritual concept of man and society" against the threat of communism and the Cuban revolution. On this pretext the reactionary forces switched from a civilian-military dictatorship camouflaged with drappings of "constitutionalism" to an open military dictatorship. This was done in order to carry out, with the backing of bayonets, the economic, social and political measures dictated by the U.S. government. But there is no doubt, even though the betrayers of Argentina's national interests are fighting democracy and replying with violence to the liberation struggle, that the people will ultimately win.

### *Gustavo Machado (Venezuela)*

**I** SPEAK on behalf of Venezuelan comrades who are working in the difficult conditions of unbridled anti-communism. I think that although Venezuela is by no means an exception in this respect, it is nevertheless in a special

position compared to the other Latin American countries. The government-sponsored anti-communist campaign is so notoriously scandalous that even many conservative, anti-communist elements, becoming suspicious of it, are asking



whether it is not being overdone. The government which controls the mass propaganda media—radio and TV stations, the entire press, including the small weeklies and provincial papers, the cinema and the Church—is engaging in a campaign with which it should have nothing to do.

The reasons for the virulence of the anti-communism should be seen in the emergence of a new factor in Latin America: the example of revolutionary Cuba. Many people believe that Cuba will be followed by an anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic revolution in Venezuela. Hence the desperate attempts of the reactionaries to retard this process.

Anti-communism in Venezuela is directed not so much against the Soviet Union, People's China and other socialist countries as it is against "Fidelism" insofar as the Cuban revolution evokes much sympathy and support in our country. The character of the anti-communist campaign has been a subject of special discussion in Venezuela. Some maintain that it is Bonapartist, colored as it is by the peculiarities of the incomplete bourgeois revolution. We, however, hold that this campaign is closely linked with fascism.

Fascism is not restricted simply to propaganda. The Venezuelan fascists are organized in the fashion of Hitler's storm troopers, in form and in spirit, and consist of declassed elements. They are led by the Trade Union Bureau of the so-called "Old Guards" of the Democratic Action party. This Bureau has always been behind the anti-communism in Venezuela. At first it tried to split the trade union movement; but because the Lefts and the opposition generally did not fall for the provocations, it switched over to overtly terrorist methods. Whenever a union broke away from its control, the Bureau organized armed attacks on the new leadership. As a result the activity of many unions has practically been paralyzed, and many leaders killed.

The gangs organized by this Bureau consort with groups which make no secret of their adherence to the Falange. There are three of these groups. One is the Falangist Youth of the Copei Social-Christian Party which shares responsi-

bility for running the country with President Betancourt. This party is linked with the Church and with Spanish and Portuguese fascism. A process of differentiation is taking place inside the Copei, and some groups have parted company with it since, in their view, the Christian Democrats are not aggressive enough in their anti-communism.

Another fascist-type organization is supported and financed by the North American colony in Caracas. The third is the so-called National Anti-Communist Movement.

What are the plans of these organizations, inspired, we believe, by fascism? There are two plans — one known as X-90 and the other X-100. The former is a secret plan aimed at organizing terrorist actions in such a way as to put the blame on the Communist Party. It is no secret that the police, working with the terrorists, and with the trade union committee of the Falange groups, indulge in acts of violence which they then ascribe to the Communists.

The second plan is still more dangerous. It provides for lists of persons to be exterminated because of their role in the revolutionary movement. The lists include nearly all members of the Central Committee of our Party, student and trade union leaders and members of Parliament.

It is not easy for us to rebuff the government's anti-communist campaign, because the big press is utterly corrupt and all the anti-communist propaganda published in the newspapers is generously paid for. We on our part have no press of our own. Neither can we use radio and television. For this reason we are restricted to holding meetings in working-class districts as well as to parliamentary activity.

Another aspect of our struggle is to nail the lie about the allegedly democratic government in Venezuela. As long as we had our own press we published materials showing that the government has no respect for human rights, just as was the case under the fascist governments of Mussolini and Hitler; it resorts to deceit and continues its criminal activities with regard to the organizations and individual spokesmen of the opposition.

### *Carlos Lopez (Guatemala)*

**I**N GUATEMALA clericalism has always been associated with the obscurantist and anti-national forces. The Catholic Church is an influential factor in the country. Clericalism capitalizes on ignorance, making skillful use of the fact that 71.9 per cent of the population is illiterate. The pastoral message read in April

1954, when Guatemala was threatened with imperialist intervention, is characteristic of the "arguments" to which clericalism resorts with a view to deceiving the people: "Communism represents a false idea of emancipation. It promises the peasant, the worker and the poor that it will divide between them the unjustly



distributed riches. But under the communist regime sons rise against fathers, and fathers against their sons . . . The 'Soviet paradise' is a concentration camp in which the power of tanks and guns is used to make people work for His Majesty the State . . . Let us, then, inaugurate a crusade against communism in the name of God and with God but not for the sake of selfish political interests." This propaganda, it should be recalled, had its effects: the clericals succeeded in turning religious people against the democratic regime and in neutralizing important sections of the population.

The army plays a special role in anti-communism. The reactionaries say, of course, that the army stands aside from political struggle as a "neutral element" and as arbiter. In point of fact, the army is an instrument of foreign interference and a tool supporting the reactionaries. Imperialism has turned it into a force actively taking part in the anti-communist campaign. In the document adopted at a meeting of the chiefs of general staffs of the armies of the Central American countries held in September last year, we read: "The chiefs of staff of the Isthmus countries will exchange information concerning: a) the tactics of the Communist parties; b) the slogans used by the Communists in their actions against the armed forces . . . c) identification of international agents and their collaborators; d) contraband and storing of arms; e) the international movements of Communist agents; f) the movements which affect the democratic institutions; g) the invasions which menace the security of the country; h) the organization of the Communist parties." There is no doubt that the armed forces, in addition to being used to suppress the democratic movements in our countries, are trained for direct aggression against revolutionary Cuba.

### *Indrajit Gupta (India)*

**T**HE historic Moscow Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties has emphasized that imperialist reaction is more and more making anti-communism its banner in its desperate efforts to check the onward march of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. Anti-communism in India goes back to the days of the British imperialist regime when Communist and Socialist leaders and trade union and peasant organizers were frequently arrested in countrywide round-ups. But the anti-communism of today, in the conditions of an independent, sovereign republic, whose government is pledged to follow a policy of non-

The people of Guatemala realize the danger of these insidious schemes, and that is why the struggle in defense of democratic liberties is growing, embracing as it does the various forces opposed to the regime. Here are a few examples. Immediately after the imperialist intervention the so-called Decree 59—"Defense against Communism" Law—was adopted according to which anyone opposed to the regime, from the extreme Right to members of the Party of Labor, was liable to six years' imprisonment without trial, simply on orders from the Committee of Defense against Communism.

Both this law and the actions of the Committee evoked general indignation. Apprehension that the term during which the article of the Constitution empowering the President to expel "Communists" from the country and prohibit them entry into the country was in force, would shortly expire, impelled the reactionaries to draft a new law to "safeguard the democratic institutions." The draft was submitted to Congress and rejected by unanimous vote, which also entailed repeal of the "Defense against Communism" Law. All that the reactionaries managed to get adopted, at the request of the Christian Democrats, was a special decree (this time not so strongly anti-democratic), against which our Party has organized a nationwide struggle.

Why this united opposition to the above-mentioned draft law? The recent history of our country has taught the opposition that its adoption would signify legalization of the reactionary dictatorship, of the persecutions and repressions widely practiced with regard to the enemies of the government irrespective of their actual political and ideological stand.

alignment and peaceful coexistence, is a very different and complex problem.

The main aims of anti-communism in India are: to obstruct the growth of friendly relations between India and the socialist camp; to divert popular attention from the achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries; and to isolate the Communist Party of India from the national and patriotic forces.

The Communist Party and the movements led by it are not banned in India today. Nevertheless, persecution and victimization of Communist ideas and supporters goes on in a planned and subtle way. Recruits for employment



in government services are subjected to a political "verification," which means they will be excluded if suspected of any association, even in the past, with Communist or progressive organizations. Those in service can be sacked at any time under the National Service Security Rules on the basis of police reports. The contents of these reports and the grounds of dismissal from employment are not revealed to the person concerned.

The most outrageous example of political persecution of the Communists in recent times was the dismissal from office of the Communist government which came to power in the Kerala State through the general election of 1957. This government, though invested with limited powers, embarked on a bold program of agrarian and democratic reforms which stood out in sharp contrast to the record of the other State ministries run by the Congress Party. The reactionaries all over the country launched a desperate campaign to overthrow the Kerala government. Every possible anti-communist weapon was pressed into service—from slanders about "totalitarianism" and the "threat" to private property, to open violence, bribery and an organized alliance between the Congress and the worst obscurantist forces like the Catholic Church and the Muslim League. But when these tactics failed and the Communist government continued not only to enjoy the confidence of the State legislature but also to consolidate its position among the masses, the Republican Constitution itself was violated in order to suppress it. The Constitution lays down that so long as the State government commands a majority in the State Legislative Assembly, it cannot be removed. But, in this case, special Presidential powers were invoked and, on the plea of a "threatened breakdown of law and order" in Kerala, the Communist ministry was

dismissed from office despite unprecedented mass protest actions throughout the length and breadth of India.

The ideological offensive of anti-communism is being waged in a far more extensive and intensive manner in India than ever before. The powerful machine of newspapers, journals (in various languages), publishing houses and news agencies is working overtime to spread anti-communist slander among the population, especially the urban middle strata. This propaganda is directed by a number of international and national agencies and important Indian political parties.

It must be confessed that our Party has lagged behind in counteracting this ideological offensive. This has been primarily due to an attitude of complacency which belittles the danger and refuses to study seriously the new expressions and forms of anti-communist propaganda in its drive to capture the minds of men. Such an attitude, if persisted in, may cost us dearly, as was revealed in many surprise results of the 1962 general elections. The Party in West Bengal has admitted in its election review: "We could not give fitting replies in time to the slanders and lies spread by the Congress. We did not get timely information as to the scale on which different types of misleading propaganda were being carried on by the Congress, how it was secretly organized, how many people were confused, and to what extent, by such propaganda."

Profiting from our experience, we must now redouble our efforts in the ideological sphere, intelligently study the enemy's slogans and arguments in relation to various classes and groups and religious communities, and take up clear-cut and principled positions on all issues which agitate the minds of the masses.

### *Ernst Henri (USSR)*

FOR a number of years an outfit with the innocent name Comité International d'Information et d'Action Sociale (International Committee of Information and Social Action) has been functioning in the West. Today its headquarters is in Luxembourg, Avenue d'Arсенal, 12. In 1959 the same committee was located in Paris, Rue De Montessy, 3, and its name was then prefixed "World Alliance against Communism." More often the committee is known under the code-name CIAS.

What is CIAS? It is a conspiratorial center uniting anti-communist bodies, espionage networks and terrorist gangs in the countries of

Western Europe, America, Asia and Africa. We have in mind not the official propaganda agencies functioning in the capitalist countries in the guise of "information services," radio stations, etc., and not the openly fascist gangs like the OAS in France or the John Birch Society in the USA. In this case we mean more narrow, mostly secret or semi-secret, organizations specializing in anti-communism as a kind of profession. There are dozens of organizations of this type. CIAS subsidiaries engage in secret warfare against individual Communist parties, while its central headquarters coordinates their work, carries on exchange of information, main-



tains secret contacts and organizes international anti-communist gatherings. There are grounds for believing that from this center concerted efforts are being made to organize anti-communist provocations and campaigns on an *international* scale; there, too, decisions are taken to exert joint pressure on governments and political parties for large-scale anti-communist actions. And, finally, from this center subsidies are channelled to the weaker anti-communist organizations in countries where they do not find rich and generous enough benefactors.

What were the origins of the CIAS? The initiative for it came from the other side of the Atlantic, and the money needed to set it going was paid in dollars. But the "experts" were mainly recruited in Europe. A man who some ten years before had been in charge of Hitler's Anti-Comintern became the moving spirit and head of the newly-established international anti-communist alliance. It was he who played a big part in making CIAS Anti-Comintern No. 2. His name is Dr. Eberhard Taubert. The biography of Taubert is not yet fully known to the world. We know that he was in charge of anti-communist affairs in the Hitler headquarters way back in 1930, i.e., before the Nazis came to power. It was he who was instructed to forge the "proofs" needed to charge the Communists with the Reichstag fire. Taubert, who became Goebbels' right hand man, was made chief of the East European department of the Propaganda Ministry. Taubert's name is never directly mentioned in connection with CIAS. At present he holds the post of head of the political department in the "psychological warfare" center instituted several years ago by the Adenauer government with a view to coordinating the anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda in the Federal Republic. In this capacity Taubert has concentrated the various threads in his hands and, what is of the utmost significance for anti-communism today, he disposes of the funds. He is said to put out a special bulletin entitled *Anti-Comintern Letters*.

In the 1950's yet another anti-communist force, one enjoying special influence in the capitalist world, particularly in Western Europe, was drawn into the CIAS—the Vatican. This immediately added to the significance of the enterprise.

The funds of the international anti-communist gang are nowadays being replenished not only by cheques from the trans-Atlantic multi-millionaires. Along with the Fords, Rockefellers and Co., the finance oligarchy of Western Europe, too, handsomely subsidize Herr Taubert's Anti-Comintern No. 2, which spends much more lavishly than its predecessor did. Anti-commun-

ism in the 'sixties is a much more costly matter than was the case in the 'thirties. And tomorrow it will be costlier still.

What cadres has the new Anti-Comintern at its disposal? If we subject their composition to a kind of chemical analysis, we shall discern several basic elements.

First, the monopolists, i.e., those for whom anti-communists are a kind of home guard. These circles, shy of any publicity, act through political emissaries or through the superintendents of their funds. It is indicative that these are mainly war-industry monopolists, those who have a stake in selling weapons of wholesale destruction and, hence, in exacerbating the cold war.

Ranking second are the men from the police, from the intelligence, military, diplomatic and propaganda apparatus of the imperialist powers. Ostensibly, it is they, especially the "experts" belonging to the police and intelligence bodies, who set the ball rolling. They are the experienced gendarmes and provocateurs, men who have grown grey in the business. It should be borne in mind that even before the Second World War attempts were made to establish a so-called "police international" for the purpose of combating communism. This was done on the initiative of the pro-fascist police prefect of Paris, Chiappe, who reached agreement with the secret police of the main capitalist countries on joint efforts in hunting Communists. Today this job is entrusted, at least partly, to "private" anti-communist organizations. The police apparatus of state-monopoly capitalism in the West is so closely intertwined with the apparatus of these organizations that it is no easy matter to distinguish one from the other.

The third source of anti-communist cadres is international clericalism, especially in Western Europe. The Christian Democrats or their allies occupy the leading positions both in the "International Committee in Defense of Christian Civilization" and in the "International Committee of Information and Social Action", i.e., CIAS. These same circles provide the "ideological" ammunition. Spying on Communists is done in the name of Christianity. The idea of the terrorist Iron Heel is stamped with the sign of the cross. The tales told by the Church to justify the Bartholomew's Night have been re-edited and refurbished. With clericalism in the saddle in most West European countries and, with the advent of a Catholic President in Washington, clerical influence has increased also in the United States; the support of the Church and the use of its political machinery are of no small significance for the new Anti-Comintern.

Trailing in the wake of clericals in the anti-



communist organizations are the usual type of Conservatives and not a few Liberals. But these "last Mohicans" of bourgeois democracy no longer play much of a role anywhere.

On the other hand, fascists, as might be expected, are particularly active in the anti-communist set up. Not to mention the inveterate fascists such as Taubert or Kramer, president of CIAS, fascists can be found in the anti-communist organizations in most capitalist countries. And they easily find a common language with their anti-communist colleagues in the "democratic" parties. What this signifies is that the rump of Hitler's prewar Anti-Comintern has merged with the postwar U.S.-Vatican-"Democratic" Anti-Comintern. It is worth noting that this does not prevent many Right-wing Social Democrats from taking part in the new Anti-Comintern. The facts are indisputable. Of course, their names do not appear in such organizations as CIAS, but in some countries top men of the Social Democratic Right can be found in the secret and semi-secret anti-communist organizations.

Another small but typical group could be added to this motley brood—the ex-Communists.

### Hans Bayer (German Democratic Republic)

**M**ONSTROUS crimes against the German people and the whole world are being prepared in Bonn under the flag of anti-communism. As in the times of Hitler, now, under Adenauer and Strauss, the dream of the militarists is to establish a "new order" in Europe. An editorial in *Deutsche Soldatenzeitung* of September 1, 1961, headed "The Road to Empire Consists of Many Stages," reads in part: "What we have in mind is the new order! To build it is neither easy nor simple. We must be ready to have wayside stations and stages . . . For Europe we shall create, out of the EEC and the EFTA, a larger union with the perspective of further growth . . . There is little likelihood of achieving everything at one stroke . . . Ahead of us is the grand goal: Germany in totality, with the zone and the capital of the Reich, Berlin, and the German East too. Never, in no circumstances should we forget this. A common destiny links us with East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia and the border territory. Everything antecedent to this is, and will continue to be, a stage, and only a stage." The next issue of the same newspaper even called for the enactment of a criminal law on the basis of which those Germans who advocate abandoning the so-called "East German regions," including the

Such is the political physiognomy of the new Anti-Comintern. As we have seen, anti-communists of all shades and hues—from fascists to reformists and renegades—share in the business.

What conclusions should be drawn from what we know about the secret international activities of the anti-communists? I think that above all we should bear in mind one essential circumstance. Contemporary anti-communism, spearheaded against the Communist parties of the capitalist countries, is no longer simply anti-communist propaganda. Nor is it merely legislative and administrative repressions against the Communists. It means, in addition, a *secret war* against the Communist parties waged by means of espionage and preparation of terror. This circumstance should receive careful thought.

It is clear that the new Anti-Comintern, like its predecessor, is doomed. But it is likewise doubtless that, in view of new streamlined methods used by the enemy in this secret war against the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, Communists should be on the alert everywhere.

Sudetenland, could be tried and sentenced.

Parallel with far-reaching aggressive plans the West German imperialists are systematically fostering religious fanaticism for a "crusade" against the socialist countries. In this respect pride of place is allocated to clericalism.

Clerical anti-communism seeks to falsify the worldwide struggle between the two opposed social systems—socialism and capitalism—to misrepresent it as the struggle of "atheistic communism" against Christianity. The socialist countries are described as the "embodiment of evil," the "creation of the devil." The "heathen East" is counterposed to the "Christian West." In a Christmas broadcast in 1960 Adenauer declared: "Communist atheism seeks to subordinate that part of the world which is founded on Christian convictions."

Writing in the clerical monthly *Mann in der Zeit*, Emil Franzel, whom the Catholic episcopate in the army has placed in charge of political and ideological matters, says: "Right from its inception the real aim of communism was not the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation and social want but the emancipation of man from the 'chains' of religion, from belief in God and in the other world, and the creation of a Godless society . . . They



(the Communists—G.B.) will never rest until they drive belief in God from the hearts of the children, destroy all churches and altars, and hurl the last of the faithful into the depths of the catacombs."

Clerical anti-communism of the Adenauer type, arrayed in a Christian-Western guise, is essentially the same as Hitler's anti-communism. There is, in fact, a close kinship between the two. Hitler called for war against "Jewish" or "Asiatic" communism, while Adenauer and his men want a crusade against "atheistic" communism. The anti-communist warriors in Bonn, having taken over the Hitler legacy, are pursuing the same criminal aims.

Their main blow is directed against the German Democratic Republic—the first German state to inscribe peace on its banner. Particularly active in this respect are the espionage agencies and radio stations in West Berlin. Carrying on their psychological preparation for war, the anti-communists are trying to disrupt

the moral and political unity of the people in order to weaken the defenses of the GDR, sow discord among the people, in the Party and in its leadership. They would like to demoralize the population, arouse discontent and, ultimately, provoke counter-revolutionary uprisings which would give the Bundeswehr the pretext to attack. The acts of aggression devised by West German militarists would in this way get the halo of a "liberating mission."

The facts show that the main danger to the peace in Europe at the present time emanates from the clerical-militarist regime in West Germany. Under no circumstances should yesterday's warmongers be allowed to rekindle the torch of war and plunge mankind into another catastrophe.

Anti-communism which has already played a fatal role in German history, is again official state policy. Hence, the struggle against it is a vital component of our struggle for peace and the survival of the German nation.

## *Erkki Tuominen (Finland)*

**T**HE nature of anti-communism in Finland has its source in the conditions which have taken shape in our country since the war. The wartime defeat and the conclusion of the peace treaty with the Soviet Union and the other victor-countries put an end to the influence of the fascist elements. The main anti-communist forces—the fascist organizations—were banned, while the activity of the extreme Right had to be thoroughly concealed in the first stages. According to the peace treaty the so-called "Communist laws," introduced to deprive the latter of legal status, were annulled.

Another important factor is the Finno-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid which has become the basis of our foreign policy.

The Communists and other democrats, taking advantage of the differences between the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats, support proposals favoring the interests of the different sections of the population and are stepping up their anti-monopoly struggle. In this way they have won the confidence of large sections of the working people, and today it is hard to deny that it is they who are the most consistent champions of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and small businessmen.

The Communists, however, are barred from the state apparatus. They cannot hold posts in the army, in the judiciary and in government offices. A policy of discrimination is also practiced in the realm of culture and education.

With few exceptions, Communists are not allowed to hold posts in the secondary and higher schools. Pressure and intimidation are experienced by writers and artists suspected of even the slightest sympathy with the Communists.

The monopolists have tried repeatedly to set up anti-communist organizations which, in addition to the extreme Right, would also include Social Democrats. The biggest organization of this kind at present is the Union of Reserve Officers. Acting in the guise of safeguarding the country and the people, this organization openly advocates war and sows mistrust of the Soviet Union and the Communists. However, it has very little support among the people. Another influential organization, financed and directed by the big monopoly associations—the so-called "Mainstay of Finnish Society"—engages solely in anti-communist activity. During the general strike in 1956 the monopolies formed an organization known as "Defenders of Law," with the alleged aim of maintaining law and order. In reality this is a strikebreakers' organization. It carries on the tradition of a similar ill-famed outfit which existed in the 'twenties and 'thirties.

In addition to these openly anti-communist organizations there are a number of others influenced by big capital but not so openly anti-communist. Chief of these is the Union of Employers which distributes anti-communist propaganda materials and supports those candidates who during elections are more zealous in



attacking the Communists.

In recent times the anti-communists have been misrepresenting the attitude of the Communists on such issues as democracy, the electoral system, property rights, etc. They try to persuade people that although today the Communists are fighting on behalf of the working people, in the event of their coming to power they would deprive the people, including workers, of all democratic rights. This propaganda has had some effect on peasants, small businessmen, intellectuals and, partly, on the workers, which made itself felt, for example, in the last elections to the Diet and the college of electors.

Our Party pays close attention to problems of democracy. In preparing for the forthcoming Party Congress we have put the stress on explaining the attitude of our Party on these questions.

### *Horst Hemberger (GDR):*

**A**NTI-COMMUNISM plays an important part in the postwar economic and political scene in West Germany. The West German imperialists are invoking an imaginary danger from the East as a camouflage for their own expansionist plans. The Bonn ultras have gone so far as openly to demand a revision of the changes brought about by the Second World War. But their efforts in this direction are being foiled in particular by the successes of the German Democratic Republic, in which the future of the whole of Germany is reflected.

Hatred for communism is not a new weapon in the ideological and political arsenal of the German monopoly bourgeoisie. It was blind anti-communism, thirst for revenge and the striving for world domination that prompted the German monopolists to hand over power to the Nazis, who in turn utilized anti-communism as their basic means of wresting concessions from other imperialist powers. Hating the USSR and dreading the advance of communism, these powers supported German fascism and sought to direct it against the land of socialism.

Once again anti-communism is the official doctrine and an instrument for realizing the foreign-policy aims of the Adenauer government. The essence of this policy consists in subordinating Western Europe in order to use it as a springboard for a blow at the socialist camp. Precisely because of this the West German imperialists are anxious to gain possession of atomic weapons. Negotiations, agreement and peaceful coexistence are not an atmosphere in which the Bonn ultras can thrive.

The anti-communism of the monopolies is manifested also in other ways. Special mention should be made of the methods practiced in the factories. The Union of Employers blacklists all workers who display the slightest sympathy for the Communists. The latter are often victimized. It should be noted, however, that these measures have not assumed open and violent forms as was the case before and during the war.

Anti-communism in Finland is aimed above all at strengthening the political, economic and ideological domination of the big bourgeoisie. Bearing this in mind, the Communists are directing their main blow against the Coalition Party, against the Rights in the other bourgeois parties, and against the Right leaders of the Social Democratic Party who uphold the interests of monopoly capital.

Of major importance in realizing the aggressive plans which West German imperialism is seeking to implement under the banner of anti-communism is the so-called "European integration." "We shall regain Berlin and the German East only through the unification of Europe," Adenauer said in the Bundestag as early as 1952.

"European integration" is determined, needless to say, not only by subjective factors; it is an expression of definite objective processes. Growth of the productive forces gives rise to a trend away from national insularity. But there is a deep-seated contradiction between this objective tendency and the rule of monopoly capital. For under imperialism this trend can be realized only by means of force and coercion, through the subordination of some countries to others. It is by no means fortuitous that anti-communism has been the midwife of many of the practical measures taken toward West European integration since it was initiated after the Second World War by U.S. and West German imperialism.

Symptomatic in this respect is the development of NATO. The West German militarists were accepted into this aggressive military bloc on the strength of threadbare anti-communist arguments about the "danger from the East," etc. Under cover of NATO the Bundeswehr was built up as a new instrument of aggression. Today, it is, alongside the U.S. Seventh Army, the principal NATO task force. NATO headquarters staffs are systematically replenished with Bundeswehr officers. Then there are the Bundeswehr bases which actually make all of Western



Europe the hinterland of aggressive German imperialism. This is fraught with the danger of other NATO member-states being embroiled in nuclear war gambles whether they want it or not.

The economic strength of West German imperialism finds expression in the leading role it plays in the EEC. Federal Germany produces two and a half times as much coal and roughly twice as much steel as France, and nearly as many automobiles as all the other EEC countries taken together. Labor productivity, too, is higher than in the other EEC countries.

For West German imperialism the EEC is an economic stepping stone not only to supremacy in Western Europe but also to the realization of its aggressive designs against the socialist countries. The Bonn extremists make use of anti-communism as a means of dictating terms to the ruling circles of the other imperialist countries.

Relying on their economic power and the positions they have won for themselves in Western Europe, the Bonn ultras have recently been pressing even U.S. imperialism for concessions. They insist on the USA and other imperialist powers pursuing a policy in regard to the socialist countries of no relaxation of tension, no peaceful coexistence, but continuation of the "positions of strength" policy. Secondly, West German imperialism is making a bid for greater political influence in the capitalist camp, especially in Western Europe. To achieve this, corresponding organizational measures are envisaged. Thirdly, to ensure the military preponderance of the Federal Republic in Western Europe the Americans are dunned for atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr.

The anti-communism of Bonn is fraught with highly dangerous consequences for the people of West Germany. In view of the new balance of forces in the world many sections of the population, including even monopoly capitalists, are evincing growing dissatisfaction and opposition to the policy of the extremists. By no means least of the reasons for this dis-

satisfaction is that anti-communism has a negative effect on the West German economy and the position of the working people. The one-sided commitment to the West stemming from anti-communism seriously increases the instability of the economy. The fact that nearly 20 per cent of West German industrial output goes for export and that more than 70 per cent of the total export trade is with the capitalist countries of Western Europe is in itself indicative. The slightest decline in foreign markets has an immediate effect on the West German economy as a whole.

Armaments and the cold war swallow up billions which otherwise could be used to raise the standard of living and to develop production for peaceful purposes. According to figures made public by Bonn Defense Minister Strauss in New York in 1961, federal expenditure between 1950 and 1960 on armaments, maintenance of foreign troops and keeping up West Berlin as a "frontline city" amounted to 92,000 million marks. Huge though this figure is, it does not include all military expenditure, such as spending on frontier guards, extraordinary civilian planning, air defense and the numerous espionage and propaganda organizations, such as the Federal Information Service, etc. If all this is included, expenditure on war preparations runs into the neighborhood of 125,000 million marks, or nearly half of the annual national income of the Federal Republic.

The Bonn budget for 1962 allocates 16,500 million marks for direct military purposes (including occupation costs), 3,000 million for espionage and propaganda (including subsidies for West Berlin), and 12,000 million to pay for the last war. Consequently, some 60 per cent of the budget goes for military spending.

The grave consequences of the anti-communist policy for West Germany are therefore obvious. The only way out is to put an end to anti-communism and to establish normal relations with the socialist countries.

### *Pedro Motta Lima (Brazil):*

**I**N ORDER to understand what anti-communism is in all its numerous variants it is essential to define it correctly. We feel that it would be erroneous to class as anti-communism all that does not accord with Marxist-Leninist theory or the political activities of the parties of the working class.

If we were to lump all such trends together we would be extending the front-line

unnecessarily instead of concentrating on the key sector where the main blow should be delivered in order to defeat the enemy.

An analysis of the sources, essence, aims and methods of anti-communism reveals that it is something more than simply spontaneous resistance on the part of classes fearing for their privileges. It is a movement organized by the imperialists and headed by the govern-



ment of the U.S. monopolies. The nerve center of anti-communism is in Washington and its tentacles reach out to all the countries of the capitalist world.

In Brazil the main protagonists of anti-communism are renegades from the revolutionary movement, emigres from the socialist countries, police and intelligence agents, Right-wing Social Democrat leaders acting as stooges of the employers in the trade union movement, former members of fascist organizations, corrupt journalists, reactionary officers and high dignitaries of the Church. Anti-communism in Brazil is an instrument of the anti-national and anti-democratic forces, who use the communist bogey as a pretext for terror, coups and emergency laws.

Anti-communist ideas are spread day in and day out over the radio and television, through the "big" press, the cinema and all other propaganda media. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that this spate of propaganda reaches broad sections of the people.

I recall a conversation I had with one Cuban journalist. He told me an interesting story about a meeting of peasants with Fidel Castro.

"Do you agree that the land should be turned over to you?" Castro asked.

"Certainly," the peasants replied in chorus.

"Do you agree that the American enterprises should be nationalized?"

"Yes!"

"Do you agree that we should pursue an independent foreign policy, a policy of peace and friendship with all nations?"

"Yes!"

"Do you agree that the power should belong to the workers and the people?"

"Yes!"

"In other words, you agree with the Communists?"

"No!" the peasants replied just as unanimously.

Fidel then explained that all the measures that had been taken constituted the Communist program, which opens the way to the building of socialism in Cuba. To this one of the peasants replied: "If that is so, it really is a good program!" And the audience fully agreed with him.

From this example it can be seen that the prejudices and distrust of communism which our enemies cultivated for years still have not been uprooted from the minds of considerable sections of the population.

At the same time it should be noted that the anti-communism of, say, the Alliance for Progress differs from the anti-communism of the times of John Foster Dulles. Although im-

perialist strategy has not changed essentially, the fact is that the Kennedy administration is employing more flexible tactics and new forms of propaganda in countries like Brazil, Mexico and Chile. This is evident also in the appointment of new ambassadors to these countries. These no longer are the "Ichthyosaurs" of the old State Department, nor are they purely businessmen. Washington has begun to enlist the services of professors, economists and sociologists. With the help of this new type of propagandist of anti-communism Kennedy and his advisers are seeking to win over the students and intellectuals and the entire people of the Latin American countries.

The immediate aim of anti-communism is to neutralize the power of attraction of Marxism-Leninism, the force of example exerted by the achievements of the USSR and the entire socialist camp. The imperialists are doing their utmost to prevent the Communist parties and other organizations from winning the masses and rallying them to struggle against war, for the regeneration of democracy in Western Europe, for the national liberation of the peoples of Latin America, Africa, Asia and Oceania, for socialism and communism. They demand of the economists and sociologists ideas which could be counterposed to revolutionary ideas and programs. But all that the Kennedy administration's "brain trust" has been able to think up in the economic sphere for Latin America is the Alliance for Progress. The anti-communists are powerless to produce an ideology which would at once correspond to the interests of monopoly capital and be acceptable to the peoples who do not want their countries to remain colonies or semi-colonies any longer. All the effort put into "regenerating" capitalism has produced nothing but the artificially concocted concepts of "neo-capitalism" and "mixed economy" designed to depict monopoly exploitation and oppression as "genuine democracy" or even as that "socialist goal" which they claim Marx had in mind.

True, U.S. imperialism is trying to maneuver. For example, it disavows the latifundists and is relying increasingly on the capitalists who are more willing to compromise. It supports agrarian reform (but only within the framework of capitalism) in order to persuade the Latin American people that the Alliance for Progress is guided by "revolutionary" intentions. All this is sheer demagoguery necessitated by the fact that the reserves of U.S. imperialism are visibly dwindling and its opportunities for maneuver shrinking.

In Latin America the anti-communists are



levelling particularly vicious attacks against the Cuban revolution. Preparation of a new armed aggression against Cuba with a view to "rectifying the mistake" of Playa Giron is accompanied by psychological indoctrination. The effect of this drive should not be underestimated. This specific form of anti-communism is finding a varying measure of response among the well-to-do strata and, naturally, the more backward sections of the population. In Brazil, too, there are those who vilify the Cuban revolution, although the working class and the peasant masses whose militancy and organization are steadily growing, the progressive intellectuals and the middle strata generally, as well as a considerable and influential part of the big bourgeoisie, subscribe to the principle of self-determination and condemn interference in the affairs of Cuba. This sentiment was reflected in the firm stand taken both by the present administration of Joao Goulart and its predecessor, headed by Janio Quadros—in the United Nations and at the Punta del Este conference. This stand, which no Brazilian government seeking popular support can forsake without inviting dire consequences, has greatly helped to make Brazil's foreign policy more independent and directed it toward alignment with the group of neutral countries. The resumption of diplomatic relations with the USSR and actions to uphold the peace are also a reflection of this position.

The success registered in the recent period by our Party in the fight against anti-communism is the result of our efforts to rid ourselves of sectarian policies. The mistakes and distortions of the period of the personality cult were grist to the mill of anti-communism in our country. An incorrect attitude to non-Party people, complacency and arrogance, a hierarchic spirit among leading Party members which

had nothing in common with the example of modesty and comradeship set by Lenin and other eminent leaders of the revolutionary movement, methods of leadership through orders from above which often assumed rather crude forms, and a bureaucratic approach to the fulfilment of tasks—this was reflected in the overall policy of our Party and played into the hands of the enemy. Hence the unanimous support given in our Party to the measures taken by the CPSU to put an end to violations of Leninist principles and standards.

Overcoming dogmatism and revisionism, which can only damage the Communist movement, makes our struggle against anti-communism more effective. In waging this struggle, we should reply to every attack and expose every distortion. We should never evade issues—not even those which might seem of secondary importance but which nevertheless affect the masses. The truth is on our side and the Communists, respecting the right of all people to criticize and freely to voice their views, should openly discuss problems with the masses. This will further consolidate the respect and trust accorded us by the entire people.

At present, with the balance of forces becoming more and more favorable to the movement for national and social emancipation, our propaganda must take the initiative. Besides exposing the anti-communist slanders, we should reveal its sources, show who it is that finances it and why, explain to the masses that anti-communism seeks to build a barrier between them and the only party capable of leading them to final victory—the Communist Party. We should work still harder to explain the significance of the disintegration of imperialism for the happiness of the peoples, for human progress.

### *A. Lerumo (Republic of South Africa):*

**T**HE Communists have always been the main target for government attacks in South Africa. In 1946 the entire Central Committee of the Communist Party was arrested on a charge of sedition arising out of the mineworkers' strike. But anti-communism reached a peak after 1950, when the government placed the Suppression of Communism Act on the statute books and the Communist Party was driven underground. In addition to making the propagation of communism a criminal offense, punishable by a maximum of 10 years' imprisonment, the Suppression Act

enabled the government to take administrative action against known or "deemed" Communists. Listed members of the Communist Party were driven from public office in Parliament, provincial councils and city councils; trade union officials were forced to resign their posts.

At the time of the introduction of the Act, the Communist Party warned the people that the Nationalist Party leaders—notorious for their support of and admiration for Hitler Germany—would make use of this law in order to attack not only the Communists, but



also all democratic, liberal, and non-European national movements and individuals, trade unions and trade unionists, and, in the end, all who dared raise their voices in criticism of government policy. The prediction has been fully borne out by the course of events. The "aims of communism" are defined in such a sweeping and vague manner, including "any social, political, or economic change," as to enable the government to victimize any of its political opponents, without recourse to the law courts, but at the whim of the Minister of Justice and his Cabinet colleagues.

At present, the South African government is intensifying its attempts to transform the country into a militarized police state. South Africa is an outstanding example of the fact that anti-communism is the principal ideological and political weapon of the most brutal and inhuman elements of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the most facist-minded racists and militarists, in their attempts to destroy all opposition and all civil liberties, to intensify racial discrimination, and to subject the entire population to a merciless tyranny. Anti-communism is not only an ideological facade behind which reactionary governments and authorities justify their suppression of all democratic and liberationist opposition in Africa. Its corrosive poison also seeps down and infects elements in opposition liberationist movements, disrupting their unity.

However, it would not be correct to suppose that the people of South Africa fall easy victims to this ceaseless anti-communist poison. The ordinary people are aware that it comes from sources which are tainted—the hated ruling classes closely linked with American and particularly British imperialist interests, whose line is fully in accordance with the most extreme advocates of the cold war. The main liberation organizations, the African National Congress and its partners: the South African Indian Congress, the Colored People's Congress, etc., though the majority of their members are non-Communist, have learned through bitter experience the danger spelt by the corrosive poison of anti-communism. Throughout the four-year-long Treason Trial, not a single one of the 156 accused leaders, though falsely accused and subjected to severe pressure, yielded to innumerable suggestions and urgings that they exonerate themselves by "denouncing" communism.

Yet there are organizations which, though they seek to play some part in the liberation struggle, undermine their effectiveness and are sometimes even led into treachery to the people's cause, on account of their obsessive anti-

communism. Chief amongst these are the Pan-African Congress, and the Liberal Party. The PAC is a Right-wing group which broke away from the African National Congress on the grounds that the ANC was "Communist-dominated." Following the fiasco of 1960, in which they called upon unarmed people to demonstrate before police stations, which led to the massacres at Sharpville and Langa, some of the PAC leaders were arrested, and many of the others fled the country. Since then they have never ceased in their slander and intrigue against the African National Congress. Inside South Africa, their main activity was the disgraceful attempt, supported by the government, to undermine the three-day general strike of 1961; the strike was called by a united front of African leaders in protest against the proclamation of the "Republic," and demanding the convening of a Sovereign National Convention (constituent assembly) elected by all South Africans irrespective of race, sex or color, to draw up a new, democratic Constitution.

The Constitution of the Liberal Party declares that it is "opposed to fascism, communism and other forms of totalitarianism." Some of its Right-wing leaders have taken advantage of this clause in the Constitution to conduct a campaign of vilification and slander against the world Communist movement, against South African Communists, and against the African National Congress. One witnesses, in these conditions, a strange alliance between the Liberal Party, led mainly by Whites, and the anti-White racists of the PAC. There is only one bond between these strange bed fellows: anti-communism. It is a bond they have in common with the Nationalist government.

A similar situation exists in the trade union movement. The Trade Union Council, consisting mainly of white workers (until its recent conference at East London it specifically excluded African unions from membership), is a Right-wing organization associated with the ICFTU. It has consistently followed a policy of support for the color bar and other manifestations of apartheid. Yet this body, riddled with racism, has found a bond of sympathy with the "Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa," a small break-away body sponsored by the PAC, consisting exclusively of African unions. These strange bed-fellows are united in opposition, not to the Nationalist government, but to the South African Congress of Trade Unions—the only non-racial trade union federation in South Africa, to which belong the great majority of organized African workers. Both of them ac-



cuse SACTU of being "too political" and "Communist-orientated."

Thus once again anti-communism must be seen as the main stumbling block in the way of all-African trade union unity in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. However, the anti-communists are fighting a losing battle in Africa. The African people can see for themselves that the Communists are the staunchest fighters for the national cause. They can see that the most reliable and trustworthy

friends of African freedom are the Soviet Union, People's China and the other countries of the socialist camp. They can see, too, that the apostles of anti-communism are the most ferocious enemies of Africa. That is one reason why African political consciousness is steadily moving to the Left. Experience is opening the eyes of the masses to the truth that communism is a powerful weapon in their onward march to independence, unity, progress, freedom and peace.

### *Will Mac Lorin (Senegal):*

**T**HE struggle waged by the peoples of Africa led to the break-up of the colonial system. A new situation was created on the continent with the achievement of political independence by most African countries. To adapt themselves to this new situation the colonialists have had to change their tactics. In the political, economic and cultural respect these new forms and methods of colonial domination have already been exposed, but for all that the peoples have not yet seen through all the devices used to gain neo-colonialist ends.

Of all the methods employed by imperialism to preserve its privileges in the former colonies, anti-communism is the most insidious. The African peoples see in the socialist camp a bulwark of their own independence and national sovereignty; they see that their economic and cultural relations with the socialist countries are relations of a new kind, based on the equality of all peoples; and in the African Marxists they see genuine patriots wholly devoted to the cause of national independence. The peoples of Africa are no longer alone in their fight against imperialism; their strength has been multiplied many times over. It is because of this that neo-colonialism, bending every effort to preserve its foothold, is trying by means of anti-communism to sever the bonds of solidarity linking the African peoples with the socialist countries. This is the case in Senegal too, where anti-communist propaganda and persecution have assumed vicious forms.

Special decrees and anti-communist laws are enforced, such as the decree of August 2, 1960, outlawing the African Party of Independence, and the September 1960 decree abolishing freedom of speech, assembly and association and banning the general workers' union of Black Africa, the Youth Council, the Women's Union and the Democratic Youth Assembly.

The machinery of state has been placed in the service of the monopolies and their local ally—the nationalist bourgeoisie. There are also other reactionary forces which are giving every support to the monopoly-sponsored anti-communist propaganda. These are the Catholic Church with its missionaries, the Catholic teachers who are particularly active among the students and the peasants, a considerable part of the feudal elements, and some Trotskyite and opportunist intellectuals. Mention should also be made of the role played in the anti-communist drive by the French army officers and the imperialist police-spy centers which circulate anti-communist leaflets and anonymous documents. The monopolies and their agents are working most actively among the intellectuals and students. The peasants, too, are subjected to anti-communist indoctrination.

The working-class movement is one of the main targets of the anti-communist machinations. The basic aim here is to split the working people by destroying the all-African progressive trade unions and disrupting national trade union unity. The anti-communists are out to disarm the working people and steer them away from the class struggle by means of the 'national unity' slogan. However, the circumstances in which trade unions came into being in Black Africa, and in particular in Senegal, have militated against anti-communist propaganda in the labor movement. The unions sprang up with the assistance and support of the French General Confederation of Labor to which they were originally affiliated and which gave their functionaries their initial schooling in trade union life. African trade unionists knew full well that they could rely on the support of the French Communists under all circumstances. And they learned soon enough that the colonialists labelled as Communists all patriots, all people who sincerely upheld the interests of the working man.

The colonialists began their disruptive acti-



vities through union leaders from the Force Ouvrière and the African Confederation of Christian Workers, and by corrupting the petty-bourgeois elements among the functionaries of the General Confederation of Labor. Under the slogan of "Africanism" these elements set up the General Confederation of African Workers—a move timed to coincide with the break of the African Democratic Union with the French Communist Party. The mistake made by the trade union activists who pursued a correct policy of proletarian internationalism at the time was that they allowed the opportunists to plume themselves on their "Africanism," thereby providing an opening for anti-communist activity in the ranks of the working class.

Following the founding of the General Workers' Union of Black Africa, the anti-communists made nationalism, "neutralism" and the illusion that there was no class struggle in Africa their basic slogans. Many trade union officials became stooges of the reactionary governments. And recently the anti-communist drive in the labor movement reached its peak in the founding of the African Trade Union Confederation by unions in the Monrovia group of countries. The rules of this organization contain the usual anti-communist fabrications.

Anti-communist propaganda in Africa is based on two main postulates. One is that Marxism is an imported ideology unsuited to the African conditions, which the Africans themselves should study. The other is that "African socialism" already exists and needs only to be elaborated further. Consequently, the African Marxists are labelled "alien elements" and Marxist principles revised "in accordance" with the climate of Africa and the color of its inhabitants. The idea that there are no classes in African society is preached in every way (at the last congress of the Senegalese Progressive Union Senghor declared that not only class but also professional distinctions are disappearing). This thesis serves as the ideological groundwork for the slogan of "national unity" the sole aim of which is to

subordinate the working people to the African bureaucratic bourgeoisie and to stamp out all democratic activity as "subversive". On this pretext anti-communist conspiracies are being organized against democrats and progressives.

The anti-communist propaganda has had some influence on certain social groups. In particular it has had a definite though limited effect on the petty bourgeoisie and on the intelligentsia, especially on the religious plane. As regards the basic mass of working people, however, anti-communism is not yielding the expected results; it has neither blinded them to the main problems nor has it turned them away from our Party. That anti-communism is unpopular in Africa is evident if only from the following fact. After visiting Senegal in 1961, the West German Federal Minister Lemmer said that he was "impressed" by the "staunch anti-communism of Mamadou Dia, the Senegalese Premier." When this was reported on the first page of the anti-communist weekly *Dakar-Matin*, Dia found it necessary to give an interview over the radio in which he declared: "I am not a Communist, but neither am I anti-communist." Dia was far from telling the truth when he denied his anti-communism, but he knew very well that Lemmer's statement could only discredit him in the eyes of the people.

The socialist countries enjoy great prestige in Africa whose people regard them as their allies. The anti-communist drive has also failed to discredit the African Party of Independence, for the people of Senegal know that the Communists were the first to raise the banner of independence and that they made the greatest sacrifices in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Although the anti-communist drive is meeting with setbacks, it is nevertheless continuing. It would be a grave mistake to ignore this fact. Anti-communism is the principal and most dangerous weapon of neo-colonialism and hence struggle against it is one of the main tasks set forth in the program of our Party.



## Reviews

## A Transatlantic Dialogue

*Apropos the Book: "The Communist Blue Print for the Future"*\*

HOW the times have changed! In the eighteen sixties when the first edition of Marx's *Capital* appeared, the "free" capitalist press censored it with a frozen silence. Now, in the nineteen sixties when the "specter" has become a world system, the bourgeoisie can no longer afford to ignore the program documents of the international Communist movement.

In the West the new Program of the CPSU has been the subject of countless commentaries in the bourgeois press; the *New York Times* printed the text in full, while the publishing house of Dutton and Company (New York) have printed between the covers of one book the original *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels, *The Critique of the Gotha Program*, and all three Programs of the Bolshevik Party—1903, 1919 and 1961.

Describing the new Program as "an encyclopedic reworking of Marxist-Leninist theory," Dutton's explain that their reprinting of its precursors is designed to enable the reader to "bring to the 1961 Program the proper historical perspective."

The publishers, with a frankness exceedingly rare in the current atmosphere of anti-communism, concede that the basic documents of the Communist movement are powerful broadsides in the battle of ideas. But Communist ideas, understandably from the point of view of capitalist publishers, must be combated, and for this purpose, Duttons secured as counsel for the defense of capitalism a Thomas P. Whitney whose dialogue with and against the ideas in the Program is designed to insulate the reader against the danger of being influenced by them.

Mr. Whitney, we are told, is "a specialist in Soviet affairs who lived nine years in Russia, first as chief of the American Embassy's Economics Section and subsequently as the Moscow correspondent for the Associated Press."

Whitney's dialogue with the CPSU Program begins with its opening chapter wherein it is stated that the exploitation of the working people under capitalism is being intensified,

that the gulf between the rich and the poor is widening, and the sufferings of the millions are growing worse.

This statement Whitney cannot accept. "When you read it," he says, "and compare it to what has actually happened in the United States... one can only shrug in disbelief." For, he goes on, "one of the mainstays of the American system is that anything from almost anywhere is available to the American consumer... if he wants it and can pay for it."

One would like to ask Whitney just how many Americans are covered by his "if" qualification. Their numbers, according to other American writers, are legion. And one of these writers, a Mr. Harrington, found the "ifs" to be so numerous and so impoverished that he calls his book on the subject *The Other America*.\*

Harrington estimates that between 40 and 50 million Americans live in poverty. And everything about these people of the American abyss, he says, "from the condition of their teeth to the way they make love is suffused and permeated by their poverty." If only we had "an American Dickens," he exclaims, to tell the story of their bleak lives.

The Harrington estimate is supported by the recent study made by economist Leon Keyserling, one-time Economics Adviser to the Truman Administration. Keyserling, too, concludes that 40 per cent of the people of the United States live in "poverty or deprivation."

A recent study made by the Teamsters' Union in New York found 49 per cent or "almost one out of every two New York City families" living "in deprivation."

And bad as the urban distress is, the rural poverty is infinitely worse. Official sources place the numbers of farm people living in "dire poverty" at 15 million. In his message to Congress in January President Kennedy acknowledged that each year one million people, driven by poverty, flee from the land to the cities.

The annual exodus of impoverished American farmers from the land recalls the famous words used by Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*

\**The Communist Blue Print for the Future*. Introduction by Thomas P. Whitney. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York, 1962. 238 pp.

\*M. Harrington. *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*. New York, 1962, 191 pp.



where, in describing the expropriation of the farm population in 16th century England, he wrote about "sheep devouring men." Today, if More were to leave his grave and see the United States countryside with its chronic overproduction of agricultural products and millions of ruined farm workers he could say that food, not sheep, is "devouring" the people. Such are the fruits of the topsy-turvy, bedlam economics of American monopoly capitalism — instead of people benefiting from the "surplus" food, the "surplus" food becomes a curse of the agricultural population.

Who, then, is really entitled to "shrug in disbelief," the reader who sees both the affluence and the un-affluence in capitalist America or the critic of the CPSU Program indulging in propaganda about a mythical universal affluence?

Of course, the highly developed North America is immeasurably more affluent than the underdeveloped South America. This can be expressed in another way: the big monopolies in North America are affluent largely because their empires of finance and industry have, over the decades, extracted fabulous profits from the countries of Latin America. And just as the Pyramids of Egypt were raised by the toil and sweat of slaves, so the modern skyscrapers of Manhattan Island are compounded of much of the blood and sweat and tears of the Latin American semi-serfs, farm laborers, share-croppers and miners who toil for the United Fruit Company and the other North American monopolies.

According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America the U.S. monopolies during 1946-55 received \$3.17 for every dollar invested there, and pumped out of the subcontinent in these ten years profits of \$5,600 million.

In sum, then, the monopoly exploitation both at home in the United States and in Latin America, about which Whitney is silent, helps to explain why *some* North Americans, certainly not the 40 per cent who, as we have seen, live "in poverty or deprivation," can, in Whitney's words, buy "anything from almost anywhere."

The facts of everyday life on the American continent, to say nothing of the other areas of the capitalist world, prove to the hilt that in the matter of intensified exploitation the Program is right and Whitney is wrong.

Whitney, being a son of the country of "free enterprise" and, we rather suspect, being a bit conscious of the weakness of his arguments against the Program, lists for his readers a

charter of American freedoms which, he thinks, and here we willingly agree with him, would hardly be ratified under communism.

Whitney's Magna Carta includes "freedom to be a parasite," freedom to be "a prostitute" and freedom to "be a loafing millionaire." Apropos of this we would venture the opinion that should Whitney's "Introduction" fall into the hands, say, of his grandchildren living in a socialist America, and should their eyes light on the foregoing "freedoms" one can imagine them saying: what a strange man grandfather must have been!

If only Mr. Whitney had taken the trouble to re-read the original *Communist Manifesto* and especially the pages in which Marx and Engels pour ridicule on the "virtuous indignation of our bourgeois" at the program of the Communists, he would hardly have written such lyrical nonsense as the following: "The American dream of the rose-covered cottage with happy little tots playing in the yard with the family puppy and a loving and attractive husband and wife watching them affectionately" — all this, "so dear to the hearts... of Americans" will "be alien to this new communist society."

How charming, but alas how utterly remote even from the dreams of the forty to fifty million people who make up Harrington's "Other America."

How, one wonders, would the millions of Americans living in the slums of New York and other cities react to this lyrical claptrap. If all Americans have, as Whitney avers, "free choice of apartments," why are the 19 million Negroes debarred from "choice of apartments" in residential areas all over the United States.

And how uncomfortable President Kennedy must have felt at his press conference on July 5 when one of the correspondents reminded him of his unfulfilled election promise to end racial segregation in housing.

The correspondent phrased his inconvenient question thus (according to the *New York Times*): "Mr. President, I believe you've been in office about seventeen months now and still haven't signed that order against racial segregation in Federal financed housing. Could you tell us when you do plan to sign that?"

The President, however, was unable to give a date, and so far as the 19 million American citizens with black skins are concerned, Mr. Whitney's "rose-covered cottage" and "free choice of apartments" still remain figments of political propaganda.

One could be pardoned for thinking that a man who professes to be so attached to free-



dom, would join in a united front with the Communists in supporting all genuine emancipation movements. Instead the Program is scolded because it proclaims wholehearted support of such "nationalist rebellions as that in Angola against Portuguese rule." And because it does so Whitney is doubtful about the Program's sincerity in proclaiming peace on its banner.

History, he says, plays cruel tricks on men. It is certainly playing tricks on Whitney himself. In attacking the Communists for their support of the national-liberation movements he, an American, the son of a country which won independence in a war against colonialist oppressors, allies himself with all the colonialist Lord Norths and the George the Thirds of today—Chiang Kai-shek, Franco, Salazar, the Shah of Iran and the motley crew of Latin American dictators.

To be correct Whitney should have added that history plays cruel tricks especially on those men who go against its laws, those who try to reverse its wheels. And because the Program is wholly and completely in harmony with the laws of historical development, it, in the matter of national-liberation wars, unlike its American critic Whitney finds itself on the side of George Washington and Jefferson and not on the side of George the Third and Lord North.

Moreover, all Communists are proud that at the time of the American Civil War none other than Marx himself was one of the signatories to a letter to Lincoln from the International Working Men's Association congratulating that great American on his "Death to Slavery" slogan. And we are equally proud that the carefully treasured reply on Lincoln's behalf

speaks of the "encouragement to persevere from the testimony of the working men of Europe that the national attitude is favored with their enlightened approval and earnest sympathies." Could anyone imagine, say, President Kennedy or Dean Rusk writing a letter of that kind today to the national-liberation fighters in South Vietnam, or even to the freedom fighters in South Carolina for that matter?

Yes, history takes a terrible revenge on those who go against it. It was bitterly cruel to President Kennedy at the time of the invasion of Cuba. A succession of Presidents of France could tell how cruel it was to its would-be-reversers in Indo-China and in Algeria, and Sir Anthony Eden knows just how cruel it was to him at the time of Suez.

And the reason for the punishment inflicted by history on these bourgeois statesmen is not only that they committed monumental political follies. The basic reason is that capitalism in its final imperialist stage can cling to its positions only by going against history. Capitalism is a backward-looking system, whereas communism and the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, forward-looking and in tune with the times and with the great emancipation movements of the peoples, are, in the words of the publishers, the blue print of the future.

Is it not a sign of the times that instead of the censorship of silence which the bourgeoisie of the eighteen sixties imposed on Marx, and that as late as the nineteen fifties the McCarthy bookburners would have consigned a book of this kind to the flames, Dutton and Company print it and their reviewer recommends it as must reading.

*John GIBBONS*

## A Champion of the Truth

**S**EVERAL years ago a collection of funds for a monument to Taras Shevchenko was inaugurated in Canada. This undertaking, praiseworthy on the face of it, was overshadowed by the fact that Ukrainian nationalists seized on the occasion not to acclaim Shevchenko as a poet but to depict him as a nationalist.

The spectacle of petty political speculators hovering around a great name like flies around a pot of honey in the hopes of shining in reflected glory is common enough. The story of the Shevchenko monument is one more example of a famous name being used to promote an unworthy cause.

Taras Shevchenko was a great Ukrainian poet, but he never was a bourgeois nationalist. He believed that the Ukraine would win its freedom and independence not as an isolated entity but together with the other peoples of Russia and through the joint struggle waged by all against the common enemy—serfdom and the autocracy. His poetry burned with class hatred for the oppressors of the Ukrainian and Russian peasants and of all the working people of tsarist Russia. He devoted much of his energies and talents to cementing the bonds of friendship and brotherhood between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples in their joint struggle against tyranny.



An interesting and exhaustive study of this poet and revolutionary, whose writings were a call to the working people to put an end to serfdom and tsarism, is given by I. D. Nazarenko in his book *Taras Shevchenko, His Socio-Political, Philosophical and Atheistic Views*.

Shevchenko's work, the author shows, opened new roads to the development of the revolutionary ideology, materialist philosophy and realistic art in the Ukraine. His passionate protest against suppression of any kind, whether of nations or individuals, his bitter condemnation of social injustice, and his appeal to fight for a better future for all peoples transcends purely national boundaries. It has world-wide significance.

The poet's life was an example of dedication to the interests of the oppressed. He wrote with wrath and hatred of the odious serfdom, the reactionary nature of the autocracy and the brutality of tsarism with regard to the Ukrainian and other peoples of the Russian empire. Convinced that the reason for the poverty and misery lay in the feudal order and the autocratic regime, Shevchenko openly advocated their destruction, calling for a peasant revolution.

Shevchenko fought for a social system in which all social and national oppression would be abolished, all men and women would be equal and all would enjoy the fruits of their labor and the advantages of common ownership. The poet dreamed of a time when a new family of free peoples would be established. Of course Shevchenko's socialist ideal was utopian. He did not understand that the peasantry itself, without the leadership of the working class, would never be able to destroy the autocratic bourgeois-landlord regime. But, as Nazarenko correctly points out, the poet's passionate dream of a new, just society, his call for armed struggle to bring that society

into being awakened the revolutionary energies of the people.

During Shevchenko's lifetime, and especially after his death, the yes-men of the bourgeois-landlord regime did their best to divest his writings of their revolutionary, materialistic and atheistic content. And a particularly unseemly role in falsifying the ideological heritage of the great revolutionary democrat was played by the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

Among other things they have tampered with his philosophical views. L. Biletsky and other Ukrainian nationalists from the so-called Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Canada allege, for example, that "Shevchenko was a romantic and an idealist philosopher." What only do they not ascribe to Shevchenko! Kant's transcendental idealism, Fichte's national Messianism, Schelling's religious philosophy and Hegel's absolute idea!

Rejecting this libel on a great thinker, Soviet scholars, and specifically I. D. Nazarenko, show Shevchenko to be a man of wide culture and erudition, a materialist and militant atheist, the sworn enemy of religion, mysticism and obscurantism.

The grandeur and depth of the ideas embodied in his writings strongly influenced many of the progressive thinkers of his time. Today too his work is valued and esteemed by people everywhere, by all who are fighting against social and national oppression, for peace and friendship among nations.

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## Communications and Comment

# Letters from Prison

*We print below excerpts from two letters discussing some aspects of German culture which were the subject of literary debate in West Germany for some time. Written by Oskar Neumann, champion of peace and progress, when he was still in prison, these letters show that even there this thinker and fighter carried on his work — writing and giving counsel and guidance to those outside.*

*That such a man should have been isolated from society and prevented from actively participating in his people's struggle is a crime. But in the Bonn republic where the traditions of the Nazi Reich are kept alive, such things are common.*

*Under the pressure of public opinion, Oskar Neumann has since been released, but Karl Schabrod and other German patriots are still behind bars.*

*Progressive people everywhere condemn the persecution of patriots by the government of Federal Germany. All those who value world peace must join in the demand for freedom for the victims of Bonn imperialism — courageous fighters for peace and mutual understanding among nations.*

*We greet Oskar Neumann, courageous fighter for the happiness of the German people, for peace and progress!*

## FROM THE FIRST LETTER

"... You ask me for my views on the subjects you are debating: 'Brecht and the nation', 'Brecht and militarism', 'Brecht and peace'.

Brecht cannot be explained merely by juxtaposing such general concepts as the nation, militarism and peace. True, anti-militarism of any sort would be enough to make the 'ultras' see red. Their position with regard to Enzensberger or Boell\* is proof of that. But with Brecht it is a question of explaining his attitude, of finding an explanation that would be directed also against those who wish to protect him from the 'ultras' and to save him for the West—at best as their ally against 'evil', and at worst, as a 'freedom symbol', a rather attractive aesthetic 'cover-up'.

"Brecht deserves to be protected from such 'friends' at all costs. After all, what really distinguishes Brecht from the 'heimatslosen' and other 'semi-Lefts' is the fact that he took a very definite stand not simply against 'evil' but against the system of monopoly capital; that he was a brilliant dialectician, and for this reason was able to grasp at an early stage the historical polarization of 'progress and reaction' in both German states — and to act accordingly. This is the main thing.

"Some cannot forgive Brecht for this. Others evade the issue, for otherwise they would find themselves face to face with a problem which,

unfortunately, they have not as yet been able to solve. They maintain (see the latest questionnaire in the journal *Die Zeit*) that they do not approve either of Adenauer's Party or his politics, yet in the face of the facts they remain bewildered, if not embittered. Moreover, they mistake for 'freedom' the possibility to grumble a little and complain about the existing order.

"To help these people obtain a deeper and more correct understanding of things and events, one must be more tactful in one's approach to them, though of course being as unyielding in matters of principle as Bertold Brecht was himself. Adherence to principle is something one can learn from Brecht (but not, of course, to the extent of following him in every detail). The same firm attitude should be adopted in explaining the fundamental issue of German politics. This is a difficult matter, I know. But in science and in art (and politics, as we know, is both these things), as Brecht's *Galileo* showed, one cannot be an opportunist without falling out of the ranks—for that is how Brecht should be understood! That is why on June 17, 1953,\* he did not stop to ask how his actions would be received here or there, but did what he had to do and what was historically the correct thing to do—he gave his support to the government which

\*Hans Enzensberger and Heinrich Boell, West German authors whose writings reflect their anxiety concerning the militarization of the FGR.—Ed.

\*A reference to the fascist putsch engineered by the Bonn rulers in league with the U.S. imperialists on June 17, 1953, in an attempt to overthrow the government of the GDR.—Ed.



he considered his own. And this should be seen not as a momentary aberration but something that runs through all Brecht's actions. And although many prefer to avoid such an appraisal, that only makes it all the more important

for us.

"All this, of course, is extremely fragmentary and incomplete, but perhaps something of it, at least the general line of thought, will be understood. . . ."

## FROM THE SECOND LETTER

". . . You say that hardly any of the characters in Thomas Mann's stories give the impression of being normal human beings. . . .

"Of course, Thomas Mann spent quite some time in sanatoriums—otherwise how could he have such an intimate knowledge of the subject? But why does he prefer to depict 'abnormal' people? This is not a mere whim on his part; after all, his writings reflect the social conditions through the characters of individuals and their relationships. But what about the latter-day bourgeoisie? Are they any better, any more normal? From what standpoint can he depict the relations of such people if they are alienated both from themselves and from one another?

"What image could he find for the modern bourgeois state? That of a model family, perhaps, true love and domestic bliss? This is a deception cultivated by the literary hacks of the pure-blood-and-landsmannschaft variety. But what he needed was an image that would show that behind the glittering facade one finds confusion and sex; man a mere cipher, valued only for his ability to foot the bill. And the whole is a gigantic machine, cold and calculating. Hence it is not by chance that you find the same images recurring again and again in the late-bourgeois social epic—H. H. Jan's fatally overloaded ship, a masterpiece of technical achievement; the atmosphere of an insane asylum in Guenter Grass' *The Tin Drum*; the state death machine in Kafke's *Penal Colony* and the clinical atmosphere of Thomas Mann's *Magic Mountain*.

"Of course you may say: why does he not depict the social struggle for new ideals? He is unquestionably no reactionary, but he is a

latter-day bourgeois and a humanist at the same time. And his merit is that through the faithful reflection of conditions as they are he shows the need to change them. This is his contribution even though he was unable to say how and through whom these changes would be effected.

"Can one call his work 'decadent'? It is true that there are some decadent elements about it. But let someone tell me how one can paint a picture of total decadence without some elements of that decadence getting into the picture! It seems to me that the chief thing is that he never feels 'at home' in that swamp, and always holds himself at a distance from it, though at times he comes dangerously near to displaying sympathy for it.

"That is why you see the abnormality, the madness, why you do not say to yourself—what wonderful people, what perfect lives! And he is no mystic; on the contrary, he tears the veil not from the facts alone, but often from their causes as well. And that again is extremely important, for the reader understands that this is not eternal, not something given by Nature or by God, but something that can be changed! There is no doubt about it, such fine balancing between sympathy and repugnance is very dangerous, and the author himself did not wish it to be regarded as any permanent standard: he believed that art must come down to earth again and talk to men in simple, familiar terms. But he knew that this is not a matter of art but of the social foundation which has to be changed so that there can be such an art. What more can you ask of a bourgeois? . . ."



### Pages from History

## National Hero of the People of Iran

**I**MPORTANT documents have recently become known to the world public — speeches from the dock by the national hero of the people of Iran, the Communist Khosrov Rouzbeh.

A staunch fighter for the freedom of his country, for democracy and socialism, Khosrov Rouzbeh was born in 1915 in Melayer into a family of a serviceman. Upon graduating from an artillery school in 1937, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant and commissioned to an artillery regiment.

Rouzbeh's inquisitive mind found application in the various fields of scientific work, his interests being extremely broad. He wrote a book *Theory of Optical Devices in Anti-Aircraft Artillery*, a two-volume *Course of Higher Mathematics for Artillerymen* and several works on ballistics and higher mathematics. He also studied literature, philosophy, aesthetics, the Russian and French languages and the theory of chess. All in all Rouzbeh published 35 works — on philosophy, fiction, political books, a textbook of Russian grammar and five books on chess.

Rouzbeh's remarkable abilities won him wide recognition. The prospect of a life of security lay before him, as well as the way to the highest ranks in the army. But his rebellious and searching frame of mind and his deep hatred of oppression pointed to him a different road.

Rouzbeh saw poverty, oppression, lawlessness and privation all around him. He saw how the peasants in the Melayer region were exploited and robbed by the landlords. He saw how diligent peasants were turned into beggars in rags and tatters, with pale, emaciated faces.

"Even a superficial acquaintance with present-day Iranian society and comparison of the conditions of life of its various classes cannot but arouse a bitter feeling of sorrow and grief," he said later. "The gulf between the haves and the have-nots is becoming wider and wider. This state of affairs is enough to anger any man with feeling, to make him ponder over things."

As a boy Rouzbeh himself went short for many years. At school, he suffered much humiliation — the sons of the rich jeered at him, laughing at his shabby clothes.

Rouzbeh said in court: "How could I allow

myself to be seduced by a life of security and by the prospects which opened before me and forget my past, with all its pain and humiliation? How could I stop thinking about the hundreds of thousands who lived in even worse conditions and who had no prospects at all? How could I forget the scornful looks 'noblemen' cast at me because I was poor, and which, like a knife, pierced my heart? How could I forget all this and wallow in a life of plenty?"

Rouzbeh questioned why it was that people lived in want, questioned the reason for their plight. What could be done about the social injustices?

His questing brought Rouzbeh to the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and in these he found the key to the understanding and to the solution of problems which baffled him for years. He became a Marxist and dedicated his life to his people.

"At the call of the heart in which burns the flame of serving the people of Iran," Rouzbeh said proudly, "I joined the People's Party, and I must declare that in my soul, in my bones, in my blood and in my whole being right to the last fiber, I feel that in doing so I did something sacred. Every cell of my body, every particle of me is part of the flesh and blood of my people. I am devoted to socialism, devoted to it heart and soul. It may be that I will not live to see with my own eyes socialism in Iran, but I am convinced that soon the times will change and capitalism will go to its doom."

Joining the People's (Tudeh) Party in 1943, Rouzbeh plunged wholeheartedly into the political struggle. The war years were years of great change for thousands of patriotic intellectuals in Iran, including Rouzbeh and his friends. The destiny of mankind was being decided in the battle of socialism against fascism. The defeats suffered by Hitler Germany and especially the catastrophe at Stalingrad, opened the eyes of many Iranians. Life convinced them that the future belonged to socialism.

"I was no longer the Khosrov Rouzbeh who wanted to serve the people by his translations, studies and books," he said. "I became a different man. Carried away by the tempestuous happenings, I abandoned the idea of



serving society in a small way and decided to do all in my power to change things in a radical way and thus end the sufferings of millions of my compatriots."

When he was instructor in a military school, Rouzbeh carried out extensive Party work among young officers and was one of the leaders of the Tudeh Party organization in the army. His ability as a teacher, and particularly his books *Blind Subordination* and *The Pahlevi Dynasty* in which he exposed the cruelties of the regime, won him popularity in the army and among the people.

Many of the cadets of the military school, following the example of their tutor, joined the People's Party.

The end of 1946 saw the defeat of the democratic movement in Iranian Azerbaijan. U.S. generals, working hand in glove with the butcher Shah Muhammed Reza, exterminated about 20,000 democrats. Dozens of officers — members of the Tudeh Party — were executed. After the butchery many Party functionaries, including Rouzbeh, had to go underground.

Hundreds of patriotic working people, exposing themselves to deadly danger, considered it an honor to give shelter to the revolutionaries, members of the Tudeh Party; but the lives of the revolutionaries were always in danger. Twice the police arrested Rouzbeh and both times he managed to escape from their clutches. Daring and sensational indeed was the escape on December 15, 1950, from the Ghasre-Ghadjar prison when in broad daylight ten leading functionaries of the Party, Rouzbeh among them, escaped in a lorry.

His comrades repeatedly counselled Rouzbeh to leave the country for a time, but this he refused to do. On this score he said in court: "I refused to leave the barricades during the struggle, and now I look the dangers squarely in the face, and am ready for the consequences."

For years the secret police hunted Rouzbeh, but he was not to be caught. Then one day, aided by a traitor, they got on his track. On July 6, 1957, at 9 p.m. Rouzbeh had a secret appointment at a street corner in Teheran. He arrived at the meeting place only to see a certain Azim Askari, a stenographer employed in the Majlis and deserter from the Party, in the company of a police agent. Like the Judas of old, the deserter pointing to Rouzbeh said to the agent: "That is your man," and ran away. The police officer drew his revolver and fired at Rouzbeh. The latter returned the fire, but soon stopped shooting so as not to injure any of the passersby. No such considerations

deterred his opponent three of whose bullets entered his body. "My conscience," he said later in court, "did not permit me to shoot in the direction of innocent people; had I wished to flee at any cost I had a 99 per cent chance of getting away. But I could not risk killing others for the sake of saving my own skin."

Wounded in the arm, leg and stomach, he made his way to a blind alley and, in terrible pain, crawled to the roof of a house. Knowing full well that this time there was no escape for him, Rouzbeh thought of one thing only — how to expose the treachery of Askari, to make sure that the traitor would get his deserts. On bits of paper he wrote the words: "My main assassin is Azim Askari, the stenographer in the Majlis," and threw the papers to the wind. At that time Rouzbeh did not know, of course, that the chief traitor was Ali Mottali, who betrayed the meeting place.

The enemies, of course, would have preferred to arrest Rouzbeh without a fuss, and then put him out of the way in the torture chambers as they had done with so many revolutionaries. But to do so now was impossible: the shooting in the street and his arrest became widely known.

Badly wounded and in pain, Rouzbeh spent 10 months in prison. He was denied the right to receive or to have visitors — books were allowed only shortly before the trial.

Rouzbeh was tried in camera by a military tribunal. In order to make short shrift of the revolutionary and preclude any possibility of another escape, the trial took place in the prison. Rouzbeh was ill, leaning upon a stick, but his spirit was unbroken, and he defended himself with profound faith in the triumph of his noble cause. He spoke as the accuser of the reactionary regime, as a champion of the working people, as an ardent revolutionary and fighter for socialism.

Defending himself before the military tribunal and again when his appeal was heard, Rouzbeh described the sufferings of the people under the yoke of the Shah, the feudal lords and corrupt officials; he denounced the predatory capitalism in Iran and its backer—U.S. imperialism.

"I loathe capitalism," he said, "and I stand here as an uncompromising enemy of this system which, by inflicting poverty, privation and malnutrition on the 18-million Iranian people, ensures luxury for the thousand privileged families . . . And upon seeing these horrors I considered it my duty to join the Tudeh Party to fight to abolish capitalism and replace it with socialism in order to do away



with injustice and thus act as my conscience told me to act."

The Military Prosecutor railed against Rouzbeh and the members of the Tudeh Party, reviling them as traitors. In reply Rouzbeh passionately denounced the moral degradation of the ruling classes and capitalist society as a whole and showed that it was the Communists who stood for lofty moral principles. "Morality and honor," he said, "are my treasured possessions, and I cannot remain silent when I hear this abuse . . . I am devoted to socialism because I am convinced that its principles are higher than those of any other system. In all my actions I have been guided by these principles, and by the desire to build a new society which will bring happiness, well-being, dignity, honor and freedom to my people."

Rouzbeh, refuting the slanders levelled against the Tudeh Party, spoke with pride about the glorious path traversed by it — the path of struggle for the well-being of the people. "The Tudeh Party — and even some of its enemies say this — is the strongest, the most principled and the best organized party ever seen in Iran. The chief thing about this Party is its revolutionary spirit. The Party, summoned to life by historical necessity, is guided by scientific theory and by its scientific view of the world. It is proud that it has the support of the people and that it is fighting for the people. And just as the forces of the people are inexhaustible and unbreakable, so is the People's Party which will fulfil its historic mission."

Rouzbeh spoke much about socialism which alone rids man of exploitation, poverty and war and brings him a free and happy life. ". . . Ultimately power will pass into the hands of a strong revolutionary government which will serve the people and right the wrongs. This has already been done by a thousand million people, and soon the rest of the world will follow suit."

Rouzbeh spoke about the arbitrary rule in the country. Referring to the plight of the political prisoners, he described the foul conditions in the Chizil-Ghala prison and elsewhere. In the last seven months, he said, not a night had passed without men being tortured.

He spoke about the secret killing of fearless revolutionaries, members of the Tudeh Party, about comrades Galouste Zakhariane, Koutchek Chouchtari and Vartane Salakhaniane who died under torture, refusing to betray their comrades and Party.

With love and respect Rouzbeh spoke about

his friends and comrades — army officers, members of the Party, who were executed in 1954 and later. ". . . The members of this organization," he said, "were the best officers, the cream of the army, and all of them were true patriots, humane and decent people who harbored no evil design. Their arrest struck deep sorrow into the hearts of their colleagues, their subordinates and even their superiors, and this feeling reached out through the walls of the barracks and, despite the unfavorable circumstances of the time, evoked wide response in the town."

A song was written about the officers who served the people so faithfully and who went to their death like heroes. And despite the censorship this song spread all over the country and was sung by all.

Courage and moral purity, pride and nobility were expressed when Rouzbeh spoke about his fidelity to the Party and to the people, of his faith in the victory of the cause to which he had devoted his life. "I have been true to my pledge and have done my duty. I have honored the signature in my membership card of the Tudeh Party, and I shall never become an apostate for the sake of personal gain or shrink from danger."

Khosrov Rouzbeh has become a legendary figure. His behavior in prison during the interrogation, in the courtroom and then before the firing squad was exemplary heroism.

His last words show him as a soldier dying at his post, a man profoundly convinced of the ultimate triumph of the cause of the Party whose true son he was until the last heartbeat.

". . . Neither I, my fellow officers butchered before me," he said, "nor any of those executed for political activity in recent years, are criminals; on the contrary, we are loyal sons of our country. And the people of Iran, who regard these trials as expressions of despotism, proudly acquit their valiant sons."

The Shah and his camarilla had to get rid of this dangerous revolutionary, and so, obeying orders from above, the tribunal sentenced Rouzbeh to death.

Khosrov Rouzbeh was executed on the night of May 11, 1958, at the Hechmatie shooting-range in Teheran. This son of the people died as courageously as he had lived. When the police wanted to blindfold him, he told them: "Death has no terrors for me."

Rouzbeh loved life. "It is hard to die," he said, "and especially is this so for those who believe in their ideas, whose hearts are filled with the hope of a better life. To remain alive at all costs and under any circumstances is not worthy of man, for never in his life should



he lose his aim. If life is preserved at the cost of shame and disgrace, loss of honor, abandonment of ideas, political and social convictions, then death is a hundred times more noble."

Khosrov Rouzbeh died so that the people of Iran should cast off their chains and live a life of freedom, independence and happiness.

The common people of Iran mourned the death of their hero. His valiant struggle and his death show him as a true patriot, a staunch revolutionary and Leninist. His life and death are an example for all patriots fighting against imperialism, despotism and reaction, for the happiness of their people.

A. ARDEKANI

## Against the Persecution of Democrats

### IN KING HUSSEIN'S DUNGEONS

(*Letter from Amman*)

**N**EVER have the people of Jordan endured so much suffering as in the past few years. Since 1957 when King Hussein's clique, with the support of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, deposed the Nabulsi government which had done so much to strengthen the country's independence, a reign of terror has prevailed in the country. At the *diktat* of the British and American imperialists, Hussein and his police are perpetrating monstrous crimes against patriots and all who do not agree with his policy.

Immediately after the 1957 coup, some 16,000 people were thrown into concentration camps and prisons. Many progressive leaders were shot. Others are being tortured. Those who managed to escape the repressions were either forced to flee the country or are carrying on an underground struggle.

Thousands of people are subjected to fearful suffering in the Al-Jafre concentration camp, located in the south Jordanian desert. The prisoners in this camp, or "stone grave" as the prisoners call it, are being slowly starved to death. Sanitary conditions are indescribable. In the scorching heat the prisoners are given salt water to drink, which drives many of them mad.

It is impossible to give a complete list of all who have been shot or tortured to death in the dungeons and prison camps. This secret is jealously guarded by Sherif Nasser, the uncle and aide of King Hussein, along with his officers Mahmud al-Kailani and Salami al-Muhawish. But now and again the truth about the atrocities committed leaks through to the outside world.

The principal object of Hussein's hate are the Communists. The most savage treatment is meted out to them. Abdul Fattah Tulstan, 27-year-old school teacher from Amman, was one of the most recent victims of Hussein's "civilization."

The Amman authorities claim that their re-

pressive measures are instituted only against Communists, who, it is alleged, are plotting to overthrow the monarchy. Yet most of those persecuted have never had anything to do with the Communist Party.

Many high-ranking army officers, too, are in prison. The army has lost more than half of its officers as a result of Hussein's policy. Such well-known political leaders as Dr. Jacob Zayadin and Faiq Warrad, former members of Parliament, and Abdel Hak, Issa Mdanat, Talaat Harbe, members of the National Front, and other personalities have been arrested and tortured merely for wishing to see their country independent and prosperous.

Imperialist rule, restored after the removal of the Nabulsi government, has doomed our people to poverty and hunger. Even official U.S. spokesmen recognized that the economic situation in Jordan is catastrophic. Unemployment is rife, most of the population live in misery.

The so-called "aid" which King Hussein receives from the imperialist powers goes to maintain his vastly inflated armed forces and political police and for military construction. As the Jordan representative in the United Nations admitted, the secret police alone swallows up nearly five million pounds sterling annually, a fantastic sum for such a small country. How can there be any talk of economic progress in these circumstances!

Lawlessness, terror, imperialist domination and poverty—these are the things that are turning the people against Hussein and his clique. On 11 occasions since the overthrow of the Nabulsi government attempts have been made to get rid of the hated regime.

Our people want Jordan to be an independent state in the full sense of the word and not the bailiwick of Wall Street or the City. The terror can be explained only as evidence that the King and his government fear their own people.

Hardly a day passes without King Hussein



appealing to the imperialists, chiefly the Americans, to step up the struggle against the democratic forces all over the world. And the U.S. press and television gives full publicity to Hussein. But the United States, which has placed the axe in his hands, will hardly be able to

retain its control over Jordan. Our people got rid of British colonialism in 1956, and they will find the strength with which to extricate themselves from the clutches of the American imperialists and their stooges, the court camarilla headed by King Hussein. **F. IBRAHIM**

## "IT IS FORBIDDEN" . . .

**U**NDER the shadow of the Acropolis, in defiance of the Declaration of Human Rights and before the eyes of the world, reactionaries are throwing patriots into prison, stifling freedom of thought and conscience, and subjecting their victims to inhuman conditions. It was the sight of his fellow-prisoners reduced to such a state that caused the Greek national hero Nicos Beloyannis to hurl these wrathful words at his judges: "It took man thousands of years to learn to walk erect. You shall never succeed in making us walk on all fours again . . ."

That the fascist butchers have indeed failed to rob the Greek patriots of their dignity as human beings is evidenced by the slim volume with the significant title *It is Forbidden*.

It consists of 35 pages written by the political prisoners who are confined in the 12 mediaeval jails scattered over the length and breadth of Greece. They have been kept there since 1944, when immediately after the country was liberated from German occupation, international imperialism managed to instal a reactionary government. During the past eighteen years more than 15,000 patriots who fought in the national resistance movement have been in prison. Many, among them Nicos Beloyannis, were executed; 262 persons have perished from torture and disease. Under pressure of world public opinion many have been released in the course of the years, but some 1,500 patriots still remain behind bars.

"They forbid us to live like human beings," the prisoners write in their booklet. "They forbid us to read or write. They forbid us to look at the sun . . ." For 22 hours out of the 24, the prisoners relate, they are locked in cells with no more than 6-7 cubic meters of air to breathe per man. At night the stench becomes unbearable, for the inmates are forbidden to use the water closet in the corridor. The long hours spent in the foul air affect the health of the prisoners already undermined by maltreatment and malnutrition, with the result that each is ravaged not just by one but by many complaints (tuberculosis, stomach ulcers, enteritis, hepatitis, rheumatism and bronchial ailments). On the island of Aegina, for example, some 2,200 diseases were diagnosed in the cases of 465 detainees.

The prisoners suffer from chronic undernourishment. The cost of maintenance of one prisoner per day, the authors of the booklet write, is 5.5 drachmas, which is the price of one packet of cigarettes. They receive less than 2,000 calories a day and only 10 grams of animal proteins a week. A monthly ration of 123 grams of soap has to suffice for all hygienic needs, including laundry and utensils. Moreover, it is forbidden to receive money or parcels from anyone except immediate relatives (parents, children, wife or husband), and even then in extremely limited amounts.

The relatives of political prisoners are frequently summoned by the secret police and are questioned, threatened and often beaten. It is common for the relatives to be victimized and for the children of political prisoners to be expelled from the schools.

Describing the terror in the prisons, the authors of the booklet relate that in the course of one year prisoners on Corfu spent a total of 31,500 days in solitary confinement. In 3,000 cases prisoners were deprived of their correspondence, and in the Aegina prison, where Manolis Glezos is confined, 260 of the 361 prisoners were beaten and 181 held in solitary confinement in the same period. And this prison is no exception.

The intellectual blight to which the Greek oligarchy aided by its foreign patrons has doomed Greece, once the cradle of civilization and culture, is felt most of all in the prisons. Books, magazines, newspapers, notebooks—anything that might provide some intellectual food—are strictly forbidden. "Most Greek and foreign journals," says the booklet, "are banned as are all Marxist and progressive books. The most innocent books are declared seditious or Communist propaganda . . . Between 1956 and 1961 some 5,000 books were banned from Aegina prison alone. The prisoners are not allowed to read Gorky, Hugo, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Jules Verne, Zola, the Greek writers Sikelianos, Kazantzakis, Varnalis or Kordatos. The newspapers *Avghi*, *Anexartitos Typos*, *Apoguematini*, *Eleftheros Typos*, etc., are forbidden."

Why is this being done, the prisoners ask. Why? "In order to deprive us of our human dignity, to force us to give up the fight for our



native land and to renounce our political beliefs."

Men and women of goodwill throughout Greece and beyond its frontiers are demanding

that the government put an end to this wholesale murder by slow torture of men who fought for the freedom of Greece.

G. LERNIS

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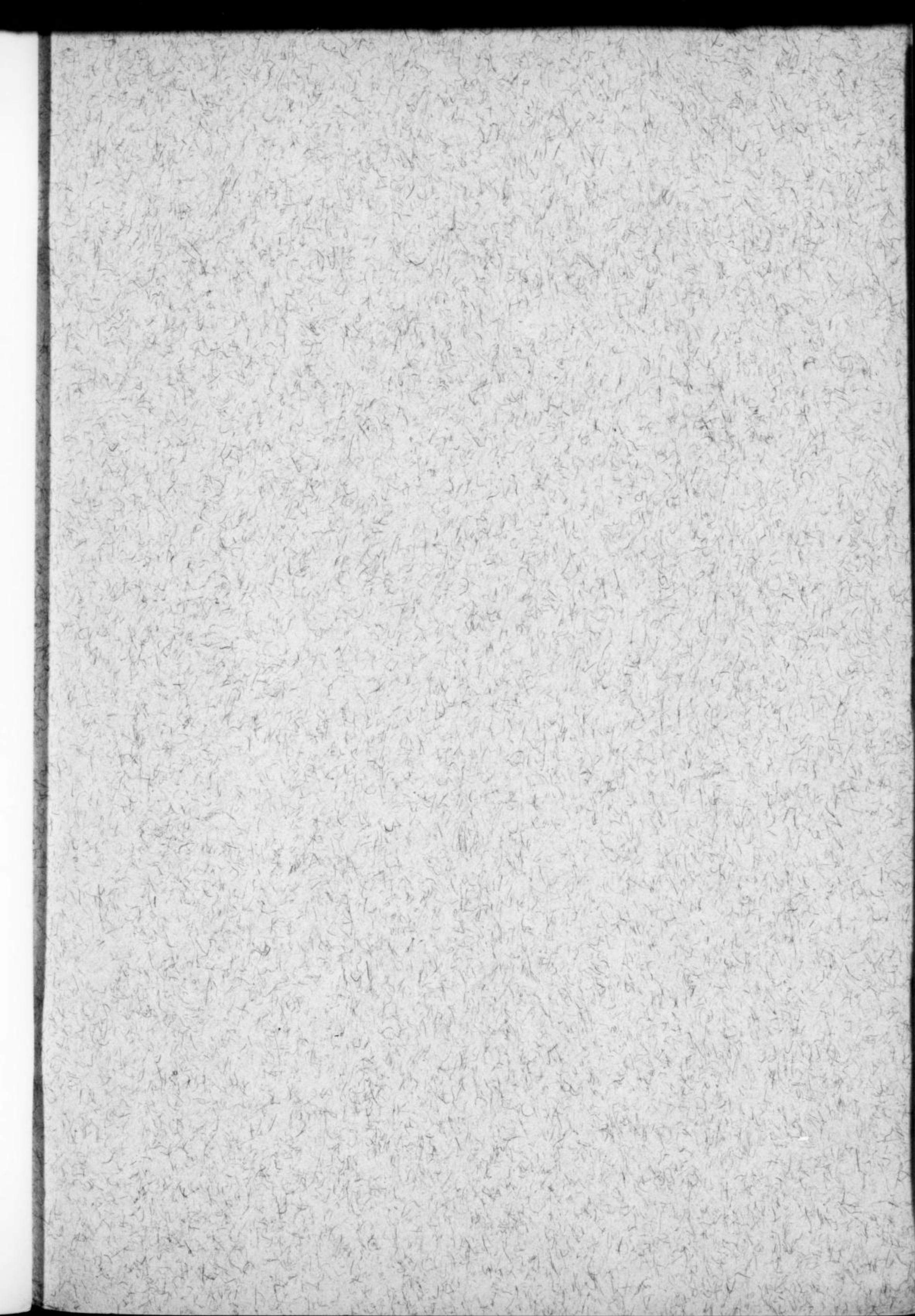
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