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PROBLEMS
OF PEACE AND
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Triumph of the Leninist Principles of Party Life

Viktor Rudin

GIVE us an organization of revolutionaries and we shall remake Russia, Lenin prophetically said at the very beginning of his political activity. And the labor he put into creating such an organization was truly titanic. He built it tirelessly and persistently, confidently yet with circumspection, basing himself on the Marxist teaching on the role of the Party in the class struggle of the proletariat, and enriching this teaching with the new experience of the world revolutionary movement. Lenin elaborated the scientific foundations of the policy, strategy and tactics of the Communist Party as a party of a new type, worked out the fundamental principles of its organization, defined its methods of work, pointed to the principal dangers lying in wait for the revolutionary vanguard and showed how to overcome them.

The Inviolable Foundations of the Marxist-Leninist Party

Leninist standards and principles of Party life are neither arbitrary in respect of application nor local in significance. They are universal and objective, and reflect the vital laws of the rise and development of the Party.

The universality and objectivity of these standards are determined by a number of factors: first, by the character of the historical mission of the proletariat as the gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of socialism, a mission which it can carry out only when organized in a specific way; second, by the objectively determined role and interaction of the masses, the revolutionary party, and the leaders in the process of solving the urgent tasks of social regeneration and, third, by the collectivist nature of the socialist party, the aim of all Communist parties.

It is these factors that make the scientific shaping of policy, democratic centralism, collective leadership at all levels, criticism and self-criticism, and the maintenance of close contact between Party organizations and the masses the fundamental and guiding principles for all Marxist parties.

The main feature of democratic centralism, that which imparts to it its strength, is that

it harmoniously combines broad inner-Party democracy — free rein for the initiative of each member and full utilization of his creative energies, knowledge, fervor, ability and experience — with unity of action and will on the scale of the whole Party, with a single-minded purposefulness ensured by a centralized structure, i.e., leadership from one center, strict discipline, subordination of the minority to the majority and of lower Party bodies to the higher.

The centralism of a Marxist-Leninist Party is not bureaucratic but *democratic*. It presupposes election of all bodies from top to bottom, equality of members' duties and rights, and discussion by the membership as a whole of all questions pertaining to the Party's policy and activity. There is no other way to achieve strict and conscious discipline as distinct from a purely mechanical discipline, to ensure the realization by all members of the need for unity of action. Figuratively speaking, democratic centralism harnesses all the revolutionary energy of the Communists and stores it on the scale of the Party as a whole, making it a dynamic, single-minded accumulation of energy.

Democratic centralism finds full expression only when all aspects of the Leninist standards of Party life are freely and fully developed. Collective leadership is essential at all levels as a guarantee of the correctness of the political line and of success in practical work. Criticism and self-criticism are vitally important as powerful instruments of self-control, as a safeguard against mistakes and violation of Party standards by individual members, leaders or Party committees.

The standards of Party life elaborated by Lenin have been adopted by all the Communist parties as the cornerstone of their activities. But these standards are not immutable. They are enriched and concretized in the process of the class struggle and socialist construction. Each Party implements them in its own way, elaborating them in conformity with the situation in which it works.

The fullest and most comprehensive scientific generalization of the experience of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the world Communist movement in developing the organizational principles of the Marxist-Leninist Party is contained in the Program and Rules adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

As we have said, democratic centralism is a synthesis of two elements—centralism and democracy. But the ratio between them is not fixed and unchangeable. On the contrary, it is highly mobile, the relative proportions of the one and the other being determined by the conditions in which the Party operates.

Take a Party functioning underground, in conditions of ruthless persecution or a war situation. In such circumstances it will stress centralism, while preserving every aspect of democracy possible. On the other hand, in the case of parties which are able to work normally, and especially in the case of parties which are in power, it is only natural that the democratic forms should be developed to the full—not, of course, to the detriment of centralism as an expression of unity of will, but with a view to giving rein to local initiative.

This mobility of the demarcation line between centralism and democracy places a great responsibility on the whole party, on leaders as well as on rank and file. It is the aim of every Marxist-Leninist Party to preserve the greatest possible measure of democracy however adverse the conditions, even when forced to work underground; it wants to march in step with the times, to keep its fingers on the pulse of life, and not allow the dialectical unity and interdependence of democracy and centralism to be disrupted. Any departure from the historically-conditioned limits to the one side or the other can only do harm to the Party and the revolutionary struggle.

On the example of many parties, Lenin showed that when the democratic aspect is counterposed to centralism or negates it, the inevitable result is organizational anarchy, weakening of discipline, factionalism, a breakdown of party lines. In such cases the party rapidly acquires a ballast of fellow travellers, bourgeois influences infiltrate into it, it becomes loose and flabby, its capacity for leadership declines and, gradually, it ceases to be a revolutionary force.

No less injurious is unwarranted curtailment of democracy and emphasis on centralism as the sole principle of party leadership. When this happens centralism becomes bu-

reaucratic; the number of members who decide Party matters declines, the independent initiative of the membership generally is either restricted or reduced to nought and the role of the majority limited to the mechanical carrying out of decisions.

Violation of democracy begins when a Party relies solely on a small group of cadres and pays less attention to stimulating the activity of the membership as a whole, thereby weakening its contact with the masses; when orders from the top take the place of joint discussion and collective decisions.

Bureaucratic centralization inevitably results in the leaders losing touch with the masses, in perverted methods of work, sectarian policies, and dogmatism in the sphere of theory; it is fraught with the danger of the party losing its revolutionary militancy.

The safeguard against all threats to the organizational foundations of the Party, no matter whence they come, is steadfast adherence to the scientifically substantiated principle of democratic centralism—the cornerstone of the monolithic unity of the Communist parties and of the entire Communist movement. Steadfast observance of this principle, of the Leninist standards of Party life—this is the guarantee of firm, purposeful but flexible leadership, it is this that prevents the degeneration of revolutionary fervor into adventurism and extremism, of flexibility into opportunism.

Leninist Principles Are the Fountainhead of Our Achievements

The Leninist standards of Party life are under constant fire from the reformists and the revisionists, who claim that by virtue of its very mechanics democratic centralism tends to suppress democracy. These attacks were intensified after the denunciation of the Stalin cult; but once again the enemies of Party principles miscalculated. The provocative character of their smear campaign is perfectly clear. That the personality cult was engendered by violations of democratic centralism is becoming obvious more and more even to the general public in the capitalist countries.

Objectively, the personality cult is alien to socialism, it contradicts the very essence of the Leninist standards of Party life.

As the CPSU has repeatedly stressed, the reasons for the cult should be examined in the light of the exceptional conditions in which socialism was built in the USSR.

The USSR was then encircled by capitalist countries and lived under the constant threat of invasion by the combined forces of imperialism. Because of this the class struggle in the country was particularly acute during the transition period, when exploiting classes were still being abolished. The Party, fiercely attacked by opposition groups, had to wage a continuous struggle to uphold its general line and preserve the unity of its ranks. To safeguard economic independence and ensure the military defense of the gains of the revolution, industrialization and collectivization of agriculture had to be accelerated. And this involved sacrifice and hardship.

In this extraordinary situation iron discipline in the Party and among all working people, centralized leadership and maximum vigilance in relation to the class enemies were essential. Because these conditions were met, the Communist Party and the Soviet government were able to safeguard the conquests of the revolution, to unite the people, to rally them to overcome the enormous difficulties, to build socialism and to win the world historic victory over the fascist aggressor.

But while these exceptional conditions and factors explain the emergence of the Stalin cult and throw light on the historical soil which nurtured it, they in no way justify it. Nor can it be justified. No matter how grave the difficulties were, they were not necessarily bound to lead to the personality cult. But these extraordinary objective factors coincided with an unfavorable subjective factor—the negative traits in Stalin's character to which Lenin had pointed in his time.

Concentrating vast power in his hands, Stalin abused the trust of the Party and the people and violated the Leninist principles and standards of Party life.

He took advantage of the exigencies of the time and of the resounding victories won by the people in building socialism to exalt himself. A contributing factor was the adulation and sycophancy which surrounded him.

Stalin, in fact subject to no control and above criticism, grossly violated the principles of democratic centralism. Collective leadership was abolished. The Leninist principles of selecting and training cadres were flouted. There were violations of socialist law and mass repressions were carried out against good Party members.

The pressures of the situation and the resolve of the Communists to preserve Party unity at all costs as the prime condition for

building socialism made it difficult to combat the Stalin cult and prevented it from being overcome in good time.

The cult did grave damage to socialism in the USSR. It shackled to a considerable extent the creative initiative both of Party members and non-members. But for all that it could not halt the victorious advance or alter the socialist nature of the Soviet system.

Even at the height of the cult the Party as a whole did not lose its vitality and vigor; its local organizations and the millions of its members carried on the work with enthusiasm. Under the leadership of the Party the country continued its titanic labors to strengthen the socialist state economically and politically; friendship between the working classes and between the peoples of the USSR was cemented, and cultural standards continued to rise. In the course of these creative endeavors certain aspects of Soviet democracy were carried forward. The unequal, phased show-of-hand elections essential at the early stages of Soviet society were replaced by equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. Some aspects of inner-Party democracy also developed. In 1937 a new system of elections of Party committees was introduced, making secret voting the rule from top to bottom.

From this it can be seen how complex and contradictory were the processes that took place in Soviet society during the period of the personality cult. Basic to these processes was the strengthening and consolidation of the foundations of socialism. But this was complicated and hindered by the distortions engendered by the cult.

Restoration of the Leninist standards of Party life and methods of leadership became the pressing task of the day from the standpoint of both internal development in the USSR and the further advance of the world Communist movement.

The Twentieth Congress condemned the personality cult and decided fully to reintroduce the Leninist standards of Party life. In this the strength of the Party and the Soviet system made itself felt once again. The outspoken criticism of mistakes and the steps taken to rectify them are the clearest indication of how alien any cult of the individual is to socialism and the Communist Party. Since then the CPSU has worked vigorously to purge all aspects of Soviet life of the pernicious consequences of the cult.

All violations of inner-Party democracy have been corrected. The Leninist standards of Party life have been fully restored. Collec-

tive leadership is the rule from top to bottom. An end has been put to infringement of socialist law, and those who were unlawfully subjected to repressions have been cleared and their rights restored. Every guarantee has been provided against unlawful arrest.

Big changes have taken place in the life of the Soviet people. The conditions for Party work, too, are different. There is full and free rein for initiative and new forms of mass political and labor activity are developing rapidly.

The crux of the matter is not only simple restoration of established forms of Party life, nor even their enrichment. It is imperative steadily to improve the entire style of Party work as regards both content and form. New forms of enlisting rank-and-file Communists in solving inner-Party issues and in organizational work among the masses have emerged and are continuing to develop. Indeed, the rapid development of these new forms is a feature of the activities of the CPSU at the present stage of building communism.

A striking manifestation of the development of the Leninist standards is the direct participation of the members of the CPSU in shaping its policy. Many of the major decisions of the Central Committee are now widely discussed throughout the Party before final adoption. Rank-and-file members are invited to plenary meetings of the Central Committee and take an active part in their work. The new Program and Rules are actually the result of the collective efforts of both members of the Party and non-members.

The role of the Party organizations has been enhanced and their rights broadened. Now the members discuss and decide independently all issues of direct interest to them, exercise systematic control over the work of managers of enterprises and offices and at the same time help them better to organize production and to introduce new, more efficient methods.

Indicative of the new style of work is the reduction in the numbers of paid functionaries and the growth in the numbers of activists in Party work. The district and city committees now have departments and commissions consisting wholly of voluntary workers, experienced Communists who devote their free time to preliminary examination of questions pertaining to the political education of the members, applications for membership, breaches of the Rules by one or another Party member, etc. The district and city

committees also have other functionaries working on a voluntary basis.

The latest Party decisions call for the regular renewal of the composition of elected bodies. This precludes the possibility of power being concentrated in the hands of one and the same individuals and ensures an influx of fresh forces to leading Party posts, while maintaining the right proportion between old and new cadres.

Restoration of the Leninist principles of Party leadership has stimulated a further rapid development of socialist democracy.

Overcoming the consequences of the cult, the Party has worked painstakingly to improve the functioning of elected public bodies and organizations — the Soviets, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, and others—which are now a factor of first-rate importance in the social and political life of the USSR.

It has become the rule for the people generally to take a direct part in defining the basic lines of economic and social progress, in elaborating long-range economic plans. For example, more than 70 million people took part in discussing the draft for the seven-year plan; they not only gave their approval to the tasks outlined in the theses submitted by Khrushchov, but also brought to light no small additional reserves. Such nationwide discussions may be likened to referendums, for they make it possible to take cognizance of the will of the people and correctly reflect it in the political line of the Party.

The central and regional conferences systematically convened by the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet government to deal with important economic and political questions and the personal contact between leaders and rank-and-file workers are effective ways of enlisting the public in resolving major issues. Such conferences and contacts are of inestimable value, for they enrich with new experience and knowledge both leaders and rank and file; through them theory and practice draw still closer together, making it possible to avoid mistakes and to find new ways of accelerating the advance to communism.

In the period between the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses, many new forms of public activity emerged, and the old ones gained fresh impetus. A new form of the working people's participation in industrial management is the now firmly established permanent production conferences in the

enterprises. Voluntary advisory councils now function in theatres, libraries and newspaper offices, and countless street, neighborhood and block committees as well as pensioners' councils have appeared. There now are volunteer public order groups, while public inspectors check up on the work of the shops and eating places.

The restoration and development of the Leninist standards of Party life proceeded in sharp struggle against the anti-Party group of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and others, which was defeated ideologically and organizationally in 1957. The Twenty-Second Congress summed up this victory of the new and the revolutionary over the hidebound and conservative, and revealed its political importance for the future of Soviet society, for the building of communism.

Some Communists wonder whether it was necessary to rake up the past associated with the personality cult and the anti-Party group since the cult had already been condemned and the anti-Party group defeated ideologically and organizationally. Was it wise to provide arguments for the enemies of socialism?

The Party knew that the reactionaries would seize on this self-criticism to slander socialism. But there can be no transition to communism unless the debris of the past is cleared away once and for all. In order to develop socialist democracy properly the Party had to make the whole truth known to the people.

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that besides the direct and flagrant consequences of the cult, it also left a less obvious aftermath which is still to be fully eradicated. At times this aftermath makes itself felt in the attitude of some leaders to the masses and the Party rank and file (lack of contact with the masses, neglect of their needs, a predilection for running things by orders from above, etc.), in an incorrect understanding of Party democracy (overemphasis on leaders, disregard for criticism), in style of work (lack of managerial knowledge, lagging behind the times and indifference towards the realities of life, a highhanded approach to people, conservatism and bureaucracy, lack of feeling for the new, ostentation, "window-dressing" and the desire to present a good front at all costs which has led to downright deception), in dogmatic thinking and in a mechanical approach to theory.

The consequences of the cult had to be uprooted in all spheres of public life. Otherwise it would have been impossible to stimu-

late the activity and enhance the initiative of the masses, to forge ahead to communism.

The triumph of the Leninist principles of leadership has greatly accelerated political and economic progress, imparted new meaning to the work of all organizations, and has given boundless scope for the activity of the members and all other working people. And with all this the pace of communist construction has greatly increased.

The Basis of the Unity of the International Communist Movement

The struggle to eradicate the consequences of the personality cult and to restore the Leninist standards of Party life, as well as the results of this struggle, has had a worldwide impact.

The Leninist standards have always been of prime importance to the Communist parties. Today too, when the Communist movement is growing in every respect and the parties have to solve, independently and in conformity with their specific conditions, increasingly complex and urgent tasks, steadfast adherence to these standards is a guarantee of success, of the parties' ability to cope with their tasks.

The fraternal Communist parties have highly assessed the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU and the Program and Rules adopted by the latter, emphasizing their significance for the world Communist movement, for protecting its organizational foundations.

Ever since the Twentieth Congress the work of perfecting these foundations has proceeded in struggle against Social Democratic pressure and against revisionists and dogmatists. The revisionists seized on the criticism of the cult of the individual to mount an attack on democratic centralism under their traditional banner of freedom for factions, the right of the minority to flout the will of the majority, and abolition of Party discipline. The intensity and duration of the struggle varied according to parties, but in all cases it ended in the triumph of the Leninist principles.

This struggle was summed up at the last meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties which declared that the Marxist-Leninist parties "regard it as a law of their activity strictly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism, and to cherish Party unity like the apple of the eye."

Yet not all Communists fully understood the essence of the struggle against the conse-

quences of the cult. They regarded criticism of the bureaucratic distortions of democratic centralism as criticism of the principle itself. Some put forward the idea of a permanent majority and minority as an end in itself, even though this could easily lead to factionalism. It is highly symptomatic that the discussion of these questions was relatively brief. The Communist parties resolutely rejected the slightest departures from Leninist principles. The documents of the various parties stress that consistent observance of and perfection of the Leninist standards of Party life are the foundation not only of the unity of the individual parties but of the monolithic cohesion of the entire Communist movement, which is built on the principle of proletarian internationalism. "We are proud," Lenin wrote, "of the fact that in solving the great issues of the workers' struggle for emancipation we submit to the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat, that we *take into account the experience of the workers of different countries, their knowledge and their will, thereby giving effect in deeds* (and not in words like the Renners, Fritz Adlers and Otto Bauers) to the unity of the working-class struggle for communism throughout the world."* (My italics—V.R.)

Yet there are those who hold that the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress have a purely internal significance, affecting only the CPSU and the Soviet people, and can have no influence whatever on other parties. True enough, the decisions and proceedings of the Twenty-Second Congress are addressed directly to the members of the CPSU and the other working people of the USSR. Since each Party is completely free to decide its internal affairs as it sees fit, the decisions of one are not binding on the others.

This, however, does not mean that the parties should be sealed off from one another. Such a view on inter-Party relations is fundamentally erroneous, and all the more so when applied to the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress, which adopted the first scientifically substantiated program for building communism, a program which the fraternal parties have recognized as the "Communist Manifesto of the 20th century."

Any isolation of one Party from another would be a political error of the first magnitude because it runs counter to the basic principles of Marxism. Stemming from disdain for the experience of other parties, such isolation would be dangerous because by the

very logic of things it would, sooner or later, lead to the experience of one Party being set against that of another. Such a line could, eventually, lead to attempts on the part of one Party to impose its own experience on others as the only possible course to follow, its views as the most orthodox and its attitude as the only revolutionary attitude. Concepts of this kind, no matter what forms they take, are essentially nationalistic and deny the principles of internationalism and equality in the relations between parties.

The Communists bear a responsibility not only to their own peoples but to all humanity. Marxism-Leninism is an integral international teaching which equips the Communists of all countries with the knowledge of the laws governing the advance of all peoples to communism. It does not come in European or Asian, African or American varieties, for it is indivisible. From this follow two important conclusions:

First, the activity of any Communist Party is bound to have one or another effect on all the others. If a Party correctly assesses the laws of social development and acts in accord with them, if it cements its ties with the masses and successfully rallies them to carry out revolutionary tasks, it thereby strengthens its own positions and helps the fraternal parties in their heroic struggle for a better future. But if its leadership makes mistakes, falls into sectarian or revisionist errors and becomes divorced from the masses, it injures not only itself but also all other parties, the entire Communist movement.

Second, Marxism-Leninism develops on the basis of the experience of all the Communist parties. A primary role in its development is played by the decisions of Party congresses and Central Committee meetings. Hence when a Party takes a correct decision on basic political issues enriching the treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism common to all parties, it helps the others to improve their ideological armament. But if its leadership makes wrong decisions, examines its experience from the standpoint of national narrow-mindedness, it ideologically weakens both itself and the fraternal parties and may even cause grave harm to them and to the entire Communist cause.

The unity, integrity, universality and genuinely creative nature of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, combined with a boundless variety of concrete forms of application in accordance with the historical, political, socio-economic, class and cultural conditions of each country,

*V. I. Lenin, *A Letter to Austrian Communists*.

make it the greatest asset of the working class and progressives throughout the world; it is their truly priceless possession, a compass pointing the way forward. Hence those Communists who turn a deaf ear to the correct decisions of the Congress of a fraternal Communist Party flout the principles of internationalism.

This is precisely what the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor have done. Yet some people question the wisdom of publicly denouncing the stand taken by these leaders. Would it not be better to settle the problems of mutual relations through personal contacts and negotiation, since public discussion plays into the hands of the reaction and might considerably weaken the unity of the world Communist movement?

The point is, however, that all possibility of solving the outstanding issues through personal meetings and talks was totally excluded by the rejection of this avenue by Hoxha and Shehu. Instead they intensified their smear campaign against the CPSU and their efforts to sow dissension in the ranks of the world Communist movement and in international public organizations, circulating slanderous materials which found their way into the capitalist press. The leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor not only disagreed with the policy of eradicating the consequences of the Stalin cult; they extolled the methods used during it. In the Party of Labor itself the cult of Hoxha and Shehu has blossomed out. Further procrastination in exposing these leaders would have discredited socialism and the ideas of Marxism.

It should be remembered that the Stalin cult had a pernicious effect not only in the CPSU, but in other fraternal parties. There was a time when under the influence of the Stalin cult a Rakosi cult was fostered in Hungary; in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia anti-Leninist, anti-Party methods were implanted by Slansky, and in Bulgaria the cult of the individual found its standard-bearer in Chervenkov. Although safeguarding the purity of the Marxist-Leninist principles of organization within its own ranks is the internal concern of each Party, it is also the international duty of all Communist parties and their members. By exposing the cult of the individual in the Soviet Union, the CPSU simultaneously discharged its internationalist duty, helped the fraternal parties to rid themselves completely of the consequences of the cult.

Official statements by fraternal parties refer to the salutary effect of the public criticism of the anti-Marxism of the Albanian leaders, pointing out that this criticism helps to eliminate the consequences of the personality cult in the world Communist movement, to perfect the principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership, and to overcome revisionism, sectarianism and extremism.

Imperialist propaganda has seized on the struggle against the cult in order to vilify the Marxist-Leninist parties by claiming that they carry within them the seed of irreconcilable contradictions. An examination of the facts makes it clear, however, that the contradiction is between the world Communist movement and the degenerate leaders of a single Party who still hold commanding positions in it.

The heart of the matter is the pressure—open and concealed, direct and indirect—which the forces and traditions of the old world exert on the Communist parties.

As a result of this pressure various deviations may appear. Situations are not excluded in which one or another opportunist group may capture the leadership of a Party and hold it for a time. In such an event the contradiction that arises is between the world Communist movement and leaders who have degenerated into nationalists, whatever the shade they assume—revisionist, sectarian-dogmatic, ultra-revolutionary or any other.

It should be noted that the deviations evident in some parties at the present time are largely due to the Stalin cult. For Stalin prevailed on other parties, too, to violate the Leninist standards of Party life and renounce collective leadership. And if today Communists speak of the need to protect the parties against such contingencies and to cement their unity, this unquestionably implies that the Communist house must be speedily swept clean of the historical litter left behind by the personality cult. Steadfast adherence to the Leninist standards of Party life is the main safeguard against things of this kind.

Experience shows that with the socialist camp going from success to success and the Leninist principles consistently applied, the chances of deviations become ever fewer. Take, for example, the CPSU. Before the victory of the socialist revolution the struggle against factions loomed large in the life of the Party. In the transition period factional strife was no small drain on its energies, but in the end the oppositionists were isolated.

After the complete and final victory of socialism the grounds for factions shrunk to the point at which the anti-Party group of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich found no support whatever either in the Party or among the population generally.

Humanity is marching ahead to communism. The inner motive forces of history are impelling all countries and all peoples towards socialism and communism, making for the growing unity of the Communist parties. The continued consolidation of the unity of the

socialist countries and of the Communist movement as a whole is an objective law of development, which remains in force in spite of temporary deviations and zigzags.

The Communist parties, guided by the great Leninist teaching, developing and enriching it, are closing their ranks; they are resolutely overcoming all deviations from Marxism, both dogmatic and revisionist, extending their ties with the masses and rallying them to the struggle for peace and democracy, for the triumph of socialism and communism.

From Socialist to Communist Distribution

L. Gatovsky

THE Program of the CPSU envisages an impressive rise in the living standard of the population of the USSR within the next 20 years. By the end of these two decades *all* the Soviet people will enjoy an *abundance* of material and cultural values. The principle of distribution according to needs will be gradually implemented, eventually leading to *complete economic equality* for all.

Is this grand plan feasible, it may be asked. The Program, the reports of Khrushchov and the other materials of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU provide a clear-cut answer to this question. Yes, it is a practicable plan, without a trace of utopian pipe-dreaming, voluntarism or subjectivism; it is based on objective reality, tangible possibilities and resources, in a word, it rests on a sound *material foundation*. Underlying it are precise calculations indicating the sources of the means required to carry it out.

The bedrock on which this master plan is built is the superiority of the socialist system so amply tested by history. First of all, socialism enables a country to increase its material resources, gross social product and national income much faster than capitalism. Second, its resources are utilized in conformity with the basic economic law of socialism, i.e., in the interests of all the people. Deriving from public ownership of the means of production, from the entire system of the socialist relations of production, production under social-

ism aims at satisfying the steadily growing material and cultural requirements of the people in ever greater measure. Therefore this aim cannot but stimulate a development of the productive forces that will gradually ensure the maximum satisfaction of all human requirements. This, in turn, will be effected through communist distribution according to the needs of each member of society. Herein lies the sound *social foundation* of the Program from which stem its scientific veracity and reality—qualities utterly lacking in the bourgeois-reformist promises of “well-being” under capitalism.

The scientific principles underlying the policy of the CPSU in all spheres of economic endeavor, including distribution and improvement of popular well-being, throughout the period of communist construction are elaborated in the Program and in Khrushchov's reports to the Twenty-Second Congress. They indicate the production resources and social conditions, and define the factors and levers needed to achieve in the next 10 years general material sufficiency and, in 20 years, general abundance, to be followed by the completion of the transition to communist distribution. These tasks will be carried out step by step by a) developing the productive forces and b) transforming the production relations so as to eliminate gradually all elements of social inequality, all social distinctions between the different kinds of labor. The Program charts the way to the achievement of

communist equality in step with the growth of society's material resources and the development of socialist labor into communist labor. In conformity with this, it defines the role of the material incentives in the period of communist construction and the correlation of the various forms of distribution according to labor and free distribution irrespective of work performed.

What concrete tasks are posed by the Program in respect of the living standards and what are the material resources for ensuring their fulfilment?

Impressive Rise in Material Well-Being

Per capita real income in the USSR is to double in the next ten years and to increase more than three and a half times in the course of 20 years. This will make the Soviet standard of living the highest in the world, leaving even the richest capitalist countries far behind. In 1980 real income per capita in the USSR is planned to exceed the present average income level in the USA by roughly 75 per cent. Actually, however, the difference in favor of the USSR will be considerably greater.

First of all, *averages* mean fundamentally different things in the two countries. Hidden behind the U.S. averages are millions of people experiencing want—the wholly and the part-time unemployed, the semi-skilled and unskilled, those subjected to one or another form of discrimination, the disabled, and the homeless. In the USSR, on the contrary, a rising average signifies an improvement in the well-being of *all*.

The Program envisages far-reaching changes in the income pattern. While well-being will improve generally, the incomes of the lower-paid groups will show a particularly high rate of increase as the disparities between the various income brackets steadily diminish. Average real income of the low-paid categories will treble within ten years. For the first time in history no one will have to skimp and scrape; the entire category of low-paid industrial and office workers will disappear once and for all.

At present the real incomes of industrial and office workers are still on the average somewhat higher than the incomes of the collective farmers. In order to reduce and ultimately do away with the difference, the farm incomes will increase at a more rapid rate than those of wage workers. During the next ten years the average real income of industrial and office workers will *nearly*

double, while that of the collective farmers will increase *more than twofold* in the same period and more than fourfold by the end of the 20-year span. As a result of more efficient operation of the lagging collective farms where the members still get less for their work than on the better farms, an equalization of incomes will take place among the collective farmers. Moreover, the growing prosperity of *all* parts of the country will tend more and more to iron out discrepancies in the real income of the population.

Indicative though they are, income figures nevertheless do not throw full light on the advantages enjoyed by the Soviet people over the working people of the capitalist countries as regards *living standard and social status*. No statistics can do justice to such gains as the absence of exploitation, unemployment and insecurity, to the fact that here capital no longer rides rough-shod over the working man as it does every minute of the day in every capitalist country. Nor are there quantitative indices to express the advantages, present and future, enjoyed by the Soviet workers as compared with, say, their counterparts in the USA in respect to access to education, culture, science and participation in state administration, or as regards the benefits accruing to each from social wealth, etc.

The planned rates of growth of well-being will be ensured by an approximately fivefold increase in national income by 1980 (at an average annual rate of about 8.5 per cent). The growth of national income in turn stems from a fivefold increase in the total social product, including a sixfold increase in industrial output and a roughly 3.5-fold rise in agricultural production.

At the same time *the accumulation and consumption* ratios are designed to ensure the achievement of the targets set. The progress made in industrial development makes it possible considerably to reduce the difference between the rates of growth in the output of the means of production and the output of consumer goods. Whereas during the prewar five-year plans this difference amounted to 70 per cent, in 1961-1980 the former is scheduled to increase only 20 per cent faster than the latter. Industrial output of consumption goods, which amounted to 50,000 million rubles in 1960, is planned to increase by 1970 (in comparable prices of July 1, 1955) to 121,000 million rubles, or nearly 2.5 times, and by 1980 to 250,000-260,000 million rubles, or 5.-5.2 times.

Heavy industry has so expanded that it is now in a position to turn to the task of promoting the growth of consumer goods. Of signal importance are the projected changes in *the structure of heavy industry* aimed at increasing the share in its overall output of machinery and equipment for the consumer goods and service industries. Output of means of production for the light and food industries, for agriculture, housing, cultural and public services, public catering, the distributive network, etc., is to increase 13-fold in 20 years. Heavy-industry enterprises will at the same time turn out more goods for cultural purposes as well as household goods, including electrical and other time- and energy-saving appliances. Capital expenditure on consumer goods and service branches will increase accordingly.

Substantial changes are already taking place in the structure of accumulation. The basic non-production funds utilized for cultural purposes, the health services and housing show a sharp increase. In the past five years alone nearly 50 million people in the USSR have moved into new homes. In the current decade the housing shortage will be eliminated and in 20 years overall housing facilities will be trebled. In the next five years (1961-1965) housing construction will reach the average annual figure of 135 million square meters of dwelling space. By 1980 this figure will be trebled, reaching 400 million annually. This is the material basis on which the task of providing *each* family with a modern flat will be solved.

Needless to say, the changes in the structure of socialist production will be accompanied by changes in *the structure of the country's labor force*. Due to the intensive development projected in the spheres of health protection, education and culture generally, the number of people engaged in these fields will show a particularly marked growth, increasing nearly threefold in the coming 20 years.

An optimum ratio is set between growth of money income and purchasing power on the one hand, and satisfaction of the effective demand for goods and services, on the other. The Program rejects the dogma once advanced by Stalin that under socialism "the increase of mass consumption (purchasing power) continuously outstrips the growth of production." To counterpose to capitalist overproduction something in the nature of "underproduction" as allegedly inherent in socialism is unsound theoretically and can only cause

harm in practice. "It did not worry the champions of this point of view that they were actually justifying the shortage of articles of prime necessity and the perpetuation of rationing and its psychology," Khrushchov said at the Twenty-Second Congress.

The Program emphasizes that "the rise in real incomes *will be outstripped* by a rapid increase in the amount of commodities and services, and by extensive construction of dwellings and cultural and service buildings," and that "agricultural output must *keep ahead* of the growing demand" (My italics — L.G.). The high rate of increase set in the Program for consumer goods and services will outstrip the growth of *the effective demand* not only because more and more material and cultural benefits will be provided free of charge. That part of the consumption fund which is distributed in exchange for money (the greater part) will also increase faster than the effective demand. Consequently, the population will be ensured an uninterrupted supply of all articles of consumption and, thanks to the elimination of shortages, the *economic pressures* exerted by the consumers on producers will play an increasing role in improving *quality*.

The substantial rise of the material and cultural level and the growth of income are bound to be accompanied by a greater demand for better quality. Although socialism knows no crises of overproduction, this does not mean that the sale of *all* goods is guaranteed. The Program states: "Output of consumer goods must meet the growing consumer demand in full, and must conform to its changes. Timely output of goods in accordance with the varied demand of the population, with a view to local, natural and climatic conditions, is an imperative requirement for the consumer-goods industry." Simultaneously with an all-round improvement in the efficiency of the distributive system in all parts of the country, the volume of state and cooperative retail trade will be increased 2.5-fold in ten years and fivefold within 20 in order fully to meet the demand. The increasing demand for services will be taken care of by opening more dress-making and tailoring establishments, public laundries, clothing, shoe and other repair shops, etc.

Already during the current ten years the nation's diet will be basically brought into line with scientific standards of nutrition. While consumption of bread and potatoes will decline somewhat, there will be a marked

increase in the consumption of the higher-grade foodstuffs, especially meat and dairy products, vegetable oils, and the best varieties of vegetables and fruits. Consumption of meat and meat products per capita is planned to increase 2.5-fold, milk and milk products twofold, butter 1.5-fold, vegetable oil twofold, eggs 2.2-fold, fish and fish products 1.5-fold, sugar 1.5-fold, vegetables 2.3-fold, and fruit and berries nearly fivefold.

This will be ensured by a well-grounded farm program providing for a roughly 2.5-fold increase in output within ten years. Annual meat production, for instance, is to increase to 25 million tons and milk to 135 million tons by 1970.

The rapid increase in food consumption will be outstripped by the consumption of manufactured goods, signifying an improvement in the structure of consumer spending in general: a growing share of the average family budget will be spent on items other than food — on clothing, footwear, furniture, household accessories, etc. Since here the limits to consumption are less rigid than in the case of food, the demand for goods of this type is bound to increase more rapidly.

It is anticipated that the demand for household appliances and utensils will show a particularly rapid growth — 5.5 times as compared with the prospect of a 3.5-fold rise in the per capita consumption of clothing and footwear. This will be ensured by increasing the output of these goods, in terms of value, from 5,900 million rubles in 1960 to 18,000 million in 1970, and to 58,000-60,000 million in 1980 (a tenfold increase). Output of furniture in the 20-year period is to increase 6-8 times. The projected increases in *production* and *incomes* are the guarantees of a sufficiency and then an abundance of high-grade consumer goods for *all*.

Such are the basic prospects in regard to living standards in the period of full-scale building of communism, as the country forges ahead step by step toward communist distribution.

Basic Conditions for the Transition to Communist Distribution

When will it become possible to go over completely from socialist to communist distribution?

The Program proceeds from the Marxist principle of the primacy of production, i.e., the primary, decisive role production plays in relation to the other elements of reproduction — exchange, distribution and con-

sumption. Advance towards communist *distribution* depends first and foremost on the progress made in communist *production*. But although the movement toward communism proceeds *simultaneously* in the sphere of production and the spheres of distribution and consumption, it is *consummated* first in production and then in distribution. Hence the point in the Program that the transition to communist distribution will not be effected in the current 20 years, but after the necessary material and technical base has been created and when communist society has, in the main, been built.

What are the essential prerequisites for the full implementation of the communist principle of distribution according to need? If we set aside the organizational aspects involved in the gradual building of a vast distributive system, the prime prerequisites are the creation of *the productive forces* of communism and the communist construction of *property and labor*.

The conditions for completing the transition to communist distribution are:

First, a material and technical base ensuring an abundance of material and cultural values. "The method of distribution depends essentially on how much there is to distribute, and . . . this must surely change with the progress of production and social organization,"* Engels said.

Second, the two forms of socialist property will merge in a single communist property of all the people. This will be the economic basis for completing the transition to the classless society. Eradication of class distinction will die out. Links in this process will be the disappearance of arduous, non-mechanized and unskilled manual labor, and the rise of the cultural and technical level of manual workers to that of the engineers, technicians, agricultural specialists, etc. The material basis which will make this gradual organic blending of manual and mental labor not only possible but necessary will be comprehensive mechanization and automation of production.

Yet more than these changes is required in the productive forces and in the character of property and labor in order to go over to communist distribution. It is not enough to achieve abundance and to eradicate all social distinctions in labor, even though the social equality of all who work is the basis of complete economic equality in distribution as well. Social homogeneity of labor still does

*Frederick Engels, *Letter to C. Schmidt*, August 5, 1890.

not signify that it need not be paid for. It is also essential that the communist attitude to labor should become universal.

Consequently, there is still a *fourth* condition — work must become a prime necessity for all, a vital need not dictated by considerations of remuneration. This condition will be fully created *after* the first three, and will complete the transformation of socialist labor into communist labor. Besides a prolonged process of communist education, advanced general and specialized training of all workers and systematic polytechnical instruction, a whole series of far-reaching qualitative changes in social production will be required before this can be realized. These changes presuppose an abundance of all the good things of life, both material and cultural; they presuppose that people will be completely freed of material worries. Social distinctions in labor will have to be completely eradicated, working conditions greatly improved, and a new communist division of labor introduced which will offer incomparably wider opportunities to people freely to choose their profession and to move from one sphere of endeavor to another. When all this has been accomplished labor will become creative to the highest degree.

In this way the last vestiges of the inequality preserved under socialist distribution according to labor which Lenin, elaborating Marx's views on the subject, discussed in his *State and Revolution*, will be gradually uprooted. From the moment society undertakes the maintenance of children and the non-abled-bodied, differences in the size of families will no longer give rise to material inequality. Nor will there be any inequality of skills arising from the division of society into manual and mental workers. When work becomes man's prime requirement there will no longer be different attitudes to labor. Differences in ability, talent and knowledge will obviously remain, but they will no longer imply inequality of opportunity to draw on the material and cultural benefits provided by society.

Communist distribution according to the principle "to each according to his needs" will signify the achievement of complete, actual *equality*. This, of course, does not imply equalizing requirements as such; on the contrary, the fuller the flowering of the human personality, the greater the range will be of requirements and inclinations. Naturally, what is envisaged is reasonable, healthy, normal requirements, for under communism money-

grubbing, selfishness, greed and other vices engendered by private property will have disappeared completely.

Transition to the communist principle of distribution is both a possibility and an objective necessity, a factor in the all-round development of the human personality as an integral facet of the growth of the productive forces of communism, a powerful stimulus to communist productivity of labor.

These, then, are the essential conditions for the transition to communist distribution. Until they are created, so long as labor needs to be remunerated, the socialist principle of distribution according to work is bound to remain in force.

Marxists hold that while the forms of distribution are determined by the character of production they exert an influence on the latter. They can either accelerate or retard the growth of production. It should be borne in mind that distribution according to labor is an integral aspect of the organization of socialist production, a vital stimulus to it, and hence must be preserved as long as socialist production exists.

Going over to distribution according to needs prematurely would not bring us any nearer to communism; on the contrary, it would seriously harm the socialist economy. Without an abundance of consumption goods it would be at best an attempt to introduce a system of rationing. For only when the prerequisites have been created in the sphere of production can one or another form of distribution be developed accordingly, ratios between these forms changed and a gradual transition from one form to another effected. Until labor has become man's prime necessity, any attempt to introduce communist distribution irrespective of the work done would mean levelling, and this would weaken material stimuli and undermine production.

What would happen if in accordance with some primitive views on the transition to communism we in the USSR were to begin already now to distribute all food products and consumer goods free of charge? With each receiving material benefits according to his wishes, irrespective of how he works or whether he works at all, idlers would find themselves living as well as the best workers. The harm caused by such an economic "policy" would be incalculable. Resolutely rejecting such "principles," the Program declares: "The Party acts upon Lenin's thesis that communist construction must be based on the principle of material incentive. In the

coming 20 years payment according to one's work will remain the principle source for satisfying the material and cultural needs of the working people."

It might be asked whether the trend toward reducing disparities between wage and income levels does not run counter to this principle. Not at all. It in no way detracts from the overriding importance of distribution according to labor, for it is based on the gradual disappearance of unskilled labor and the fact that the various levels of the workers' skills and productivity are coming closer together. Under these circumstances, preserving the former wage and income gradations would be a violation of the principle of distribution according to labor. For excessive differentiation is no more in line with this principle than insufficient differentiation.

The higher rate of growth stipulated in the Program for collective farmers' incomes as compared with the wages of industrial and office workers is also in accord with the principle of distribution according to work since it stems from the comparatively higher rate of increase in labor productivity on the collective farms. The same applies to the reduction of disparities between collective farms as regards payment for work and their members' income. These disparities are due also to the natural and economic conditions in which the farms operate, as well as varying standards of efficiency. Hence levelling out the incomes of the collective farms and their members by raising the backward farms to the level of the foremost in no way contradicts the principle of distribution according to work; on the contrary, it makes for a more consistent application of this principle on all collective farms.

It follows, then, that reducing the differences in income levels as envisaged in the Program has nothing in common with levelling, which implies equal pay for qualitatively and quantitatively unequal work at a time when distribution is based on the work done. At the same time, differentiated remuneration will remain in force throughout the 20-year period.

At one time some economists thought that the best, if not the only, way to increase real incomes under socialism was to reduce retail prices. This was an erroneous view. As long as it is necessary to distribute material and cultural benefits according to work performed, money wages can serve as a powerful lever in organizing and stimulating production. This lever should be used to *differentiate* remuneration

for work so as to provide an incentive to higher labor productivity, promote production, regulate incomes and raise the wages of the low-paid categories. Reduction of retail prices is another important and essential factor in improving well-being under socialism, but it cannot alone solve these and other tasks, which only differentiated individual payment for work is capable of resolving.

The Forms of Transition

Distribution according to work in the conditions of the full-scale building of communism is, then, an essential stage on the way to communist distribution. Yet payment according to work in itself is not an economic form that can be *directly* transformed into communist distribution according to needs. The nearest to communist distribution and directly leading to it are the *public consumption funds* which are distributed free of charge by society irrespective of the labor contributed by each of its members. The Program envisages the use during the coming 20 years of both forms — distribution according to labor and free distribution of public consumption funds. Moreover, individual payment according to the quantity and quality of labor will be increased simultaneously with the reduction of retail prices and the abolition of taxes.

According to the Program, the rate of growth of public funds used to meet the requirements of the population free of charge will exceed that of the basic form of distribution. With the national income scheduled to rise fivefold, these funds will grow at double that pace — more than tenfold, from 24,500 million rubles in 1960 to 255,000-265,000 million in 1980. Consequently, in time this form will become the predominant and, eventually, the universal method of distributing articles of consumption and services. Distribution according to labor will, however, remain the basic method throughout the coming 20 years, for only by the end of this period will the public consumption funds account for roughly half of the overall real income of the population.

Growth of the public consumption funds as stipulated in the Program, on the one hand, and reduction of disparities in pay levels, on the other, signify a gradual but steady advance toward communist equality in distribution.

It is sometimes asked whether such a substantial growth of public funds distributed free of charge will not be detrimental to the

principle of distribution according to labor. Definitely not. The point is that the Program excludes such use of public funds as would detract from the role of this principle — for example, direct free distribution instead of sale of articles of consumption. During the given period these funds are to be channelled to purposes which are in full accord with distribution according to labor. A case in point will be free maintenance of children at children's institutions (whenever parents wish to take advantage of these facilities). If at present the bulk of the cost for this is borne by the parents, during the coming two decades — and to a considerable extent already within the next few years — the picture will radically change. Some 75 to 80 per cent of the expenditure involved will be covered by society. State disbursements for the maintenance of children and adolescents are to increase more than tenfold between 1961 and 1980. There is no danger of this adversely affecting the role of payment according to work. On the contrary, the effect will be beneficial. For even if the quantity and quality of the work done, and, hence, its remuneration, are equal, the income of workers with large families is less per member of the family than that of workers with small families or with no children at all. When children are taken care of by society this situation will be corrected. Free education and medical services, too, in no way minimize the role of distribution according to work.

With distribution according to labor remaining basic, what types of public funds will be developed in the course of the current 20-year span? *Society will undertake the care of children, the disabled and the aged, and all forms of education and medical service (including sanatorium treatment) will become completely free of charge.* Sufficient children's institutions (creches, nursery schools and playgrounds, boarding schools and schools with after-class facilities for pupils) are to be established in town and countryside, and all charges in them gradually abolished. Pensions and sick and temporary disability benefits will be extended to the collective farmers. Pensions will be increased. Homes for all the disabled and the aged will be provided. All kinds of medical services will be made available to all in both town and country.

Subsequently, step by step, *housing, certain municipal services and public transport* will become free of charge. This, of course, must be done gradually, with an eye to maximum expediency. In the case of some services

the process may be completed earlier than in others, depending on their importance and whether they will be fully able to meet the requirements of the public.

In some cases intermediate measures will be the rule, with a steady reduction of charges for the given service. There may also be a differentiated approach to various groups of consumers; for example, free services may be provided first to those in the lower-income brackets.

A more complex problem, one that will necessitate thorough preparation, is free *public catering*. Free meals will first be introduced in children's institutions, and towards the end of the 20-year period a start will be made in providing free mid-day meals in factory canteens and in offices. This will be a phased process, with a steady reduction of prices in public catering establishments and possibly a system of differentiated discounts to various groups of consumers. On the whole, however, completely free public catering will be possible only after the present 20-year span.

It should be borne in mind that free distribution has nothing in common with rationing, with limiting the consumer to a definite assortment of goods, as is visualized by some Western economists. It will be based on abundance, the aim being to meet the most diverse personal requirements and tastes. This will apply to all aspects of consumer demand, public catering included.

In the process of the transition to communism the drudgery of domestic work will be gradually taken over by the public services. The crux of the matter here is the substitution of economically more advantageous and convenient forms for the inefficient and labor-consuming old-time domestic economy. Cooking at home, for instance, will be replaced by public catering, not as a result of any administrative measures or any lack of opportunity for home cooking, but because the public dining rooms providing high-grade food and service will be cheaper and more convenient. Whether he wishes to take advantage of public services is, of course, something each individual will have to decide for himself. For example, it is up to the parents to decide whether they want to send their children to boarding schools or other children's institutions. There can be no question of any compulsory curtailment of the domestic economy of a family.

Public services will bring to the consumer all the advantages accruing from large-scale concentration of resources. Yet their role

should not be assessed only from the economic point of view. In the light of the tasks of building communism their social significance will be even greater. For these services are essential for ensuring the real equality of woman in daily life, freeing her from kitchen drudgery, and providing her with greater opportunities to participate in social production and public life, to broaden her outlook and to go in for study, for the arts, sports

and travel. Moreover, the public upbringing of children is vital to the training of the young generation of the communist society.

This posing of the problem of the transition from socialist distribution to communist distribution indicates the soundness of the scientific foundation underlying the Program of the CPSU — the Communist Manifesto of our time — which lights the way to a bright future for all.

Some Features of the Situation in India

Ajoy Ghosh

IN 1961 India completed 14 years of her independence. Important changes have taken place in India in this period—changes both in the economic and the political sphere.

As is well known, India till 1947 was a colony of Britain. Her economy was a typical colonial economy. The main features were:

First: preponderance of agriculture in the national economy. Strong survivals of feudalism. Primitive agricultural technique and low level of production.

Second: Extremely weak industrial foundation. Production of steel was barely one million tons a year. Machine tool industries, heavy engineering industries were virtually non-existent. Whatever industrial development took place was mainly in the sphere of light industries.

Third: Extremely low national and per capita income.

Fourth: Cultural backwardness, low percentage of literacy, high mortality rate.

Lastly, and above all: Dominant position of British capital in industry, commerce, banking and all other spheres of the economy.

While possessing these features in common with other colonial countries, India, however, had certain special features. It was, relatively speaking, a *developed* colony, i.e., more developed than most other colonies. Also, it had a national bourgeoisie, more numerous and economically stronger than the national

bourgeoisie of other colonial countries. This national bourgeoisie and the progressive intelligentsia had built up a nationwide mass political party—the Indian National Congress with vast influence among all classes of the people. The Congress played the leading role in the national-liberation movement. The working class, though an important participant in that movement, was, in the main, under the political influence of the Congress. It was inevitable, therefore, that in 1947, when India won national freedom, power passed into the hands of the national bourgeoisie and its organ—the Congress. Feudal elements—princes and landlords—who had been the mainstay of British rule were too discredited and, therefore, too weak to offer any serious challenge to the Congress.

Congress governments came to be formed in the center and in all provinces of India, including the former princely states, which constituted one-third of India. Except in the state of Kerala, where a Communist-led government ruled for 28 months, the Congress Party has had uninterrupted rule for the last 14 years in the center as well as in all provinces (states). It has always held the overwhelming majority of seats in the Parliament and in all state legislatures (except in Kerala for 28 months). Internal political conditions, therefore, have been exceptionally favorable to the Indian government to implement its policies.

The world situation has been also very favorable for rapid economic advance of the newly-liberated countries including India. The triumph of socialism in areas inhabited by one-third of the people of the world, the spectacular economic advance made by the USSR and the other socialist countries, and their readiness to give aid has placed in the hands of the governments of the newly-independent countries a powerful weapon. It has become easier for these countries to resist imperialist pressure and pursue an independent policy.

In achieving the development of heavy and basic industries in the state sector, aid from the USSR and other socialist countries has been a factor of tremendous significance. Patriotic-minded Indians belonging to all parties warmly acclaimed the recent visit of L. I. Brezhnev, the President of the USSR, to India which has further strengthened the friendship between the two countries.

Strengthening the National Economy

Despite the economic dislocation and other difficulties brought about by the partition of the country, conditions on the whole — both political and economic — were favorable for rapid development. It is in this context that the actual situation prevailing in India today has to be judged. This situation brings out strikingly the possibilities as well as limitations of the capitalist way of development for newly-liberated countries.

The index of industrial production has increased from 100 in 1950-51 to 194 in 1960-61. The increase has been continuous. Production each year has exceeded the production of the previous year, though the rate of increase has varied considerably from year to year. It has been not merely a quantitative increase. Three new steel plants have been built and another is to be set up — all in the public sector. Production of finished steel has increased from one million tons in 1950-51 to 2.2 million tons in 1960-61 and will, it is estimated, reach 6.8 million tons in 1965-66. Machine-tool production has increased 16 times since 1950. Coal production in 1950-51 was 32 million tons. It has now reached 54 million tons. Electricity generation has nearly trebled in the last ten years.

This growth, especially of heavy and basic industries which are vital for economic independence, would have been impossible but for the increasingly important role of the public or state sector. The paid-up capital of the state-sector industries has grown from

Rs. 660 million to 4,650 million rupees — which is 30 per cent of the total capital in the industrial sector.

In the development of the public sector and heavy and basic industries, a factor of great and even decisive significance has been India's cooperation with the socialist countries. By September 1960, India had received 4,200 million rupees of loans and credits from the socialist countries. Socialist aid has three important features which differentiates it qualitatively from the aid given by imperialist countries.

First. It is aid for building industries which are of vital importance for our economic independence. Bhilai, of course, is the outstanding example. But of almost equal significance are the heavy machinery plant now being built at Ranchi, the laying of the foundations of our oil industry in the state sector and others.

Second. The rate of interest is extremely low.

Third. Payment of the loan does not require foreign exchange but can be made in Indian currency and in goods produced in India.

As against this, the imperialists have generally earmarked the credits they advance for industries which are not of such basic importance; the rate of interest charged by them is much higher than that charged by the socialist countries; and repayment needs to be made in foreign currency. India today imports more than she exports. Therefore, repayment of imperialist loans involves the taking of more loans.

Imperialists and their economic agencies such as the World Bank have never viewed Indian industrial development with sympathy. For example, when more than ten years ago the government of India wanted the help of the World Bank in order to manufacture locomotives, the World Bank came out sharply against the proposal. It suggested that in India's "own interests," it would be better and more economical if locomotives were bought from Canada and other countries. The hollowness of this argument can be seen from the fact that the Chittaranjan works are now producing at a rate of nearly 200 locomotives a year. India has started to make electric locomotives as well.

It is also well known that Western countries did their best to prevent the development of iron and steel and heavy engineering industries in India. In fact, it was only after the Soviet Union offered help to build up the Bhilai steel plant that British and West

German firms agreed to extend loans to India to build steel plants at Durgapur and Rourkela. In actual performance these two plants are far behind Bhilai. The poor quality of the work done at Rourkela has been the subject of much criticism in the Indian press.

India was also repeatedly advised by the World Bank to "go slow" with regard to heavy industries and the public sector. The policy, it was suggested by the World Bank, should be "consolidation" rather than "expansion" of the public sector. This advice, which went contrary to the interests of the whole nation, including the national bourgeoisie, has not been accepted by the Indian government.

But the means adopted by the imperialists were not confined to the economic sphere alone.

They, especially the American imperialists, wanted to keep India dependent on them and also to draw her into aggressive military alliances as part of the strategy of the new form of colonialism. With this end in view, they intensified the conflict between India and Pakistan, encouraging the rulers of Pakistan to adopt an increasingly bellicose attitude towards India. Massive military aid has been given to Pakistan by the USA. The purpose of this aid is not only to convert Pakistan into a military base against the Soviet Union and the socialist world, but also to exert pressure on India, involve India in a ruinous arms race, retard her economic development and force her to abandon the policy of peace and neutrality.

In recent times, certain modifications have taken place in the U.S. tactics towards India. But the basic objective remains the same.

India's economic development requires, besides the building of heavy and basic industries, a real upsurge in agriculture which contributes nearly half our national income and on which 70 per cent of our people depend for a livelihood. Under British rule, agricultural production remained practically stagnant since 1900, while the population increased by nearly 38 per cent. Thus, from a food-exporting country, India gradually became a food-importing country. During the last ten years, some improvement in this respect also has taken place. Food-grain production stands now at 76 million tons as against 52 million tons in 1950-51.

As a result of this development of industry and agriculture, the total national income has grown by about 42 per cent in the last 10 years.

From what has been said, it can be seen that Indian industry, agriculture and the economy as a whole have registered some advance in the years since the attainment of freedom. Our national independence rests today on a firmer economic foundation than in 1947.

It is on the basis of this advance that the Indian government declares that the economic and political policies pursued by it stand vindicated. They claim that their plans have achieved great success.

The Indian government has now published its proposals of the Third Plan which promises a food-grain production of 100-105 million tons at the end of five years and food self-sufficiency, 6.9 million tons of finished steel, 80,000 tons of aluminum and so on. The prospect is held out that the national income which was 102,400 million rupees in 1951 and 145,000 million in 1960-61 will reach 190,000 million after five years — a rise of 30 per cent.

There can be no doubt that the Third Plan report constitutes a powerful ideological weapon with which the Indian bourgeoisie will strive to strengthen its political position among the masses.

Slow and Inadequate Advance

Does the Indian economy, however, despite the advance that it has undoubtedly registered, really present such a rosy picture?

Let us examine the reality a little more concretely.

First is the fact that *the rate of growth* of our national economy during the two Five-Year Plans has been very slow and far behind the expectations of the people and even of the government. In 1950-51, the Planning Commission had set the target of doubling per capita income in 25 years. The actual rise in per capita income has been only 16 per cent in ten years. With the present rate of growth it will take many, many years before the target is reached. Even after two Five-Year Plans per capita income in India is one of the lowest in the world.

Second: The basic pattern of Indian economy remains unchanged. Industries of all types, including cottage industries, contribute only 16 per cent of the national income. In this respect there has been little change. Pressure on land continues to grow.

Third: Production of many industries, which the report on the Third Plan admits are of "crucial importance," lags far behind the target. Output of finished steel which was to have reached 4.3 million tons in 1961 has

reached only 2.2 million tons. As against a target of 290 thousand tons of nitrogen fertilizers, only 110 thousand tons were produced — seriously retarding the growth of agriculture. Output of machinery to produce cement, textiles and paper has lagged far behind the schedule, and so on.

Fourth: Despite the increase attained during the last ten years, the state of our agriculture continues to cause grave concern. The increase in food grains is totally inadequate to meet our basic requirements. During 1957, 1958 and 1959 alone, we had to import over 10 million tons of food grains — mainly from the USA. Despite these imports, *the per capita availability of food grains per day* is still below the prewar per capita average. The production target fixed for 1965-66, 100 million tons, appears to be fantastic, in the light of actual achievement.

Fifth: Although, according to official declarations, the basic aim of the Plans was "to provide the masses of Indian people with the opportunities to lead a good life," the fact is that this aim remains as distant as ever. Even the meagre increase in national income is so distributed as to keep the vast majority of people in a state of semi-starvation. "The Second Plan," says the well-known economist Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director, Institute of Economic Growth, "has undoubtedly increased the nation's per capita income but it has been accompanied by such a rise in prices that real income has not increased for a significant number of low-income workers in the country."

A few facts in this regard may be mentioned — facts based on official admissions and stressed by many Indian economists of diverse political views.

While industrial production as well as productivity per worker has risen considerably, real wages remain almost stationary and even tend to decline. The Labor and Planning Minister of the Indian government, Mr. Nanda, said in a speech in Parliament last year: "Between 1939 and 1947 the standard of living of workers had declined by 25 per cent. By 1951 they had recovered lost ground. But since 1956, when prices started rising, these gains have, to an extent, been wiped out."

As regards the mass of the peasantry, the picture is even gloomier. "In rural areas," says Dr. Gyan Chand, "only agriculturists with a marketable surplus (less than 20 per cent of the agricultural population) have benefited by the rise in agricultural prices."

Prof. K. N. Raj of Delhi University has estimated that only three per cent of the rural population has garnered about 30 per cent of the increase in agricultural production.

Nor has there been any noticeable improvement in the conditions of the vast majority of office employees, teachers and others. Continuous and steep rise in prices and the growing burden of indirect taxation tend to wipe out whatever increase in money income they are able to secure. Artisans as a class remain sunk in poverty. Also, unemployment figures continue to swell. "The number of those who are not able to obtain jobs," said Mr. Nanda in the Indian Parliament on April 4, 1961, "has been increasing."

The number of people totally unemployed is stated to be nine million. It has been estimated by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, Statistical Advisor to the Central Government and member of the Planning Commission, that 20 million of our people have hardly one hour's work every day and 27 million have less than two hours work every day.

From these facts it is evident that the claim made in the Congress Party's Election Manifesto: "We have made good progress and laid the foundations of the new India of our dreams," is highly exaggerated.

It can be seen from the above that the actual conditions of the people in India are very different from the promises held out when planning was initiated in 1949. What is the reason for this?

The basic reason is that *the aim pursued in India is to build up an independent capitalist economy. Moreover, this attempt is being made without resolute action against imperialist foreign capital, without radical agrarian reforms and by heavy reliance on the big bourgeoisie.*

Although the relative weight of foreign capital (private) in the Indian economy has declined in recent years due to the rapid growth of Indian capital, yet it continues to occupy a very important position. Nearly 70 per cent of this foreign private capital is British while 15 per cent is American. Its volume increased from 2,558 million rupees in 1948 to 5,706 million rupees in 1958. Tea, our most important export industry, is still controlled predominantly by British capital; the same is true of coal, especially of high grade metallurgical quality. Foreign capital is also powerfully entrenched in oil refineries, in manganese mines, in chemicals, in jute, tobacco and various other products.

In recent years the process of collaboration between Indian big business and foreign big business has grown apace. More and more agreements are being made and they are sanctioned by the Indian government. The number of such agreements increased from 64 in 1958 to 381 in 1960. In a policy statement made on May 7, 1961, the government of India welcomed foreign collaboration in many "new fields" which include such industries as iron and steel structures, non-ferrous metals, alloys, boiler and steam-generating plants, etc.

The Indian Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, who heads the right wing in the government and aspires to be the Prime Minister after Nehru, is a strong advocate of collaboration between Indian and foreign big business. He never misses an opportunity to belittle the significance of Soviet aid and to praise America for its "generosity" towards India. In a speech delivered at Boston on October 3 this year, he repeated his pet thesis and said:

"American investors will find a financial climate to their liking in India now and we invite their enquiries, more especially their participation in the development of private industry in India."

Had the government of India nationalized foreign private concerns, even with payment of reasonable compensation, it would have meant a considerable strengthening of the public sector, a big increase in government income (foreign investments are mostly in sectors which yield fabulous profits) and also elimination of the drain on our national resources. But this the government refused to do. It invites more foreign private capital.

Moreover, very heavy loans have been taken by India from Western countries, mainly the USA (over 16,000 million rupees from the USA) at a high rate of interest. Payment of interest and repayment of loans will average 1,000 million rupees a year.

The Western powers headed by the USA seek to influence India's foreign policy as well as her internal economic policy. The U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Douglas Dillon, has stated frankly that the American aid program is "an essential instrument of U.S. foreign policy." The danger should not be minimized in view of what has already happened.

But independent India has played and continues to play an important role in world affairs in defense of peace and in the furtherance of disarmament. Our Party categorically

rejects the thesis advanced by some critics of India that the Nehru government has become "a favorite of the Kennedy Administration" and has practically gone over to imperialism. How absurd and unreal such an assessment is was seen in the recent action taken by the Indian government to liberate the Portuguese-held territories of Daman, Diu and Goa — an action which won the warm approval of the USSR and other countries of the socialist camp, was greeted by the people of Asia and Africa, but was violently denounced by British, French and above all, American imperialists. With this action, the last bits of Indian territory have been liberated from the imperialists, and our Party, together with the rest of our countrymen, expresses joy on this great occasion.

In the main, India's foreign policy, whose main architect is Prime Minister Nehru, continues to be a policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism. As such all patriotic Indians support this policy. But certain weaknesses that have appeared in this policy should be noted.

It is not without significance that the attitude of India towards the aggressive action of the U.S. imperialists against Cuba was equivocal and not in keeping with India's traditions. Further, it is known that at the Cairo meeting to prepare for the neutral powers' Conference and also at Belgrade, India took a hesitant stand on the issue of the struggle against colonialism and the menace of neo-colonialism, a stand which was criticized by several African governments. Vacillations in the government's foreign policy have increased. Also, it should be noted that the big concessions to foreign capital were made at a time when the Aid India Club, consisting of the USA and other Western powers, was debating the question as to how much aid should be extended to India.

These are dangerous pointers. The continued strong position of foreign capital in our economy and its increasing penetration constitute an economic and political danger.

Agrarian Policy of the Government

Mention has already been made of the slow increase in agricultural production—the single biggest reason for the slow growth of our national income. This is due primarily not to the climatic factor as the government seeks to make out. The primary reason is the half-hearted nature of the agrarian reforms.

Addressing a public meeting on June 19, 1961, at Aligarh, Mr. C. B. Gupta, the Chief

Minister of Uttar Pradesh said that "ceilings on the Land Holdings Act had failed to serve the purpose" due to "lack of foresight" on the part of the "authors of the Act." He explained — "before the Act could be enforced, the owners had succeeded in distributing their land among their relatives and kinsmen. Very little land is now available for distribution among the tillers."

The curious thing, however, is that this "lack of foresight" was a common phenomenon in *all* states of India. Everywhere, the same thing has happened. An even more curious thing is that warning that this was going to take place had been given long ago by our Party, by non-party progressives and even by many Congressmen.

In reality, what Mr. Gupta called "lack of foresight" was a *deliberate* policy. While forced, due to the peasant struggles and the growth of democratic consciousness in the country, to agree to impose ceilings on landholdings, i.e., to lay down the maximum which a single person could hold, and to distribute the surplus among the poor peasants and agricultural laborers, the Congress government was never serious about it. It wanted, through its land reform, not to sweep away landlordism but to modify it in such a way as to:

- (1) gradually eliminate the more blatant and crude forms of feudal exploitation;
- (2) appropriate a greater part of the surplus produced by the peasants for the bourgeois state;
- (3) curb feudal forms of exploitation and simultaneously help the semi-feudal landlords to grow into capitalist landlords;
- (4) create a stratum of rich peasants that would act as the social base of the government in the countryside;
- (5) increase food production by relying primarily on the new type of landlords and rich peasants.

The practical result of the policies of the government has been that although land reforms have been carried out almost all over the country, the mass of peasants have received few benefits. Eighty-two per cent of the peasant households own only 27 per cent of the total agricultural area, while on the other hand 2.43 per cent own 28 per cent. In many areas, the only change that has taken place is of a purely formal nature. It is on the land owned by the small percentage of the upper strata that the increase in production has mostly taken place. As for the agricultural laborers who with their families number 70 million, their per capita income

is less than half of the national per capita income. Recent surveys reveal that their condition, instead of improving, has actually deteriorated.*

The Growth of Monopoly

But by far the most striking development in recent years has been the enormous and growing concentration of wealth in a few hands. India's industrial development has been accompanied by the growth of monopolistic trends and tendencies — a characteristic feature of capitalist economy. Profits have risen by over 68 per cent during the period of the Second Plan. The bulk of these profits has been appropriated by the top rich. It is estimated that only 10 top business houses control between them over 68 per cent of the total paid up capital of all companies.

Concentration is even more marked in banking. Two banks (out of a total of 362) have between them an aggregate deposit of nearly 22 per cent of the total deposit.

The Second Plan had anticipated an investment of 24,000 million rupees in the private sector. Actual investment in the private sector has been 31,000 million rupees — an increase of over 7,000 million rupees.

It can be seen, therefore, that *the growth of the state sector has not meant any weakening of the private sector*. On the contrary, both have grown simultaneously. At the same time, it goes without saying that the private sector would have grown even faster and the monopolies would have become even stronger had the state sector not grown as it has.

It cannot be said yet that the monopolists dominate the government. But there can be no doubt that they exercise a big pull over it, and their pull is steadily growing.

Under the pressure of big business, the government has not carried out the nationalization of banks — a step without which planning can never be really effective. Also, under their pressure the burden of indirect taxes has been continuously increased. Monopoly capital has succeeded in bringing about a rightward shift in many policies of the government — including its foreign policy.

The Indian monopolists cannot be called *pro-imperialist*. They do not want to join the imperialist war bloc, nor do they want to subordinate India's economy to foreign monopoly interests. They have their own ambitions — those of developing India as an independent capitalist country. Nevertheless, for reasons

*See article "On the Agrarian Question in India," *World Marxist Review*, No. 1, 1961.

explained earlier, they constitute a reactionary force in our social, political and economic life. It is on them that the imperialists are coming to rely increasingly to thwart the advance of the anti-imperialist democratic movement.

The Indian monopolists are clamoring for more facilities for collaboration with foreign big business. They want more aid from the Western countries and insist that a "suitable climate" should be prepared inside the country for such "aid." Also, they advocate a pro-Western orientation of India's foreign policy.

The big monopolists control the most important newspapers in our country — newspapers that mould public opinion. They have powerful representatives and spokesmen inside the Congress Party, in Parliament and in the government. In fact, the link between them and the ruling party has become stronger with every passing year. *Should this process continue, and if power passes into the hands of the spokesmen and direct representatives of the biggest monopoly interests, then there would arise the danger of the state sector developing the features of state-monopoly capitalism and becoming a weapon of the big bourgeoisie against the people.*

The enormous concentration of power in the hands of one party, together with the growing concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolists and the increasing link between the two — these have bred corruption on a vast scale, a corruption which pervades all spheres of life.

The Danger to Parliamentary Democracy

There are powerful forces in the Indian ruling circles that are apprehensive that parliamentary democracy may facilitate the further growth of the Communist Party and of the popular movement. They would like democracy to be further curtailed — on the plea that it is encouraging the growth of disruptive and separatist tendencies. Some also argue that the parliamentary system is not suited to India. *With mass discontent against the government growing, with wealth accumulating at one pole and poverty at the other and class conflict accentuating, the trend towards authoritarian methods, policies and even towards an authoritarian regime may grow in the coming period.*

The menace to democracy is all the greater because of the character and composition of the administrative and military apparatus in our country. This apparatus, whose higher

personnel consists almost entirely of people from the upper classes, including semi-feudal elements, was created by the British to serve their own interests. Unlike those Asian countries which passed under the sway of Japan during the Second World War and where the apparatus broke down, in India it remained wholly intact and was taken over by the Congress when it became the ruling party. Many of the top officials of this apparatus are profoundly anti-democratic. They look with admiration towards America and are determined to retain the privileges of the classes from which they come. Among them are men who may, in a critical period, extend support to attempts to establish an anti-democratic regime. In fact, some of the army officers, encouraged by events in Pakistan, have already started dreaming of the day when they, too, can play the same role as Ayub Khan.

We cannot, therefore, afford to be complacent merely because India has registered some economic progress and has, as yet, shown no inclination to join the military bloc headed by the USA. It is quite conceivable that economic development will continue, in a slow way as now, with concentration of wealth at one end and poverty at the other, that India will not join any military alliance and at the same time developments of a reactionary nature will take place, such as:

(1) Gradual weakening of foreign policy, especially as regards its anti-imperialist content;

(2) increasing collaboration between Indian big business and foreign big business, increasing penetration of foreign capital into the country in various garbs, the public sector itself coming to serve monopoly more and more;

(3) stoppage of further agrarian reforms;

(4) closer contact between big business and the ruling party;

(5) attacks on democratic liberties, attempts to further restrict democracy.

These trends, which have already manifested themselves among certain political circles, are likely to grow in the coming period. They may become particularly pronounced after Nehru.

India's experience proves that the unfinished tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be carried out by the national bourgeoisie on its own. The national bourgeoisie, which opposes imperialism and feudalism insofar as they obstruct its own growth, also tends to

compromise with them in order to combat the mass movement. Above all, the bourgeoisie seeks to develop the country along capitalist lines, which tends to strengthen trends toward monopoly. The monopolists seek not merely collaboration with foreign capital but also display, as we have seen, profoundly reactionary tendencies in many spheres.

The serious shortcomings and weaknesses from which our economic, social and political life suffers cannot be fully eliminated as long as state power is wielded exclusively by the bourgeoisie. What India needs in order to overcome these weaknesses and in order to ensure rapid national rebirth is state power wielded by a democratic coalition in which the working class allied with the peasantry acquires an increasingly important position.

Towards a National Democratic Front

Mass discontent against the policies and measures of the government has been a marked feature of our political life — discontent which often expresses itself in big struggles. Nor is it surprising that the repressive apparatus of the state has been continuously strengthened and severe measures are adopted when workers, peasants, artisans, office employees and even students rise in struggle. This was seen when over half a million government employees went on strike a year ago. Also, this has been seen on numerous occasions in every part of the country. A big peasant struggle took place recently in the Madras State for land reforms in the course of which over 15,000 peasants were arrested. Eighty persons were killed and over 200 wounded by police firing when the people of Bengal launched a mass protest against the government's food policy. Eight were killed and 12,000 jailed in Punjab in the course of the agitation against the iniquitous "betterment levy" in Punjab. There was shooting and deaths in Jamshedpur, the steel city of India. Many more instances could be cited. Even as I write (January 1962), a big peasant agitation is going on in Kerala which has resulted in the imprisonment of thousands of persons, including A. K. Gopalan, President of All India Kisan Sabha.

It was the Communists who laid the foundations of the organized working-class and peasant movement in our country. And it is the Communists who today, too, are in the forefront of all mass struggles. We are the biggest single force in the working class, the main party of opposition in the Indian Parliament and are looked upon as the spearhead of the democratic movement.

We cannot be content, however, with the present state of affairs. For, taking the country as a whole, we are still a small force.

The Communist Party of India takes a patriotic and positive attitude towards the question of national reconstruction. It fully supports all measures of the Indian government which strengthen national independence, weaken the position of imperialism and feudalism and help to build the national economy. At the same time, it wages a continuous and sustained battle in order to ensure that advance is made as speedily as possible, foreign monopoly capital completely eliminated, the growth of Indian monopoly capital curbed, that agrarian reforms are of such a nature as to benefit the vast mass of the peasantry and that democratization takes place in social, economic and political life — making possible steady improvement in the conditions of the people. This necessitates a policy of simultaneous unity with and struggle against the national bourgeoisie.

Guided by the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, the Communist Party of India at its Sixth Congress adopted a Political Resolution which stated:

"The tasks on the fulfilment of which depend our national regeneration and all-sided national advance are: further consolidation of our national independence by defense and strengthening of our foreign policy and the forging of closer links with the socialist and Afro-Asian states; by preventing further penetration of foreign capital, and gradual elimination of its existing hold on vital sectors of our economy through nationalization; by the rapid expansion of the state sector. Nationalization of banks and of such other concerns as may enable the state sector to acquire a commanding position in our economy. Democratic control over the state sector, combating waste, corruption and inefficiency, and building more heavy and basic industries in it. The carrying out of an agrarian reform which would really benefit the mass of the peasantry, reduce the heavy burdens on them and make possible more capital investment in land so that agricultural production may increase. A just system of taxation where the main burden would fall on the rich. A minimum wage for all workers and employees and a sliding cost-of-living scale. Improvement in the living standard of the people. Repeal of repressive laws and guaranteeing unfettered civil liberties. Restriction of the power of bureaucrats, greater power for

states (provinces), for local elected organs and extension of democracy."

"These," we pointed out, are "national democratic tasks. They conform to the interests of the vast majority of our people. Most of them are in the objective interest of the national bourgeoisie itself, except for a handful of monopolist reactionaries. They can be carried out by the united action of all who desire national regeneration. If carried out, they would launch our country on the path of all-sided advance, generate labor enthusiasm, dissipate the spirit of frustration, reduce strife. They would weaken the forces of reaction in the country and bring the people to a position where the struggle for basic changes and socialism could be waged more effectively."

We seek to build a national democratic front of all patriotic forces in the country so that our country may advance rapidly in every sphere. It is evident, however, that such a front can be built only on the basis of consistent struggle against imperialism and feudalism and for the extension of democracy in all spheres — economic, political and social.

The working class-peasant alliance will be the pivot and the core of this front.

In the days of struggle against British rule, the Indian people achieved a great measure of unity to attain a single object — national freedom. After 1947 when India became free, new questions came to the forefront — above all the question of the path forward. The Congress could not, because of its very class character, forge a new unity on the basis of a program of thoroughgoing reforms. Our Party, in the resolution which it adopted at its last Congress, has stressed the need for such unity.

The Forthcoming General Elections in India

Polling for the third general election in India will begin on 19th February, 1962. The total number of voters will be about 210 million. They will elect 496 members of the Parliament (Lok Sabha) and 2,853 members of State Assemblies. Elections to parliamentary seats and assembly seats will take place simultaneously.

The Indian Constitution, as is generally known, is of a semi-federal character. There are certain subjects which are within the jurisdiction of the states (provinces). There are other subjects which are dealt with by the Union government which is responsible to Parliament. Then, there are subjects which are of a concurrent nature. In practice, however, the Central (Union) government poss-

esses very wide powers, including the power of dismissal of any state government and the imposition of the President's rule over the state. The Central government also controls the most important sources of finance.

The electoral system that prevails in our country follows the British model. In each constituency the candidate polling the largest number of votes is elected — even though the votes polled by him may be less than half the total votes cast. This often results in certain parties getting seats out of all proportion to their popular support, while other parties do not get the number of seats which they should. In the second general election, for instance, which took place in 1957, the Congress Party polled only 47.1 per cent of the total votes cast, while the Communist Party got 10.9 per cent votes in the parliamentary election. But the number of seats won by the Congress was 73 per cent, while the Communist Party won only 6 per cent of the seats. The seats won by us were almost the same as we won in 1952, although in the meantime the Party's influence had extended tremendously—as reflected in the fact that the votes polled by us increased from six million in 1952, to 12 million in 1957.

It is taken for granted that as in the previous two elections in the forthcoming election also the Congress Party will win an absolute majority of seats in the Parliament as well as in most of the state legislatures. There will, therefore, be no change of government as the result of these elections. Nevertheless, all parties in India as well as the mass of people take these elections seriously.

Growth of the forces of the extreme right has been a distinct phenomenon in recent years. The most important of them are the Swatantra (independent) Party and the Jan Sangh (people's organization). The Jan Sangh which polled about six per cent of the total votes in the second general elections, is a party which seeks to divide the people on the basis of religion. Claiming to uphold "Indian culture" and the "distinctiveness" of India's identity, it preaches hatred against all religious minorities, especially against the Muslims. Nehru once called communalism "the Indian version of fascism." This characterization is perfectly correct. The Jan Sangh was responsible for the ghastly anti-Muslim riots that took place in Jubbulpore, Saugor and other towns some months back, and in Aligarh, Chandausi, Meerut, etc., only recently.

Of course, the Jan Sangh and its counterparts among the Sikh and Muslim communities, the Akalis and the Muslim League, do not campaign on the basis of religious fanaticism alone. They cleverly utilize the genuine discontent of the masses caused by high prices, heavy taxes and so on. They indulge in demagogic denunciation of corruption and inefficiency.

The Swatantra Party is a newcomer in the political arena in the sense that it was formed after the second general election. It has absorbed in its fold the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa, a party of former princes, which polled 1.4 million votes in the last elections, the Janata Party of Bihar, a party of big landlords, which polled half a million votes, and a number of small groups. It is supported by a number of former princes from Rajasthan and other states. It is led by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, a veteran former Congressman and a close colleague of Gandhi—a fact which initially gave it a certain amount of prestige. But the real leader of the party is M. R. Masani, an avowed supporter of American imperialism. It should be noted that this was the only party in India which openly opposed the government of India's action in liberating Daman, Diu and Goa.

The Swatantra Party, too, utilizes the popular discontent against the government, thunders against corruption, inefficiency, etc., but its main charge against the Congress is that the Congress is pursuing a policy which strengthens the forces of communism!

The parties based on religious fanaticism (communalism) as well as the Swatantra Party are parties of right reaction. They assail precisely those policies of the Indian government which are relatively progressive.

Take, for example, the government of India's foreign policy. We Communists, while supporting this policy basically as a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism, criticize its inadequacies and shortcomings. We demand recognition of the German Democratic Republic which Nehru himself has characterized as an "established fact" and which has supported India's action in Goa as well as the cause of anti-colonialism. We demand recognition of the Revolutionary Algerian Provisional Government. We demand greater support by India for the African people fighting against foreign rule. We criticize the theory of "two power blocs." While standing for defense of India's territorial integrity, we advocate solution of our dispute with China by methods of negotiation.

The stand taken by the parties of the extreme Right on all these issues is diametrically opposite.

The Swatantra Party in its election manifesto says that "abstract concepts of coexistence and non-alignment have lost all meaning" and that "our foreign policy needs to be revised." The Jan Sangh, too, calls India's foreign policy "a total failure" and charges the Indian government with leanings towards "a particular bloc," i.e., the socialist camp. They advocate "firm action," i.e., military action against China. They would like our country to give up its present foreign policy and line up behind the imperialists. Not so long ago, they advocated a "defense alliance" with Pakistan.

The internal policies advocated by these parties are of the same type and similar to those advocated by the imperialists. They oppose the "emphasis on heavy industries." They oppose expansion of the state sector. They oppose all land reforms as being "expropriatory." They oppose state-trading.

By themselves these parties would not be so dangerous. But the fact is that they have powerful friends and supporters inside the Congress—in the Right wing of the Congress. Also, they get financial and other support from some of the biggest monopolies—who support the Congress for what it has done and is doing for them and also want to build up parties like the Swatantra and Jan Sangh in order to bring more pressure on the Congress and force it to shift still more to the Right.

The Praja Socialist Party, which polled about 12 million or 10 per cent of the total votes in the second general election has, more and more, shifted to the Right. Blinded by anti-communism, it joined with the Congress and the Muslim League to overthrow the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala and secured, as reward for this act of treachery, the post of Chief Ministership in that state. It has, on many issues, taken a stand which is to the Right of the Congress.

Like the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh, many PSP leaders also assail India's foreign policy for what they call its "pro-communist" leanings.

While not daring to oppose the growth of the state sector, the Praja Socialist leaders want the "giant corporations" in the public sector to be "split up." They never criticize the facilities that are being given by the Indian government to foreign monopoly capi-

tal to penetrate our economy and collaborate with Indian big business.

The Praja Socialists also play a disruptive role in relation to the mass organizations and the mass struggles.

For these reasons, the PSP can no longer be called a Left party. At the same time, it has to be admitted that a section of Left-minded masses remains under its influence.

One common objective of all these parties, as well as of the leaders of the Congress, is to dislodge the Communist Party of India from its present position.

As is well known, the Communist Party of India, working under conditions of semi-legality in several states, emerged as the second party in the Indian Parliament as the result of the first general election. It polled six million votes (six per cent of the total), won 27 seats in the Parliament and 173 seats in the state legislatures. In the second general election, our Party polled 12 million votes (10.9 per cent of the total), won 30 seats in the Parliament and 207 seats in the state legislative assemblies.

Our position in the Parliament as well as in the state legislatures has helped us to a considerable extent, to strengthen the popular movement. By their bold championship of the cause of the masses, the Communist legislators have not only won the respect of the masses but have also been able to exert some influence on the policies of the government. Therefore, it is not surprising that reactionaries, both inside and outside the Congress, will spare no effort to defeat us. In several states, the Praja Socialists have entered into agreements with even the Jan Sangh and Swatantra, in order to attain this objective.

In the Election Manifesto issued by us in October 1961, we have explained in detail the policies of our Party.

The most burning issue for all mankind today is that of peace or war. Our country, faced with the colossal task of liquidating the heritage of centuries of foreign rule, needs peace. This is a task of paramount importance. Conscious of the role which India has already played in defense of peace, against the warmongers and for the liquidation of colonialism, we Communists shall strive so that our country may play a still greater role.

✓ We want to eliminate foreign monopolies from our national economy, and as an immediate step towards this, we propose national-

ization of the most important foreign concerns and also measures to stop foreign concerns from remitting their profits abroad. We insist that no new investments by foreign monopolists, whether on their own or in collaboration with Indian monopolists, should be allowed. We advocate closer cooperation between India and the socialist countries, cooperation which has already proved to be highly useful for us. While not opposed to loans from Western countries, we would like these loans to be as few as possible, and the question as to how they are spent should be decided by the government of India.

✓ The privy purses given to princes should be stopped and the vast properties and wealth of these princes should be taken over by the government.

✓ The banks, general insurance, iron, steel and coal industries as well as export and import trade should be nationalized, and the public sector expanded. These measures would place vast resources in the hands of the government to carry out its economic plans and also curb the power of big business.

Simultaneously, every facility should be given to small and medium industries, which are privately owned and which mostly produce consumer goods. This will meet the need for goods and also help solve unemployment.

✓ Special help should be given to the industrially backward areas so that regional disparities in matters of economic development are reduced.

✓ A key slogan of our Party is "land to the tillers." We propose that all fictitious transfers made in recent years should be declared null and void and that no compensation should be paid to big landlords. Economic burdens on the peasants should be substantially reduced so that they can make more investment in land and increase our agricultural production.

✓ We stand for a just and equitable system of taxation so that the rich make their proper contribution to the development of the country, and the policy of squeezing the poor ended.

✓ We want waste, corruption and inefficiency to be fought.

We have also made concrete proposals for consolidating and strengthening the democratic institutions in our country.

The slogans that we put forward today are not of a socialistic nature. They are democratic. But, if adopted and implemented, they would weaken the positions of imperial-

ism and feudalism as well as of monopoly capital, strengthen the position of the popular forces and create conditions in which the next step forward can be taken. As such, we expect wide support for them from all patriotic forces.

Our Party has not merely put forward a program on the basis of which all patriotic forces can unite, but it has also fearlessly championed the cause of the people, both inside and outside the legislatures. In every struggle of the people for their just demands, our Party has ever been in the forefront. A number of our comrades have been killed,

many have been injured and thousands imprisoned. Our Party has come to be looked upon as the spearhead of the mass movement and the most consistent advocate of democratic transformations in our country.

In the last two elections we won the support of big sections of our people. We have every reason to hope that in the forthcoming election we shall improve our position. That will give a big impetus to the Indian people's battle for strengthening their independence, for democracy and peace.

January 3, 1962.

New Delhi.

For an Independent, Democratic Japan

Sanzo Nosaka

THE past few years in Japan have seen a powerful upsurge of the democratic movement and a sharpening of the class struggle. The whole world knows of the fight fought by millions of Japanese people against the new Japanese-U.S. "security treaty," for an independent, peaceful foreign policy. A united front of democratic organizations, including the Communist and Socialist parties, was formed in the course of this struggle, and a heavy blow was struck at American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

The long strike at the Miike mines played an important part in developing the democratic movement. Having decided to lay off some 100,000 miners, the Japanese monopolies gave notice, in the first place, to over 1,000 militant workers at the Miike pit. The miners began a stubborn and protracted strike which was supported by solidarity actions of workers all over the country. This valiant struggle taught the Japanese working class a serious lesson, for it showed them that to achieve victory it was imperative to strengthen trade union and working-class unity and to broaden the united front of democratic forces.

Last summer the accused in the "Matsukawa case," often called the "Japanese equiv-

alent of the Sacco and Vanzetti case,"* were acquitted, chiefly because they were wholeheartedly supported by the public.

The Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Socialist Party submitted to the Japanese Parliament a fascist-type bill on "the prevention of political violence." The working people launched a campaign against this bill, in which millions, engaging in strikes and demonstrations, took part.

At first the Socialist Party leaders adopted a passive attitude to this popular action. But when they saw that our Party was appealing directly to the working people and developing the protest movement, they were forced to participate in the joint actions.

The Communist Party headed the struggle. In the course of the movement against the "security treaty," the Party established over two thousand joint struggle organizations throughout the country and played a leading role in the concerted actions undertaken by the democratic forces.

It was necessary in this situation to define the strategy and tactics of the revolu-

*Some 12 years ago the Japanese police used a passenger-train accident at Matsukawa station as a pretext to arrest 20 railwaymen—trade union activists. Sentences of death or hard labor were passed on absolutely innocent people. The 12-year struggle fought by the working people in defense of the victims forced the court to acquit those indicted in the "Matsukawa case."

tionary struggle, to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party ranks. It was necessary, too, to summarize the experience gained by the Party and the working people in the course of their struggle since the Party's Seventh Congress, and to define the current tasks with a view to giving a still greater impetus to the fight for independence, democracy, peace and better conditions. These problems were successfully dealt with at the Party's Eighth Congress held on July 25-31, 1961.

The significance of this Congress was that it unanimously adopted the draft Program of the Party submitted by the Central Committee. The Seventh Congress, held three years earlier, was unable to adopt a program and so ensure the stable political and ideological unity of the Party on the basis of a correct strategy. This task was solved by the Eighth Congress. The experience of the past three years and the painstaking explanatory work conducted in the localities, resulted in many comrades, who at the Seventh Congress had opposed the line of the Central Committee, recognizing the unsoundness of their views. The Congress unanimously decided to expel the anti-Party elements headed by Shyojiro Kasuga, former Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission. New men were elected to the Central Committee which is guided by a coordinated political line.

The Eighth Congress raised the political and ideological unity of our Party to a new level, thereby paving the way to the future victory of the Japanese people's emancipation movement.

Main Objectives and Tasks of the Japanese Revolution

The new Party program will play an important part in further developing the emancipation struggle of our Party and the working class. It is based upon the revolutionary traditions of the Party and it creatively applies the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of Japan.

The situation in the country is defined by the program as follows: "At present Japan is dominated mainly by American imperialism and its subordinate, Japanese monopoly capital. Although Japan is a highly-developed capitalist country, it has become a semi-occupied appendage to U.S. imperialism."

Japan is indeed a highly-developed capitalist country, yet, 16 years after the end of the war, it is still semi-occupied by the Americans, and its national sovereignty has been

gravely violated. A network of U.S. military bases covers the country, its air space and waters are virtually dominated by U.S. armed forces, and the islands of Okinawa and Ogasawara have, to all intents and purposes, become U.S. colonies.

Japan is dependent on the U.S.A. in the military, diplomatic and economic spheres. It depends on the United States not only for important raw materials required by its industry, but also for many of its markets; its oil, rubber, aluminum and other major industries are almost entirely controlled by American monopoly capital.

Another feature is that the people of countries which in the past were the principal objects of Japanese imperialist aggression, are now building powerful socialist states, while in Japan the popular democratic movement is steadily gaining momentum. These factors explain why the Japanese monopoly bourgeoisie is much more dependent on the American monopolies than is the monopoly bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries of Europe.

The program assesses another aspect of the problem: Japan, dependent on American imperialism, supported and aided by the U.S. monopolies, is rapidly reviving militarism and imperialism.

"Japanese monopoly capital," the program stresses, "intensifying the exploitation of the working people, is seeking broader outlets on foreign markets for Japanese goods and capital, it has shackled our country to the U.S. imperialists' plans for an atomic war, has imperialist features economically and is restoring militarism and imperialism."

The facts attest to the resurgence of Japanese monopoly capital. Industrial output in 1960 was four times higher than the prewar figure (1934-1936), and over double that of 1955. The positions of the Japanese monopoly bourgeoisie have been strengthened somewhat both at home and abroad, and this fact has aggravated the contradictions between the U.S. and the Japanese monopolies, particularly in the sphere of foreign trade and Japan's economic development.

What unites American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, however, out-balances what divides them. Japanese monopoly capital collaborates actively with American imperialism in oppressing the people of Japan. They have entered into an alliance not only with the aim of external aggression but of strengthening their rule over the Japanese people.

"The new Japanese-American 'security treaty' concluded in 1960," says the program, "is a treaty for an aggressive military alliance between American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, it is still a humiliating treaty, under which the country remains dependent on U.S. imperialism. It is both a weapon for external aggression and a weapon for oppressing the Japanese people."

Compared with the old treaty and agreement the new "security treaty" and the new administrative agreement concluded on the basis of it are even more in the nature of a military alliance. They preserve all the prerogatives enabling American imperialism to dominate Japan. The propaganda to the effect that the "security treaty" has been revised with a view to establishing "equality" in Japano-American relations is, therefore, pure demagoguery designed to hoodwink the people.

The U.S. imperialists regard Japan as a base from which to dominate Asia, and this explains why they are doing their best to retain their foothold there. Although they have considerably recovered their strength, the Japanese reactionaries, headed by monopoly capital, are nevertheless finding it difficult, in view of Japan's present international situation and the rising tide of the democratic movement at home, to maintain their domination and to penetrate into other countries without the aid of U.S. imperialism.

This attitude of Japanese monopoly capital vis-à-vis U.S. imperialism frequently gives rise to grave differences, even among the big bourgeoisie, particularly on foreign-policy matters.

The class composition of Japanese society today is as follows: factory and office workers — 44 per cent; peasants — 38 per cent; urban middle sections — 16 per cent. In their overwhelming majority the capitalists, of whom there are nearly 800,000 consist of medium and small employers. And the conditions of the working class, peasants, urban middle sections and medium and small employers are such that they are forced to fight against American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

In this situation the working class, to achieve complete emancipation, must rally the peasants, urban middle sections, and the medium and small employers in a united national democratic front under the banner of struggle for independence, democracy, peace and a higher standard of living, and, relying on the united patriotic democratic forces, it

should then take the path of establishing democratic rule by the people, drive the U.S. imperialists out of the country, overthrow the rule of the treacherous monopoly capital and establish genuine independence and democracy.

We believe that the coming revolution will be a democratic revolution which, fairly quickly, will develop into a socialist revolution. Our program stresses: "In our country, now at the stage of monopoly capitalism, the revolution will pave the way to the transition to socialist reconstruction and, rapidly and consistently, grow into a revolution which will abolish capitalism. Thus from a revolution with the objective of achieving independence and democracy, it will inevitably and steadily develop into a socialist revolution."

It would be a mistake to erect a Chinese wall between the two phases of the revolution — that is, between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. But if in the present situation in Japan no demarcation is made between the two phases, the outcome would be the defeat of the revolution.

That is the basic line of our Party program. It coincides with the principles of the Moscow declaration of 1957 and the statement issued by the 1960 meeting of 81 Communist parties.

Since the Seventh Congress, anti-Party elements have been opposing this line and have taken a revisionist Right-opportunist stand. They affirm, in the first place, that U.S. imperialist domination in Japan should be abolished by means of international negotiations and should not be the objective of the people's revolutionary struggle. In the second, they define the future revolution as an anti-monopoly socialist revolution, but affirm that it can, in the main, be accomplished by gradual democratic reforms.

This point of view finds support among Social Democrats at home and is hailed abroad by the Yugoslav revisionists. The anti-Party elements make no distinction in their assessment of the policy pursued by the socialist countries and the policy of the imperialist nations. They denounced the resumption of the Soviet nuclear tests, ignoring the fact that this was a forced measure taken for the defense of the socialist camp and the preservation of peace. Though the anti-Party elements refer to themselves as "Marxist-Leninists," it is obvious that they have already parted company with the re-

volutionary position and have joined the ranks of revisionism.

One of the Party's first tasks was to combat the "leftism" of the Trotskyites and to eradicate their influence in the Party; it then had to combat revisionism, which it did in the main successfully. Firmly upholding the principle of democratic centralism and acting by persuasion, the Party won the support of the overwhelming majority of Communists and rid its ranks of alien elements. The Party has drawn valuable lessons from this.

Establishing a United National Democratic Front — the Main Task

During the struggle against the new "security treaty" a National Council was set up in the center and joint-action committees in the provinces. These organizations continued to function after the new "security treaty" was ratified.

A feature of this united front is that although the Socialist Party leaders refuse to take part in a direct joint action with our Party, the Communist and Socialist parties nevertheless participate in the joint action organizations, which include the trade unions, peasant unions, youth and womens' organizations, and diverse peace organizations.

After ratification of the new "security treaty" the U.S. imperialists and Japanese reactionaries, in collusion with the anti-Communists in the Socialist Party leadership, set out to destroy this united front.

The task devolving on our Party and the working class in this situation is to broaden the joint struggle of the working people and other democratic forces, to preserve the united front and to develop it into a united national democratic front against the domination of American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

In this context, the Eighth Congress noted, the following points were significant:

1. Developments should be followed closely and the main immediate objective and joint demands defined accordingly; joint action by the various sections of the people on a common platform of immediate demands should be developed and mass unity cemented. Regarding the joint struggle against the "security treaty" as the main task, we must pose the problems arising from the struggle for independence, democracy, peace and better conditions and extend the joint-action organizations.

2. Special attention should be paid to joint action at rank-and-file level, to invigorating the joint-action organizations in the provinces and establishing similar organizations in all towns and villages.

3. Reinforce the national joint-action organization by creating conditions for effective activity by all the mass organizations affiliated to it; an end should be put to a state of affairs in which only a few of the influential organizations are assigned the task of running things.

4. The anti-"security treaty" struggle is now the number one political task of the Japanese people, and the National Council heading this struggle is, therefore, a vitally important joint-action organization. But this is far from implying that independent activity by other joint-action bodies — the Japanese Peace Committee, the National Council for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons, the Japan-USSR Society, the Japano-Chinese Friendship Society, etc. — should relax their efforts. Only if these organizations work well will we be able to develop all-round popular struggle and establish a broad and powerful united national democratic front.

5. Working-class unity and the worker-peasant alliance are of great importance in broadening and consolidating the united front.

In our efforts to consolidate working-class unity, we opposed the trade union leaders' practice of telling the rank and file to support a certain political party (in this case the Socialist Party). We fought to uphold the principle of free political activity for trade unionists, of freedom to support the party of their choice. Congress resolved to continue to fight for this principle. We must achieve joint action by the different trade unions and draw the unorganized workers (who comprise nearly 60 per cent of all workers) into the trade unions. And we must popularize the idea of a united front consisting of all workers, including Communists and Socialists, the idea of a worker-peasant alliance, the idea of a united national democratic front.

To establish an alliance of the working class and the peasantry in the present situation when most of the peasants are not organized, our Party should set up its own permanent organizations in the countryside, organize the peasants into unions and develop their struggle in line with Party policy and under its leadership.

Although the masses are continually engaging in one action after another, the democratic forces are not yet strongly united — hence their weakness and insufficient militancy. As a result, wavering, confusion and even stagnation are not infrequent in the working-class and democratic movement. The chief reason for this is that a considerable part of the working-class and democratic movement is under the influence of the Socialist Party. Socialists occupy important posts in many of the mass organizations, especially in the trade unions and the peasant unions. What is more, the overwhelming majority of the working class and the working population generally are not yet organized politically.

The difficulty in developing a united front is that the anti-Communist Socialist leaders refuse to cooperate directly with our Party. This tendency has become more pronounced since ratification of the new "security treaty" and particularly since the murder of Inejiro Asanuma, Chairman of the Socialist Party.

Notwithstanding the political and ideological differences between our Party and the Socialists, we have many things in common. And although we are doing our best to build up the joint-action organizations in which Communists and Socialists work together with other democratic organizations, we maintain that direct cooperation between our two parties is essential and, consequently, make proposals to this effect. We are ready to cooperate at all levels with Socialists who support the united front, and to extend this cooperation. We must also improve cooperation with broad sections of the population.

But since the Socialist leaders persist in refusing to participate directly in joint action with the Communist Party and are, moreover, bent either on paralyzing the existing joint-action organizations or making them appendages to their party, we cannot refrain from criticizing their attitude. The Communist Party cannot develop joint action or strengthen the united front without constantly putting the problems directly to the masses and independently organizing mass actions.

Make the Communist Party a Powerful Political Force

To overcome the weaknesses of the working class and democratic movement we must enlarge and strengthen the Party and make it a powerful political force. The conditions are favorable for this.

The Seventh Congress decided systematically to recruit new members and to win new readers for *Akahata*, the Party paper. The 6th meeting of the Central Committee drew up a series of measures to give effect to this decision, and the efforts of the Central Committee to get all Party members to implement them met with considerable success.

Party membership has increased 2.5 times during the past three years, that of the Democratic Youth Union more than 30 times. Circulation of *Akahata* has risen twofold. The composition of the Party has changed too. The percentage of workers has grown considerably and now comprises 42 per cent of the total membership. Since most of the new members are young people, the Party as a whole has been rejuvenated. It has grown quantitatively and gained qualitatively.

The Eighth Congress summarized this experience and resolved to double the membership within two years, i.e., by the time of the Ninth Congress. It called on all Party organizations and members to recruit as many new members as possible from among the workers in the key industries and to strengthen Party organizations in the rural districts by mass recruitment of agricultural laborers and poor peasants. The Congress recommended to the Party organizations to draw up overall plans for enlarging the Party, for gaining more readers for *Akahata*, and for educating the membership.

To carry out this plan when under ferocious attack by our adversaries is no easy matter. To be successful we must learn from the experience gained in extending the Party's ranks. All Party organizations, all Communists, the Congress pointed out, should:

—Realize that to build an independent democratic, peace-loving and socialist Japan it is absolutely essential to have a strong Communist Party. This must be brought home to the masses.

—Correctly understand the Party's general line as charted in its Program and popularize it with confidence among the masses.

—Head the mass actions. Selflessly participate in the struggle for independence, democracy, peace and a higher standard of living for the working people and, in the course of this struggle, extend the contacts with the masses.

—Pay attention to the activists, of whom many emerge during the mass struggle, and

cooperate with them, help in their political development, explain to them the objectives of the Party and its tasks. And with this end in view, circulate the Party's national paper among them and win new readers for all Party publications.

—Eradicate all sectarian tendencies in admitting new members into the Party and at the same time see to it that the Party organizations in factory and office are kept secret from our enemies.

—Raise the role of Party committees at all levels — as the leading committees — so that Party organizations can properly com-

bine the work of developing the mass struggle, strengthening the united front and enlarging the Party's ranks.

Last September the Presidium of the Central Committee called on all Party committees and organizations in the prefectures to draw up comprehensive two-year plans for building the Party in the districts. This work has in the main been completed, and the Party has started to implement these plans.

Our Party, as never before, is rallied closely around the Central Committee, and all its members are now busy translating into reality the decisions of the Eighth Congress.

Cuba and the "Kennedy Plan"

Ernesto Che Guevara

Alignment of forces at Punta del Este • "We are here to propose competition, gentlemen!" • Secret documents made public • A struggle in every committee • Summary, conclusions, prospects.

IT IS impossible within the limits of one article to give a complete picture of Cuba. Suffice it to say that we regard the events in this island country as an important reflection in the Americas of the qualitative changes taking place in the world and as a sign of the inevitability of genuine people's revolutions in the present epoch—the epoch of the transition to socialism.

Whatever the meaning of Cuba to the rest of the world, for South and Central America it has a special significance. For Cuba is one of 20 fraternal Latin American countries and the Cuban revolution is an example without parallel for all of them.

The significance of the Cuban revolution can be seen in its impact on the thousands of people of the most diverse views who have returned home from visits to Cuba with a new understanding of the revolutionary struggle.

1.

UNABLE to strangle the revolution, the United States set out to isolate Cuba in order to make short shrift of it later. The Inter-American Economic and Social Conference, held in Punta del Este, Uruguay, in

August 1961, was also subordinated to this end. The U.S. propaganda line was that Cuba need not be reckoned with, that the Cuban delegation had arrived at the session only to sabotage it and, acting "on orders from Moscow," to prevent the North Americans from granting "generous" loans to the Latin American countries.

Most of the delegates did not speak for their peoples. Hence their vacillation in defining their attitude to imperialism. They were impelled by the national and small bourgeoisie who were alarmed by the mounting popular struggle, to oppose imperialism, the latifundists and the big comprador bourgeoisie. But for some of these spokesmen of the national and small bourgeoisie the people were sheep who should be carefully shepherded and, for others, a crafty and dangerous giant who must always be kept as far away as possible from governmental power.

The attitude of some of the delegations was far from consistent. In the committees they were constantly changing their stand and substituting one spokesman for another on the flimsiest of pretexts.

The delegation of Brazil, the biggest of the Latin American countries, officially took a

stand favorable to Cuba, although Mariani, the head of the delegation, was personally by no means in sympathy with the Cuban delegates (and no wonder, for Mariani, a big banker, occupied the post of Minister of Finance in the reactionary Mazzili government).

Besides the Brazilian delegation, the representatives of two other countries were favorably disposed toward Cuba.

One was the Bolivian delegation. Bolivia, located almost in the very heart of the continent, is a country passing through the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Plundered by the capitalist monopolies in the neighboring countries, Bolivia is suffocating in the grip of the common oppressor of all our countries—U.S. imperialism. The bulk of the population — miners and peasants — are brutally exploited.

Apart from the plan presented by Cuba, the most concrete economic program submitted to the conference came from the Bolivian delegation, which in general took a rather positive stand. In the cant typical of meetings like the Punta del Este session, the Bolivian spokesmen were labelled "Cuban cousins."

The other delegation was that of Ecuador, whose government is influenced by patriotic and democratic circles which strongly support the Cuban revolution. The Ecuador national bourgeoisie too is more anti-imperialist than that of a number of other countries.

There were also delegations which, though unable to pursue an independent policy owing to the political balance of forces in their governments, nevertheless did not wish slavishly to carry out U.S. instructions. Instead, they were on the lookout for concrete advantages for themselves, preferring to observe the ideological struggle from the sidelines while keeping an eye on things that directly affected their interests. The delegations of Argentina and Chile, to mention but two, could be cited as examples.

The Uruguayan delegation—a numerous group including representatives of nearly all political trends in the country—was torn by internal differences arising from party politics rather than class considerations. It was curious to see how its tone and even its policy changed from day to day, and sometimes in the course of a single day, together with its spokesmen (changes of spokesmen occurred frequently also in other delegations since the sittings went on for hours); at times the Uruguayans backed the U.S. line and at others they were in vehement opposition to it.

To Peru, Guatemala and in some instances Honduras, the USA assigned the role of a battering ram against Cuba. In doing so it was being true to type, for it is an old imperialist device to work through stooges prepared to carry out their master's orders.

Cuba submitted to the session 29 thoroughly substantiated proposals for inclusion in the final resolution.

2.

THE conference opened with plenary meetings which closely followed the usual pattern for this type of assembly. In our opinion only four of the speeches were really worthy of attention.

One of them was delivered by the Bolivian delegate, who criticized the imperialist system as far as Bolivia's dependence on the United States permitted. He advanced a number of interesting ideas and declared that his government intended in the next few years to increase the per capita income by five per cent annually.

The second speech was by the delegate of Ecuador, who severely criticized U.S. policy in Latin America.

The third noteworthy speech — though extremely vague — was the exposition of his country's plans by Dillon, the head of the U.S. delegation.

If we look forward, Dillon said, and examine the external sources of capital—the international credit institutions, European countries, Japan and the USA—and take into account the likelihood of private and public investments, provided the Latin American countries do everything to facilitate investment, these countries can expect an influx of capital of at least \$20,000 million in the next ten years. Most of these investments, he said, would come from government sources.

Dillon also mentioned the agrarian reform (as it is understood in the USA) and said that the possibilities would be "explored" for concluding agreements on the purchase by the United States of such products as coffee and tin.

In a way this speech reflected new trends in U.S. policy, the striving to make some readjustments in the machinery through which U.S. imperialism exploits the Latin American peoples and to rely not only on the feudal reactionaries but also on some sections of the local bourgeoisie. U.S. imperialism aims at lessening internal discontent in the Latin American countries by making

minor concessions to the public and to the national bourgeoisie on the condition that these countries subordinate themselves completely to U.S. interests and renounce their own independent path of development. This tendency found expression in the so-called "Kennedy Plan," grandiloquently christened by the U.S. President as the "Alliance for Progress."

It cannot be said, however, that the new trends wholly determine U.S. Latin American policy. The U.S. capitalists still consider the old method of exploitation the most reliable method; they have thoroughly tested it in practice and are none too anxious to go in for "innovations" which, though camouflaged, pursue the same aim of plunder.

This is important, because the Punta del Este conference gave rise to greater hopes than previous inter-American conferences and at first sight it might seem that its decisions were the result of the USA pursuing a new policy. We know, however, that the essence of imperialism has not changed. The crux of the matter is that in our days, in the second half of the 20th century, when the scales of history are irrevocably tipping in favor of the camp of peace, imperialism is compelled to search for new ways and means of prolonging its existence.

Understandably, U.S. imperialism is alarmed by the possibility of other Latin American countries establishing genuinely popular governments as Cuba has done. Hence the search for new allies, new support, without renouncing the old methods of economic and political domination.

The alliance of U.S. imperialism and the local bourgeoisie implies "new" methods of exploitation to re-channel national capital from agriculture to those industries which are appendages to the U.S. economy, or to replace imported consumer goods with local manufactures the production of which is entirely dependent on U.S. technology and raw materials.

Another area where the interests of the national bourgeoisie coincide with foreign interests is joint establishment and operation of industrial enterprises enjoying tax privileges which preclude the competition of other imperialist states.

Under such a refurbished system of exploitation a country pursuing a "nationalistic" policy in effect commits itself to upholding U.S. interests through a tax policy ensuring additional profits for the monopolists.

A deep imprint on the subsequent deliberations of the conference was made by the speech of the Cuban delegate, who gave a political appraisal of the meeting. The Cuban delegation condemned the existing regime in the USA, traced the history of the military, economic and diplomatic acts of aggression committed by the USA in the recent past, once again declared that our country was ready to settle all past differences with the USA provided no preliminary conditions are set, and made a brief point-by-point analysis of the agenda while outlining the Cuban proposals.

Our delegation declared that in 20 years the annual per capita income in Cuba would exceed the present United States figure (over \$2,000), whereas the other Latin American countries, even if the aims of the "Alliance for Progress" were to be achieved, would barely reach the \$500 mark.

Further, our delegation called for peaceful competition:

"You do not believe us. Very well. But we are here to propose competition, gentlemen. Give us a chance to live in peace, give us a chance to develop peacefully, and then let us get together 20 years from now and see who sang the song of the siren."

After analyzing the four key items on the agenda, the Cuban delegation set forth its views in detail, showing why it considered that the present Inter-American Economic and Social Conference was political in character and aimed, ultimately, at isolating Cuba. We read out parts of two secret U.S. documents which we had received through our friends and which now are known to the whole world. One of them revealed the plans of the imperialist forces and their disdain for the Latin American governments and peoples.

The second document was an official State Department analysis of the situation on the continent after the debacle of Playa Giron. As a secret imperialist document it is objective enough and reflects some truths basic to an understanding of the subsequent course of events. Admitting that Cuba could not be an aggressor, its authors concede that Cuba's purely defensive military preparations in anticipation of possible aggression presented no danger to other countries. What is dangerous is the example of Cuba, Castro's ability to demonstrate the superiority of the Cuban regime.

From this the State Department draws the important conclusion that even if the USA

were to succeed — though this seems unlikely — in persuading most of the Latin American countries to unite to isolate Cuba, this still would not fully solve the problem, for Mexico and Brazil would most probably refuse to participate and would serve as a connecting link between Cuba and the rest of Latin America. The opposition to all forms of aggression which Mexico has shown over a prolonged period of time, the document goes on, would not in itself be an insurmountable obstacle to joint action by the Organization of American States against Cuba. But the stand of Brazil, which exercises a strong influence on its South American neighbors, is decisive for hemisphere cooperation; hence, as long as Brazil refuses to take action against Castro, it is most unlikely that certain countries, Argentina and Chile among them, would risk undesirable internal repercussions by falling in with the aspirations of the USA.

The document clearly reveals the mechanics of imperialist machinations: at present the tactical objective is complete isolation of Cuba since its example presents the greatest danger to the imperialists; the obstacles to the realization of this objective are Brazil and Mexico.

After the plenary meetings, long-winded and futile discussions began in the committees.

3.

FOUR working committees were established. One took up the first and fourth items on the agenda — economic and social development in Latin America and analysis of economic and social progress during the past year. Another was set up to discuss Latin American economic integration; the third to deal with staple exports, and the fourth to examine the fifth item on the agenda — the establishment of an inter-American information agency to muster public support for the "Alliance for Progress." The last point was vigorously opposed by the Cuban delegation and rejected by most delegations as an attempt to establish U.S. control over Latin American public opinion.

In each of the committees Cuba submitted constructive proposals which seriously shook U.S. prestige and often brought out deep-seated differences between delegations. But for all that, fear of Cuba was a dominant feature of the conference. At times one or another delegation would appropriate a proposal originally submitted by us, reword it

and advance it as its own. Then some other country would second it, completely "forgetting" its origins. In the end the motion would be adopted in full or in part without being credited to Cuba. Motions made directly by Cuba were sabotaged.

As a matter of fact, the sole reason why the Punta del Este Charter makes no mention of housing construction is because the only proposal on this question came from Cuba, and to the colonialist mentality it was unthinkable to allow anything emanating from this quarter to get into the "Alliance for Progress" resolutions. Cuba nevertheless submitted constructive motions on each of the four important items on the agenda and also sought to include appraisals of imperialist actions in the resolutions.

During the discussion of the first and most important item, our delegation submitted a draft resolution emphasizing the importance of industrialization and the need to make the development of industry producing means of production the exclusive prerogative of national capital, whether private or state. As was to be expected, the proposal was not accepted.

We also proposed a far-reaching agrarian reform, abolition of all types of latifundia and foreign landholdings, and settlement of new lands only as an emergency measure. This was also turned down.

The same fate overtook the Cuban motion on the participation of urban and rural working people in economic and social planning. Our proposal concerning conservation of national natural resources used to promote economic and social development and the purchase of those owned by the imperialists was not even discussed.

Much attention was devoted to education and our delegation advanced a number of amendments on this question. Inasmuch as the issue was of a less crucial character, our ideas, or at least some of them, were reflected in the final statement. This applies, for instance, to the motion concerning a national system of free, compulsory education, (although the nine-year term we proposed was reduced to six) and the motion on a campaign to abolish illiteracy with the participation of all the national forces, (also altered).

Cuba also advocated the organization of technical assistance in planning economic and social development and submitted a housing program as well as a plan for the nationalization of private schools to meet the imper-

ative need for concerted national efforts to promote education.

In each of the committees we had to fight every inch of the way, but, curiously enough, rarely on ideological issues. We were forced to fight against the rules of procedure, against arbitrary interpretation of these rules, against the frequent tendency to "forget" to include certain sections in the resolutions; fight to have representatives of our delegation in the working committees and to ensure that these committees did not forget to invite them to their sittings. In other words, we had to do a great deal of talking while our opponents merely listened and voted.

Most of the 29 proposals submitted by Cuba could not simply be rejected out of hand since they were aimed at promoting the economy of the Latin American countries. Therefore, the delegates were hard put at the committee meetings to work out counter-proposals in order to combine them with the Cuban proposals in such a way as to emasculate the latter. But for all that the Cuban delegation was able to achieve something: the other delegates had to adopt a tone different from the customary tone at conferences of this type.

The U.S. delegation assumed the pose of an observer in the discussions between the Cuban and the other delegations. It rarely participated directly in the work of the conference and never constructively. At times it confined itself to a simple declaration voicing disapproval of one or another proposal.

4.

THE day before the conference adjourned, a draft Declaration giving a brief summary of the main resolutions was submitted as one of the results of its deliberations. The Uruguayan delegation moved that the document containing all the principal resolutions approved by the committees (the so-called Punta del Este Charter—*Ed.*) be considered basic and the Declaration as serving a purely explanatory purpose. These documents were signed by all countries except Cuba.

A cursory examination of the Declaration is sufficient to reveal the fallacy of its propositions. Take, for instance, the passage which speaks of pursuing a financial and monetary policy that would guarantee, without danger of either inflation or deflation, the purchasing power of the largest number of people, ensure greater price stability, and serve as an adequate basis for the development of the economy.

Cuba opposed this point since it holds that the monetary system cannot serve as the basis for economic development, being only a reflection of the relations of production.

Another section calls for stimulating private enterprise with a view to developing the Latin American countries. Cuba opposed this point too.

The \$20,000 million mentioned in the Declaration, most of which is to be provided by the United States, will not, as our delegation had insisted, be distributed through government channels only. Direct investment of U.S. private capital is scheduled to decline, for part of it will be classified as "loans," which can be used to establish industrial enterprises actually belonging to private U.S. companies.

The Declaration states that in the 12 months beginning March 13, 1961, the USA will provide government loans to an amount exceeding \$1,000 million to promote Latin American economic and social progress. But this is accompanied by the stipulation that loan applications should be submitted within 60 days of the signing of the "Alliance for Progress" agreement. This would suggest either that the beneficiaries have already been designated or that very little money will actually be forthcoming, since no serious project for obtaining financial aid can be drawn up in so short a time.

Further, the Declaration goes on record for the promotion, in conformity with the concrete conditions of each country, of comprehensive agrarian reform programs aimed, where necessary, at effectively changing the structure and inequitable system of land ownership and tillage with the object of replacing the system of latifundia and small holdings by a fair system of ownership. The land, the document goes on, should be made, with the aid of timely and adequate credits, technical assistance, and arrangements for the marketing and distribution of produce, the foundation of the economic status of its tiller and the guarantee of his freedom and dignity.

At first sight, the idea would seem to be a progressive one for Latin America. However, it contains a number of serious flaws. The references to "concrete conditions of each country" and the proviso "where necessary" make it appear as if the agrarian reform were not the basic aspiration of all Latin American peoples. Moreover, the system of latifundia and small-scale property in land are lumped together as "inequitable owner-

ship of land" without any mention of the evils of latifundism.

At the final plenary session the Cuban delegation abstained from voting on all of the documents and took the floor to explain its stand. We made it clear that Cuba could not subscribe to the "monetary policy" or the principle of free enterprise proclaimed in these documents; nor could it agree to the total absence of criticism of those responsible for our misfortunes — the imperialist monopolies — and the lack of any condemnation of aggression. Moreover, there was no answer to the question put by our delegation as to whether Cuba could take part in the "Alliance for Progress" program or no; we took this dead silence for a negative reply. Clearly, we could not join in an alliance which offers nothing to our people.

However, our delegation noted the positive aspects as well, viz., Paragraph 14, Section 3, of the summing-up document concerning economic integration which, dealing with the role of the private sector in economic cooperation and development and with state planning as a stimulus to it, makes an exception of the countries where the system of private enterprise does not exist.

The Cuban delegation read out this paragraph, pointing out that its inclusion signified a victory for the idea of peaceful coexistence of two different social systems and that its adoption was one of the positive results of the conference (later the U.S. delegate took violent exception to this, declaring that the USA did not recognize our government).

5.

HOW does Cuba evaluate the results of the Punta del Este conference? What did it give Latin America? Although the meeting was by no means a complete disappointment to us, neither can it be said that the Latin American peoples gained much by it.

The point is that the U.S. imperialists set out to persuade the participants that Cuba is incapable of living at peace with the rest of the Americas and maintaining relations with them within the framework of the Organization of American States. The attempt was a failure, however, and in this sense the U.S. imperialists lost the battle.

In one respect they gained a certain advantage. Even though there were new instances of insubordination to U.S. *diktat*, the imperialists nevertheless were able to steer the conference along lines that suited their ends. For instance, the final Declaration makes it

appear as if the Latin American peoples had received a generous gift when in reality it is wrapped up in so many reservations as to be utterly worthless. For the U.S. promise of \$20,000 million within the next ten years is not secured by any official commitments whatever. But if the USA has succeeded in retaining its positions in Latin America it is only at government level; among the peoples a political awakening is taking place and they are realizing more and more that an end must be put to imperialism.

What conclusions can we draw for the future from this conference? The fact is that even in the event of the \$20,000 million promise being kept (which is most unlikely), the "Alliance for Progress" would channel the aid primarily to the existing imperialist enterprises in Latin America.

In all probability the prices of raw materials of which the United States is the principal buyer will also be reduced. This prediction can be safely made since the supply on the world market of raw materials produced in Latin America (copper, cotton, tin, etc.) exceeds the demand. Besides, there is a marked trend towards the establishment of new plantations elsewhere (for instance, coffee plantations in Africa).

The export of profits by the U.S. monopolies disrupts to a lesser or greater extent the balance of payments situation in nearly all the Latin American countries. Moreover, the discrepancy between investments and exports of profits is growing.

This will have a negative effect on economic development in Latin America. Unemployment is bound to increase and the struggle for markets will grow sharper, especially at times of crises.

As hitherto, whenever a country turns to international finance organizations for aid to bolster up its shattered economy, the first to respond will be the International Monetary Fund, which will take over the management of the debtor's affairs. And this will amount at best to curtailment of internal credits and subordination of the national economy to foreign monopolies.

6.

CLEARLY, there is only one alternative: to save their countries from disaster, the national bourgeoisie must radically change their trade policies and reshape foreign policy accordingly. Moreover, national capital should be ensured every opportunity to develop wherever the conditions for this exist.

But even if this is done, there is still another factor to be reckoned with, a factor whose importance was dramatically highlighted by the developments in Brazil after the Punta del Este conference. This factor is the army.

As an instrument of the old feudal oligarchy or the comprador bourgeoisie, the army actively seeks to prevent new sections of the national bourgeoisie from taking over power and pursuing their own policy. In nearly all **Latin American** countries the armed forces are hostile to the most elementary manifestations of independence since their command is closely linked with the ultra-reactionaries at home and the interests of the U.S. monopolies.

One thing is clear: the national bourgeoisie will not be able to implement a progressive policy in international relations and foreign trade unless it liberalizes its domestic policy and ensures at least a slight improvement in the living standard of the population. Such a reasonable policy would ensure it popular support, but to guarantee success, the army must be neutralized.

In this connection we can visualize two possible situations. One of them might arise in countries which are dependent on the USA but which retain a semblance of bourgeois freedoms. Here a free general election might result in new people entering the government, provided these people conduct the election campaign roughly on the same lines

as Quadros; and they must make good their promises.

What would happen next? Once again the alternative would be either to curb the army or to give up any attempt to implement an independent policy. But, as we see it, the nature of the army cannot be changed without a struggle, since it is the army that has the weapons. It is bound to defend the classes doomed by history, and these will not yield without resistance.

The other possibility is that a new military dictatorship might be set up or an existing dictatorship consolidated in defiance of the people's wishes, exploitation intensified, and the national bourgeoisie and the working people crushed under the heel of foreign monopolies.

Under such circumstances the working people of any Latin American country are bound to intensify their struggle for complete liberation. They have before them the example of Cuba as well as other examples, more distant perhaps, even more compelling—the great examples of the socialist countries and especially of the Soviet Union, which was the first to take the path of true human freedom. The masses will carry on the struggle, fists clenched and hearts full of wrath, until somewhere the spark is struck and a new revolutionary flame flares up on our continent. History, forging ahead with seven-league strides, is hastening the inevitable coming of that day in all of Latin America.

Swedish Social Democracy and Socialism

K. Hermansson

THE example of Sweden is often cited in the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, especially in those countries where Social Democracy is strong. This is understandable, for the Swedish Social Democrats have been the ruling party for nearly 30 years — long enough for an experiment in Social Democratic “socialism.”

Many Right-wing Social Democratic leaders believe that the experiment has been successful and point to Sweden as the living embodiment of the “democratic socialism” which they counterpose to the society built by the working people under Communist leadership in the socialist countries. In the light of this, the developments in our country and its working-class movement, the party programs and the prospects of the fight of our working people for socialism have an international significance, too.

“Welfare State” or Monopoly Capitalism?

What is the nature of Swedish society after nearly 30 years of Social Democratic government?

It goes without saying that in Sweden, as in other countries, far-reaching changes have taken place in the course of these years. But these changes have not altered the fundamental fact that Sweden is still a capitalist country. Moreover, during the years of Social Democratic rule, the monopolies and finance tycoons have consolidated their power and their grip on the economy, and state-monopoly capitalism, as a result of the rapid concentration and centralization of industry and capital, is widely developed.

Suffice it to say that the entire stock of the companies is held by a handful of people comprising 2.5 per cent of the population, while two-thirds of the total is held by less than 0.2 per cent of the population.

Concentration and centralization have proceeded rapidly in banking as well. The three dominant banking houses are the Stockholms enskilda bank, Skandinaviska banken and Svenska handelsbanken. Around these three banks, whose directorates are interlocked

with the biggest companies in most branches of the economy, financial groups have been formed which order the lives of millions. The Wallenbergs, Wehtjes and Wenner-Grens own vast tracts of land and forest, iron-ore deposits and hydro-power resources, and they dominate in the key sectors of finance and industry.

Monopoly capital is intensifying the exploitation of the working people and appropriating an increasing share of the fruits of their labor. Ruthless exploitation of the factory and office workers is accompanied by tightening the screws on the small farmers, handicraftsmen and small employers.

The Swedish Social Democratic leaders do not wholly deny these facts. And no wonder, for the things told to the West German, British or French worker about Sweden would never be swallowed at home, where the workers who know from experience how matters really stand cannot be taken in by propaganda. It is not surprising, then, that some of these bitter truths can be found in the present program of the Swedish Social Democratic Party adopted in 1960.

This program points out that unequal distribution of wealth and income is still characteristic of Sweden, that the authoritarian, undemocratic principle still persists in labor relations. It admits that the economy is not democratically controlled, recognizes the failure to give free rein to the production potential and to utilize available resources for satisfying the essential needs of the people.

For equally obvious reasons, the Social Democrats do not claim to have built socialism (or even to have laid its foundations) in Sweden. Instead they use the term “welfare state” which they have lifted lock, stock and barrel from bourgeois theories. This concept is used to signify a society in which “elements” of capitalism and socialism coexist. The “welfare state” sounds better than capitalism, which has become discredited, and at the same time leaves plenty of room to maneuver. The social evils are ascribed to the surviving “elements” of capitalism, while

changes that bring some, even partial, improvement in the conditions of one or another section of the population are hailed as being "socialist."

But the "welfare state" theory is on a par with the fable about the "democratic socialism" which we are told prevails in Sweden. This theory completely ignores the basic criterion of the type of society—the mode of production. This (as the Social Democrats themselves often admit) remains capitalist, despite the economic and social gains won by the working class. Nor has the emergence of a public sector in the economy altered the situation. To say nothing about the fact that the growth of this sector is very slow in Sweden (even slower than in many capitalist countries where there is no Social Democratic government), the partial nationalization carried out in a situation when the keys to the economy and politics belong to the monopolies, does little to modify the nature of both society and the state.

The Social Democratic theorists propagating the "welfare state" idea make no attempt to analyze the character of the state, or if they do they regard it as something standing above classes, as a mechanism over which the people can exercise control. As "proof," they point to the parliamentary majority of the Social Democrats and their control of the government. But do these things tell us who exercises real power over the state apparatus? Not at all. In reality, the Social Democratic members of Parliament and ministers are hand in glove both with the King and his court and with big business. The fact that some 80 per cent of the civil servants in the government departments are recruited from the propertied classes and only one per cent from the working class, is proof of this. And who does not know that under capitalism real power belongs not to the members of Parliament but to the state apparatus? It is here that the most important decisions having a bearing on the economic and political life are made. And it is precisely in this respect that the fruits of the 30 years of Social Democratic rule have been most lamentable.

Such, in brief, is the theoretical aspect of the matter.

Now let us examine the practical aspect. Under what system has the working class won its economic and social gains—in some new type of society or under the old capitalism? Definitely under capitalism. And if these gains are better than those won by the working people in the other capitalist countries,

this is explained by the fact that during the past few decades Swedish capitalism has enjoyed highly favorable circumstances.

Sweden did not take part in either of the two world wars; what is more, she has not been involved in wars for the past 150 years. Another factor is the relative economic stability of recent years.

These favorable conditions have been utilized by the working people to fight for their economic demands. It should be said that the Swedish workers were well prepared for this struggle. The working class has long been the majority of the population. Swedish workers are justly considered the best organized in the capitalist world. Nearly all of them belong to a single trade union organization. Office workers and peasants, too, have strong organizations to protect their direct interests. And lastly, the cooperative movement is very powerful.

These factors enabled the Swedish working people to register certain gains in the years following the Second World War: higher wages, shorter working hours, legislation providing for old age pensions at the expense of the employers, etc. These gains, however, did not come of themselves, they were won in struggle against the capitalists, who sought to worsen the conditions of the working people.

An important role in this was played by the Communist Party. And not only because of its position in Parliament (without the Communists the Social Democrats do not have a majority in the Riksdag). The important thing here is the work conducted by the Communists among the masses. It is not by chance that those sections of the working class among whom the Communists have the biggest influence have won a higher standard of living and better conditions (the building trades, miners, metal-workers, etc.). Sweden's experience, then, shows that in the struggle for immediate demands, too, Communist policy, the policy of class struggle, yields better results than the reformist line.

The progress made by the working class in improving its conditions should not overshadow the fact that today, as was the case 30 years ago, the workers are ruthlessly exploited. Moreover, this exploitation is being intensified, monopoly profits are growing at a much faster rate than wages, and an ever-larger portion of the values created by the latter is appropriated by the employers. In other respects, too, the position of the working people is by no means as ideal as the

Right-wing Socialist propagandists like to depict.

Since the war, speed-up in industry has been greatly intensified. Many groups of workers have not had wage increases to compensate for the soaring prices, with the result that overtime is widespread. The income of a considerable section of the population is low. According to official statistics, roughly 20 per cent of the population belong to this category (single workers who earn less than 6,000 kronor a year and wage-earners with families who earn less than 10,000).

Clearly, then, the talk about Sweden's "high standard of living" is to be taken with a grain of salt. If the wages of some workers are higher than in other West European countries, it should be borne in mind that rent and taxes are also higher.

What is lacking above all in the Swedish "welfare state" is the feeling of confidence in the morrow, a sense of social and economic security. Only a few years before the current boom, Sweden had about 100,000 unemployed. The threat of unemployment and the dependence on the ups and downs of business are still a Damocles sword hanging over the Swedish working people. And yet we read in the new program of the Social Democratic Party that "the calm and security provided by the awareness that at any time you can find a job are one of the chief conditions of human dignity in our society."

Thirty years of Social Democratic rule have not provided any guarantee of full employment, of confidence in the future. Moreover, in recent years the economy has become increasingly dependent on the fluctuations of the capitalist world economy. Efforts are being made to force Sweden into joining the Common Market. U.S. investments in Sweden are growing, as is the export of capital to Africa, South America and Asia by the Swedish finance oligarchy. This aggravates the danger of economic crises and structural unemployment.

Uncertainty and instability are also features of political life. With powerful forces seeking to embroil the country in the nuclear-arms drive and the reckless policy of imperialism, Sweden's neutrality and even her very independence are in jeopardy. The internal political situation is far from stable: the reactionary forces are bent on abolishing the gains of the working people.

To sum up, what has the experience of the nearly 30 years of Social Democratic rule shown?

First, that the Social Democrats have not even begun to reconstruct Swedish society along genuinely socialist lines. The dominant system in Sweden is not only capitalist, but it has followed the lines of evolution in the direction of state-monopoly capitalism, of extending the power of the monopolies.

Second, that if the gains won by the working people under capitalism demonstrate anything at all to the labor movement, it is certainly not the advantage of reformism, but rather the blessings of peace and the policy of steering clear of aggressive imperialist blocs, on the one hand, and, on the other, the significance of class struggle and a high level of working-class organization.

Third, that the present policy of the Social Democrats cannot produce anything essentially new. Their policy cannot solve the problems now agitating the working class — security, safeguarding the gains and extending them. To move forward, under Swedish conditions, means going far beyond the partial improvements possible under capitalism. That is why in a country like Sweden the question of socialism, notwithstanding the outward appearance of prosperity, is vitally important today. What perspective does Social Democracy offer the working people in this respect?

"Mixed Society" Instead of Socialism

Since the early days of the working-class movement socialism has been understood as a system without private ownership of the means of production and, therefore, without exploitation of man by man, a system in which the basic means of production are owned by society as a whole. This for a long time was not disputed even by the die-hard reformists. But, having abandoned the idea of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, they, thereby, have thrown the idea of socialism overboard, inasmuch as it cannot be achieved by any other means.

In recent years the major Right-wing Socialist parties have gone so far as to abandon the socialist aims of the labor movement. This is laid down in their latest programs which regard socialism as a kind of "mixed society" in which opposite (i.e., public and private) forms of ownership will be perpetuated.

This, judging by its new program, is also the ultimate aim of the Swedish Social Democratic Party. "In every case, the Social Democratic Party," reads the program, "will choose those forms of enterprise and owner-

ship which best serve material progress and human welfare. It stands for public ownership or public control of natural resources and industrial undertakings in so far as it is necessary to safeguard important interests of the community."

The wording of this clause will become clear if we compare it with the corresponding clause — the so-called "socialization clause" — in the previous program. The old program advanced the demand for public ownership of natural resources, industrial enterprises, banks and credit establishments, transport and communications "to the extent necessary for a planned economy." In the new program this principle has been replaced by the formulation — "to the extent necessary to safeguard important interests of the citizens" — which provides infinite scope for arbitrary interpretations.

Thus, from being a matter of principle, the dilemma — public or private capitalist ownership of the means of production — becomes in the new program a matter of "expediency." The new program, furthermore, unequivocally shows that its authors are prepared not only to tolerate private capitalist enterprise, but also to encourage its growth in every way.

"It (i.e., Social Democracy)," we read in the program, "will encourage private enterprise in those fields in which it proves able to combine efficiency and the will to expand with responsibility to the consumers, the employees and the community."

It should be borne in mind that the "private enterprise" Social Democracy wants to encourage is not confined to small enterprises and farms. It is a question of capitalist ownership as such, including the big enterprises, i.e., of the finding a place in "socialist" society for the financial magnates as well.

The program, furthermore, makes no mention of the transition from capitalism to socialism when, as experience has shown, for a time various forms of economy can exist side by side. The program speaks of a society it calls "democratic socialism" — the Party's ultimate objective.

As for public property in "mixed society," it, judging by the program, does not presuppose reconstructing production relations along socialist lines. The program speaks about state, municipal and cooperative property which in one way or other already exist in Sweden. But because it does not envisage the transfer of state power to the working class and all working people and does not demand abolition of the monopolies or deprive

big capital of its key positions in the economy, state, municipal and cooperative property cannot be regarded as socialist. This is borne out by experience: in nearly all developed capitalist countries these forms of property exist today without in any way affecting the capitalist nature of their economies.

The program's socialism in the shape of a "mixed society" cannot be regarded as anything but a reactionary utopia. Reactionary, because it signifies repudiating socialist thinking and practice, and can only harm the struggle for socialism and progress. Utopian, because a "mixed society" of this kind is a fantasy, for capitalism and socialism cannot co-exist as permanent socio-economic formations within the framework of one society.

Even if this program were to be regarded as a program only for the transition to socialism, it would still be unrealistic. To effect the transition to socialism the working people must win state power and occupy the commanding heights in the economy. They cannot share power with the finance magnates, for victory over these is a condition for any genuinely socialist changes.

As long as the finance tycoons maintain their positions in the community, it will be impossible to achieve genuine prosperity for all. Neither is a planned economy possible. Hence the progressive demands set forth in the program will not and cannot be carried out on the basis of a policy of class collaboration with the monopolies.

If these demands are to be implemented it is essential to wage consistent struggle against big capital, mobilize the working people, and use state power to replace capitalist production relations by socialist relations.

A careful study of this Social Democratic blue-print for "socialism" enables us to distinguish two types of propositions. Some add nothing new and merely concern further partial improvements in the conditions of the working people (their implementation depends entirely on the country's domestic and foreign situation and on the degree of the class struggle). Others — such as social justice, equal opportunity, full employment, etc., — praiseworthy though they may be in themselves, are simply wishful thinking and have no basis whatever, for the program does not envisage either the conquest of political power by the working class and its allies, or public ownership of the basic means of production.

The Communist Program

In contrast to the Social Democratic program the policy statement issued by the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party advanced a concrete plan of struggle for socialism and socialist changes.

In drawing up this plan the Swedish Communists took account not only of the general laws of the struggle for socialism, but also the main features of our time and the specific conditions of Sweden. That is why the statement stresses that the abolition of monopoly rule is basic both to the further extension of democracy and to the transition to socialism.

This demand is in keeping with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people because it is not just the factory and office workers who suffer from monopoly exploitation but also the peasants, handicraftsmen and small employers. The building of a broad democratic and anti-monopoly front — and this, the Communists maintain, is now the main task facing the working class — while meeting the immediate demands of the working people will simultaneously be the condition for the socialist revolution.

The Communist policy statement reads: "The transition to socialism takes place in the circumstances and in the forms conditioned by historical development and by the specific situation of Sweden. The changes in our country, which this period will entail, must be effected by the working class and the majority of the people." It is not excluded that the Riksdag, which came into being as a result of the popular struggle for democracy, will become a democratic organ of power and an important instrument for abolishing the power of the monopolies and reconstructing society along socialist lines.

Taking account of the 500-year-old tradition of the Riksdag, the Communists have repeatedly pointed to the desirability of the working class coming to power through a stable majority in Parliament. This concept has nothing in common with the parliamentary illusions cherished by the reformists. The Communist Party firmly believes that basic social issues are resolved through class struggle, not by parliamentary resolutions. Still, the parliamentary struggle is an expression of the balance of class forces. For this reason, combining the broad democratic movement of the masses with parliamentary activity can be one of the ways of winning power by the working class.

Although the parliamentary way to socialism presupposes a peaceful development of

the revolution, there is no guarantee that the reactionary classes will submit to the will of the majority and will not resort to armed struggle to maintain their power. This can make inevitable non-peaceful forms of the struggle. It goes without saying that the main thing is the actual correlation of the class forces. And it is from this that the Swedish Communists proceed in their assessment of the situation which set in after the Second World War, a situation which contains real possibilities of passing over to socialism without having recourse to armed uprising and civil war.

The Communist program emphasizes that the transition to socialism does not preclude the independent existence and activity of a number of parties in our country. The claim of our enemies that upon assuming power the Communists would abolish all other parties, finds no proof either in history or in the Communist program. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is exercised in different forms, including one in which other parties function alongside that of the big bourgeoisie. In the same way the dictatorship of the proletariat can be effected in forms that do not preclude the existence of other parties in addition to the party of the working class. But the latter, i.e., the majority of the people, should have political power in society and the commanding positions in the economy in order to be able to carry through the socialist changes.

The program points out that the transition to socialism cannot be fitted into a detailed pattern elaborated in advance. But it is obvious that industries which are of vital importance to the economy as a whole should be taken over by the state — rail transport, power plants, iron and steel, etc. At the same time development of various forms of socially useful enterprises within the framework of a planned economy could be a feature of the socialist changes in our country: producer cooperation in certain branches of the economy, housing cooperation and other forms of socially useful construction, communal enterprises for the production and distribution of goods, etc.

The state of the working people will nationalize industry and the big banks, the natural resources and vast tracts of land which are today held by the monopolies. This, of course, need not result in bureaucracy and dampening of personal initiative, as reactionary propaganda would have us believe. The program stresses that, on the contrary, nationalization and public ownership of the means of production will encourage in every

way the initiative and creative powers of the individual.

In present-day society handicraftsmen, small employers and peasants are being ruined by monopoly capital, whereas under socialism these categories will be guaranteed support in their socially useful work on the part of the state and local authorities. The peasants will be delivered from monopoly exploitation and from the heavy burden of taxes and rent. Family farms, i.e., peasants who do not employ hired labor, will be guaranteed the right to possess and cultivate their plots of land. Farms with not enough land will, wherever possible, be given additional plots of either field or forest land. The opportunity will be granted to redeem the farm rented, and every assistance given to rural cooperation which is the surest way to transform peasant life along socialist lines and develop agriculture on the basis of modern technology.

The Communists have no intention of depriving handicraftsmen and small employers of their property or of imposing on them conditions of work of which they do not approve. Like the peasants, these categories will themselves decide whether they prefer individual labor (although liberated from the monopoly yoke) or more progressive, collective forms of work. Society on its part will give every assistance to the various forms of cooperation.

In the conditions prevailing in Sweden it may be possible to guarantee the owners of small and medium enterprises the right to their property throughout their lifetime. If there arises the need to transfer the enterprise to the state or to the local authorities the former owner will be paid compensation. It can be anticipated also that new forms will emerge within the framework of the socialist cooperative sector.

In any case only the socialist reorganization of society will guarantee the small employers and other middle sections a stable economic existence, permanent work and just remuneration.

The program of the Communist Party illuminates the path along which the lofty socialist ideals can be materialized, ideals of the pioneers of the labor movement. This is the path of class struggle and unity of the movement will guarantee victory along this path.

For Working-Class Unity in the Struggle for Socialism

As we see, the Communist and Social Democratic parties have different concepts of the kind of society which the working people will build and of how they will build it. And yet the Communists insist on the need for unity with the Social Democrats, not only in the struggle for immediate demands, but also in the fight for socialism. That is how the question is posed in the statement of the Moscow meeting of the 81 parties and in the documents of the different parties, including the policy statement of the Communist Party of Sweden.

Why is the question posed in this way?

First, because working-class unity is essential in the struggle for socialism. The conquest of power and the building of the new society need all the forces of the working class and its supporters among the working people in town and countryside. The Communists cannot but take this into account, especially in a country like Sweden, where most of the workers follow Social Democracy.

Second, because unity of the Communist and Social Democratic workers in the struggle for socialism is not only essential but possible, no matter how different their programs for the future may be. In saying this the Communists do not rely solely on being able to out-argue the Social Democrats in discussion, although ideological contests in the form of debates are bound to accompany a joint action policy based on principle, not on opportunism.

Other factors are equally important. The real struggle is not always conducted according to programs drawn up in advance, or at any rate not in accordance with them alone. We are sure that developments and the class struggle will help a considerable section of Social Democratic working people, in fact, the bulk of them, to take the right path. There can be no doubt that the logic of social development and political life in our country will operate in this direction.

Another factor working towards this end will be developments abroad, in particular the further economic, scientific, cultural and democratic advance of the socialist countries and the rising standard of living of their working people. The day is not far off when even the bourgeois and Social Democratic propaganda will have to tone down its praise of the Swedish standard of living, because it will be left behind by the socialist countries. Confident that this will be so, the Swedish

Communists draw upon the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and its program for laying the foundations of communism in the Soviet Union. This program and the advance made by the Soviet people and the people of the other socialist countries will bring home to all workers, all working people, the superiority of socialism.

The Communists have long been aware that there are different kinds of Social Democrats. It would be naive to think that one could fight for socialism with some of them. They do not want socialism and are doing their best to stave it off.

But the vast majority of Social Democrats are sincere working people, and no matter what effect bourgeois and reformist ideas may have on them, they are neither blind nor deaf to what is taking place in the country and abroad. Nor can we consider the many Social Democratic functionaries lost to social-

ism — even those still influenced by anti-Communist prejudice.

This state of affairs makes the Communists confident that already in our time they will, by means of painstaking explanatory work, by principled and comradely criticism, by initiative and activity in practical work, achieve much in the way of joint action not only for the immediate but also for the ultimate aims of the working class.

The Swedish Communists do not set themselves the aim of undermining the Social Democratic Party in a competitive struggle. The Communist Party's stand is dictated by the interests of the entire working class, whose representative it has always considered itself to be. And these interests require unity in anti-monopoly struggle. By adhering to this platform, we shall, undoubtedly, achieve unity and solidarity of the entire working class and all other working people in the struggle for a bright future.

Who Finances Anti-Communism?

Ernst Henri

THE historian of the future will note that in the early sixties of the 20th century the rulers of the capitalist world began to be seized by an emotion bordering on panic. For the moribund capitalist system is frantically searching for some means of reversing the verdict history has pronounced in favor of socialism, or at any rate of staving off its own demise for another few decades at least. But how?

Economics, military technique and science are of no avail to capitalism in its distress. Hence, influential bourgeois politicians who realize this see the salvation of capitalism in a "global" political offensive against communism. The idea is to keep the masses in the capitalist countries away from the Communists by fair means or foul, smash the Communist and Workers' parties and change the balance of forces in favor of capitalism before it is too late.

Serious preparations are being made for a "holy war" against the Communist parties. It is not merely a matter of government re-

prisals or emergency legislation. What is in question is direct indoctrination of the public by anti-communist propaganda and subversion on an unprecedented scale.

But this costs money, and big money at that. The subsidies of the intelligence branches and the psychological warfare departments are obviously inadequate for the erection of a new "world-wide dam" against communism. And so the international finance tycoons have taken charge of the business themselves. It is they who have declared war on communism.

On the Surface . . .

There have been clear indications in recent years of an all-out effort to strengthen and expand the international network of anti-communist organizations, most of which were set up during or shortly before the war in Korea.

In 1949, for example, the "Free Europe Committee" (FEC) was established in New York to conduct subversion in the People's Democracies. Its "founding fathers" included

the former Polish Premier Mikolajczyk, the former Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy and other shades of the past. Among those who are or at one or another time have been associated with the leadership of the "Free Europe Committee" or with its sponsor, the "Crusade for Freedom," we find men like Eisenhower, the ex-U.S. intelligence chiefs Allen Dulles and Donovan, as well as diplomats of the old anti-Soviet school like Poole, who was U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Moscow during the early years of the Soviet republic.

The "Free Europe Committee" has vast sums at its disposal, five radio stations with 29 transmitters and a corps of emigré propagandists including a good many reactionary politicians who fled from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. During the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary, the FEC organized a feverish campaign of support for the conspirators, supplying them with arms, smuggling saboteurs into the country and doing everything possible to spread the putsch to the other People's Democracies.

In 1950 a new international anti-communist agency, the "*Congress for Cultural Freedom*" (CCF) specializing in work among intellectuals, was opened in Berlin with branches in 21 countries. Among the scientists, writers and others invited to participate in the leadership were Jaspers, the philosopher, Zukmeyer, a writer, and the Right-wing Social Democrat Carlo Schmid, from Federal Germany; the writers Silone (Italy) and Madariaga (Spain); the French philosopher Maritain; the scientist Julian Huxley, the poet Stephen Spender and the writer Arthur Koestler, from Britain; the reactionary sociologist Burnham, the atomic scientist Lilienthal and the film star Montgomery, from the United States. In India the organization was joined by the anti-communist politicians Jayaprakash Narayan and Masani, in Japan by former cabinet minister and Supreme Court judge Kotaro Tanaka. The post of Secretary-General went to the Russian White emigré Vladimir Nabokov. The Congress for Cultural Freedom publishes its periodicals in a number of countries and conducts a systematic campaign against the socialist countries in the guise of defending "intellectual freedom." It has held a dozen or so international congresses and conferences, the most recent of which was attended by over 200 bourgeois scientists and writers from 50 countries.

In 1951 the "*American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism*" (ACLB), whose Munich branch engages in radio propaganda

in the national languages of the Soviet Union, was set up in the United States with the direct participation of the State Department and U.S. Intelligence. It was headed by Sargeant, former Assistant Secretary of State; Alan Kirk, one-time American Ambassador to Moscow; Kuniholm, ex-U.S. Embassy Secretary in Moscow and Seoul, and the notorious anti-Sovieteer Isaac Don Levine. The Committee has a branch in West Berlin.

In June 1954 the "*Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League*" (APACL) was opened in Seoul (it subsequently moved to Saigon). Its proclaimed purpose was "to unite all Asian peoples in an anti-communist front" and to "cooperate with anti-communists all over the world." APACL has branches in 16 countries and is run by Chiang Kai-shek agents. Its participants include leaders of rebel gangs in Indonesia and even members of the "National Union of Russian Solidarists," and has been headed at one time or another by such notorious American agents as Ku Cheng-kang, member of the Kuomintang Central Committee; Syngman Rhee, and Paik, former South Korean cabinet minister. At a conference held in Seoul in 1959 this organization called for an "anti-communist crusade" in Asia.

The same year (1954) saw the advent of another anti-communist organization known as the "*Inter-American Confederation for Defense of the Continent*" (CIDC), which acts as the coordinating center of anti-communism in Latin America. Its agents operate in Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro and New York. Behind the Confederation stands the U.S. State Department and a long string of reactionaries and conspirators from the various Latin American countries. The General Secretary of the organization is the U.S. agent Prieto Laurens who also directs the reactionary Mexican "National Anti-Communist Front." The CIDC holds congresses in different countries and organizes anti-communist spying centers in the guise of "Marxist study" committees.

Conspiracy and provocation are the main occupation of the CIDC. The forgeries which the U.S. imperialists used in plotting the intervention against the Arbenz government in Guatemala were fabricated at the 1954 congress of the CIDC held in Mexico City. Prieto Laurens collaborated with Perifoix, U.S. Ambassador in Guatemala, in this unsavory affair. The next congress of the CIDC was convened in Rio de Janeiro in 1955 at the time when pro-U.S. circles in Brazil were plotting the current coup. At present the

Confederation has launched a virulent slander campaign against revolutionary Cuba.

This list of international anti-communist organizations is not exhausted by those created at the height of the cold war in the first half of the fifties. Many such organizations of considerably longer standing are still active. One of these is "Moral Re-Armament" (MRA). Founded in the thirties by the late Frank Buchman, an American clergyman, MRA today has branches in 22 countries and boasts that its members come from more than a hundred countries. Although the MRA functions in the guise of a religious sect preaching "conciliation between men, nations, races and classes," its activity consists entirely of anti-communist propaganda. Buchman posed as a prophet or a saint who promised the kingdom of heaven on earth if only communism were destroyed.

The "apostles" of "Moral Re-Armament" in the various countries include generals, educationalists and businessmen. MRA has enormous funds at its disposal. In 1959 it published a cold war pamphlet entitled *Ideology and Coexistence* in an edition of 87 million copies and circulated it free of charge in 24 languages. Moreover it regularly prints anti-communist appeals in the form of full-page advertisements inserted in the *London Times* or the *New York Herald Tribune*, holds "regional" anti-communist conferences in Asia, Africa and Latin America attended by hundreds of delegates, and circulates its own magazines, films and plays. The MRA has its headquarters in Switzerland, with centers in Paris, London, New York, and on Mackinac Island in the United States.

Buchman counted Adenauer, Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and the former Japanese Premier Kishi among his personal friends. Before the Second World War he maintained contact with Himmler and Hess. Of Hitler he is reported to have said: "I thank Heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler, who built a front-line of defense against the anti-Christ of communism." After the war Buchman switched to the imperialist circles in the United States.

Another organization which smacks even more of Hitlerism is the "Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations" (ABN) which engages the services of the counter-revolutionary riff-raff which fled during the war from the Soviet Union and later from the People's Democracies. This organization was founded by the Nazis in 1942 and after the war was taken over lock, stock and barrel by U.S. Intelligence. The actual center of ABN is the

"American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism." Its U.S. patrons included Senator Ives and Congressman Armstrong of the reactionary American Legion, and also O'Connor, who, in his former capacity as U.S. government representative in charge of displaced persons, recruited saboteurs from the whole of Western Europe.

ABN has its field headquarters in Munich. The spokesmen of its "central committee" here are Stetzko, who headed the Bandera "government" in the Western Ukraine during the Nazi occupation, a certain Prince Nakaschidse, as well as Besseneyev, Yagotinsky, and other nationalists of the same fascist brand. Its "military committee" was headed at one time by the Hungarian putschist General Farkas, who in 1952 publicly called for an "attack on the center of the Bolshevik danger in Moscow." In Bonn the organization has the backing of Hilger, Foreign Office adviser on East European affairs, who engaged in "commercial transactions" in Moscow before the First World War. The program of the "Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations" is based on the theory that a third world war is "inevitable" and calls for the splitting up of the Soviet Union into "separate states."

Such are the main international organizations waging a "holy war" against communism. This is not a chance, haphazard conglomeration of groups but a widely ramified system, a conspiracy built both on the territorial principle and with an eye to reaching definite sections of the population. The propaganda and subversion conducted by agencies like the "Free Europe Committee," the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League," the "Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations" and the "Inter-American Confederation for Defense of the Continent" is beamed geographically, to various parts of the globe. Organizations of the type of the "Congress for Cultural Freedom" or "Moral Re-Armament" aim at definite social segments — intellectuals, religious people, etc. Other, narrower, organizations carry on anti-communist propaganda along the same lines in the trade unions and among the professions.

All of these organizations operate under diverse national, regional and international labels, on behalf of "public opinion" in one or another country or one or another section of the population. But all, without exception, were either created in the United States or are directed from there. And all are liberally supplied with funds running into tens of millions of dollars.

Where does this money come from?

. . . Behind the Scenes

At the head of these international anti-communist organizations are bourgeois politicians, diplomats, intelligence agents, writers, "philosophers" and clergymen. Each is known to be in some way associated with the State Department, U.S. Intelligence and with one or another government or private agency in the United States. On closer scrutiny, however, the leading core of each turns out to be one and the same group: the American tycoons and their lieutenants.

The "Free Europe Committee" calls itself the spokesman of the "anti-communist forces" in the people's democracies. According to the State Department, this group has the support of millions of Americans and expresses the desire of the American people for the "freedom" of all nations. A brief glance behind the scenes is enough to reveal what sort of Americans are in question and what they really "desire."

For the past eight years the post of president of the "Free Europe Committee" has been held by Shepardson, one-time special assistant to the U.S. Ambassador in London and before that manager of the General Education Board, a Rockefeller agency. The Committee's radio network is directed by the ex-diplomat Egan, who formerly worked for Nelson Rockefeller in the inter-American division of the State Department. The chairman of the FEC executive in 1956 was Page, director of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Holman, who headed the "Crusade for Freedom" (a sponsor of FEC) in the same year, is a director of the Rockefeller monopoly Standard Oil. The present FEC director is Alexander, former assistant Secretary of the Army and one-time partner in the law firm of Carter, Ledyard and Milburn, legal advisers to the Payne family, the Rockefellers' partners in Standard Oil. One of the members of the board of the "Crusade for Freedom" is Morgan, a director of Standard Oil.

The "Free Europe Committee" literally reeks of oil. Under the Rockefeller aegis, many other American monopolists have occupied positions in its headquarters. The campaign for the collection of funds for the upkeep of the FEC radio network, for instance, was conducted last year by Worthington, President of the Morgan Steel Trust. Curtice, President of the Dupont concern, General Motors Corporation, and Price, President of the Mellon-Rockefeller Westinghouse Electric, are both members of the board of the "Crusade for Freedom."

Thus, all the leading Wall Street interests are involved. It is hardly surprising that when the "Free Europe Committee" was first organized and the U.S. diplomat Poole was asked how it was financed, he evaded a direct answer by vaguely referring to some "extremely delicate political operations." But the dollars speak for themselves, and quite bluntly at that.

The "American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism" is run along the same lines as the other organizations of this type. One of the founders is Admiral Alan Kirk, now one of the directors of the Mercast Corporation, a war-industry concern. Sargeant, the chairman of the Committee, was head of the Magnesium Development Corporation, another war-industry outfit. The third top man in the ACLB, Page, is a financier of the Westinghouse monopoly. A few years ago he presided over the board of the "Crusade for Freedom."

Let us take a closer look at a more "refined" type of anti-communist organization, the "Congress for Cultural Freedom." In the foreground are prominent personalities in science, literature and the arts, representing a variety of political trends, from Conservatives to Right-wing Socialists. It has a distinct "drawing-room" flavor. Its spokesmen are intellectuals who profess to be concerned solely with "creative freedom." Some of them indeed sincerely believe that the organization really stands for such freedom. But the threads of the organization in Paris and New York lead to three people who are known to be on the Ford payroll. De Rougemont, the present Chairman of the CCF Executive, is in charge of the so-called "European Cultural Center" which was organized on Ford funds. Secretary-General Nabokov is nourished by the same source. Professor Niebuhr, honorary chairman, is Ford's "adviser" on theology. According to the magazine *Cuadernos*, organ of the CCF, Ford financed the Tokyo and Oxford conferences of the CCF in 1957. At the end of that year Ford made another "donation" of half a million dollars to the Congress. The Rockefellers, too, are liberal supporters of the organization. The CCF leaders strike a sanctimonious pose of moral righteousness, but the fat salaries they draw come from the sale of automobiles, tanks and oil.

The international "Moral Re-Armament" group, on the other hand, exudes the odor of incense. Its treasury is replenished from contributions by big manufacturers of the most diverse nationalities. According to some

sources, at the top of the list of donors are Ford, with whose family Buchman had personal ties; Hearst, the American financier and newspaper publisher; Firestone, the rubber king, and Takasumi Mitsui, the Japanese multi-millionaire. MRA arranges regular gatherings of businessmen under the guise of conferences to discuss anti-communist projects. Buchman claimed that one such meeting, held in Brazil, was attended by 400 "leading industrialists and businessmen" including representatives of Ford, Mitsui, General Electric, etc. No wonder the Buchmanites can afford to circulate their publications in millions of copies free of charge.

Other anti-communist organizations are sustained in the same way, although each has its own contacts in the financial world and its own price for services rendered. Professors and clergymen receive higher fees than emigrés. The "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" in Saigon is subsidized by the same Californian financial circles which support Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan and pay for the China lobby in the United States Congress, namely, firms that have a direct interest in American expansion in the Far East and in Southeast Asia, like the Giannini, Kaiser and Hearst groups. In India the spokesmen for anti-communism and for the "Congress for Cultural Freedom" is Masani, leader of the reactionary Swatantra party and long-standing press agent for the Tata finance dynasty which collaborates with American and British capital.

Prieto Laurens, the boss of the "Inter-American Confederation for Defense of the Continent," is an old agent of the State Department. The Latin American division of the State Department has for many years now been under the wing of Nelson Rockefeller who formerly acted as "coordinator" on inter-American affairs for the U.S. government. This division also coordinates its activities with the Mellon group, the United Fruit Company, the Guggenheims and other monopolies that have been plundering the natural wealth of Latin America for decades.

The pattern is essentially the same everywhere: the same thinly-disguised connection between the anti-communists and the millionaires, the same system of figureheads, inflated agencies, and concealed funds. Big Business is the backbone of organized anti-communism.

How Is the Financing Done?

How are these anti-communist organizations financed in practice? We know who lays

out the money, but what are the mechanics of the financial operations involved?

Although the monopolies frequently make public donations it is clear that the collecting of the funds is not left to chance. What is in question is a well-lubricated system designed to ensure the smooth handling of "delicate political operations." The key to this system is to be found in the so-called "charity" foundations sponsored by the American multi-millionaires.

There are more than seven thousand private foundations in the United States with an estimated capital totalling something like \$9,000 million. Formally their purpose is to advance scientific knowledge and the arts, to subsidize universities, research institutes and hospitals, promote cultural ties with foreign countries, support peace efforts, etc. In reality, however, they pursue quite different ends. In the first place they enable the multi-millionaires to evade taxes on a substantial portion of their income, including inheritance tax, since endowment funds, while remaining under the control of the "donors," are exempted from taxation. At the same time, besides being used to pay for diverse unspecified services, these private foundations offer the monopolists a convenient channel for controlling the activities of scientists, particularly those engaged in important military-industrial research.

This is their *raison d'être*. Philanthropy is but a camouflage. In reality the foundations are the political agencies of the corporations which supply the cash. No small part of the money spent by the multi-millionaires to finance the ruling parties and bribe government officials comes from these funds. Substantial amounts are allocated for foreign-policy purposes.

"Foundation activity," writes the American journalist Wormser in his book *Foundations: Their Power and Influence*, "has nowhere had a greater impact than in the field of foreign affairs. It has conquered public opinion and has largely established the international-political goals of our country . . . The influence of the foundation complex in internationalism has reached far into government, into the policy-making circles of Congress and into the State Department."

Although there are thousands of "charity" foundations in the United States, control of their capital is concentrated in a few hands. The two that tower over all the rest are the Rockefeller and Ford foundations. These are

the sources from which the backstage political maneuvers of the U.S. multi-millionaires are financed.

In 1960 the funds of the Rockefeller Foundation exceeded \$500 million counting only the market value of its securities. The actual amount of its assets is considerably greater. This capital is wholly at the disposal of the Rockefeller family and their aides who sit on the board of trustees of the Foundation. In the 'fifties, just before the Eisenhower Administration took office, the board of the Rockefeller Foundation was headed by John Foster Dulles who later became Secretary of State. Dean Rusk, who now holds this post, was president of the Foundation in 1960, before Kennedy's election to the presidency. The Board of Trustees has also included Douglas Dillon, former Under Secretary of State and now Secretary of the Treasury, Lovett, former Secretary of Defense, and Sulzberger, one-time publisher of *The New York Times*.

These are all "stars" of the first magnitude on the American imperialist firmament, the men to whom the Rockefellers entrust the leadership of the State Department and other key policy-making bodies, and who disburse the secret subsidies.

There is no doubt, for example, that the dominant position held by the Rockefeller group in the "Free Europe Committee" is in direct proportion to the sums it allots for subversion against the socialist countries. The money goes through the "Crusade for Freedom" set up for the purpose of collecting funds for the "Free Europe Committee." Although Nelson Rockefeller is not officially associated with FEC, he is generally known to have personally helped the committee in its attempts to spread counter-revolutionary activities in Central and South-East Europe. Before the uprising in Hungary, he made a secret trip to Munich and promised the Committee financial support. The Rockefellers allocate no small sums for similar purposes in Latin America and the Middle East, in the particular areas where the vast oil interests of Standard Oil are located. There are grounds for assuming that the Rockefeller Foundation in general covers a good part of the expenses for the maintenance of the international anti-communist organizations.

An even more prominent role in this respect is played by the Ford Foundation. Its capital, measured by the value of its securities, amounts to \$750 million, and together with fixed assets reaches the vast sum

of \$2,000 million. This is the richest private institution in the capitalist world. Until the early 'fifties the Ford Foundation took no part in international affairs, confining itself to the distribution of subsidies in the Detroit area. But beginning with 1951 when Paul Hoffman, who until then had been Marshall Plan Administrator in Europe, assumed the leadership of the Foundation, its activities took a different turn.

Millions of dollars began to pour into the treasuries of all manner of anti-communist and anti-Soviet organizations operating in the different countries in humanitarian, scientific and religious guises. In the four years 1951-1954 alone, the Ford Foundation spent close to \$70 million—nearly two-fifths of the total appropriations at that time—on "philanthropic" and "humanitarian" purposes connected in one or another way with international politics. It subsequently transpired that the "Congress for Cultural Freedom" and "Moral Re-Armament" were among the organizations receiving substantial subsidies at this time. But this was only the beginning. According to the 1960 annual report, the Foundation spent \$259 million for these purposes in ten years (from 1951 to 1960).

The Ford Foundation, writes the American author Macdonald, "is the most globally conscious of the large foundations, partly because it began its heavy spending during the Korean war, when the threat of communist expansion seemed most acute, partly because the internationally-minded Paul Hoffman was then its head, and partly because Henry Ford II . . . is more aware than many other businessmen of the existence of the rest of the world . . . Ford . . . being problem oriented — the problem is here how to win allies and to influence neutrals—is less interested in research per se than in promoting sympathy and understanding between us and the rest of the non-communist world."

"Global consciousness," as the American monopolies understand it, means implanting anti-communism in all corners of the globe. And it is no accident that the Ford Foundation began financing anti-communism after Paul Hoffman became its director — the same Paul Hoffman whom the American monopolies had entrusted with \$12,500 million of the taxpayers' money allocated for Marshall-plan aid for Europe. In the strategy of American imperialism operations of this kind are closely interlinked. Wall Street still believes

that money can shape the course of history.

Ford funds are used not only to finance organizations like the "Congress for Cultural Freedom" or "Moral Re-Armament." In 1952 Hoffman founded a subsidiary agency known as the Fund for the Republic which hired the services of such renegades as Browder, Draper, and Landman, and also Ferry, former chief of the press department of the CIO, and conducted its nefarious activities under the guise of "studying the influence of communism in contemporary American life." Another Ford Foundation subsidiary, the East European Fund, has a staff of "researchers on the Soviet Union" — Russian White-guard emigrés residing in the United States — and its own publishing facilities.

Who distributes the Ford subsidies? At present the Foundation's board of trustees is headed by R. Gaither, chief of the semi-secret "military-scientific" Rand Corporation, which supplies the Pentagon with strategic ideas and anti-Soviet information. Other members of the board are Professor Julius Stratton, also of the Rand Corporation; Wilson, former head of General Electric; Anderson, mining magnate and Secretary of the Treasury in the Eisenhower administration; Larsen, co-owner of *Time* magazine, and Van Dusen, chairman of the World Council of Churches. Among the advisers to the Foundation are Milton Katz, a former ambassador and assistant to Marshall Plan administrator Hoffman, and Professor Niebuhr of the "Congress for Cultural Freedom."

The present head of the Fund for the Republic, which specializes in anti-communist "research," is Roper, one-time assistant chief of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Among the Fund's board members (past and present) we find Arthur Dean, a partner in the Dulles law firm and present head of the U.S. delegation at the nuclear ban talks; O'Brian, partner in the law firm run by the former Secretary of State Dean Acheson (now Kennedy's personal adviser); Zellerbach, former U.S. Ambassador in Italy, and Sherwood, former chief of the foreign department of the U.S. Information Agency. According to some sources, Eisenhower is believed to have been associated with the Ford Foundation.

Here we have a "select group" similar to that which sits on the board of the Rockefeller Foundation. Each of the persons mentioned above belongs to the inner circle of American multi-millionaires and is to one or

another degree involved in the workings of American diplomacy and espionage. All of them have some connection, direct or indirect, with the "holy war" which the United States has declared on communism. The keys to the safes of the multi-millionaire "philanthropic" foundations are in their hands.

Another big "philanthropic" organization in the United States which engages in international anti-communism is the "American Heritage Foundation," one of the organizers of the "Crusade for Freedom." Its sponsor, David Sarnoff, is the author of a whole "program of political offensive against world communism," news of which leaked out in the press in 1955.

One of the anti-communist measures Sarnoff proposed was the formation of special armed gangs to engineer putsches and subversion in the socialist and newly-independent countries. He urged that these elements should be well organized and financed, and used to the maximum. In all probability the events in Guatemala in 1954, in Hungary in 1956 and in Cuba in 1961 were attempts to carry out the schemes of the anti-communist strategists.

Sarnoff heads the Radio Corporation of America, a giant concern with an annual gross income of about \$1,400 million, a good part of whose output consists of military equipment. The Morgans, Rockefellers and other financial tycoons have interests in the Corporation.

The American Heritage Fund is an advertising agency set up by the monopolies for the purpose of financing publicity for the bourgeois parties, influencing voters during election campaigns, etc. Its board includes, or at one time included, representatives of the Ford and Rockefeller concerns; Paramount, the big cinema firm; General Electric, and also the two reactionary trade union leaders — Meany and Reuther. Sarnoff acts as the spokesman of these circles when he calls for an offensive against communism and democracy through terror, military coups and "psychological warfare."

There are other millionaire foundations which carry on anti-communist activity behind the scenes. One of these is the Carnegie Corporation three of whose trustees, Page, Price and Spofford, are members of the board of the "Crusade for Freedom" or the "Free Europe Committee." Among the original founders of FEC we find General Clay, representing the Sloan Foundation, established

by the Dupont group; Berle, one-time Assistant Secretary of State, of the Twentieth Century Fund, and financier Altschul, of the international Lazard Bank which financed the men of Munich in the prewar years. Altschul, whose bank to this day plays an important role behind the scenes of international reaction, acted as treasurer of the "Free Europe Committee" at one time.

Hundreds of businessmen and many monopolies participate in financing international anti-communism. But, as we have seen, the bulk of the expenditure is borne by the two richest dynasties in the capitalist world — Rockefeller and Ford. Nearly all the major anti-communist organizations are connected with one or the other monopoly group, or both. Characteristically, all the American foundations which finance the anti-communist organizations are closely interlinked. For example, the Board of Trustees of the Ford Foundation and its subsidiaries have in recent years included five representatives of the Rockefeller group (McCloy, Dickey, Abrams, Van Dusen and Sproul). The two mammoth foundations appear to have entered into an anti-communist compact. Henry Ford II is now the head of the American Heritage Fund. And so on.

These are links in the same chain. There is ample evidence that the leading groups of the U.S. finance oligarchy have divided the anti-communist racket among themselves. The Rockefellers have taken under their wing the organizations operating against the People's Democracies and specializing in "work" in the Latin American countries. Fords extend their patronage to the international anti-communist organizations functioning in "intellectual" and "religious" disguises. The Duponts, through the medium of dummy agents and organizations, finance anti-communists and neo-fascists inside the United States.

Here is another curious angle. The same oligarchies that subsidize "private" anti-communist organizations take part indirectly in running the government bodies set up for the purpose of waging "psychological warfare" against communism. For example, the U.S. Information Agency, which handles the Voice of America radio network and conducts pro-American and anti-communist propaganda in 48 languages, was headed for several years by Streibert, former business manager for Nelson and Lawrence Rockefeller. Nelson Rockefeller was at one time Eisenhower's

special assistant on all questions relating to "psychological warfare."

The facts lead to the inescapable conclusion that those who pay the anti-communists are not merely the moneybags motivated by their customary class hatred for the working-class movement. They are the big war-industry concerns which have a definite material stake in the arms race and the cold war. The Rockefellers control a good part of the production of fuel, aircraft, missiles and atomic materials in the United States. The Fords deal in tanks and, since the war, have become closely associated with one of the biggest war monopolies — General Electric — which supplies the Pentagon with \$1,000 million worth of war materials every year. It is no accident that when the Kennedy Administration was formed in 1961 the post of Secretary of Defense was given to McNamara, top executive of the Ford Motor Company.

The monopoly groups with a stake in colonial affairs also participate in the anti-communist racket. To some extent these are one and the same forces — like the Rockefellers, for example, who have interests in the Middle East, Latin America and in Africa.

Last but not least, anti-communism is also financed directly through government subsidies usually concealed in the budget appropriations for the propaganda, "psychological warfare," intelligence or foreign affairs departments. Although government appropriations of this kind are usually intended for anti-communist activities within the country, some of the money finds its way into the pockets of the international organizations as well. And since the departments handling these affairs are usually run by the lieutenants of the multi-millionaires and firms which finance anti-communism through the various "philanthropic" foundations, the circles involved are the same.

One could name six men who hold the purse strings of international anti-communism today under cover of the multitude of private foundations and agencies. They are Shepardson, head of the "Free Europe Committee" and a Rockefeller man; David Sarnoff, of the American Heritage Foundation and the Radio Corporation; Gaither, a Ford man; Page, representing the Carnegie Foundation and the Mellon interests; and Altschul, of the American-French-British Bank of Lazard. To this list until quite recently might have been added the name of

Allen Dulles, former chief of American Intelligence and ex-director of the American-German-British Schroeder Bank which once financed the Nazis. Today Dulles has been replaced by the Californian monopolist McCone as head of the CIA and in the anti-communist center.

All these men belong to the staff of the international war-industry oligarchy and the

entourage of the atomic and missile kings. In the footlights are the professors, the diplomats and the "philanthropists." But behind them, at the very core of things one finds the most sinister and reactionary forces in the capitalist world, the merchants of death who batten on trade in nuclear weapons.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Communists Throughout the World Support the Valiant Fight of the U.S. Communist Party

THE repressions of the U.S. authorities against the Communist Party and the anti-communist hysteria whipped up by them have aroused worldwide indignation. Progressive people everywhere have vigorously denounced this persecution. Newspapers in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other socialist countries carry hundreds of letters from workers and peasants, scientists and educationalists, trade unions and other public organizations, exposing the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy and condemning the sponsors of the anti-communist witch-hunt.

All the Communist and Workers' parties have expressed fraternal solidarity with the U.S. Communists and support of their valiant struggle for democracy and the vital interests of their people. In their statements and messages they analyze the reasons for the anti-communism of the U.S. reactionaries and point to the danger of their machinations for the cause of peace and democracy all over the world.

"On behalf of our Party which knows and appreciates your just stand on the Algerian question and which distinguishes between the Algerian people and their rulers," reads a message from the *Algerian Communist Party*, "we express our boundless solidarity with you at a moment when still more severe trials await your Party."

The National Executive Committee of the *Communist Party of Canada* has pointed out that the U.S. government is bent on suppressing the movement for peace and peaceful coexistence. It is not fortuitous therefore, it declares, that the Communist Party, as the most consistent champion of peace and democracy, has again become the target of attacks. The Canadian Communists, the

statement goes on, will do all in their power to rouse public opinion in Canada for the defense of democratic freedoms in the United States and the constitutional right of the U.S. Communist Party to work for peace, democracy and socialism.

"These violent attacks," the *French Communist Party* noted, "are being carried out within the framework of a reactionary campaign which is assuming alarming proportions in the United States. They are part of a single design. The Kennedy Administration is acting now in the way that Adenauer acted a few years ago."

"Solidarity with our American comrades is one of the aspects of our struggle for democracy and peace."

"We appeal to all trade unionists, to all progressive people, to all supporters of peace to make their voices heard," reads the statement issued by the Political Committee of the *British Communist Party*. "Send telegrams of protest now to President Kennedy, White House, Washington. Raise the matter without delay in the factories and trade unions. Urge the leaders of the Labor Party, TUC and Cooperative movement to voice their protest. There is no time to lose. Stop this new McCarthyite attack."

By hounding the Communists, the Kennedy Administration is encouraging the fascist organizations and the ultra-Right groups. The same thing was done at one time by the ruling classes of Germany when they invoked fascism to strangle the progressive forces of the country.

The Central Committee of the *Italian Communist Party* has passed a resolution denouncing the anti-democratic Smith and McCarran acts as

typical cold war products. "The Supreme Court decision," it declared, "clearly reflects the purpose of the Kennedy Administration, under pressure of the Right extremists, to maintain the tensions, step up aggressive preparations, check the growth of the national-liberation movement on the American continent and take the lead in neo-colonialism. By flouting the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and hounding the Communists, it aims at gagging those Americans who speak out for peace, freedom and civil rights."

The inroads on the basic democratic rights by NATO's leading power, the Communist Party of Denmark stated, cannot but evoke angry protests. "We greet the U.S. Communists who are waging a courageous struggle, and we will do all in our power to support them in this battle for democratic rights."

The prosecution of the Communist Party is a link in the series of reactionary measures taken by the Kennedy Administration, declared the Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan. By applying the fascist McCarran Act to the U.S. Communist Party, the Kennedy Administration is adding to world tensions and clearing the way for nuclear war. Stressing its resolve to strengthen solidarity with the Communist Party, which is boldly carrying forward revolutionary traditions, and the other progressives in the United States, the Presidium calls upon the Japanese trade unions and democratic organizations to protest against the anti-democratic actions of the Kennedy Administration.

The Communist movement is the most influential political force of our times, a major factor of social progress. It cannot be halted by bans

and persecution. It is bound to triumph in the struggle against imperialist reaction, for peace, democracy and socialism.

In a message to the U.S. Communists adopted by the 14th plenary meeting of its C.C., the Socialist Unity Party of Germany said:

"Dear comrades, we are convinced that despite the persecution the U.S. Communist Party will be at its post. The decision of the world-famous scholar, Dr. DuBois, to join your Party precisely at this moment betokens how the struggle between reaction and progress, barbarism and humanism will end in the USA too."

The U.S. Communists are repelling the attacks with a courage worthy of fighters for the cause of the working class. They are determined to uphold the democratic rights and freedoms, the policy of peace and friendship between the nations.

"The McCarran prosecutors," Gus Hall said some time ago, "will not achieve their objectives. There is much opposition to this fascist measure. The prosecutors are facing serious obstacles. And the Communist Party will continue its struggle for Peace, Equality and Socialism."

People in the United States and in other countries are actively campaigning against the harassment of the American Communists. At the end of last year 332 U.S. educators, men of letters, artists, lawyers, clergymen, etc., signed a petition demanding revocation of the McCarran Act.

In London, Paris, Rome, Tokyo, Delhi and other cities trade unions, municipal councils and various organizations are sending deputations to U.S. embassies to protest against the red-baiting in the United States.

Moulding the New Man Is the General Line of Ideological Work

BUILDING communism in the Soviet Union presupposes that education, above all of the youth, in the spirit of communism should receive the special attention of the Party organizations and of the public generally.

Last December the Central Committee of the CPSU sponsored a national conference to discuss the tasks in the sphere of ideological work stemming from the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress and the new Program of the Party.

Some 2,700 people were present, including Party officials, scientists, writers, artists, journalists, radio and TV writers, educationalists, propagandists and others.

Leonid Ilyichov, Secretary of the Central Committee, who delivered the main report, and other speakers pointed out that moulding the new man was the general line of the Party's ideological work, the criterion of its effectiveness. The new Program calls for shaping the scientific world outlook of the people on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and educating them in the spirit of communism so that they should fully understand the course and prospects of world development, be able properly to assess events at home and abroad and consciously build their life on communist lines.

The Stalin personality cult did much harm in the sphere of ideological work and Marxist-Leninist theory. It gave rise to stagnation in social thought, dogmatism, and subjectivism in evaluating historical events.

The carrying out of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress, which denounced the personality cult, resulted in a powerful upsurge of creative thinking. This in turn accelerated scientific and cultural progress as can be seen from the signal successes of the Soviet Union in the conquest of outer space, the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the advance in other branches of knowledge.

The high level of sociological thought achieved in recent years is expressed in the new Program of the CPSU — the grand document of creative Marxism.

New textbooks on the history of the Communist Party and the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, Lenin's biography, manuals on political economy, Marxist-Leninist philosophy and other social sciences have been published in recent years. Some of these were winning entries in contests held among researchers in the social sciences. These contests, incidentally, were proof of the growing theoretical maturity of the latter.

Volumes 3, 4 and 5 of the *History of the Civil War in the USSR* are now on sale in the bookshops, as are the first three volumes of the *History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941-45*—a thoroughly-documented work on the valiant struggle waged by the Soviet people against the fascist invader. A five-volume *History of Philosophy* is now available and the publication of a ten-volume *World History* is being completed. Soviet historians are working on a multi-volume history of the CPSU.

Theoretical research has been greatly helped by broad discussions of the cardinal problems of history, socialist economics, Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and other subjects sponsored in recent years by theoretical journals and newspapers.

A correct approach, it was stressed at the conference, should be taken with regard to Stalin's theoretical works. "Stalin," said Ilyichov, "rendered services to the Party and the Communist movement in the sphere of theory as well. The works in which he popularized Marxism-Leninism, expounded Leninist views, upheld them against the opponents of socialism and adhered to correct theoretical theses, should not be ignored. Such, for instance, are his lectures on the *Foundations of Leninism* and his *Marxism and the National Problem*.

"It was a different matter when Stalin tried to 'develop' Marxism-Leninism. It was here that he made many theoretical mistakes and subjective

assessments and formulated postulates divorced from life."

However, it was noted, one must not allow Marxist-Leninist theory and its principles to be assailed on the pretext of combating the consequences of the personality cult, nor should the anti-Leninist views, smashed long ago by the Party and by Lenin, be allowed to crop up again and find their way into the press.

Now that the working-class Party has grown into the Party of the whole Soviet people, its ideology has become the world outlook of all the working people of the USSR. Party education, which originally implied the political training of the Party cadres alone, now is a matter of the political education of millions, both Party and non-party people.

Two or three years ago the theory, policy and history of the Party were studied by some five or six million people, whereas now Marxism-Leninism is systematically studied by more than 20 million, of whom more than half are non-members. There is a keen interest in the documents of the Twenty-Second Congress and in the new Program. In the Ukraine, for instance, some 4.5 million, of whom 3.2 million are not Party members, are studying the Congress documents in the Party education network alone.

The main thing in political education, it was emphasized, is to bring the study of theory closer to life, to extend it to greater numbers of people and make it more effective, to develop creative, independent forms of study.

Special attention was devoted to educating the people in the spirit of the highest and most humane communist ethics, in the spirit of the moral code of the builders of communism which is set forth in the new Program of the Party.

The young builders of communist society receive their training in school and university. It is important, therefore, that these institutions should not only give them knowledge, they should train them to be people with deep ideological convictions and a Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

Cultural and educational institutions, the press, literature and art play an ever greater role in the harmonious education of the builders of communist society. The present stage of the cultural revolution is characterized not only by the growth of the spiritual needs of the people and the wide scope of cultural and educational work, but also by their active participation in creating cultural values.

In the Soviet Union there are close to 600 amateur theaters (more than the number of professional theaters), and upwards of 500,000 amateur art groups embracing over nine million people.

Some ten years ago the film studios were making a dozen feature films a year, whereas in the recent few years more than 100 have been made annually. New film studios have been built and, what is more important, many talented actors and producers have appeared — the basic guarantee of the advance of Soviet cinematographic art. It was pointed out that besides successes in this field, not infrequently mediocre films were produced, with which neither the viewer, who has grown spiritually, nor the producer, if he is a genuine artist, can be satisfied.

The conference devoted considerable attention to the press. The Soviet press is the mouthpiece of public opinion; it expresses the thoughts and interests of the people and for this reason enjoys high prestige. This is borne out by the facts: in the past five years daily circulation of the newspapers has gone up by 20 million, and the annual circulation of magazines and other periodicals by 417 million copies. Compared with 1961, subscriptions to newspapers and journals have risen by 5.4 million.

The Soviet Union ranks first in the world for editions of books. Each year about 1,200 million copies are printed, or six per head of the population. Books and magazines are published in 89 languages of the peoples of the USSR and in 47 foreign languages.

Radio relay stations will soon be set up in the areas of the country still without them. Television, too, is spreading rapidly.

The press, radio and television have been given

the task to work all-out together with the people to implement the program of building communism, to bring the ideas of the Party to the masses and to popularize the creative labor and the best experience of the builders of communist society.

Speakers pointed to the need to improve educational work in the Party branches, in the district and town Party committees, where the slogans of the Party are being carried into life. In this connection the conference supported the proposal to set up in the factories public councils or ideological commissions under the auspices of the Party committees. These commissions are to function as collective organizers of educational work, combining the efforts of the Party branch, trade union committee, the Communist Youth League and the management to improve ideological education and raise the cultural standards of the personnel.

A spokesman of the USSR Central Council of Trade Unions told the conference that the trade unions had decided to place, gradually, all their cultural and educational institutions (trade union clubs, for instance, which have a monthly attendance of about 200 million) under public management; this will greatly enhance their role in the ideological and cultural education of factory and office workers.

The Party has summoned ideological workers to a vigorous offensive against the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people, against ideas and morals alien to Soviet society.

Mikhail IVANOV

From the Experience of the Work of the Communist Party of Finland

COMMUNISTS UPHOLD THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

MORE than 1,500 workers are employed in the Pasila railway shops, where there is an active Party branch of 150 (last year alone 22 workers joined). The Communists in this plant have a majority in the leadership of the union branch, in the sick fund and in the cooperative. Of the 24 elected workers' representatives 18 are Communist Party members. In the tool shop, where there are many Social Democrats, the only Communist employed was elected a representative.

The Communists enjoy this confidence mainly because of their struggle on behalf of the workers. They study problems relating to the class struggle, know the internal situation, the state of the national economy, the policy of the monopolies, and explain these things to the workers in

order to help them understand the role of their struggle. The Communists always take the initiative in fighting for better conditions for the workers, and expose the maneuvers of the capitalists and their agents and the conciliatory policy of the Social Democrats. Their refusal to accept handouts from the employers distinguishes them as selfless champions of the working class.

When the Railway Board fired hundreds of workers and wanted to place some of its orders abroad, the Communists actively joined in the struggle against this maneuver. Pressure was exerted on the trade unions and on various groups in Parliament. Thanks to the work of the Communists the members of the different parties working in the shops fought together and secured

victory. The dismissed workers returned to their jobs and the orders were placed with Finnish enterprises.

Last year the Communists in the shops launched a campaign for a five-hour Saturday. The management opposed this demand. The Railwaymen's Union, which is led by Social Democrats, counseled the workers to reach agreement with the administration and to refrain from action at the call of the Communists. The Communists put the matter before the workers and on the following Saturday only 40 men remained at work after 12 o'clock. Fearing that rush orders would not be fulfilled, the management did not dare victimize anyone. Since then we have been working only five hours on Saturdays. Our example was followed by the workers in many other enterprises.

How the Communists uphold the interests of the workers and why the latter vote for them can be seen from the elections of representatives. The fact that the workers have their elected representatives is in itself a big victory. These representatives are the official spokesmen of their work-mates in all dealings with the management, and are elected at general meetings in the shops. The chief representative of the factory personnel does not work at the bench and is paid by the management.

Unto Puttonen, a Communist, has been the chief representative in our shops for the past six years now. The Party branch saw in him a man who was not afraid of being fired and who fearlessly exposed the actions of the management which, in evaluating work done by points, added more points to Social Democrats. Puttonen was elected first as representative of the production sector, then to the trade union leadership where he proved his worth, and a year later he became vice-chairman of the union branch. The Party helped Puttonen with his political education. His prestige among the workers grew, and they nominated him for the post of chief representative at the plant. The Party branch actively campaigned for him in the shops and at the voting he polled 75 per cent of the votes. In the past two years he has been returned unopposed.

Here are a few examples showing how Puttonen fights on behalf of the workers.

Last October the management induced some of the young workers to work on an order at reduced rates. Puttonen called a group of veteran workers and together with them explained to the young people that the management was using them to cut the wages of the welders. The manager threatened to send the order to another plant and to put the blame for this on the representative. Puttonen secured the support of the

entire personnel against this and the management's scheme was frustrated.

Once the manager told Puttonen that a second representative had been elected (under a special collective agreement between the Railway Board and the breakaway Social Democratic trade unions), that this man would get half of Puttonen's wages and would work with him in the same office. Puttonen consulted the workers and then held meetings in the shops and finally a general meeting. The workers unanimously agreed that they didn't want a second representative.

The Party branch helps all the Communists who are elected to one or another post. It insists on their engaging in political study and demands that they regard themselves as spokesmen of the Party. The Party committee and groups regularly discuss the work of individual members. Particular attention is given to the education of the younger members. At the same time the branch works for unity with the Social Democrats and non-Party workers and draws into active struggle those who are still influenced by capitalist propaganda. To this end we often nominate as candidates to elected bodies not only Communists but also Social Democrats and people of no party. For instance, we could have won all the posts in the trade union organization, had we so wished, but we conceded two to the Social Democrats, demonstrating thereby that all of us bear responsibility for the common cause. The same happened during the elections for the management board of the cooperative — the workers nominated only Communists, but we conceded, without voting, four seats to the Social Democrats.

Non-Party workers and rank-and-file Social Democrats discuss with us not only matters pertaining to wages and working conditions generally, but political questions as well. More than 100 workers in our plant subscribe to *Kansan Uutiset*, joint organ of the Party and the Democratic Alliance, and 33 to the Party's theoretical journal *Kommunisti*.

We should note, however, the following: during the election of workers' representatives, trade union committees and other organizations, the workers vote overwhelmingly for the Communists, whereas in the Presidential and Parliamentary elections many give their votes to the Social Democrats. This clearly shows that we still have not been able to bring it home to them that the struggle for their immediate interests is bound up with the general political situation in the country.

Tauno KOISTINEN,
Branch Chairman

A NEIGHBORHOOD PARTY ORGANIZATION

ON THE table in one of the rooms of the recreation hall there are a miniature Party flag and a gavel. In half an hour a meeting of the Keskikivi local Party organization, which takes in the central part of Kivi Street, is scheduled to begin. We approach branch secretary Jakko Laakkonen. As the members gather, he tells us about the organization. It has 49 members, including six recruits won last year; 80 per cent are factory and office workers, the remainder pensioners and housewives.

The eight-man Party bureau discusses at its meetings the activity of the membership in their place of work (what the workers' representatives do, how the members work in the trade unions and the youth, women's and cooperative organizations) and in the residential neighborhood (selling Party papers, distributing leaflets, collecting funds, work with children, organizing public services and amenities), although the latter activities are handled mainly by the six groups into which the branch is divided.

The meeting opened at 6 p.m. The members endorsed the agenda, but before going on to discuss the first item the minutes of the previous meeting were read. From them we learned that a month ago the branch had discussed the nominations made by the Democratic Alliance for the electoral college in connection with the Presidential election, and the award to the branch of a prize for the best showing in winning new readers for *Kommunisti*. The members heard the minutes and approved them.

The meeting then proceeded to the next item on the agenda: current business.

The first to speak were the members with particular assignments. One reported on the sale of tickets for the lottery run by the Party. Another informed the members that because of the state of her health Toini Lindberg was unable to attend meetings and take an active part in Party life but that she had embroidered a picture for the branch. The picture was raffled and brought in 10,000 marks for the election fund. A third member said that a truck would go around the area to collect scrap (the proceeds would go to the Party fund).

The chairman read out the bureau's decision concerning circulation of the calendar and year-book put out by the Democratic Alliance. Capitalist publishing houses were already selling their calendars and year-books, and the Party organ-

ization should hurry up. The chairman then issued leaflets to the members: one, on behalf of tenants, called on Parliament to defer the Rent Act, the other concerned the paper *Kansan Uutiset*.

Then came the second point of the agenda. On behalf of the town Party committee Comrade Porkkala gave a talk on the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and the international situation. After this the members told how their fellow workers had responded to the Congress and to recent events. It was said that the workers were asking many questions and that the Communists should be in a position to answer them, bearing in mind the versions put out by capitalist propaganda. A correct explanation always removes misunderstanding and dispels doubts. The Communists, it was stressed, should be able to answer every question. After eight speakers had taken the floor, a decision was taken to form a class for the study of the Program of the CPSU.

The last point on the agenda was how to increase the circulation of *Kansan Uutiset*.

As a rule, branch meetings do not last more than two hours, and this one, too, ended on time. After the meeting we had a talk with the members. They told us about their work. Practically every member has his particular assignment and is active at his place of work. Members who worked at factories told us that the workers quickly get fatigued because of the terrific speed-up, and that when you canvass them in the evening with papers they are not in the mood to talk. So we canvass mainly on Sundays, they said. Some members manage to obtain seven or eight subscriptions to the Party papers and journals each. Work among the Young Pioneers takes a lot of time, too, but one feels happy to see it so well organized.

Veteran Party members, who owing to their age find it hard to conduct day-to-day work, tell their neighbors about the things they read in the papers, take part in demonstrations, etc.

The branch conducts many campaigns. Its members helped to build a recreation hall and other public premises. But the young members are overburdened, they are given too many assignments and this estranges some of them. Therefore, the Communists say that comrades should not be given too many tasks. Much has been accomplished but much more remains to be done.

Aulis LEPPANEN

COMMUNISTS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

IN Tammiainen, a small village near Turku, most of the small peasants and some of the middle peasants vote for the candidates of the Democratic Alliance. Last year 20 farmers joined the Communist Party here and the local Party branch now numbers 50 members.

Our biggest difficulty, said Arvo Suvitis, branch chairman, is to persuade the small peasants that their interests coincide with those of the workers in industry. The Agrarian Party and other bourgeois parties confuse the peasants, asserting that the interests of producers and consumers of farm products are diametrically opposed.

The Communists explain that small peasants sell their products not directly to the industrial workers but realize them through trading monopolies which rob both peasants and workers. The government's farm-price policy is advantageous only to the big landlords. The Agricultural Tax Law also safeguards the interests of the latter. The smallholder farming 10 hectares often pays more in taxation than the man with 50 hectares. In discussing these questions with peasants, the Communists strive for unity between the smallholders and the industrial workers in the struggle against monopoly oppression.

These topics are discussed during meetings which are held usually in the house of a Party member. Some comrades are asked by the branch to speak on one or another subject. Members of the area Party committee speak on the more complicated questions.

The branch members conduct explanatory work also through personal talks with peasants. They visit neighboring smallholders and discuss events at home and abroad, answer their questions and

explain the policy of the Party. The smallholders are told, for instance, about the proposals made by the Communist deputies in Parliament and in municipal councils to improve things for the farming community.

The members circulate printed matter among the peasants. The agrarian program of the Democratic Alliance, adopted in 1960 and published in a large edition, evoked a particularly warm response.

So that the members should be thoroughly acquainted with the policy of the Party and be able to answer the questions raised by the peasants and refute the arguments of political opponents, the Party branch, aided by the area committee, holds lectures on Marxist-Leninist theory and on the political issues of the day.

At its monthly meetings the branch discusses, apart from purely Party matters, the specific problems of the smallholders.

The work of the branch calls for the greatest patience and persistence, but it brings its results. In the village of Tammiainen most of the smallholders who previously supported the Social Democrats have turned to the Democratic Alliance; many of the former Social Democrats have joined the Communist Party.

The recently-founded bourgeois smallholders' party has hardly any influence among the peasants in this village. The Communists are playing an ever greater role in the growing struggle of the peasants for agrarian reform. In their overwhelming majority the small peasants stand for close friendship and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union.

Ilkka JARVINEN

PARTY EDUCATION IN THE HELSINKI-UUSIMAA AREA

THERE is a wide political-educational network in the Helsinki-Uusimaa area. The forms of study that have taken shape here are used also in other Party organizations.

The area Party school has courses on dialectical materialism, the political economy of capitalism, the theory and tactics of the international Communist movement, the history of the working-class movement in Finland (including the history of the Communist Party), the theory of socialism and communism, and Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. In 1961 there were 132 students altogether, including 18 non-Party comrades of whom 13 applied for membership by the end of the study year.

This year the school has 160 students, among them 25 non-Party comrades, and a course on historical materialism has been substituted for dialectical materialism.

A total of 55 hours is devoted to each subject. The classes last three hours and are held once a week. The students attend lectures and, after individual work at home, seminars are arranged. At the end of the school year there are written examinations. The answers are discussed by the class.

Tutors are selected from among Party functionaries who have had special training. The area committee appoints a school board consisting of the director, two tutors, one representative from a local branch and one student. They discuss the

program, agree on measures to improve studies and sum up the experience gained.

In the past, students also discussed the political topics of the day, but this took a lot of time and interfered with the school program. Now this is done as an exception. Systematic work in this respect is carried on by the Party branches.

Then there are four schools which cater to 3-7 branches each. In these schools, with an enrolment of up to 30 each, the students are taught only one subject — historical materialism. For this we use the Soviet textbook *Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy*. The classes last two hours and are held weekly.

The branches arrange their own classes. Some of these cater to a couple of neighboring branches. Classes are held either weekly or once a fortnight and are attended on a purely voluntary basis by members and non-members (efforts are made to enrol as many non-members as possible). The subjects taught are either the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism (using the Soviet textbook), or the theory and tactics of the international Communist movement and political economy. Last year we had 99 classes of this kind; this year many of them are studying the Program of the CPSU.

Some of our members attend classes organized by the trade unions. These classes use the programs and textbooks issued by the Worker's Educational League, a Social Democratic body. Their curriculum includes the history of the trade-union movement in Finland, the theory of socialism, and other subjects. In the past our Party branches doubted the value of joint study with Social Democrats. But experience has shown that these classes can be made a battleground of ideas — our members prepare well for them and refute the arguments of the Right-wing Social Democrats. Joint study brings Communists and rank-and-file Social Democrats together and helps them to fight more effectively for unity of action.

Last year of the 245 branches in the area 198 actively participated in political education work. As many as 2,356 members completed courses of study. We now attach to membership cards a special page showing the course completed by the

holder. This has helped to bring home the importance of political education to members.

A lecture course has been arranged in keeping with a plan approved by the Central Committee. In connection with the recent Presidential election we arranged lectures on the following subjects: the state system in Finland; political parties as an expression of the class structure of society; the vital issues facing the country. Lectures on current events are held in the branches.

In branches where there are no regular classes the members attend meetings on theoretical issues. Last year the following topics were discussed: the Communist Party as the organizer of the working-class struggle; democracy and dictatorship; the wages fight. The members met two, three and even four times to discuss the theoretical questions raised in the statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties.

Reading matter includes textbooks translated from other languages and materials specially prepared for students of philosophy, political economy and the history of the working-class movement in Finland. *Kommunisti*, too, carries articles and other material for both students and tutors.

Tutors' seminars are held twice a year. Tutors attend lectures on the more complex subjects, examine teaching methods and discuss particular problems. They are selected from among comrades who have completed the area Party school or the briefing course under the auspices of the Central Committee.

We have, of course, difficulties in organizing political education. It is not easy to arrange for members to study in rural areas. True, some of them attend classes arranged by the branches, but many do not study at all. We have not yet found the right way to draw these members (and non-members as well) into systematic political study.

The purpose of Party education as we see it is to help the members tackle practical tasks on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, to conduct propaganda more effectively and to refute the arguments of our opponents and uphold the standpoint of the Communist Party.

Aarno MOD

Secretary of the Area Party Committee

UNITY OF ACTION CAN BE EXTENDED

THE Central Committee has adopted a number of resolutions calling on the branches to broaden working-class unity in the struggle for economic and political demands.

The failure of the attempts made during the past five years by the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders to split the Central Association of Trade Unions, which includes workers of diverse

political trends, shows that the workers are opposed to division in their ranks and are conscious of the importance of unity.

The Rights in the Social Democratic Party, in collaboration with big business, have formed a breakaway body known as the "Organization of Trade Union Cooperation." But they have recruited a bare 32,000 workers, whereas the Association has

220,000 members. Most of the recruits to the Right trade unions had not belonged to the Association before the split. That the workers disapprove of the idea of forming breakaway trade unions can be seen from the following facts: in the space of one year the membership of the Builders' Union affiliated to the Association has gone up by 6,000 to a total of 42,000, whereas the breakaway Builders' Union numbers only 600. The same thing happened in the Metalworkers' Union.

In Turku the town committee of the Party held a conference of members employed in the local factories to discuss ways and means of achieving unity of action among workers belonging to different political organizations.

The comrades who spoke noted that in less than a year the Turku workers had gone into action against the employers on nearly 50 occasions. Communists, Social Democrats and non-affiliated workers took part in these actions and this ensured their success. It was also noted that the relations between the Communist and Social Democratic workers had improved considerably of late. Name calling, abuse and threats were now things of the past.

It was stressed that the workers would not be

able to defeat the capitalists and fulfil their historical class mission until they were united. Not one party, but the working class as a whole stood to benefit from unity. Therefore, the workers belonging to the different parties had to urge their leaders to support joint action.

Speakers also pointed out that unity was at times hindered by the wrong attitude taken by some Party members for whom joint action was a matter of the Communists issuing the instructions and the Social Democrats merely agreeing. Joint action presupposes broad contacts and the vigorous efforts of all fighters for the common cause.

Speakers criticized the view that unity should be achieved first with Social Democrats and only then with non-Party people. There are problems which require the unity of all workers irrespective of their views and Party affiliation.

The conclusion drawn by the conference was that many serious snags in the way to joint action had been removed and that further advance in this direction depended on renewed efforts by the Communists.

Seppo SIIVONEN

SELLING DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

Till 1956 there had been two main workers' newspapers in Finland: *Vapaa Sana*, organ of the Democratic Alliance, and *Työkansan Sanomat*, organ of the Communist Party. The printing and distribution of these newspapers presented not a few difficulties and, for this reason, a merger took place, resulting in *Kansan Uutiset*, joint organ of the Democratic Alliance and the Communist Party.

Kansan Uutiset is recognized as the leading workers' paper. It has a circulation much bigger than its two predecessors. It appears daily and has from six to 16 pages.

Apart from the national edition there are five area editions of a smaller size, which carry more local news. There is also a newspaper in Swedish (eight per cent of Finland's population are Swedish speaking). Of the six newspapers published by the area organizations of the Communist Party and the Democratic Alliance three appear six times a week, one comes out five times and two others three times.

The democratic press agency, "Demokraattinen Lehtipalvelu," supplies all our newspapers with news and features. Two or three times a year the agency arranges conferences to discuss the quality of the news supplied, questions of editing, and so on. Seminars for members of editorial staffs

and exchanges of experience are arranged also by the Democratic Journalists' Union.

The democratic organizations publish, in addition to eight newspapers, a number of journals: *Kommunisti*, organ of the Communist Party; *Liitoviesti*, organ of the Democratic Alliance; *Uusi Nainen*, the Democratic Women's League; *Tera*, the Democratic Youth League; *Raketti*, the Pioneer League, and *Eduskunta Uutiset*, the Democratic Alliance Parliamentary group.

As distinct from other capitalist countries, the circulation of newspapers and magazines in Finland is carried out mainly through subscription. Only one per cent of the *Kansan Uutiset* circulation is sold on newsstands.

As a rule, subscriptions are taken out either for six or 12 months. We have a considerable number of "permanent" readers, that is, people whose subscription is renewed automatically until they cancel it.

The subscription system has its merits and disadvantages. The subscription campaign is usually held at the end of the year, whereas readership must be built regularly if we want to reach out to more people. That is why we decided to make the circulation of our press an essential part of the everyday work of the branches.

Elected circulation agents secured 64 per cent of the 1962 subscriptions to the democratic press. Every branch now has several circulation agents. We want to ensure, however, that all members take part in our circulation drives.

The branches now sell newspapers in their respective areas, drawing into this work large numbers of members and non-Party people. In the residential area of Vuoksenlaakso, for instance, 250 comrades sold within two hours 2,200 copies of *Kansan Uutiset* and 700 copies of *Uusi Nainen*.

In the working-class districts one had to visit only 12 or 13 flats to sell 10 copies of newspapers.

The Central Committee has urged all area and local organizations of the Party to join the competition for winning new readers. The campaign will continue till July. The area with the best results will be awarded a banner of honor of the Central Committee — the highest award for active political work.

Pentti AURA

EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE

EXCHANGES of experience between Party activists are regularly arranged. One of these, attended by leading members of the Helsinki, Tampere, Turku and Pori city committees, was held at the end of last year.

The twenty-six comrades present included chairmen, secretaries and members of the city committees, and branch chairmen. They discussed the style of work of their committees and branches, the successes achieved and the difficulties encountered. Shortcomings were disclosed and proposals made for eliminating them. The meeting was not simply an account of the work done but rather a frank and self-critical talk. Much was said about the sentiment of the workers, about

the issues on which they are vague, about propaganda work and the need for a differentiated approach to people from various walks of life. As a rule, Social Democrats do not argue their case at workers' meetings, they prefer to peddle their ideas in roundabout ways and try to influence the apathetic. That is why stress was laid on individual work.

Much attention was given to the Party groups. Comrades cited examples testifying to improvements in their work and spoke about the experience gained in the election campaign and in the circulation drives for the Party press.

It was decided to hold another exchange of experience next May or June.

A CONFERENCE OF WOMEN COMMUNISTS

THE Turku town committee held a conference of women members to discuss the question of Party work among women and the difficulties encountered in it.

It was mentioned that although the number of women members had grown, not all of them were active in Party work, whereas the situation called for more people who know the problems agitating women, who can explain political questions, lead the women and draw them into working-class action. Many women are interested only in their own particular problems (bringing up their children, housing, pensions, etc.). They should, therefore, be awakened to social issues, on which the solution of private problems depends, and enlisted in the mass movement. It was noted that many women receiving meagre wages had to take extra

work (delivering newspapers, cleaning flats, working as cashiers or ticket collectors). Hence it is necessary to explain to women-workers the significance of the struggle for higher wages and shorter hours.

Speakers cited examples showing how the church leads women away from active public life and the mass struggle, how it is intensifying its activity among pensioners and the youth. Hence the Communists should conduct large-scale work among parents and young people and draw the latter into the youth organizations.

The question was also raised of organizing women in trade unions, improving the work of the Democratic Women's League, setting up more hobby groups for women and better explanatory work among them by the Party branches.

METALWORKERS' AUTUMN HOLIDAY

OUR members display good initiative in organizing social evenings for workers.

On November 10, 1961, an autumn holiday of metalworkers was held in the Recreation Hall in Helsinki. Tickets for the evening were sold in the factories. Since the program included, in addition

to dancing, a concert with both professionals and amateurs taking part, the tastes of young and old were catered to. Many workers brought their families. The value of such occasions is that, in addition to an entertaining program, they provide an opportunity for political educational work.

The social was opened by a metalworker from one of the big plants. He told the audience what the Communist metalworkers fought for, what demands were advanced by the workers and how they upheld them and what had to be done in the future. The first part of the social was concluded by Yrjo Enne, Member of Parliament, who spoke to an attentive audience of 1,000 about the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, the international

situation and how the Communist deputies fight for the workers in Parliament. His speech, warmly applauded, fitted in with the atmosphere of gaiety. Then came singing and acting by amateur art groups. During the intervals and the dancing people could buy souvenirs made in honor of the Fifth World Trade Union Congress. The workers willingly bought them because they knew that the money would go to the trade union fund.

COMMUNIST WORKERS GO TO THE FARMERS

For several years the Turku area committee has sent its activists and functionaries to sell newspapers and hold political talks in the countryside. Many of the members and sympathizers have cars, and on Sundays, accompanied by two or three comrades, they drive to villages (usually localities with few or no Party members) where they go from house to house asking the farmers to subscribe to democratic papers and journals; the Party members tell the farmers about the papers, converse with them on political topics and answer

their questions. The town Communists were at first sceptical about this venture but it proved to be a success. In the village of Vahto, for instance, three comrades held political talks with ten farmer families during one day, and in the Alastaro district a group of comrades secured in one canvass 28 subscriptions to newspapers and 23 to journals. As a rule, a total of 30 to 60 comrades go to the countryside on Sundays. On one Sunday 24 cars went out on this work.

DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASSING

THERE are six Party branches in the Vallila-Herman district, Helsinki. All of them conduct day-to-day work among the people.

On one Sunday, November 19, their members went out canvassing for *Kansan Uutiset*. Each branch knows how many flats there are in its area, and so each member was given his round. He had to canvass a certain number of houses and offer a copy of the paper or ask people to subscribe to it. The target for the day, a sale of 615 copies,

was achieved long before all the houses were visited. Many permanent readers were won.

A man who had read the reactionary newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* for 38 years was persuaded to subscribe to the Communist newspaper.

Summing up the results of the day which brought the Communist paper to the attention of all residents in the Vallila-Herman district, the Communists emphasized the political importance of this success.

CLASSES FOR NEW MEMBERS

LAST November the Party committee in the Pohjois-Karjala area organized weekly classes for younger members (young both in length of membership and in age) who conduct work among teenagers. Members of the staff of the Central Committee and the area committee lectured at these classes on "The Scientific World Outlook of the Working Class," "The Program of the Com-

munist Party and Its Work," "The Program and Work of the Democratic Youth League," and "The International Situation."

The students exchanged views on the most important issues. Special attention was paid to amateur art activities, with instructors giving practical pointers.

Meetings of Central Committees

AUSTRALIA

A STATEMENT stressing that the "program of the CPSU is a major contribution to Marxism-Leninism, and should be studied by all Australian Communists" has been adopted by a meeting of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Australia. The Political Committee reaffirmed the CPA's admiration of the role played by the CPSU in the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence. It condemned the violent attacks made by Enver Hoxha against the CPSU and its leadership, and rejected the allegations he made in his speech on November 7, 1961.

The Political Committee's statement also outlined the tasks of the Party in the current period: a broad people's movement against monopoly capitalism, for peace, higher living standards and democratic rights. "The main immediate task in this struggle," says the statement, "is to build working-class unity for the complete defeat of the Menzies government and its policies."

AUSTRIA

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria summarized the discussion on the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

"In the course of the discussion," said Franz Muhri, member of the Political Bureau, "the question of Albania came up time and again. We strongly condemn the attitude of the Albanian Party leadership which has taken the provocative course of exacerbating the situation. The policy pursued by the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor is a reckless policy, inimical to the interests of socialism, democracy and peace."

A resolution on the danger of neo-Nazism was adopted, as was another censuring the decision of the government to bind Austria to the European Economic Community. This decision, says the resolution, is fraught with grave danger to the Austrian people. First, because any form of membership in the EEC means membership in a political organization which is the backbone of NATO and in which militarist and revanchist West Germany plays the leading role. Second, to join the EEC would be detrimental to the economic independence and, consequently, to the welfare of Austria. West German capital would receive the opportunity to exert even greater pressure on the Austrian economy and would gravely damage Austria's trade relations with the socialist countries. In the interest of the working people, the resolution concludes, it is necessary to combat

Austria's adherence to the Common Market in any form.

ALGERIA

A GRAVE responsibility rests on the Algerian Communist Party in the liberation struggle," states a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Algerian Communist Party. "The Party will continue to bear that responsibility, to cement the alliance of all patriotic forces carrying on the struggle within the framework of the National Liberation Front and give every support to the Front, of which it regards itself as an integral part."

The contribution which the working class has made to the national-liberation fight and its alliance with the poor peasantry, the meeting noted, will be decisive in building up a national democratic state — an Algerian republic which, being founded politically on the unity of all patriotic progressive forces, will win the cause of national independence, establish broad democracy, carry out a far-reaching agrarian reform and nationalize the country's resources in the interests of the whole people.

"The Algerian Communist Party," the resolution continues, "considers it the duty of all Communist and Workers' parties to stand solidly behind the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU which has rendered a great service to international Communist unity by publicly denouncing — after all possibilities of discussion with the Albanian Party of Labor had been exhausted — the dogmatic policy of the Albanian Party's leaders; these leaders have violated the principles contained in the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties, which bears their own signatures, and are spreading vile slanders about the Soviet Union, thereby undermining the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement and the socialist camp."

BRAZIL

THE Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, states a resolution adopted by the leadership of the Brazilian Communist movement, is an event of outstanding importance. "We welcome its decisions as being of world historic significance, and we endorse them on behalf of all Brazilian Communists." The new Program of the CPSU is a blueprint for building communism in the USSR, a program for all who are fighting for human happiness, for peace and freedom. It is one of the most important political documents of our time.

With regard to the attitude taken by the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor, the resolution

states: "We are for the unity of the international Communist movement, for adhering to and carrying out the decisions contained in the 1957 and 1960 documents. Hence we condemn the actions of the Albanian leaders which undermine the unity of the international Communist movement both as regards the struggle against the personality cult and the possibility of averting war in our time and the opening of new roads to socialism. These actions are directed against the cause of socialism and play into the hands of imperialism." The resolution stresses the need to preserve the unity of the Brazilian Communists and to carry on a resolute struggle on two fronts—against dogmatism and sectarianism, and against revisionism.

The resolution calls on the members to make a thorough study of the materials of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, and particularly of the new Party Program.

DENMARK

A REPORT on the political situation and the preparations for the coming Congress of the Danish Communist Party was delivered by its chairman, Knud Jespersen, at an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee. Touching on foreign policy, the speaker called for a broad movement against the joint Danish-West German command. Jespersen likewise opposed the inclusion of Denmark in the Common Market. "If the working class intensifies the movement against the Common Market and demands a plebiscite, that movement will lead to victory," he declared. "The government should let the people decide."

The resolution notes that the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor, contrary to their own assurances, are engaging in splitting activities and have adopted the methods of the personality cult. The Albanian leaders have embarked on the path of open violation of the principles laid down in the statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties in 1960.

The Central Committee meeting resolved to convene the next, Twenty-First, Congress of the Party on May 31-June 3, 1962.

ITALY

A JOINT meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Italian Communist Party discussed the report of Enrico Berlinguer on the "strength, development and tasks of the Party in the current period."

"The Central Committee and the Central Control Commission," it was noted, "approve the resolution of the Party secretariat on the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and the problems it raised. This resolution has helped to

orientate and extend the discussion among the comrades in the local organizations and in the ranks of the working-class and democratic movement, to rekindle interest in our Party on the part of large sections of Italian public opinion, and at the same time to repulse the ideological and political offensive of our enemies against the Soviet Union and the Communist movement."

Pointing out that "the method of encouraging discussion among the comrades, and a frank comparison of opinions with other political trends, has proved correct and fruitful," the Central Committee and Central Control Commission expressed their desire to strengthen and develop cooperation with all fraternal parties, and to explore through friendly meetings and debate the reasons for the misunderstandings and disagreements which still persist. The Central Committee and the Central Control Commission emphasized that every Communist Party should, independently and with full cognizance of its responsibility, work out its own course of political action in order to make international unity stronger and more enduring.

In using the term "polycentrism," the resolution continues, "the Italian Communist Party had in mind the need to overcome the concept of a single center, a single leader-party in order to affirm the independent responsibility of each party to the proletariat and the people of its country and to the international working-class movement as well. This independence does not preclude but, on the contrary, presupposes the need for meetings of the representatives of all Communist parties . . ."

The erroneous views expressed in the course of the discussion were corrected, attempts from without to introduce Social Democratic and dissident influences were rebuffed. And although the discussion was not everywhere of an equally broad and profound character (and in some cases was avoided altogether), although the incorrect attitudes were not properly dealt with in every case, the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission take a positive view of the discussion as a whole.

"The Central Committee and the Central Control Commission," the resolution goes on, "consider that there is a need for more vigorous political activity to help the entire Party to understand the line laid down by the Ninth Congress, for the development of that line and for a deeper elaboration of the ideas underlying the Italian road to socialism. In this way it will be possible to give a more correct orientation to the Party organizations and Party cadres at all levels on all questions and, consequently, to achieve greater unity in the struggle against the diverse forms of opportunism, narrow corporatism and reformism, against the old and new forms of extremism, sectarianism and sterile isolationism.

"For this it is necessary to work out the program of a democratic alternative on the basis of a critical analysis of the situation. A careful examination should be made of questions arising in connection with the extended power of the monopolies, and also the question of alliances which can and should be established on the basis of this program."

The meeting did not accept the proposal to convene an extraordinary congress or to hold the regular Congress of the Party earlier than scheduled. The next Congress, the Tenth, will be convened within the time limits specified by the Party Rules. Before it takes place, it was stressed, careful preparations must be made, so that the Party can make a broader and deeper elaboration of the theoretical and political problems and a critical assessment of the state of the Party.

MEXICO

THE resolution of the 5th enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party on the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU observed that "the Congress posed and solved cardinal problems of the international Communist and working-class movement in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism."

The existence of the socialist world system, the meeting noted, was the determining factor in the development of the national-liberation struggle. The Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU had taken up the defense of the oppressed peoples, and representatives of the international Communist and national-liberation movements had reaffirmed their confidence that the development of a broad national movement and the solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries would lead to the ultimate defeat of imperialism.

The Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, the resolution stresses further, wholeheartedly upholds the international Communist movement. It therefore condemns the position taken by the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor who are conducting a campaign of calumny against the CPSU, aimed at splitting the Communist movement.

The study and circulation of the documents of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, and primarily of the new Program of the CPSU, the resolution concludes, is a task of first-rate importance for strengthening and consolidating the ranks of our Party and developing the socialist consciousness of the Mexican workers.

Among Our Contributors

AJOY KUMAR GHOSH

General Secretary, National Council, Communist Party of India.

SANZO NOSAKA: *Chairman, Central Committee, Communist Party of Japan.*

ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA: *Member of the leadership, United Revolutionary Organizations of Cuba, Minister of Industry.*

LEV GATOVSKY: *Economist, chief editor of the Soviet monthly PROBLEMS OF ECONOMICS.*

K. H. HERMANSSON: *Member of the Political Bureau, Communist Party of Sweden, chief editor of NY DAG.*

In Memory of Ajoy Kumar Ghosh

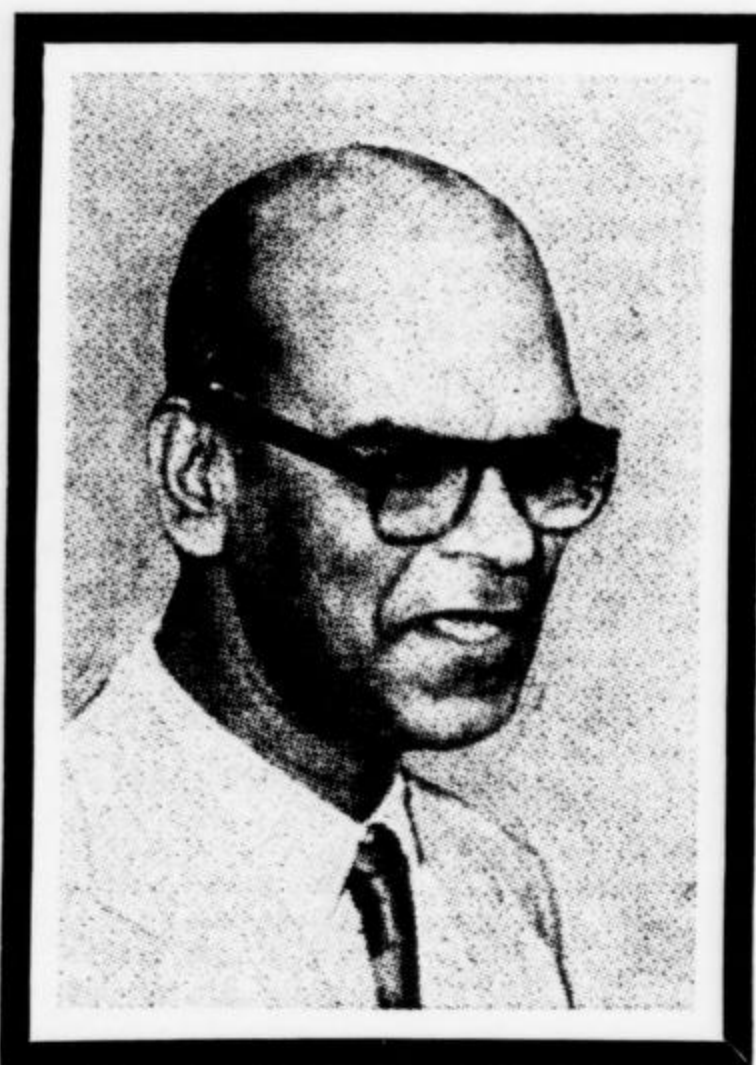
AJOY Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, died on January 13. The Communists and all progressive people have lost an outstanding leader of the international Communist movement, valiant fighter for the freedom and independence of the Indian people, for peace, democracy and socialism.

Ajoy Ghosh was born into a doctor's family in 1909. He finished secondary school in Kanpur, a big industrial center, and later graduated from the Allahabad University.

Ghosh joined the revolutionary movement while still in his teens. In the mid-20's he was active in trade union work in his native city of Kanpur. His activity brought him into conflict with the colonialists, and in 1929 he and other revolutionaries were arrested by the British authorities on the trumped-up charge of an anti-government conspiracy. The trial became widely known as the Meerut trial. In all, Ajoy Ghosh spent more than nine years in prison. But neither prison nor persecution could break the indomitable will of the fighter who had dedicated himself to the cause of his people.

Ghosh joined the Communist Party in 1931 and two years later he was elected to its Central Committee. In 1936 he became a member of the Political Bureau and in 1951 the National Party Conference chose him to be General Secretary of the Party.

Ajoy Ghosh devoted himself to strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically on the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism. Under his leadership the Party registered big successes and became an influential political force in the



country, the militant vanguard of the working class and of all the progressive forces in India.

Ajoy Ghosh, says the statement issued by the Communist Party, headed the Party in the crucial periods of its history. Under his guidance it overcame many obstacles, adhered to the right path and carried forward the great banner of our cause. By his political wisdom Ajoy Ghosh rendered great services in preserving and consolidating the unity of the Party. He raised high the prestige of the Party not only at home in India but also abroad in the international Communist movement where he participated in drawing up important political documents.

Ajoy Ghosh was tireless in fighting for the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. He attended the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow.

Comrade Ghosh was a leading Marxist-Leninist theoretician and propagandist. He wrote a number of works on the theory and practice of the working-class and national-liberation movements. He was the chief editor of *New Age*, the Party's theoretical organ.

His whole life was an example of dedication to the lofty ideals of Communism. He made a notable contribution to the struggle for the well-being of his people, for the development of the international Communist movement. The memory of Ajoy Ghosh will live forever in the hearts of all Communists, in the hearts of progressive people everywhere.

Exchange of Views

The Communist Movement and the Youth*

K. Esterling (Denmark)

Our Attention Should Be Focused on the Content of Our Propaganda

AFTER the defeat of the revisionists in our Party steps were taken to improve our work among the youth. The Party is opposed to the view that the youth of today is "worse" than preceding generations simply because it dresses or dances differently. On the contrary, the young people have been able to preserve a sober judgment and many democratic ideals under the terrific pressure of monopoly propaganda and advertising specially designed to corrupt them.

The development of the Marxist-Leninist outlook in the young generation has always been one of the most important tasks of our Party; its significance for the attainment of unity has perhaps never been as great as today, when the monopolies are employing the most subtle means, including the revisionist forces, to retain their influence on the youth. To counteract the rapidly growing attraction of socialism, the monopolies preach the idea of the "welfare state," and strive to develop a purely "consumer" approach to social progress, to reduce the problem of the character of a social system to a problem of prices for TV sets, and replace the solidarity of the working class with a sort of individualism with a humanist tinge. The accent is placed on well-being without any relation to the struggle for the solution of basic problems of the times, and the fact that this struggle is an indispensable condition of genuine and lasting well-being is loudly denied.

Under the conditions of relative prosperity such as that which prevails in our country at present and which creates the impression of a substantial rise in the standard of living, the Party explains that the gains are the result of the struggle waged against the monopolies, and that the youth's share in this would have been greater had the struggle been more resolute. The part played by the youth in the big strikes in the past few years shows that a large section of it already realizes this.

We, Communists, have shown the perspectives of social development. That is our merit and our

strength. But we are still guilty of a number of omissions in working out the correct approach to this problem.

We have not yet solved a number of problems concerning the popularization of the achievements of socialism, we still allow our ideological opponents to utilize some shortcomings in the socialist countries as a bugbear to mislead the youth. We say that socialism will follow capitalism, but we do not always designate the various stages through which the struggle for socialism must pass. Another weakness is the current conception that the leading position occupied by the socialist countries in space research relieves us of the need to discuss such problems as the difference between the variety of consumer goods and services in the socialist countries and the highly developed capitalist countries, or to assume that the attraction of socialism makes it superfluous to talk about such "elementary things" as freedom in the choice of work or study in the socialist countries. As regards the fight for peace it is not enough merely to protest against the Bomb, one must be able to draw the proper conclusions from the concrete experience of the fight against nuclear weapons. This is a more difficult task and requires much more time. Our weakness is manifested no less in discussion of general philosophical conceptions like freedom, happiness, love, morality, democracy, etc.

At the same time, both in the Party and in the Youth League, we stress that the forms and methods of struggle should be changed as the alignment of forces changes. We must learn to fight both for the "big things" and the "small." A conversation which begins with a discussion of what one saw on the TV last evening can often lead more easily to a discussion of the "bigger things" than one which starts with the major problems of the struggle.

Interest in the new is growing among the youth. We only have to link up this new with the concrete situation, to clarify the questions that are troubling the young people, to convince them by the power of argument, and show them the road to a future that beckons to them.

*Continued from Nos. 10 and 11 (1961) and No. 1 (1962).

Our Youth League has played and continues to play a highly important role in the struggle for the unity of the youth of the entire country. Close cooperation is developing between the Party and the Youth League, the Party respecting the full organizational independence of the latter. We try to build up this cooperation in the localities through the institution of youth secretaries. One of the leading members of the local Party organization is given the task of coordinating the work of the Party and the youth organization. Where this system is observed we have achieved excellent results.

The Communist Youth League considers that one of its chief tasks (in building a core of new cadres who are already making themselves felt) is to strengthen the League organizationally while simultaneously working for the unity of the youth movement. The recent actions in connection with the Hjalmar trial, which exposed the machinations of reactionary army officers, participation in the preparation for the international youth forum and other measures, showed the possibilities for organizing the youth on a mass scale.

Special attention should be given to work among the trade union youth who comprise approximately one-third of the total trade union membership.

Moreover it should be remembered that the Social Democratic youth organizations, experiencing difficulties with membership, instituted a system of collective membership through affiliation of entire trade unions. This means that we must intensify our political work in the trade unions.

The fight for peace, against nuclear weapons, unites many young people. We must draw the young workers more actively into this struggle through the trade unions and link it up with the general struggle against the militarization which swallows up funds that could be used for housing, education, etc. Our Youth League has stepped up its propaganda among army recruits by publishing special pamphlets, leaflets, organizing legal consultations, etc.

For a little country like ours the Common Market spells national disaster and impoverishment. West Germans are now buying villas in our country and our health resorts are being flooded with the people at whose service our factories and plants and our whole country will shortly be placed. We tell the youth: "We cannot remain passive in order to be able to say later on: 'We told you so'." We must organize resistance, rise in defense of our living standards, our culture, our nation and peace. We can rally the youth under this slogan today if we pay more attention to these questions.

W. Wachs (Austria)

THERE is one problem that faces all political parties in Austria — the fact that young men and women between the ages of 20 and 30 take very little interest in politics. They prefer to stand on the sidelines, and take part in public life only in exceptional cases. In all parties the average age of the membership is very high. Few of our members or functionaries are between 20 and 40. This is a problem which has to be solved. We must enlist in the struggle, win to our side and recruit for the Party men and women in these age groups.

New Developments

A few months before its Eighteenth Congress, the Party conducted a recruiting campaign which brought in more than 4,000 new members. The fact that nearly one-third of these are under 30 is without precedent since 1945. Most of the new members are from the factories, especially the bigger plants, particularly in Styria, where the Party has successfully led economic struggles. Some of the new members were recruited from within the Free Youth organization. In this connection it is of interest to recall that of the nearly 2,000 new members who joined during the Party's 40th anniversary celebrations in 1958 only a small percentage were

young people. It is now obvious that the situation is changing.

What is prompting the youth to join the Party today?

The impact of the achievements of the socialist world system in the political, economic, scientific and technological spheres is one of the main reasons.

The work of the Party in defense of the workers' economic and social interests has also played its part. The steadfast efforts of the Communist members of the production councils, trade union and other bodies at moments of acute struggle have convinced many militant young people that the Communist Party is the consistent champion of the demands of the workers.

The initiative of the Party in campaigning against the projected return of Otto Hapsburg and against the monarchist propaganda has shown the masses that the Communists can be relied upon to put up a staunch fight against all reactionary machinations. The protest demonstrations against the monarchist celebration of Otto Hapsburg's birthday attracted thousands of young people, including Socialists, active trade unionists and even Catholics who joined forces with members of the Free Youth and the Communist Party in defense of the

republic. A deep impression was made by the anti-fascist demonstrations organized by the Communists against the pro-Nazi sallies. There have been cases of young Socialists writing to the Communist press to express their agreement with the anti-fascist stand of the Communists and to criticize the shilly-shallying of the Socialist leaders.

Young people are now displaying a keen interest in ideological questions and in the basic social problems of the day. The achievements of socialism impel them to give thought to the reasons for these successes. Growing numbers of young people attend our lectures on questions of Marxism-Leninism. In some industrial centers and provincial capitals Party educational workers regularly read lectures on a wide variety of subjects. Many of these lectures end in lively discussions. Noteworthy too is the fact that young Socialists are taking a greater interest in Marxism. This is evident from the discussions going on in the Socialist Party, from the articles in the Socialist youth press and in letters to the editors of *Die Zukunft*, the theoretical journal of the Socialist Party.

Vital Problems

To define the best ways and means of reaching the youth it is essential to know the problems uppermost in their minds.

First and foremost, there are the economic issues. People want to benefit more from the favorable economic situation. Although they see an abundance of goods in the shops, they are finding it harder to meet their needs. Young couples have to wait years before they can get a flat and then are unable to furnish it. The youth are fighting for higher wages and a shorter working day.

Then the young people are worried by such questions as opportunities for promotion, for obtaining an education and improving their skills. They want wider educational opportunities, a democratic educational system and modernization of schools, easier access to higher education (at present no more than 6-7 per cent of the college enrollment comes from working-class families).

Third, there is the matter of military service. The government and the coalition parties began to build up an army immediately after the conclusion of the State Treaty. The Communist Party, on the contrary, opposed a standing army and advocated the establishment of a militia which would have closer ties with the people, involve a brief term of service and cost less. Since a standing army based on conscription was nevertheless created (its numerical strength is now greater in proportion to the population than at any time in the past, even during the monarchy), the Party attached special importance to defending the interests of recruits as regards both their economic demands (guaranteed jobs on demobilization at the previous

place of work and service pay) and their rights while in the army. The Party has substantial achievements to its credit in this sphere. Party newspapers which report cases of victimization of soldiers as well as the attempts to implant old Nazi practices, are read by the soldiers. At Party meetings demobilized soldiers as well as men still in service respond eagerly to the arguments advanced by the Free Youth and the Communist Party. Members of the Free Youth doing their military service enjoy the support of their fellow soldiers who often elect them to be their spokesmen. They also take the lead in resisting barrackroom despotism and all kinds of reactionary machinations.

Fourth, problems connected with the keen interest displayed by the youth in modern scientific and technological progress. Space research, Gagarin's exploit, automation and the peaceful uses of atomic energy — all these fields in which the Soviet Union holds the leading place — are something that fascinates young people.

Sport is another matter of vital interest to them. The Central Committee recently issued a statement advocating the development of the sports movement on a democratic footing. The Party regards the sports movement, which has 700,000 organized participants and millions of sport lovers, as one of the "decisive factors in the education of the youth."

Tourism is also gaining ground. In recent years many workers have visited the socialist countries and on returning home have given enthusiastic accounts of what they saw. Many of them have exposed the hostile propaganda at the enterprises in which they work. The tourists spread the truth about socialism through contributions to the press and in talks with their fellow workers, and some of them join the Communist Party.

Conclusions

The growing membership and prestige of the Party are the principal factors in winning over the youth. It should be brought home to young people that it is the Communists who uphold their interests. Party members holding posts in the trade unions, in the production councils, in the municipalities and in the sports and cultural organizations should always speak and act openly as Communists. People should know that their demands are also the demands of the Party, that the Communists have been consistently fighting for these demands for years.

More must be done to disseminate the ideas of socialism, to open more centers where Marxist lectures are regularly delivered, especially at the bigger enterprises, and to train qualified lecturers. Our educational work should be pivoted on the enterprises and residential areas.

Inner-Party life must be reorganized so as to advance more young members to leading bodies (with due consideration for the feelings of the older comrades). To ensure that the youth should have faith in our Party, we must have faith in the youth and entrust with greater responsibility the young men and women who have found their way to our ranks. Moreover, it is above all the younger members of the Party, for whom it is easier to find a common language with people of their own age, who should recruit the youth into the Party.

The workers' clubs under the direction of the Party should arrange lectures and discussions and also the showing of films dealing with scientific and technological achievements, problems of the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, the achievements of the socialist countries in all spheres of life, including sports and the physical culture movement, the reason for these successes, etc. Such measures, politically purposeful and attractive in form, will help to bring young people closer to our ideas.

E. Abdelkader (Algeria)

Living Conditions

Young people under 20 account for 56 per cent of the population of our country. Consequently, the average age does not exceed 25. One out of every six children born dies before it reaches the age of one year, and of the survivors only one out of seven is able to go to elementary school. In the University of Algiers only one out of every ten students is an Algerian. As soon as he is strong enough to work, the young Algerian has to look for a job to earn his livelihood.

Tens of thousands of young peasants, turned into paupers by the colonialists, pour into the cities in an endless stream only to swell the ranks of the already huge army of unemployed. Hunger has driven thousands to emigrate to France in search of work.

Unwilling to endure the yoke of imperialism any longer and inspired by the example of the peoples that have won independence, the youth of Algeria have risen to fight for freedom and happiness and are now in the forefront of the revolutionary war. Hence the National Liberation Army, which now numbers tens of thousands, experiences no difficulties in replenishing its ranks. Young Algerians — workers, peasants and students alike — have eagerly responded to the call to fight for liberation.

New Features

The grim trials through which the young people are passing help to develop in them such admirable traits as a sense of national dignity, hatred for the colonialists and readiness to sacrifice themselves for the sake of victory.

The national-liberation war has united the rural and the urban youth, the workers and intellectuals. The various sections of the youth are fighting together, coming to know each other, and realizing better and better that their interests are identical.

Gradually they are overcoming the prejudices implanted by the colonialists. Association with the workers and intellectuals, and the experience gained in the struggle, have helped the young peasants to break away from the influence of the religious

sects, which carried a great deal of weight in the villages before the national revolution. The emancipation of the young women has been accelerated, and many of them are now taking an active part in the liberation struggle in the firing lines, doing military liaison work, and collecting donations from the population. These new features of Algerian life undoubtedly are of great significance for the country's future.

The French colonialists have done their utmost to divert the youth from the national-liberation struggle. They have sought to recruit them into armed detachments to fight the National Liberation Army. To lure young intellectuals, they offer them posts in the French administration. By carrying out a pitifully inadequate agrarian reform, they hoped to induce the peasant youth to give up fighting for its interests. They have widely advertised a so-called plan for the industrialization of Algeria and by their neo-colonialist policy they have sought to sow confusion among the Algerian youth. But all in vain.

The majority of the young people have not been deceived by the colonialist maneuvers. Their anti-imperialist resolve has not been shaken. But lacking their own organization and taking part in a struggle which at the present stage is led by the national bourgeoisie, they are exposed to the influence of bourgeois ideology. And the bourgeoisie is determined to retain its hold on them. To this end it denies the existence of classes, pursues an anti-communist policy, etc.

Complex Problems

The problems of the youth have always been given priority by the Algerian Communist Party. As a matter of fact, no sooner had the Party been founded than it helped to establish a Communist youth organization. Although this organization was numerically weaker than the nationalist associations of the youth, it nevertheless played an important role in the period preceding the national insurrection. Yet the Algerian Democratic Youth League, as it was called, never became a mass organization.

The young people of a colonial country hunger for freedom and by and large they are politically

alert. The Democratic Youth League, however, while doing some valuable work, tended to ignore the specific conditions of our country by copying the organizational forms evolved by its European counterparts. This once again pointed up the fact that the youth of a country groaning under colonial yoke is faced with problems different from those that arise in the developed capitalist countries, that the progress and liberation of the youth must necessarily follow lines corresponding to the progress and liberation of the entire nation.

Today the main task facing our young people is to defeat the enemy. Tempered in the national-liberation struggle, they have directed all their efforts towards this goal. All other problems have temporarily been relegated to the background.

This raises a number of specific problems. For one thing, the youth is under the direct influence of the national bourgeoisie, which, although it is taking part in the fight against colonialism, nevertheless retains its own class ideology.

At present our youth has no organization of its own, barring the students' organization, which operates mainly abroad.

The Communists are carrying on active political work among young people, laying the emphasis on the problems of the national revolution and the role of the youth in it. They elucidate the character of the revolution and its tasks, urging young men and women to join the fight for national independence, for democracy and progress. They draw attention to the fact that in their fight against an enemy armed to the teeth the youth of Algeria enjoy the support of the socialist countries, the international Communist and working-class movement, and all other progressive, anti-imperialist forces the world over.

The most difficult of all our problems is that of combining armed struggle with diverse forms of political action. For instance, we find it by no means easy to explain to our young people why it is imperative to build an alliance between the Algerian and the French working class, between the progressive French youth and the youth of our country, at a time when there are more than 40,000 young Frenchmen in the colonial army in Algeria. Numerous other instances could be cited.

But in spite of difficulties of this kind, the Party has made certain headway in its work among the youth.

Early last year our students and young workers met in Geneva with representatives of the student and working youth of France to explore possibilities for ending the war in the interests of both peoples. Many of our young people have ceased to believe in the anti-colonialism of the notorious American democracy and are associating their hopes with

the socialist countries and the example they have set for others.

Many of our young people realize (especially in the light of the events in Morocco and Tunisia) that there still is a bitter struggle ahead, that even after political independence has been won much will have to be achieved in the economic and social spheres.

H. GURALNICK (Canada) showed that even in such a highly-developed country as Canada the position of the youth is not easy. The situation with regard to employment and education is at a crisis stage. According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, of the 622,000 unemployed in April last, 25 per cent were young people under 25 years of age. The training of young workers to prepare them to handle complex machinery is anything but adequate.

Illusions of permanent security and opportunity, which have been sown among the youth by capitalist propaganda in conditions of nearly 20 years of economic prosperity, are slowly beginning to dissipate. The growing economic difficulties in Canada, the achievements and the prospects of the socialist countries (in which the young people became particularly interested after the Soviet exploits in the conquest of outer space) and the heroism of the revolutionary youth of Cuba — all this is beginning to awaken our youth, creating favorable conditions for the activities of the Young Communist League. The first breakthroughs in the wall of anti-Communist prejudices, erected during the many years of the cold war, are being made.

In the last couple of years, after the Young Communist League (formerly the Socialist Youth League) cleansed its ranks of the revisionists, it began to gather its forces for active work among the young people. The League can now record some growth in strength and in ability to step up its work.

Young Canadians are in the forefront of the struggle for disarmament and peace. Students of most universities have united in the Combined Universities' Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. They are quite forcefully demanding that no nuclear weapons be placed on Canadian soil, they send delegations to Ottawa and parade for peace outside Parliament. Secondary-school pupils are also campaigning for disarmament, their voice in defense of peace is being heard more loudly. Our young Communists are playing a vital role in these student movements, working to strengthen united youth action for peace. The League is cooperating with all youth groups which have joined the campaign against nuclear weapons. It has its clubs in a number of universities and is fighting on behalf of the student youth. One of the problems facing the League is to establish broader contacts and

develop activity among working youth (including unemployed young people) and among the youth in the farming communities.

The League is approaching the youth with a program which meets their immediate economic and cultural needs, their striving for education, peace and a secure future. It is holding out the perspective of a socialist Canada in a world at peace, when the youth will be really free and happy.

For a number of years there was no youth paper in Canada. But under the guidance and with the assistance of the Communist Party, a campaign was carried on for a fund to start such a newspaper (the monthly *Advance* has been appearing since October 1961). The League is not yet a mass organization. Its clubs are not to be found in all districts of the country. Not all regional Party organizations give proper attention to building the League and developing its activity. Not all Party members see to it that their children join and become active in the League. These are problems to which the Party is now paying attention.

G. AL-HAIDARI (Iraq) dwelt in detail on the ideological work of the Communist Party among the youth.

The struggle against bourgeois ideology presupposes the exposing of imperialist and ultra-nationalist propaganda. Since the national government is increasingly influenced by the imperialist forces and by the Right nationalist and reactionary groups opposed to democracy and undermining the country's independence, the Communist Party meets with complications in its ideological work. Utmost accuracy is needed in distinguishing imperialism from Right-wing nationalism in order to center the fire on imperialism and its agents, to distinguish them from those who are still helping the national movement.

The Communist Party unmasked the imperialist agents who had wormed their way into the nationalist organizations, and denounced the reactionary organizations hiding behind "nationalist" and "Islam" slogans. It pointed to the danger arising from collaboration with the reactionaries and urged all genuine nationalists to renounce conspiracy and assassinations and to pursue normal democratic means of struggle.

The Iraqi Democratic Youth Federation, which is a broad non-Party organization, should unite with all nationalist youth organizations in the struggle for independence and democracy. This can be achieved by patient explanatory work and friendly discussions between the progressive youth and young people of other trends. If, nevertheless, some sections of the youth insist on setting up their own organizations, then everyday cooperation should be established with them on the basis of a common program. Many young people, enthused by the first

successes of the revolution, have now become disillusioned by the repressions of the government and, in their resentment, often turn to extremism. Our job is to direct their discontent into the right channel, to help them understand the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie, the inconsistency of its policy and the tasks arising therefrom.

The ideological struggle with the ultra-nationalist Kurds who seek to isolate their youth in the struggle for national rights, is an important aspect of the struggle for youth unity. On the other hand, the Communist Party is combating the official propaganda which denies the existence of the Kurdish nation and its specific interests. The Kassem government pursues a reactionary and chauvinistic policy in relation to the Kurds.

The Democratic Youth Federation has set up a Committee of the Affairs of the Iraqi Kurdistan Youth. Its aim is to revive the Kurdish cultural traditions, celebrate the anniversaries of outstanding Kurdish writers, arrange youth festivals and lectures on Kurdistan, and acquaint the public in Iraq and outside with the Kurdish youth activities. In this way we hope to unite the Kurdish youth while not losing sight of the need to unite all the Arab youth in the Democratic Youth Federation of Iraq.

The Party, after discussing the idea of forming a youth organization to study Marxism-Leninism, decided against doing so. Marxism-Leninism is propagated in a variety of ways, and one of these is through groups of young people who support the Party. Many of the basic Marxist works and documents have been translated into Arabic.

Despite the massive bourgeois propaganda and the campaigns Kassem launched against communism claiming that it was "a foreign importation with no roots in Iraqi soil," more and more young people are joining the Communists and the other progressive forces. Our youth is deeply impressed by the achievements of the socialist countries and their peace-loving policy of friendly relations with peoples fighting for their independence. The Communists show in a concrete way that only socialism can fully meet the aspirations of the youth and secure them a happy and bright life.

The experience of the Soviet Union, particularly of its Asian republics, and the other socialist countries, is striking proof of the superiority of socialism, and its achievements find an ever greater response among the democratic youth.

W. SNELL (Finland) spoke about the work of the Communist Party among the youth in the mass organizations and, in particular, in the Workers' Sports Society (TUL).

The sports movement in Finland embraces large numbers of workers and has rich traditions of proletarian class struggle. The Communist Party shows the baselessness of the theories of the bour-

geois sports leaders who advocate a neutral sports movement and who try to cultivate nationalism and chauvinism in the sports societies. As a result the Party has won the decisive influence in the TUL sports society, numbering 250,000 members and uniting over 1,000 local societies. About half of its membership is affiliated to the Democratic Alliance of the People of Finland.

For many years the Party has worked through the TUL to influence the young people along progressive lines.

The activities of the societies affiliated to the TUL and the struggle waged by it against the bourgeois sports leaders and disruptive elements and for its independence were actively supported by the press of the Communist Party and the Democratic Alliance. The People's Democratic organizations placed their premises at the disposal of the sports societies and built gymnasiums and sports clubs. Young Party members became leaders and functionaries of these societies.

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party held in 1960 defined the main tasks of the Party in the sports movement as follows: "At the place of work and in the residential areas the Communists should constantly explain the role of the Workers' Sports Society and recruit young people to it, particularly those from workers' and small farmers' families, improve the sports activities of the TUL and its educational work... While respecting the inner democracy of the workers' organizations of which they are members, the Communists should work to win the support of the members of these organizations for the Party's views and promote their activities."

In 1960 the TUL arranged 8,690 study courses and seminars, and more than 30,000 sports contests were held.

There were, however, difficulties in the work of this organization. In the critical periods of the cold war when the Social Democratic leaders of the TUL came out openly against the Communists and called for "curbing" them, many comrades reacted in the wrong way — unwarranted attacks were made on people adhering to different views, abusive language was used and the ideological struggle was not always conducted on a principled level.

The Central Committee of the Party, correcting these mistakes, called for a flexible but principled struggle for working-class unity in the sports society.

Thanks to the cooperation between Communists and rank-and-file Social Democrats, the TUL leadership was purged of the Right-wing reformist elements who attempted to draw the local TUL societies into bourgeois sports societies and thus disrupt the TUL.

The Communist Party has repeatedly turned to the parties and sports organizations in the USSR

and other socialist countries for assistance to enable the TUL to take part in international sporting events.

The work done by the Communists in defense of the TUL has strengthened the Party's influence among the members of this organization.

True, the Communist Party still is not doing enough in the bourgeois sports societies, which cater to large numbers of young people. But the experience of its work in the TUL shows that there is ample opportunity for extending Party influence in the mass youth organizations.

P. MOTTA LIMA (Brazil) spoke about the student movement in his country.

In Brazil the bourgeois parties do not have youth organizations, Catholic youth organizations are weak, and the Communist Youth League is the oldest and a relatively strong organization, though consisting mainly of students.

The student movement in general has its own traditions. Even the government has had to reckon with it and to enact laws envisaging the strengthening of the student organizations and material aid for them.

In recent years the reactionaries have sought to weaken the student movement and to divert it from the path of revolutionary struggle. At the same time the Communist Party underestimated this movement and frowned upon it on the unsound pretext that it challenged the leading role of the working class. Nevertheless the student movement is in the vanguard of the struggle, uniting various sections of the youth and representing a powerful organization deeply rooted in Brazilian soil and enjoying the respect of the entire democratic and national movement.

There are two national organizations in Brazil — the National Student Union and the Union of Secondary School Pupils. Through their organizations the students secure higher grants, college canteens, lower fees, printing houses for their papers, reduced fares, cinema tickets, etc.

For example, the struggle waged by the students in Guanabara State resulted in the opening of seven low-priced canteens controlled by the Academic Board and a central student canteen catering for 9,000. The student organizations of this state have 40 libraries, entertainment and recreation facilities, a stadium, office premises, a clinic, a consumer cooperative, a summer camp, newspapers and magazines.

The experience of many years shows, however, that the struggle for immediate demands alone is not enough. By their active part in the national political struggle the students have shown themselves to be vanguard fighters and have contributed greatly to the building of a united anti-imperialist

and anti-feudal front. They stand for agrarian reform, for reorganization of the educational system on democratic principles, rapid economic development, for state monopoly of oil and other natural resources; they are steadfast in their opposition to North American imperialism, and they are active in the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence and for the self-determination of nations.

During the strike of 500,000 dockers, sailors, railwaymen and metalworkers, when the police occupied the trade union headquarters, the National Student Union and the Union of Secondary School Pupils held powerful anti-American demonstrations and built barricades during Eisenhower's visit to the country. Mourning flags were hung on the President's residency. Numerous demonstrations took place in connection with the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and during the critical days of the U.S. aggression against Cuba — the National Student Union even began to recruit volunteers for Cuba.

In the course of this struggle the workers displayed solidarity with the students. This was seen in particular in the symbolic strike declared by the trade unions in Guanabara State in support of the National Student Union's demand for a democratic reform of the educational system. The Communist Party is reinforcing this unity, regarding it as a practical form of the alliance of the working class with the most active sections of the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals.

M. JAFFAR (Sudan) spoke about the youth movement in an underdeveloped country.

The work of the Communist Party among the youth, he said, has passed through several stages, and the Party has gained some experience on which the Sudanese Youth Union is now based.

The political parties and the trade unions founded after the war consisted mainly of young people and therefore did not feel the need for separate youth organizations. The bourgeois parties included the religious youth organizations which were actually their youth sections. The Communist Party had just been formed at that time and it regarded youth organizations based on religious sects as being harmful to national unity, because the sects were hostile to each other and this hostility was skilfully used by the colonialists.

With the growth of political activity among the people the nationalist parties formed youth sections which were joined by the young Communists who led an anti-colonial struggle and urged these parties to pursue an uncompromising policy against colonialism. But these parties did not tolerate the activity of progressive elements and expelled them.

The Communist Party which was driven underground by the colonial authorities formed a legal youth organization. But this organization was short-

lived, it was suppressed by the colonial government.

The program of this youth organization was purely political and for this reason it was unable when banned, to unite the working youth at large.

This taught the Party to pay more attention to the immediate needs and social demands of the youth, to use every legal opportunity to secure support for these demands.

Since the chief task was to build an anti-imperialist national front it was decided to set up an organization which would unite the broad sections of the youth fighting for the abolition of imperialist domination and colonialism. Thus the interests of the youth were closely bound up with the fight for complete independence, for democratic development and abolition of the survivals of colonialism and feudalism.

Such an organization, capable of uniting the various sections of the youth and with the Communists playing the vanguard role in it, was formed and took the name of Sudanese Youth Union. When the country became independent, the Youth Union became legal.

The Union did not confine itself to political activity (solidarity with the African countries in their struggle against imperialism, recruiting volunteers to fight the aggressors who attempted to seize the Suez Canal, the struggle against imperialist ideology and for the regeneration of national culture long suppressed by the colonialists, spreading the achievements of world culture, etc.) but also upheld the rights and interests of the youth and actively participated in the work of cultural, public, sports and other organizations.

The Union launched a campaign for wiping out illiteracy; it helped the peasants to bring in the crops, to repair the damage caused by floods and to build public premises. It quickly extended its ranks, opened branches throughout the country and gained the respect of the people and the support of the youth.

After the military coup in 1958, the Communist Party and other democratic organizations, including the Youth Union, were banned.

When the U.S. imperialists gained access to our country they began to show particular interest in the youth. Through their information centers, the press, libraries, literature and scholarships and by inviting young people to make brief visits to the United States they are trying to Americanize our youth, corrupt them and divert them from the struggle.

Some of our young people are influenced by bourgeois ideology, and the Communists vigorously combat it. The underground Communist Party and the Youth Union continue their efforts to rally the young people around the ideas of national inde-

pendence, progress and peace, using every legal opportunity for this purpose.

SUMMING up the discussion, **A. RUMYANTSEV**, chief editor of the journal, stressed that the participants had given a broad picture of the work conducted by the Communist parties among the youth, of the thinking of the young people, and that in this lay the significance of the exchange.

The speakers had pointed to the growing activity of the youth in our turbulent world, had told how the young people are loudly voicing their discontent with the regime in the capitalist countries and expressing the desire to change it. This process of activization and the growth of political awareness is not an even one, but it is taking place everywhere, and we can safely assume that it will gain in strength.

In their searching the young people are turning to the big social and political issues associated with the struggle for national independence, for the regeneration and extension of democracy and for peace, that is, for resolving the problems which, ultimately, will bring the people to the socialist revolution. Hence there arises, in many respects, a new connection between the purely youth problems and those political issues which are the concern of all.

Nowadays one can lead the young people and convince them only by broadening their social outlook, by bringing to them the ideas of socialism and political struggle. This does not mean, of course, that their immediate needs should be relegated to the background. Marxism has always been against counterposing the immediate and the ultimate goals of the revolutionary struggle. It is only the opportunists who sacrifice the bright ideals of the future to the present, just as the sectarians brush aside with disdain the things that agitate the youth today, saying that the revolution will solve all our problems. The point is, however, that one can accelerate the political growth of the young people only if one is closely linked with them and can correctly formulate what they feel vaguely or do not fully realize yet. The objective conditions bring the current issues and political struggle closer than ever before.

The exchange of views has shown that while such traditional forms as meetings and discussions have their place, they do not always satisfy the young people who look for action and are anxious to prove their worth in all spheres. Therefore the youth should be given not abstract slogans but clear-cut programs, showing them how to bring the new morrow nearer. What I have in mind is initiative.

It is bad when the noble impulse, the desire for the romantic, the emotion and the faith of young people in their strength are underestimated. We should appeal not only to their reason but also to their feelings, take into account their age and professional interests. We should not evade issues which agitate them, particularly those on which bourgeois propaganda concentrates attention. It is necessary to bring home to them concepts of genuine freedom, democracy, happiness, and ethics.

Sometimes one hears veteran Communists say that things were different in their day, that the youth of today is not what it was in the past. The elderly people are apt to overestimate their own record and underestimate the youth.

When I attended the Seventh Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held in 1959 I heard a secretary of the Central Committee of the youth organization quoting somebody's eloquent words about the weaknesses of the youth. He did not say when this was written but it sounded topical. Some of the delegates nodded sympathetically, thinking that these words applied to the present. But when the speaker asked: "Do you know when these words were written?" And answered: "In 1920," The reference was to the older generation, representatives of which were present at the Congress and who, though they had been underestimated by their contemporaries, brilliantly displayed their abilities in the revolutionary struggle. We should repose more trust in the youth, we should not curb their energy but direct it into the right channel.

Our opponents have at their disposal all modern means of propaganda. They have a whole army of ideological underlings. But recall what Lenin said when the White Guards speculated about the reasons for the success of Bolshevik propaganda. It seemed to them that the Bolsheviks had much paper and material means and that in this lay their strength. Lenin replied that we have much less of all this than our enemy — our strength lies in the truth of our ideas. Today the truth of our ideas is buttressed by the force of example embodied in victorious socialism. And this truth will triumph, it will win the hearts of the younger generation. We are for the unity of the broad masses of the youth. We are ready to enter into contact and act jointly with every youth organization interested in the defense of democracy and peace. But we do not conceal our Communist ideals, our principles and, what is more, we do not barter them. On the contrary, we proclaim them proudly and for all to hear. Fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and the desire for broad co-operation are a vital source of the strength of our movement and of its future success.

Conference of Marxist Sociologists

(Report of Round-Table talks in the editorial office of
World Marxist Review)

LAST autumn a group of sociologists from a number of socialist countries met at a conference arranged by our journal.

The conference was attended by I. Srovnal, head of the Philosophy Chair at the Higher Party School of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, L. Kľofac and L. Hrzal, members of the faculty, Professor M. Kalab, Charles University, Prague, and D. Slejska, Institute of Philosophy (Czechoslovakia); A. Schaff, Director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Z. Bauman, head of the sociological sector of the Higher Party School of the Polish United Workers' Party, and A. Pavelczynska, director of the Public Opinion Institute, Radio Committee (Poland); G. Osipov, head of a sector, Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and B. Grushin, member of the editorial board of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (USSR); and J. Oshavkov, member of the editorial board of the journal *Philosophic Thought* (Bulgaria). Members of the editorial board and of the staff of *World Marxist Review* also took part in the discussion.

A. I. Sobolev, Assistant Editor of our journal, who opened the meeting, observed that in arranging this exchange of views, the editors had been prompted primarily by the practical needs of the journal. The editors wished to discuss jointly with sociologists the prospects of organizing sociological research under the auspices of the journal with a view to better presentation of the socialist way of life and also to exposing bourgeois ideology and reformism through a factual study of the conditions of the working people in the different countries. This was the immediate practical purpose of the discussion. It was not the aim of the conference to adopt decisions on controversial scientific and theoretical problems, Sobolev said, adding, however, that the exchange of views would doubtless be most valuable not only for the journal but for the scholars themselves and for the development of concrete sociological study in the socialist countries.

Accordingly, at the suggestion of the participants, it was decided that the conference would examine the following questions:

1. The exchange of information on experience and programs of concrete sociological research in the socialist countries.

2. The relationship of historical materialism to concrete sociological research.

3. The fundamental difference between Marxist sociology and bourgeois trends and schools of sociological thought.

4. Cooperation between Marxist sociologists from various countries and the prospect of conducting joint sociological study on particular problems for publication in the *World Marxist Review*.

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The conference began by the participants describing the state of concrete sociological research in their respective countries, how it is organized, how the study is conducted, and the practical results achieved.

J. Kľofac, greeting the conference on behalf of the Czechoslovak sociologists, spoke of the study that had been made of family budgets, standard of living and cultural needs of the working people. This, he said, was but a modest beginning in a highly promising field of work. Kľofac was followed by D. Slejska who described his experience in studying at first hand collectives of workers at a number of industrial enterprises in Czechoslovakia.

An account of the numerous sociological studies conducted in the USSR beginning with 1955 was given by G. Osipov, B. Grushin and E. Arab-Ogly. These studies touched upon a wide range of problems including changes in the cultural and technical level of the working class on the basis of a study made in factories in Sverdlov Region; village life in present-day Moldavia; causes of crime in the Gorky Region; intermarriage among different nationalities in Central Asia; how the workers of Kemerovo region spend their leisure. From this research, which had been conducted with the direct participation of the local Party organizations, certain practical conclusions had been drawn and recommendations made which were subsequently taken into account in drafting new laws and in state and administrative measures. Keen interest was displayed in the report of the work done by the Public Opinion Institute of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, which conducted polls on the attitude to war, the improvement of the standard of living, teenagers and their problems, the significance of the Communist labor teams and other topical questions.

The Polish sociologists Schaff, Pavelczynska and Bauman described experience accumulated in more than ten years of concrete sociological research in their country.

In the more than 30 research institutes in Poland efforts are concentrated wholly or mainly on the study of social phenomena and social processes. The four largest of these are the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Academy of Sciences (problems: the changing structure of the working class, formation of a new intelligentsia, spreading culture among the masses); the sociology center of the Radio Committee, which is concerned chiefly with public opinion; the sociology sector of the Higher Party School, which is interested mainly in developing the existing forms of internal Party study; the rural sociology department of the Institute of Agricultural Economy (basic themes: socio-economic changes in the countryside, migration of the population, new techniques in agriculture, agricultural study circles, rural youth, marriage and the family in the countryside).

Large numbers of researchers and voluntary assistants take part in these studies. Considerable sums are spent annually on this work but it is money well invested. The popularity and practical value of this research can be seen from the fact that government and economic organizations are constantly applying to the sociological institutes with requests for research on one or another specific problem of interest to them.

Concrete social research on such a broad scale was possible, Schaff emphasized, thanks to the aid given by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party which appreciated the value of this research for socialist construction and encouraged the initiative of the scientists in this field.

In the beginning, of course, the Polish sociologists encountered numerous difficulties, lack of experience, chiefly. At first some researchers were tempted to resort to the simple expedient of transferring bodily to our country the research methods employed in the capitalist countries. And indeed not a few of our sociologists succumbed to the temptation. By now, however, such shortcomings have been largely overcome and the research is being conducted on the basis of Marxist methodology with the application of original methods and techniques evolved by Polish sociologists.

Experience has shown the practical value of the study of specific social phenomena. At the same time, Schaff concluded, our scientists are strongly in favor of extending international cooperation among Marxist sociologists in this field as

well, in order jointly to solve some complex problems and together to combat bourgeois ideology. We should coordinate our work, he said. By pooling our efforts we shall solve our problems; at any rate, faster and better than by "going it alone."

J. Oshavkov told about the research on the changes now taking place in the Bulgarian countryside and the reasons for the persistence of religious survivals.

The obstacle to the all-round development of sociological research in the opinion of the participants of the conference, was lack of experience, inadequate training of researchers, inertia on the part of some scientists who cling to routine forms of scientific work in the sphere of social phenomena. These are the reasons why the concrete sociological research is not yet conducted on a big enough scale in some countries and still falls far short of the standard required of it by the Communist parties.

Organizing sociological research is a difficult and responsible task, not to be taken lightly. Its theoretical value and practical significance in building socialism and communism depend on many factors: choice of subject, theoretical and methodological training of the scientists concerned, careful elaboration of method and proper use of the data-collecting technique in each case. The speakers unanimously cautioned against the danger of reducing the laborious, painstaking work of sociological research to a mere superficial kowtowing to fashion.

The results of the research are of the greatest value for economic planning under socialism, for predicting social processes, for a more rational satisfaction of people's needs, and lastly, for propagating the Communist outlook. According to Schaff, Oshavkov and other speakers, the Central Committees of the respective Communist parties are devoting much attention to research of this kind, regarding it as evidence that the social sciences are closely linked with everyday life, with the practical needs of socialist and communist construction.

* * *

Views were likewise exchanged with regard to the relation of the theory of historical materialism to the concrete study of social phenomena and processes. This has become the subject of lively discussions of late among Marxists in philosophical magazines and at scientific conferences, in the course of which some narrow scholastic and, at times, downright erroneous views have been expressed.

The unity of the Marxist theory of social development and concrete social research is all the

more important politically at the present time, because historical materialism is the chief target of revisionist attacks against Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

In their desire to open the doors to bourgeois ideological influences, the revisionists have attacked historical materialism from two sides: on the one hand, they demand that historical materialism be expunged from Marxist philosophy, thus reducing the latter to the status of "pure gnosiology" and on the other, they argue for an entirely independent sociological science *apart from and independent of* historical materialism, relegating the latter to the realm of "pure philosophy" and denying its theoretical and methodological significance for social science. In both cases, although the two viewpoints appear to be mutually exclusive, the general tendency is clearly to discard historical materialism, as the most revolutionary element of Marxist-Leninist outlook, and thus leave the way clear for borrowing directly from modern bourgeois philosophy and sociology.

All the participants of the conference naturally condemned such attempts to counterpose concrete sociological research to historical materialism. Dialectical and historical materialism are two indissolubly linked aspects of the one Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The materialist conception of history and the theory of scientific communism are the only scientific, Marxist trend in sociology; they are at once the theoretical and the methodological foundation of concrete sociological research.

At the same time speakers expressed the view that overt or covert disregard of concrete sociological research was a manifestation of dogmatism in Marxist-Leninist social science. By maintaining that the materialist conception of history covers the whole of Marxist sociological science, the dogmatists attempt from the theoretical standpoint to justify their refusal to study and generalize the new phenomena and processes that arise in the course of building socialism and communism. The dogmatist would like to reduce "the application of the principles of dialectical materialism in the sphere of social phenomena" to the simple process of deducing one set of "absolute truths" from others of an even more general nature. Avoiding a direct study of reality, these researchers tend to turn the Marxist-Leninist science of society into something like a game of sociological patience.

A principled, consistent struggle against dogmatism is essential to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist social science. Moreover, as Grushin, Pavelczynska, Oshavkov, Klofac and others noted, concrete sociological research is by no means an end in itself. Its object is not only to formulate new theories, but to render practical

help in building socialism and communism. It provides a reliable guarantee against scientific work being divorced from the practical problems of building socialism and communism; it brings new factual material into science, helps Party and government bodies, offices and enterprises to find speedier and more rational solutions to social problems, to disclose the contradictions and resolve them in good time; it lends greater conviction to the popularization of the socialist way of life and furnishes the concrete data with which to repulse the sallies of bellicose anti-communism.

Upon encountering such tenacious social evils as crime, superstition, careerism, moneygrubbing, alcoholism, etc., the Marxist sociologist Oshavkov noted, cannot be satisfied merely with philosophic disquisitions to the effect that the social consciousness is bound to lag behind the social environment. He should be able to pinpoint the social causes of phenomena of this kind, which have no class roots under socialism. At the same time, it is his duty to make a thorough study of the conditions which help to mould and educate the new man, which help properly to combine social and personal interests, and which give free rein to initiative.

The new Program of the CPSU places big demands on Marxist sociologists, and at the same time offers them a wide field for research in the social phenomena and processes that could further the building of communism. It would be naive to assume that abolition of the distinctions between manual and mental labor and between town and countryside, the gradual transfer of administrative and juridical functions to the public bodies of self-government, etc., would so simplify social relations as to make social science superfluous. Far from it. Under communism, too, the inner meaning of social processes will have to be sought for beneath the surface; the role of Marxist sociology, which is called upon to assist in the scientific organization of all public life, to supply the public with authentic data, anticipate new phenomena, etc., will be enhanced in the process of building communism.

Concrete sociological research is concerned with the life of society, the laws governing the development and relative independence of social phenomena. Their profound study necessitates a creative approach to the materialist conception of history, to the theory and the methodology of historical materialism, as well as mastery of the method and technique of research.

The development and extension of research in specific social problems, the study of the relative independence of the separate social phenomena and processes naturally presuppose a differentiation in science, new scientific discipline such as

the sociology of labor, sociology of family life, urban sociology, etc. The need for auxiliary disciplines such as social statistics, social model building, etc., also arises. Dialectical and historical materialism remain the theoretical and methodological foundation of all these sciences.

Disregard for the theory and methodology of historical materialism, Schaff, Osipov, Klofac, Sobolev and Sitkovsky and others pointed out, leads to a positivist distortion of research, renders it valueless and even results in misrepresentation of the actual state of affairs, as has been the case with a number of studies of this kind. On the other hand, technical illiteracy and dillentantism dooms concrete research to theoretical and practical sterility, and discredits it as a science.

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Success in the sphere of concrete research in social phenomena and processes cannot be judged merely by the number of polls taken or questionnaires circulated in one or another country. As was correctly noted during the discussion, questionnaires and polls in themselves do not make a study scientific. A genuine sociological study of a particular problem deals primarily with social relations and reveals the social laws and root causes of the phenomena studied. Otherwise all the efforts of the researchers will be spent on collecting odds and ends of useless information, an occupation that is typical of bourgeois sociology, particularly in the United States.

Grushin and Bauman stressed that Marxist social science and contemporary bourgeois sociology differ fundamentally not only as regards their theoretical and methodological basis but also in the procedure and technique of concrete sociological research.

A feature of present-day bourgeois sociology is the empirical degeneration of research, abuse of the questionnaire and poll method, arbitrary and non-representative selection of subjects for study, the tendency to steer the answers of the "subjects" in the direction desired by the sociologist, etc. Marxist sociologists, on the contrary, rely above all on authentic statistical data, and attach only secondary importance to selective polls; they concentrate on studying the objective conditions, and not on the subjective views held by people concerning those conditions, views which, in one way or another, are usually a response to leading questions.

The view was expressed that the future of concrete sociological research in the socialist countries lies not in mechanically copying the techniques used in the capitalist countries, but in Marxist sociologists developing new and better procedures,

methods and techniques, and above all, an all-round program of such research.

Cautioning against abuse of the method of questionnaires and polls when other and more reliable sources of factual information exist, the conference discussed the scientific value of the various methods used in studying social phenomena and processes, of the technical procedures for verifying the authenticity of the information resulting from preliminary "piloting," leading questions, comparison with statistical data, and similar devices. Moreover, it was noted that such factors as the policy of non-representative groups, the incorrect way in which the questions are submitted and the wrong nature of the questions, the low percentage of questionnaires filled in and returned as compared with the number sent out can not only nullify the results of the study but can lead to utterly false conclusions, to a distortion of the real state of affairs, as is the case with bourgeois empirical sociology.

The speakers condemned the tendency observed in some cases to reduce research to an illustration of established concepts and laws by "fresh factual material." A superficial approach of this sort would only be a waste of money and effort. Sociological research is valuable not for its illustrative qualities but as a medium for the profound and thorough study of new phenomena and processes.

Marxist sociology, in the opinion of those who took part in the conference, should not be restricted to "factographic" descriptions of reality, it should generalize the social processes from a Marxist standpoint.

The conference was unanimously in favor of going ahead with concrete sociological research and stressed the need for more exchanges of views, for more coordination and cooperation in this field between the Marxist sociologists of the different countries. Sobolev, Sitkovsky and Srovnal warned against the danger of the research taking a positivist course of disdain for theory, which could lead to a non-critical borrowing from bourgeois sociology. To avoid this danger, the research should rest on the theoretical and methodological foundation of dialectical and historical materialism, on the examples of this type of research to be found in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Though this research is undoubtedly valuable as a means of enriching the scientific theory of social development its significance should not be overestimated. The view held by modern bourgeois sociologists, that empirical research is the sole source of factual material for subsequent generalization is totally groundless, Schaff, Grushin and Srovnal emphasized. This is a narrow and presumptuous point of view to say the least. For

Marxists concrete sociological research is only one of the means for creatively developing theory. Equally important for enriching historical materialism is study of the history of social development and generalization of the achievements in other social sciences.

* * *

Concrete sociological research is by its very nature collective research, and this sets it apart to some extent from the traditional forms of scientific work in the social sciences. While this is due partly to some of the difficulties encountered in the course of the research, it is also a guarantee of success.

In this connection the speakers expressed the hope that there would be more exchanges of experience and pooling of effort in this respect.

Towards the end of the conference reference was made to the prospect of joint studies of social phenomena and processes being undertaken by scientists in a number of countries. Some of the subjects suggested for research were: the social consequences of automation under socialism and capitalism; the anxieties and hopes of the young people under capitalism; the response among different groups of the population in the capitalist countries to the new Program of the CPSU; the

status of women under socialism and capitalism; a selective poll of public opinion on the question of universal and complete disarmament, terminating nuclear tests, and ending colonialism, etc. An interesting undertaking could be a "counter-study" of the subjects selected by bourgeois sociologists to substantiate reformism and their attacks on socialism. A concrete study of the social phenomena and processes by Marxist sociologists would give the *World Marxist Review* much factual material for popularizing the new Program of the CPSU and at the same time for combating anti-communism.

The conference helped to shed light on some important theoretical questions constantly encountered by scientists working in the field of sociological research. It helped to bring closer the views of Marxist sociologists of the different countries on the foundation of dialectical and historical materialism. The minor differences of opinion expressed during the talks were confined to specific questions with no direct bearing on the immediate purpose of the conference, viz., definition of terms, relationship of technical methods of research, etc.

The results of the conference will be used by our journal to organize sociological studies in accordance with our long-range editorial plan.

Reviews

May Gardens Bloom Where Prisons Now Stand

NO one who has read Henri Alleg's *La Question* is likely to forget this story of torture by electric shock and branding iron, of threats of violence to the victims' families and intravenous injections of "truth serum" — of all the horrors experienced by the thousands of Algerian patriots in the hands of the French colonialists. Their lot was also the lot of Alleg, who nevertheless was able to make his voice heard through the prison walls and to focus the attention of world public opinion on this 20th-century savagery, the enormity of which few readers of press reports of colonialist atrocities can fully visualize. Many a patriot was no doubt saved from what had seemed an inevitable fate by the worldwide sentiment Alleg roused.

While *La Question* was being translated into 17 languages and published in many countries, its author, a Communist, continued writing his prison diary. The result was a new book, *Prisoners of War**, the story of the three years he

spent in the Barberousse prison. This is a record of the struggle waged by Algerian patriots even behind prison bars, a struggle that recently found a sequel in the mass hunger strike of Algerian political prisoners, which was supported by working people of France and of the whole world.

During the night of October 1, 1961, Alleg escaped from his captors. And in December, at a press conference in Prague, he announced that he was offering his services to the Provisional Algerian Government in order to carry on the fight.

In the title of his new book, Alleg takes the offensive against the enemy. To justify their reign of terror the colonialists stubbornly deny the existence of an Algerian army. According to them, there are no Algerian soldiers and officers, only criminals against whom all means are legitimate. Although the French rulers have had to put an army of 600,000 men equipped with tanks and aircraft into the field, they cling to the pseudo-legal fiction that it is not a people's army but common lawbreakers they have to deal with. The colonialists want a free hand.

*Henri Alleg, *Prisonniers de guerre*, Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1961, 250 pp.

Alleg blasts this myth. By making note of the prisoners' registration numbers, he established that during his three years in Barberousse more than 10,000 people passed through the prison. "They were my fellow prisoners, so magnificent and so staunch for all their suffering, so different yet so much alike in their heroism, filing past as a detachment of a great embattled people!" (p. 247). More than 10,000 patriots, more than 10,000 prisoners of war in just one French prison in Algeria! As one of the 10,000 — no, as one of the hundreds of thousands of fighting men — Alleg experienced the hardships of the struggle together with his people.

And paradoxical though it may seem, this book about life in prison is an optimistic book. Alleg's optimism stems from his firm belief that there is a better future in store for the Algerian people. Suffice it to quote two brief excerpts.

"The Algerian patriots carry themselves with dignity and pride, with a smile of contempt for those who revile them behind their backs," Alleg wrote on his first day in Barberousse. "In spite of the harsh, ruthless regime, the determination and concealed strength, firmness and endurance of these heroes in tatters who have risen to the great popular struggle create an extraordinary impression."

And the final lines of the book, written nearly three years later:

"We shall wipe Barberousse off the face of the earth!

"How often the prisoners have dreamed of the day!

"What shall we build in its place?' we would ask one another.

"Opinions differed:

"A hospital!

"Houses . . . we've had enough of hovels!

"A university for our young people!

"A park! A park, that's the thing. Why, there's not a blade of grass around!

"Yes, a park! May the merry voices of the children of free Algeria ring out to meet the sun where only groans from the dungeons were heard before; may the happy laughter of mothers resound where the silence was shattered by the heart-rending cries of women bidding a last farewell on execution nights; may a tall, splendid tree grow in memory of every victim who was beheaded or shot, and clusters of fragrant flowers remind people of the humiliations and pain suffered here . . ." (pp. 249-250).

Alleg paints a picture of the Algeria of tomorrow in which all Algerians, whatever their origin, will find a place. Indeed, were not the inscriptions in French and Arabic on the prison walls symbolic

of the future? "Long live independence! Long live the National Liberation Army! Down with French colonialism!" Alleg, himself an Algerian of European extraction, knows very well how much misery the colonial policy brought upon his country. Hence he understands the value of the brotherhood forged behind prison bars. This feeling of brotherhood was well expressed by one of his fellow prisoners when he said: "In the Algeria of tomorrow there will be room for all."

Irrespective of their origin or political and religious views the fighters in captivity were welded together by a bond stronger than friendship — the bond of fraternal alliance in common struggle.

It is not easy in a prison cell to preserve one's faith in the future and the triumph of justice, and if the Algerian patriots do not lose heart this is due not so much to any special traits of character as to the fact that each feels the support of his people throughout his ordeal. The prisoners of Barberousse are part and parcel of their people, a cross-section of the nation; there are even a "children's cell" and "an old folks' cell." This, too, is proof of the nationwide character of the war in Algeria.

Instances of fathers and sons or brothers fighting side by side have become commonplace. In one of the condemned cells were three brothers, the Melzis, and in another, three named Menna. "Cases like this," Alleg writes, "surprise no one, nor do they evoke admiration more than others. It is taken for granted that every family should give unstintingly to the sacred cause."

The important thing is not to allow oneself to be broken, to keep up one's spirits during the trials and ordeals moments of which there are so many in prison.

"When you learn of the death of friends, it is very important to suppress the irrational and discouraging feeling that you are powerless to do anything at a time when your fellow fighters outside are risking their lives every minute of the day. Tomorrow the concrete of the prison yard, too, may be crimson with blood . . ." (p. 156). Yes, the struggle goes on and in prison too it can have its moving moments: "Josef sent us a piece of cake which his mother had lovingly decorated with green, white and red crescents and stars — the colors of independent Algeria. Laughing, he shouted to us:

"You should see the cake I have had from home! I won't eat it, I'll keep it for a flag!"

So the battle goes on even inside the prison walls. The opposing forces here are the same as outside. In fact, the colonial war is fought here as well. The prison guard are racists: common

criminals have the right to use the showers, spend more time in the open air, and are addressed respectfully by the warders merely because they are Europeans. A European gangster can count on being assigned the job of bookkeeper, cook or medical orderly, while Algerian patriots are made to perform menial tasks.

Needless to say, the racist prison guards are also violently anti-Communist. The administration fears Communists and makes a point of isolating them.

"Until May 1957," Alleg recalls, "all Communists, regardless of their origin, were isolated in a large cell in the center of the prison block. Together, they represented a formidable force, as could be seen especially on the day an attempt was made to hand one of them over to the executioners" (p. 47). The author describes the heroism with which the Communists fought to protect the life of Ahmed Akhache, Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party. So determined was the resistance put up by the unarmed prisoners that they could be overcome only with the help of the gendarmerie. The repercussions of this incident were such that the colonialists had to abandon the design to murder Akhache. Alleg writes: "Said Ahmed, as he is known in the prison, is popular among the prisoners even if the administration

has isolated him from the others by keeping him in solitary confinement. His prestige is due not only to the work he has done as Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, but also to the resistance offered the prison guards and gendarmes during the siege of the central cell. That event became a landmark in the history of Barberousse" (p. 130). The administration had to break up the Communists into small groups and to lock them up in separate cells; this was an unwilling tribute to their courage.

Alleg's latest book is one of the finest ever written about Algeria, its people and its history. The author's whole life has been linked with the life of his people; together with them he has traversed the thorny path of struggle, and together with them he is determined to carry on the fight until final victory. He has contributed much to it by this book, each page of which is a damning indictment of colonialism. Telling the story of the suffering and heroism of Algeria's patriots, it shows that the colonialists cannot break their resistance by torture and prison.

Prisoners of War will be a source of inspiration not only to the fighting people of Algeria, but also to all other peoples fighting for their rights.

P. BELLEFROID

Word of the Future

WHAT is the most widely circulated book in the world?

The Bible, would doubtless be the answer of the librarian at UNESCO where they keep a record of such things.

Perhaps so. That venerable monument to man's blunderings dates back to antiquity. In some countries, every hotel room is supplied with a copy, a noticeably unthumbed copy in most cases, for it is difficult to find answers in the Bible to the problems agitating the men of today.

Nowadays hotel guests in the United States will find another book on their bed-tables alongside the Bible, a brand-new book entitled *What to Know and Do About Nuclear Attack*. Put out by the Pentagon, the book was published in January in an edition of 25 million copies to start with and is being distributed through the mails. It is full of answers, but to the wrong questions. Mankind is anxious to eliminate wars from the life of society, not to legalize them with the aid of provocative publications like this one. People want to know: what to do to prevent a nuclear attack.

And if the Bible symbolizes man's transgressions in the past, the Pentagon's book stands for the current blunders of one section of society. There is, however, a book which is in tune both with the times and with its needs. It is called the *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*.

True, it is the program of one specific party in one specific country. Yet its significance transcends national boundaries. It gives a glimpse, and a very instructive glimpse, of man's future. And that is why people all over the globe are reading it.

The text of the Program and the other documents of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU are being published in nearly every country of the world. It is impossible to give the complete details, but a few figures will afford a general picture.

In the Soviet Union the Program was published in all the languages of this multi-national country; the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow has translated it into English, French,

German, Spanish, Serbo-Croatian and other languages.

In Peking, the Jenmin Publishing House put out a volume of the basic documents of the Twenty-Second Congress. The Shi That publishers in Hanoi printed them in several pamphlets. In Budapest they appeared under the title *Congress of the Builders of Communism*. The Prague journal *Nova Mysl* devoted a special issue to the Congress and published its materials in a separate volume. Newspapers in all the socialist countries carried the text of the Program as soon as it was adopted by the Congress. Berlin's Dietz Verlag printed the Program and Rules of the CPSU in pamphlet form. In Warsaw the Congress documents were put out by Ksiazka i Wiedza Publishers.

But interest in the Congress is not confined to the socialist countries. In Guatemala, where the Party of Labor has been banned and democrats are hounded, the main sections of the CPSU Program were published in the newspaper *Verdad*, and later mimeographed copies of the full text were circulated among the members of the Guatemalan Party of Labor.

In the United States the Congress documents were published in two volumes by Crosscurrents Press. In France the *Cahiers du communisme*, and in Japan the *Sekai Sheiji Shiryo* and *Zenei*

journals devoted complete issues to the subject. Pamphlets containing the basic documents of the Congress have appeared in Denmark, Norway, Italy, Britain, France and many other countries. In Rangoon the text of the Program was published in the newspapers *Burman* and *Avant-Garde*, while the Burmese Woman Publishers have put it out in pamphlet form. The Congress materials appeared in a special supplement in the Brazil newspaper *Novos Rumos* and in the journal *Important Speeches and Documents of the Day* published in Delhi, India. Al Tahrir, a Cairo publishing house, put out the Congress materials in Arabic.

Interest in the Program is so keen that even some bourgeois publishers have reprinted it. Both the text of the Program and the Rules were published by Belmont Books in the United States — albeit with an anti-communist cover and a hostile foreword.

Communism Is the World Tomorrow is the title of a pamphlet with the text of the Program put out by the Pegasus Publishers in Holland. Political pamphlets in Holland are usually published in editions of no more than 2,000 copies; this booklet sold 6,000 copies within a few days.

Word of the future is spreading over our planet . . .

G. GERASIMOV

Communications and Comment

The Western "Answer"

BARELY two weeks after the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, news came from Washington that the United States government was hastily drawing up some sort of economic plan reportedly calculated to mobilize the collective efforts of the imperialist powers and alter the course of the economic competition between the two world systems in their favor.

"Thus, the goal is intended to be the Atlantic community's overwhelming response to the twenty-year economic program of the Soviet Union," wrote *The New York Times* in its issue of November 13, 1961. The same note was struck by the West German *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, which declared that "the goal is to achieve a substantial rise in the economic potential of the Western world in order to hold our own . . . in the contest with the Eastern bloc . . . The main purpose is to demonstrate to the whole world the advantages of a free economic system."

"The answer to Moscow," as the project has already been christened by the capitalist press, astounded everyone. Not, however, because of its profundity or scope, but because of its total lack of any economic foundation. "One simply has to take the plan on faith," commented the French weekly *Tribune des Nations*.

The "answer" is nothing if not brief, though this reflects little credit on its compilers. It proposes to increase by 1970 the gross national product (goods plus services) of the United States, Canada and the 18 West European member-countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) by 50 per cent, which implies a 4.6 per cent increase in the annual average rate of their economic growth. That's all. As if capitalist production, which follows its own laws and precludes national economic planning even on the scale of one country, could be induced to make a spurt by government declaration concerning the desirability of "stepping on the gas!"

The American project of the "Western answer" was discussed on November 16-17 in Paris at the meeting of the Council of Ministers of OECD. The proposal, outlined by George W. Ball, the U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, was coolly received by the European Ministers. This was partly a question of prestige, of course, for the United States had drafted the "counter-plan" without the participation of its allies. But there were other and weightier reasons for the chill reception.

In the first place, seen against the background of the CPSU Program, the "counter-plan" appeared far from impressive. The advantages of its adoption were not clear, but the political disadvantage was obvious. Since the CPSU Program provides for a 2.5-fold increase in the volume of industrial and agricultural output between 1961-1970 alone, the projected "Western response" could hardly be said to "eclipse" the 20-year economic plan of the USSR. This perhaps explains the vehemence of Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer Selwyn Lloyd who wanted no mention in the decisions of the meeting about the plan being a counter-measure to the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. But this would have robbed the American scheme of its original political flavor.

The American proposal did not inspire any faith in the possibility of its being realized. After all, the United States accounts for nearly 60 per cent of the combined gross product of the OECD countries. This means that success or failure of the "plan" will continue to depend on the United States. But the average annual growth of the American gross product since the war in Korea has been no higher than 2.3 per cent, and that of industry, 2.5 per cent. For Britain, another leading member of OECD, the rate of growth is only 2.6 per cent. But perhaps American rates in the past 10 years were the exception and there is every possibility that the rate of growth in the 'sixties will rise to 4.6 per cent? Past experience gives little grounds for such an assertion.

Not once since the beginning of the century has American industry recorded a stable annual rate of growth equivalent to 4.6 per cent. Between 1918 and 1960 the average growth rate of industrial production did not exceed 3.3 per cent annually although this included war periods when U.S. production was substantially boosted by munitions orders for other countries. The decline in the rate of growth can be clearly traced: in 1950 production was 25 per cent higher than in 1946; in 1955 it was 24 per cent above 1950, and in 1960 only 12 per cent above 1955. True, there is no shortage in the USA of schemes for accelerating the rate of industrial growth, some of them with 4.6 per cent as the target figure. But none of these projects offers any effective recipe for introducing a radical change in the economic process.

The target figures of the U.S. plan were hotly debated at the Paris meeting. The unreality of the American proposal was rather conclusively demonstrated by the Danish delegate Professor Christensen, who, alluding to research conducted under his direction, expressed the view that by 1980 the rate of growth in North America and Western Europe would in all probability be 2.5 per cent at a minimum estimate and four per cent at the maximum. His doubts were shared by other participants. "Although the American scheme is understandable," commented the *London Times*, "its implications should not be lost either on us or the Americans themselves" In a free economy, the paper went on, there was no golden rule about how to achieve growth, and growth rates of over three per cent a year for more than eight years had always been in periods when special factors were at work . . . "The OECD," the *Times* concluded, "would do well to look into all these points before committing itself too quickly to the new idea."

The only way to reach the desired goal, the United States maintained, is through closer economic cooperation within the framework of OECD. But the appeal evoked little enthusiasm from the European ministers.

Nor is this surprising. Identity of class interests is indeed compelling the imperialist countries to pool their efforts in the struggle against socialism. One expression of this was the creation of the aggressive Atlantic Pact, which is something in the nature of a contemporary "holy alliance" of world reaction. On the other hand, the drive for monopoly profits and the ceaseless struggle for foreign markets connected with it, augment the contradictions between the imperialist powers and prevent them from cementing their forces, especially in the sphere of economy. And it is precisely at this time, according to the bourgeois press, that the capitalist world is about to launch a new competitive drive on the home and foreign markets.

Imperialist contradictions combined with the obviously dubious nature of the "counter-plan" laid their stamp on the entire course of its discussion. The atmosphere of the OECD meeting was marked by pessimism and uncertainty with regard to the future. And although, under U.S. pressure, the "plan" was adopted in the end, it was in a drastically altered form.

In the first place, the decision makes no mention of the fact that this ambitious scheme is by way of a response to the program of communist construction in the USSR. Secondly, the proposed economic growth was indexed to 1960 instead of 1961, thus adding another year to the plan and reducing the average annual rate of growth accordingly from 4.6 to 4.2 per cent. Thirdly, the West European countries, in effect, avoided giving any undertaking to reach the targets set by the United States,

preferring to be guided by their own interests. As is evident from the communique of the meeting, the countries concerned *do not consider themselves bound by the rate of economic growth specified*, but each "should make its contribution . . . within the limits of its possibilities." In other words, the "Western answer" was still-born.

The participants in the meeting were frankly sceptical about its results. Herr Erhard, Federal German Minister of Economy, for example, considers the "plan" figures "of no long-term value." The difficulty, he told West German pressmen, was not to draft a plan but to carry it out. Yet it was precisely in this respect that everything remained open. Indicative, too, was the attitude of the press. The OECD Council meeting was given very little notice. Most newspapers limited themselves to brief reports, and seemed to forget the whole affair the day after the meeting closed. The few comments were anything but sanguine in tone, their main argument being that the West with its "universal prosperity" has no need to succumb to "growth-rate mania."

Time, the best judge of all, has already demonstrated the impracticability of the "plan." This is evident from a glance at the balance-sheet for 1961, the first lap of the OECD's ten-year heat. The economic schedule for the 20 countries in question was not adhered to even by the United States;

it could not keep the pace and instead of a 4.2 per cent production growth, the rate was barely half that figure. The rate of growth of industrial output in the European Common Market countries in 1961 dropped by more than half compared with the previous year. What the year 1962 will bring or how many crisis pitfalls await capitalist industry and agriculture in the next 10 years is something neither President Kennedy nor his advisers, nor the European partners of the United States can foretell.

As might have been expected, the "Western answer" fell flat. Even as a propaganda stunt it fizzled out. And this was to have been imperialism's counter-blast to the Program of the Soviet Communists, the grand blueprint for the future in which man, his needs and requirements are the focal point! The OECD meeting "demonstrated to the world" many things, but by no stretch of the imagination could it be said to have demonstrated any "advantages." If anything, it merely confirmed once again the Communists' profound conviction that capitalism has not and cannot have any positive program for humanity. The imperialists should publish more "plans" of this kind. They would help people to understand some of the hard facts about capitalist reality and to draw their own conclusions.

V. KAJE

West Irian Shall Be Free

THE truculent attitude adopted by the Dutch imperialists over West Irian has aggravated relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia and created a potential center of war in South-East Asia. The Dutch government is making hasty preparations for a colonial war.

For a number of years now Dutch imperialism has been trying hard to cling to its colonial possessions in Asia. In 1949 it was forced to recognize Indonesia as a sovereign republic. Liberation of West Irian from colonial status, however, was at that time postponed for a year.

But it soon became clear that the Netherlands, with U.S. backing, had no intention of transferring West Irian to Indonesia. The Dutch government, instead of negotiating with Indonesia on this question, took measures that worsened the situation. In 1956 it proclaimed West Irian part of the Netherlands.

According to the "theory" advanced to justify this arbitrary action, West Irian does not, ethnologically, belong to Indonesia. Built into this "theory" was the principle of "divide and rule," by means of which the Dutch colonialists are trying to set the various groups of the population of Indonesia

against each other. To this end they give every encouragement to the separatist movement.

The colonialists brutally exploit the population of West Irian and ruthlessly suppress the slightest expression of discontent.

The Dutch government has set up a bogus representative body known as the "New Guinea Council." Of the 28 members of this body only two were elected by the indigenous population, the others were either nominated by specially chosen "electors," or appointed by the Dutch Governor. The Chairman of the Council is Dutch, an official of the colonial administration. But even with this composition the Council has no real powers. The handful of Dutch members dictate to the other members.

Realizing that their hold on West Irian is shaky, the colonialists have resorted to new maneuvers. They are trying, for instance, to bring Irian into the system of "collective colonialism." It was with this aim in view that the Dutch delegation to the United Nations suggested that West Irian be "internationalized." Speaking in the General Assembly, Netherlands Foreign Minister Luns proposed that the U.N. should set up a committee to study the possibility of "self-determination" for West Irian.

The objective was to "place West Irian under the control of an international organization."

This move was supported by the United States, itself a colonial power. The American imperialists have no objection to West Irian being placed under U.N. trusteeship. For this would enable them to take part in enslaving and plundering the people and, ultimately, to oust the old colonialists.

It became clear at the General Assembly that the Dutch plan to "internationalize" West Irian was doomed to failure. The delegations of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as of many Afro-Asian countries, described it as an attempt to use the United Nations as a cover to maintain colonialism in West Irian. Linguistically, geographically, economically and by virtue of its historical associations, they declared, West Irian was an integral part of Indonesia. The Dutch government was compelled to withdraw its draft resolution even before the voting took place.

One would have thought that this defeat should have taught the Dutch a lesson. But the colonialists, it is said, are even more stubborn than the mule. For the Dutch rulers are persisting in their aggressive course.

What attracts the Dutch imperialists and makes them cling to West Irian so tenaciously is this country's natural wealth — its rich deposits of gold, chromium, talc, asbestos, marble, brown coal and even uranium. American and Dutch investors have sunk oil wells there. West Irian is a choice morsel for the imperialists.

Last year the Dutch Parliament passed a law granting a mixed Dutch-American company a 75-year concession for the exploitation of West Irian's mineral resources. Among the parties to this transaction are the United States Steel Corporation and the Freeport Sulphur Company. American capital has equipped and maintains geological prospecting expeditions. In this way U.S. trusts obtain access to the riches of the island.

West Irian is also important to the imperialists because of its strategic position. They say frankly that West Irian should be regarded as a base against "advancing communism" in this area. They want to see West Irian in the aggressive ANZUS and SEATO blocs.

American imperialism's stand on the Irian question is a hypocritical one. The United States is offering to act as a "mediator" in settling the conflict. But the only interests it has at heart are its own. For many years it has given its backing to Dutch aggression. Were it not for this support the Dutch would never have been able to establish their bridgehead in West Irian. At the same time, the Americans are doing their best to clear the ground for their neo-colonialist plans in Indonesia, where they are anxious to reinforce their political and economic positions.

The Irian people's struggle against the colonialists and for reunion with Indonesia is rapidly gaining momentum. A powerful underground organization, known as the "Army of the War-Like Bird of Paradise," is fighting to end Dutch rule and for reunion with Indonesia.

The people of Indonesia, too, are fully resolved to liberate West Irian. President Sukarno has stated time and again that if the Dutch imperialists refuse to negotiate the transfer of West Irian to Indonesia, then all means will be utilized to re-establish justice. An order read by President Sukarno at a public meeting on December 19, in Jogjakarta stated in part:

"As President of the Indonesian Republic and Supreme commander of the armed forces, I, with a view to counteracting the Dutch colonialists and liberating West Irian, have instructed the army and the people of Indonesia, the people of West Irian included, to carry out the following orders: first, to frustrate the Dutch design to establish a puppet state; second, to hoist the red and white flag of Indonesia in West Irian; third, to make preparations for a general mobilization to defend the independence of their country."

The people of Indonesia and the three leading parties — the National, the Communist and the Nahdatul Ulama — have expressed wholehearted support for the President's call. The just claims of Indonesia have met with the sympathy and support of the peace-loving people of the world, to whom it is clear that continuation of Dutch colonial rule in this area is fraught with the danger of armed conflict.

The West Irian issue is an important one in Holland. There are conflicting views among the Dutch imperialists on this question: the "diehards," headed by Luns, want to keep their grip on West Irian. Another section of the bourgeoisie favors talks with Indonesia and the return to her of West Irian.

In all its activities the Communist Party of the Netherlands has always approached the Indonesian question from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party demands the immediate withdrawal of all Dutch troops from West Irian. It insists on bilateral negotiations between Indonesia and Holland and on the immediate and unconditional transfer of West Irian to Indonesia. The negotiations should be initiated by Holland. The Communist Party's stand enjoys support among broad sections of the people. That this is so, is due to the Party's tireless efforts and patient explanatory work.

The recent developments in the Party of Labor (social democratic party) are not without significance. The Right-wing leaders of this party, who are in large measure responsible for the consequences of Holland's postwar policy

vis-à-vis Indonesia, a policy which, it should be said, has already twice — in 1947 and 1948 — led to colonial wars, are trying to spread the imperialist ideology in the working-class movement. For a long time they have opposed negotiations with Indonesia on the return of West Irian. The joint statement issued by the Communist parties of the Netherlands and Indonesia is making an impact on the active members of the Party of Labor:

"Both delegations fully agree that the transfer of the administration of West Irian to Indonesia should no longer be delayed. Should the Dutch reactionaries persist in their refusal, they will be deliberately provoking a war with Indonesia because of West Irian (New Guinea)."

The developments in the Party of Labor have given rise to a number of trends. It would seem that some of the leaders are beginning to appreciate the danger with which the situation is fraught and the fact that a settlement can no longer be postponed. Yet the party as a party is doing nothing to combat the government's dangerous policy.

The Communist Party has appealed to the Party of Labor and to the trade unions to lose no time in organizing big demonstrations in favor of negotiations with Indonesia.

Actions of this kind are essential, for the government has no intention of modifying its aggressive policy, as the Parliamentary debate in January showed. The Communist MP's called for the setting up of a committee to conduct negotiations with Indonesia on the transfer of West Irian. The motion was seconded by the "Pacifist Socialist Party." A group of public personalities have addressed a letter to the Queen requesting her to nominate people in no way associated with the government to conduct the negotiations.

There have already been a number of actions against the government's policy. Factory and building-site workers have sent protest telegrams to the government. Residents in the Zaan-streik district have been active collecting signatures to an anti-colonial war petition. At the end of December the Peace Committee in Amsterdam organized a big demonstration. The posters carried by the demonstrators called for the immediate withdrawal of Dutch troops from West Irian.

Vigilance is the need of the day. The plans of the Dutch colonialists, fraught with the danger of war, must be frustrated.

W. GREY

Against the Persecution of Democrats

RAISE YOUR VOICE IN DEFENCE OF ANTONIO MAIDANA

PARAGUAYAN Communists and their many friends both in the country and abroad are worried about the fate of Antonio Maidana, Second Secretary of the Paraguayan Communist Party. On August 12, 1958, Maidana was arrested by the reactionary authorities and thrown into prison.

Comrade Maidana is a highly popular leader of the patriotic and democratic movement in Paraguay. For the past 20 years he has fought for freedom and independence of his country. During the years of terror he had to work in the underground, experienced all the vicissitudes of party work; he spent several years in prison and in concentration camps, lived in exile, and was threatened with the death sentence. But never for a moment whether in prison or in exile did he relinquish the fight for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and for their triumph in Paraguay.

This time dictator Stroessner decided that something had to be done with this dangerous political opponent. He instructed the judges to sentence Maidana to a long term of imprisonment. But to do this, in view of the public indignation, was not such an easy matter. Backed by a powerful solidarity movement, Maidana, speaking in court, upheld the

position of the Communist Party, proclaimed its aims and its political line, and exposed the hypocrisy of the so-called "defense of democracy" law on which the charge against him was based.

Maidana was found not guilty, and the court had no choice but to order his release. The government, however, bent on carrying through its criminal design regardless of the means, refused to carry out the orders of the court and unlawfully detained Maidana as a hostage in prison under a strict regime, a regime calculated to ensure his ultimate extermination. He was kept in a damp, dark cell with no ventilation. He was denied visits by his lawyer and by a doctor. As a result of the torture and the unbearable conditions to which he was subjected, his throat and eyes were affected.

In more recent times the Stroessner gaolers have accelerated the plan for the extermination of Maidana and his comrades. Last May his wife was arrested and exiled together with the wives of the other imprisoned Communists; thus the only people who had the opportunity to visit the prisoners on rare occasions were removed from the scene; the imprisoned men were now cut off from the outside world. On September 19 the police transferred Mai-

dana and his comrades Julio Rojas, Alfredo Alcorta and Ananias Maidana to a secret place of confinement. Since then there has been no news of them. The government has callously ignored insistent inquiries from relatives and friends concerning their health and whereabouts.

It is universally known that it was in this same manner that Lieutenant Jose Prieto and the peasant leaders Francisco Gauto and Atilano Arroyo (the Colorado Party) "disappeared" from prison. Only recently was it confirmed that they had died under torture. In the same way the Communist Livio Gonzales and the Liberal Mario Esteche were brutally tortured to death. By using these methods against the revolutionary movement in the shape of strikes, demonstrations, mass meetings and armed actions, the Stroessner dictatorship murdered dozens of political prisoners during 1960-61. Hence, the moment contact with the prisoners was lost, a wave of indignation and protest arose both at home and abroad. Protests came from politicians, members of Parliament, university organizations, teachers, students, trade unions and women's organizations. These protests were reported in the press and radio in Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba, Mexico, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, etc. On October 10 in Montevideo, which has become the international center for the defense of Maidana and the other prisoners, a mass meeting was held at the University sponsored by the University Federation and the organization of Paraguayan students in Uruguay. The meeting had the support of prominent personalities and of all the opposition parties and groups in Paraguay including A. Agorio, ex-rector of the University, the Press Association, Writers' Union, the Movement of Solidarity with the People of Paraguay and the United Front of National Liberation of Paraguay.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Paraguay which attended the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union called upon all the delegates of the fraternal parties, on the delegations of the Democratic Party of Guinea, the People's Convent of the Republic of Ghana and the Sudanese Union of the Republic of Mali to organize campaigns for the release of Maidana and his comrades.

In this call our delegates stressed the need for the biggest possible campaign. "The Stroessner

tyranny," said the call, "dreads an international campaign of this kind more than ever before because it needs fresh American loans, and the Kennedy Administration is vacillating under the pressure of world public opinion and the strong criticism levelled against it for aiding this criminal tyranny."

The vigorous action taken by people in different countries has begun to yield fruit. The Paraguayan authorities have been forced to announce that Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas, Ananias Maidana and Alfredo Alcorta are detained in Asuncion, and to promise that journalists will be permitted to see them. This, undoubtedly, is a big victory. But we cannot remain content until all the prisoners are released.

Through this journal, *World Marxist Review*, we Paraguayan patriots appeal to all Communist and Workers' parties, all champions of national independence, democracy and peace to organize an active movement for the release of Maidana. We call upon all political parties, on all movements for freedom and solidarity, on national and international trade unions, associations of lawyers, teachers, workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, youth and women to demand the release of Antonio Maidana.

Telegrams, letters and the texts of speeches should be addressed to:

1. General Alfredo Stroessner, Palacio de Gobierno, Asuncion — Paraguay.
2. General Leodegar Cabello, Estado Mayor General, Asuncion — Paraguay.
3. Dr. Edgar Insfran, Ministerio del Interior, Asuncion — Paraguay.

Copies of the letters and telegrams sent to the Paraguayan government as well as clippings from papers and other news about the international solidarity campaign should be sent to:

La Union del Magisterio del Uruguay, calle San José, entre Paraguay e Ybycui. Montevideo — Uruguay.

Comrades and friends, time is pressing. Let us pool our efforts and wrest these valiant sons of the people of Paraguay from the hands of the butchers!

Pedro LINARES

APPEAL TO WORLD PUBLIC OPINION

"ONCE again we Spanish political prisoners appeal to world public opinion in order to restore the truth about our position and to ask for help both for ourselves and our long-suffering families." These are the opening lines of a letter received by us from prisoners in the Burgos central jail. The authors write about the monstrous

farce staged by the fascist authorities on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Franco's advent to power.

As reported, early in October 1961 the government press and radio announced a forthcoming "general amnesty," a "universal pardon," and a reduction of sentences by one-fifth, etc. But when

on October 11 the *Boletín Oficial del Estado* printed the official text of the amnesty decree, the hopes cherished for several days were bitterly disappointed. It turned out that the scant privileges, provided for in the decree, would apply to hardly any of the political prisoners.

The authors of the letter described in detail the results of the amnesty measures for the Burgos political prisoners. Out of the total number of 465 political prisoners held there only 10 will be released and 151 will have their term reduced by one-fifth. The remainder, people who have already spent a total of 3,196 years in prison, will have to stay there for another 3,811 years. These figures apply only to the Burgos central jail. But there are hundreds of political prisoners in the jails of Cáceres, Dueso, Barcelona, Madrid, Bilbao and other cities. Moreover, the letter stated, the total number of political prisoners is far greater than the figure 683 cited in the report of the Director of Prisons issued on August 2, 1961.

"This picture, the truth of which we fully guarantee," write the Burgos prisoners, "testifies to Franco's intention to keep in jail hundreds of Spaniards as political hostages. The preamble and clauses of the official text of the amnesty are unmistakable proof of this. The decree admits that some prisoners have been in jail for more than 20 years for their political views. Is it not monstrous, after this admission, to make pardon conditional on the 20 years being served without a break, and without any disciplinary penalties? There are among us 68 comrades who have been in jail for more than 20 years. But because during this time they had been released for a few months or days, they will not be pardoned."

The announcement of the amnesty, the letter emphasizes, was a concession made by Franco as a result of powerful pressure by the people who are insisting on the release of the political prisoners, pressure which is growing both in Spain and throughout the world.

In addition to hundreds of political prisoners in Spain, the letter continues, there are tens of

thousands of exiles; the police still torture arrested citizens; military tribunals pass heavy sentences, including the death sentence, on those who stand firm on their own political views. Every day Spanish jails are being filled with workers, peasants, intellectuals and professional people, who are opposed to the Franco regime and who demand democracy. Families of political prisoners are also persecuted; military courts institute cases against them each time they, citing the law, seek to uphold the right of their relatives to be free. This was the case with Lucila Alvarez Fernandez and Marina Rodriguez Medina, the wives of Miguel Vasquez Pesquer and Armado del Tío Franco.

"If the situation is allowed to continue," the Spanish freedom-fighters say, "the opportunity of resolving peacefully the pressing problems of Spain may be lost. An amnesty is needed in order to achieve national reconciliation, to end the hatred and the anger, hangovers of the past, which Franco is fanning up today by his anti-democratic repressions . . .

"For this reason we call on the people all over the world to continue to give us vigorous and increasing support until this noble objective is achieved.

"We appeal to the United Nations Organization, to all governments and Parliaments, to all political parties and international organizations, to the press, radio and television to help us tell the world about our suffering.

"We suggest that international commissions be appointed to visit Spanish prisons and see with their own eyes the truth of our words. And, lastly, we ask for moral support for our families and for ourselves.

"With courage, dignity and composure, we shall continue to fight for mutual understanding and respect among all Spaniards, for democracy and world peace."

THE LIVES OF PORTUGUESE ANTI-FASCISTS ARE IN DANGER

POPULAR resistance to the continuing colonial war in Angola, the mass demonstrations held last November, and the armed actions which took place in different parts of the country early this year, were an expression of the resolve of the Portuguese people to overthrow the fascist regime under which they have been suffering for 36 years.

Relying on the support of the British and U.S. monopolies and on the ramified apparatus of repression, dictator Salazar is striking fresh blows

at the Portuguese democrats, attacking the Communist Party with vindictive ferocity.

Ten days after the daring escape from Caxias prison of eight patriots, including Francisco Miguel, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, who had spent 21 years in prison, the secret police arrested large numbers of people. Among the arrested are Francisco Pires Jorge (Gomes) and Otavio Pato (Melo), members of the Political Committee and Secre-

tariat of the Party, and Carlos Costa, member of the Central Committee. Jose Maria Dias Coello, a gifted sculptor, was shot and killed at the moment of arrest.

The prisoners, including one woman, have been tortured, with the result that their lives are in danger.

Portuguese Communists call upon progressive people all over the world to protest to the Portuguese government in order to save the lives of these gallant patriots who have dedicated themselves to the fight for the freedom and well-being of their people.

Antonio da COSTA

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