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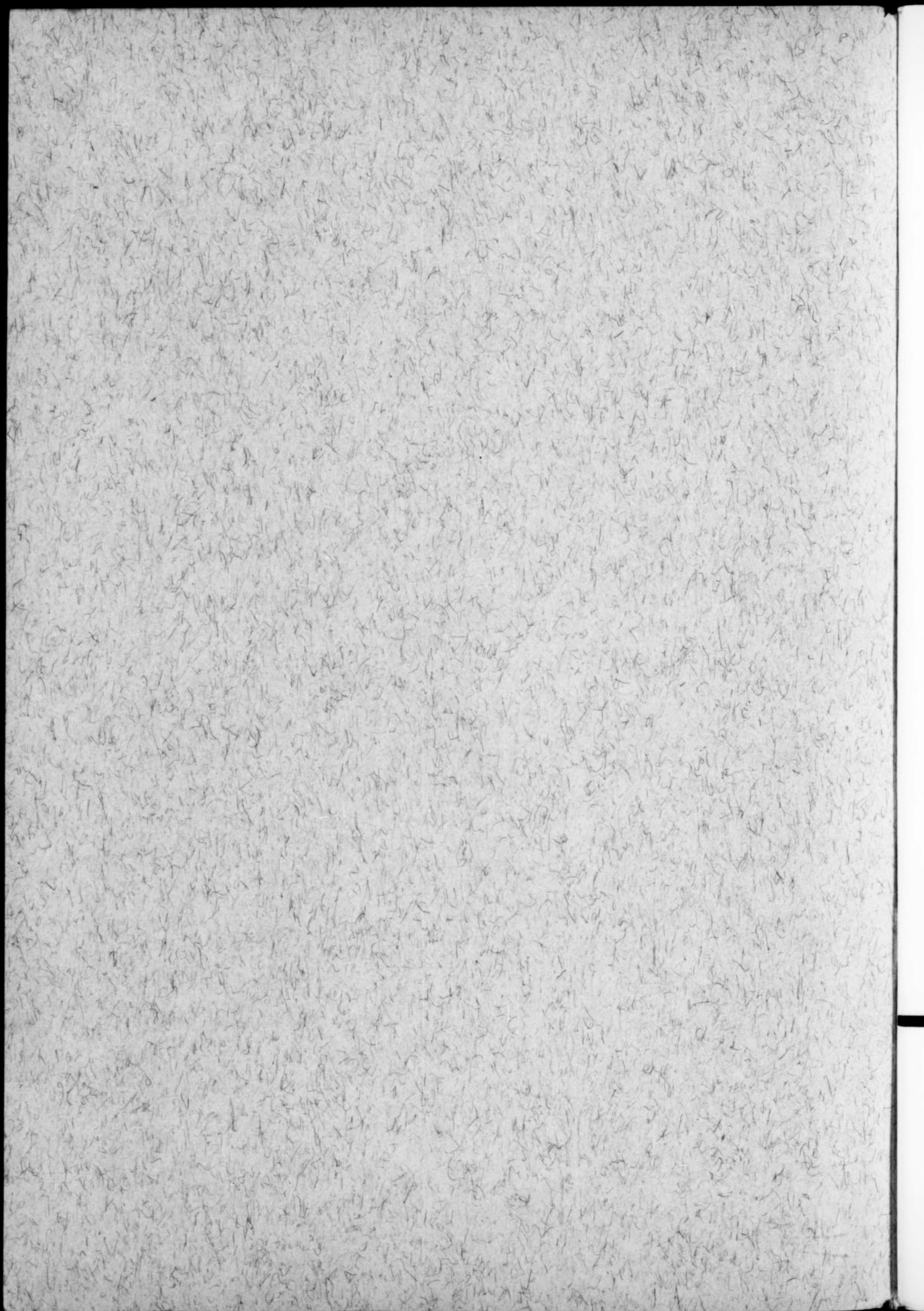
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New Stage in the Anti-Salazar Struggle

Alvaro Cunhal

POLITICAL events in Portugal have focused world attention on this country and its fascist dictatorship. For 35 years now the Portuguese people have been deprived of all rights. Their standard of living is the lowest in Europe, and they are constant victims of a police terror spurred on by Salazar. For 35 years too, brutal oppression has reigned in the vast Portuguese colonies, aggravating the terrible conditions of the people held in colonial thralldom. The recent developments show, however, that "something new is in the making in Portugal," that, as the statement issued by the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party notes, "the Salazar regime is experiencing the gravest crisis in its history."

Liberation of Goa—Beginning of the End of Salazar Colonialism

With the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu, the "Portuguese colonial empire" began to fall apart; this has profoundly affected the stability—political and economic—of the Salazar regime and has already confronted it with grave difficulties. The fascist dictatorship is a dictatorship exercised by a dozen or so monopoly groups which, in association with foreign imperialists, exploit both the people of Portugal and the colonies. The loss of their colonial superprofits would be a crushing blow to the monopolies. It is doubtful whether the fascist dictatorship, if it lasts that long, could survive liberation of the colonies, for liberation would lend wings to the fight for freedom at home. Abolition of the "Portuguese colonial empire" would bring with it the downfall of the rotten Salazar regime.

Hence, notwithstanding the defeat in India, Salazar has no intention of revising his colonial policy. The fiasco in Goa, he claims, was due to the United States and British reluctance to help, to "indiscretion" or "ingratitude." As a matter of fact, the United States did everything it could to keep the Salazar colonialists in Goa.

And if it failed it was not for want of trying, but because, with the present balance

of forces in the world, it could not do more.

The United States and Britain are still promising Salazar aid. He was simply putting on a show when on January 3 he spoke of Portugal's possible withdrawal from NATO and of the need to re-examine the "alliance with Britain." For Salazar knows perfectly well that without aid from his Anglo-American masters he would have been thrown out long ago. It is only because he relies on aid and hopes to receive direct military support from the United States that he refuses to admit that Portuguese colonial domination in India has come to an end. "We shall return to Goa!" is his cry. And to infuse some life into these dreams, he has suggested setting up a government "in exile" of the "Portuguese state in India . . ."

Salazar is using terror and war in an attempt to crush the national-liberation movement in the remaining Portuguese colonies. Like all demagogues, he boasts of a strength that he simply hasn't got. ". . . Everywhere in Africa," Salazar told the *Figaro* at the end of December, "we have powerful means of struggle . . . We shall give two blows for one." But then he said the same thing about Goa. And despite the military preparations made there over the years, several thousand soldiers were captured almost without a fight.

The wheel of history cannot be stopped. Salazar's defeat in Goa inspires the liberation movement in the other Portuguese colonies and infuses strength into the struggle at home against the dictatorship.

The Portuguese people are resolutely opposed to Salazar's colonial policy and hold him and his Anglo-American masters in NATO responsible for the death of the soldiers who fell in Goa and Angola, for the privations and the misery imposed on the working people by the burden of military expenditure. Fighting for the genuine independence of Portugal and against the domination of Anglo-American imperialism, the Portuguese people hail the liberation of the fraternal people of Goa, Daman and Diu. The true Portuguese patriot is he who recognizes the right of colonial peoples to freedom and independence.

The Salazar regime denies this right and pursues a policy of exploiting and ruthlessly exterminating the colonial peoples. The criminal war in Angola, in addition to taking toll of many lives, is making things worse for the working people and the non-monopoly sections of the population. Salazar, making Portugal more dependent on imperialism, is leading the country, as the Communist Party has warned time and again, to national disaster. Salazar stands clearly revealed as a traitor to his country.

For this reason more and more people are joining the anti-Salazar front, while the movement against the dictatorship is becoming a truly national movement for freedom and independence. On the colonial issue, the democratic forces and the Communist Party, their vanguard, are, by their attitude, displaying genuine patriotism.

The liberation struggle in the colonies goes hand in hand with the democratic movement at home. Together they are bringing nearer the final defeat of the fascist dictatorship.

The People and the Soldiers Are Against War in Angola

Salazar believed that the situation in the colonies would enable him to build a broad "national front" with the object of protecting "the integrity of the country." Hysterical jingo propaganda and persecution of all who oppose his policy have, however, proved ineffective. Quite the reverse. Discord and differences have sharpened in the ruling clique, as the "revolt" of the Defense Minister and the top brass early in 1961 demonstrated. The liberation struggle in the colonies, Salazar's policy of terror and war and the recent defeat in Goa are isolating the dictator and narrowing the base upon which his regime rests. Instead of "national unity" around Salazar, we see a growth and consolidation of national unity against the dictatorship.

Unity of those in opposition to the regime is one of the most positive factors promoting the development of the democratic movement. The people are rallying around the Patriotic Junta, a body in which the principal sections of the opposition are represented. Their common objective is to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, re-establish democratic liberties and hold free elections to a Constituent Assembly.

Political activity is developing in the form of partial actions. Though the approach to the colonial problem varies among the democratic forces, and though not all sections of

the opposition support the policy of the Communist Party, which unswervingly upholds the right of the peoples of the colonies to full and immediate independence, they all, nevertheless, are opposed to the policy of terror and war in the colonies. The idea of self-determination is winning new adherents. The numbers of those who are backing Salazar's colonial policy are steadily declining.

Numerous opposition leaders have courageously declared—and in most cases this frankness has cost them their freedom—that they are against this policy. Despite brutal repression, the people have in numerous demonstrations protested against the war in Angola, against soldiers being despatched there. Leaflets and appeals are distributed in tens of thousands, and the Communist Party slogans: "Not a soldier for the colonies!", "Why should the people have to bear the burden of the war?" find favor with broad sections of the population.

Salazar's war policy, for which over 40 per cent of the national budget has been allocated in 1962, is more than the economy of an underdeveloped country such as Portugal can stand. By imposing new and heavy taxes, wage deductions, unpaid work-days and hours, higher prices for food, drink and transport, reducing real wages, and by compulsory subscriptions to loans, Salazar wants to make the working people and middle classes bear the cost.

The government tried to utilize June 10, the National Holiday, as a day of collections for the war in Angola. But the people declared June 10 a day of struggle against Salazar's colonial policy. The opposition was universal. Factory workers downed tools; 5,000 fishermen in Matozinhos refused to go to sea. And as Salazar had announced that the proceeds collected by cinemas, theatres and sports stadiums on that day, and later on August 27, would be used for the needs of war, the places of entertainment were half empty.

The people are declining in different ways to pay for the war expenditure. Threats, dismissals and arrests are of little avail — workers are protesting against "voluntary and gratuitous" work, against the fascist-sponsored fund-raising campaigns. Refusal to pay the war-tax on drink and tobacco has caused consumption of these articles to fall so drastically that the tax on popular beverages was revoked. Many shops have stopped selling tobacco, others have asked permission to sell drinks at the old price, undertaking,

to avoid loss of trade, to pay the tax themselves.

Just as important was the soldiers' resistance to being sent to Angola and other colonies. The numerous soldier actions in 1961 indicate that a new situation is shaping up in the armed forces, a situation that presents a threat to the Salazar regime.

The resistance is taking diverse forms. Definitely against the war in Angola, soldiers are organizing "local actions" on the lines of those that took place in the anti-aircraft artillery unit in Queluz and in other units. In some places soldiers protested against entraining for the capital. In the barracks in Oporto, Thomar and Lisbon, soldiers have displayed reluctance to turn out on parade; they have refused to line up, and protested when, ultimately, they fell in. The protests have at times been so unanimous and so determined that despatch to the colonies was postponed. Such was the case with the Fifth Regiment of Chasseurs in Lisbon, who were under orders to go to Mozambique. At one parade the soldiers booed the Army Minister. Men of the Third Infantry Regiment in Beja refused to turn out for drill; they sat down on the barracks square and defied their officers.

Sometimes the soldiers resort to more forcible methods. A group of soldiers in Marfa wrecked the officers' mess and disappeared from the barracks; men of the Seventh Lisbon Cavalry Regiment tried to seize arms, several being killed in the attempt.

The number of deserters is growing. Sometimes many conscripts flee from their units. Eighty men were missing, for example, from one of the companies of the First Infantry Regiment in Amadora, 100 deserted in Beja; 450 men did not return to their barracks in Tancos. There are also cases of conscripts having deserted at the time of embarkation—26 ran away from the Lisbon airport, others during embarkation in Lisbon.

Courageous actions often inspire other soldiers. A private named Gil, for example, belonging to the Seventh Infantry Regiment in Leiria, and Guerra, an NCO, in the Second Uhlan Regiment in Lisbon, told their commanders during parade that they would not go to Angola and fight in a war which they believed to be contrary to the interests of the nation. The fascist officers hate these soldiers who face the prospect of maltreatment and imprisonment; the comrades of these men often prevent their arrest or conceal them in the barracks. Not infrequently

the soldiers' actions merge with the civilian actions and powerful demonstrations against the departure of troops, as was the case at the railway stations in St. Bento and Devezas, Oporto, Evora and Setubal, and in the streets of Chaves.

Neither threats, violence, nor murder can shake the soldiers' opposition to the war in Angola and Salazar's colonial policy, nor can they halt the rising indignation of those in military uniform.

This state of affairs in the armed forces—a result and a manifestation of the broad popular movement—indicates that the opposition to the fascist dictatorship entered upon a new phase during 1961. The conditions are maturing for a sharp revolutionary struggle.

The November Street Demonstrations

Never since the famous occasion in 1945 when the Portuguese patriots, with the support of the people, forced a fight on Salazar during the fascist "elections," has the dictator made such desperate efforts as he did last November to prevent the nomination of opposition candidates.

Salazar had good reason to be worried. He feared the growth of the liberation movement in the colonies which spells the doom of his policy of terror and war. He was frightened, too, by the widespread and vigorous opposition to the war in Angola, the discontent of the working people and the middle classes, whose conditions are steadily deteriorating under the burden of military expenditure. He was alarmed because, early in 1961, the opposition forces united, because the Communist Party, now much more active and better organized, stands out as the main driving force of the democratic movement. He feared, too, the influence exerted on the people by the considerable achievements of the socialist countries; the recent Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU adopted the grand Program of building communism, a program charting magnificent perspectives in the struggle of the peoples throughout the world.

Conducting the "elections" without opposition, Salazar expected the world to believe that the people unanimously supported his policy. Long before the "elections" the government launched a campaign of intimidation, lawlessness and violence. Dozens of prominent opposition leaders—Communists, Republicans, Conservatives and Catholics—were arrested. The government prohibited all public demonstrations on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic. It filled the

streets with military units and dealt brutally with demonstrations, which, nevertheless, took place. Everything was done to block the activities of the democratic forces and prevent the opposition putting forward its candidates. Falsified electoral registers were "revised" and the names of thousands of people suspected of being disloyal to the regime erased. The government refused to authorize publication of any document that had not been seen by the commission of censors. The authorities sent threatening police circulars to printshops forbidding them to print any documents of the opposition. Meetings of democrats and electioneering were forbidden.

Fearing the unity of the democratic forces, the fascists did all they could to disrupt the unity and to isolate the Communist Party. They tried to intimidate non-Communist democrats, alleging that "the Communists were preparing an uprising" and that cooperation with the Communists would expose them to reprisals. Cardinal Cerejeira, the head of the Church and an old fascist associate of Salazar's, issued a letter to the clergy threatening to deprive them of their parishes in the event of their opposing the government.

Only a few of the anti-Salazar circles, some intimidated by the repressions, others, as always, placing their hopes on a military coup, refused to participate in the elections. The Communist Party, upholding the principle of nominating opposition candidates, and of utilizing even the most limited of legal opportunities, proclaimed the slogan: "Turn the election campaign into a mass action!" This line was supported. Opposition candidates were nominated in half the constituencies, and some democratic nominees were included in the lists. Despite the repressions, lively activity was conducted during the election campaign. The democrats strengthened their unity and organization. At the opportune moment the opposition candidates, having exposed Salazar's terror and the election farce about to be staged, withdrew their candidacies and advocated a boycott of the "elections." A powerful mass movement had developed which continued throughout the "election" campaign and after it.

Notwithstanding the reprisals, big demonstrations, in which young people predominated, took place in the center of Lisbon. In Coimbra, too, successive demonstrations of thousands of people were held, though brutally attacked by the police. Industrial and agricultural workers in Alpiarca organized

protest strikes against the arrest of democrats and held big demonstrations demanding the release of prisoners. To prevent new arrests they organized night pickets. As soon as the police appeared, the people came on the streets, forcing the police to return to their barracks. Big demonstrations were also held in Almada, a town opposite Lisbon on the other side of the river Tagus. Although troops were brought out and cavalry and infantry made brutal charges, the 30,000 demonstrators kept to the streets for hours.

A feature of the October-November demonstrations was that the political demands made were the same everywhere. There was a general call for Salazar's resignation, for democratic freedoms, for an amnesty, for ending the war in Angola and recall of the expeditionary force. In the clashes that ensued, demonstrators unfurled the national flag and sang the national anthem.

Another feature of the demonstrations was the active resistance to the fascist-like violence displayed in the clashes—which sometimes lasted hours—with the army and the police. In Lisbon, Coimbra and Covilha working people and students, often supported by soldiers, stoned the police. In Almada the people drove back the police time and again. The latter brutally attacked the demonstrators, many of whom were wounded. One young Communist worker was killed by machine-gun fire. This was the first time in the 35 years of the fascist dictatorship that the people acted in such a resolute and organized manner. Holding out under the onslaught of the police, and regrouping their forces, the people vigorously fought back, remaining on the streets for hours.

The countrywide meetings, strikes and demonstrations attest to the rapid development of the democratic movement, to the unity in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, of the growth of militancy and the spirit of self-sacrifice. These actions helped consolidate the unity of the democratic forces, furthered the mass struggle and created more difficulties for the regime. They showed that the isolation of the Salazar clique had increased, that the people were determined to rid themselves of the fascist tyranny and to re-establish democracy. As the Communist Party noted in one of its statements, "these actions were an important victory for our people, the democratic forces and the Communist Party, the chief organizer of these magnificent demonstrations."

The Revolt in Beja Is Proof of the Militancy of the People

The revolt in Beja on New Year's eve was no ordinary putsch, no plot hatched by officers in isolation from the people. It was a link in the chain of the broad popular movement. These events were the direct consequence of the mass demonstrations in November and of soldiers' actions during 1961 against the colonial war.

That the barracks of the Third Infantry Regiment, stormed by groups of armed workers and officers, have been the scene of repeated soldier disturbances in recent months is not an accident. Nor is it fortuitous that among the civil population which participated in the assault were many Almada workers who also played a part in the November demonstrations. Neither was Captain Varela Gomez, leader of the revolt, the usual type of conspirator. Gomez, a democrat and advocate of the unity of the anti-Salazar forces, was an opposition candidate during the November election farce; he was one of those who went onto the streets boldly to fight on the side of the people.

The uprising was not something that flared up momentarily. That the people were in a militant mood was obvious. The events in Goa added fuel to the soldiers' indignation. The urge for more resolute action was stimulated by the prison breakout by a group of Communists detained in Caxias Fort, and by the desire to retaliate for the arrests and murder of democratic leaders. The local Patriotic Juntas which include representatives of all trends, called for new types of action against the fascist dictatorship.

These, then, were the developments which led to the events in Beja and the desperate clashes in other parts of the country. These actions are an index of the sharpening political situation, the growth of militancy among the people and the emergence of new fighters who, although they lack political experience, are ready to sacrifice their lives for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The revolt in Beja should, therefore, be regarded as the harbinger of a new phase in the struggle, while the courage displayed by its participants will be inscribed in the annals of the heroic deeds performed by the Portuguese people.

The Beja uprising disclosed, too, a divergence of views in the united democratic movement. All the democratic forces agree that the peaceful way cannot, in the present political situation, secure democracy for the people. If anyone were to say to the people

that Salazar can be ousted by peaceful means, he would not be believed. When the Communist Party says that Salazar "systematically slams the door on a peaceful solution of Portugal's political problem," and that the fascist oppression can be terminated only by a nationwide uprising, it is merely voicing the sentiment of the people as a whole and the view of all democrats. Yet, while all agree on the need for revolutionary struggle, opinions differ as to the means by which victory can be achieved. Feeling is running so high, some say, that "a single spark," a decisive action by a military unit, or a "landing" of emigré anti-Salazar people would be the signal for a spontaneous, nationwide uprising. That is why some democratic leaders believe that they alone, by their own efforts, can carry through a revolutionary action which would bring about Salazar's downfall. Any attempt in this direction would not only hinder joint action, it would create difficulties for the democratic movement. In this respect the Beja revolt furnished a valuable lesson. "A national uprising," states the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party, "is not an action that can be undertaken at any time. It must stem from a development and consolidation of the popular movement, from the strengthening of the legal and illegal organizations of the democratic forces."

A victorious armed uprising against the fascist dictatorship should be the culmination, the supreme form, the corollary of the broad mass struggle the people are demanding. Hence it is imperative to continue to utilize all legal and semi-legal opportunities to rally the forces, and to combine legal and illegal activity. It should be brought home to all democrats that they should continue to strengthen their unity, vastly increase their organizing work, vigorously and indefatigably develop the mass struggle. Everyone should be made to understand that isolated action by one group or another—the "spark" that will allegedly kindle the conflagration of a general uprising under the influence of emotion—would result not only in the defeat of the particular groups by the well-armed fascist authorities, but would, objectively, retard the victorious development of the national movement against the fascist dictatorship.

Today it is possible—and imperative—as never before, to achieve unity of all the anti-Salazar forces. Basically, one might say, unity is now a reality in Portugal. But there are grave differences among the emigré dem-

ocratic leaders. The Communist Party is in a particularly favorable situation to promote general unity: there are more grounds for disagreement between some of the groups and their leaders than there are between these groups and the Communists. We bear no grudge against any democrats, have no animosity towards them which would hamper our unity and joint activity. We are working to achieve this unity.

The conditions are now maturing for new and important battles for freedom. If the democratic forces take cognizance of the recent lessons, if they continue to reinforce their unity, if they rely on the people, then Salazar's fascist government will soon come up against new and serious troubles.

Terror Will Not Save Salazar

Loathed by the people, isolated and abhorred, and feeling the ground rapidly slipping from under his feet, Salazar is reinforcing his police apparatus. The political police (PIDE), the gendarmerie (GNR), the security police (PSP), the fascist militia (Legiao) and special units for maintaining "public order"—these are his main props. It is they who everywhere let loose wave after wave of terror against the people.

Salazar began the year by announcing "a state of emergency." Portugal is in the position of an occupied country. Workers, peasants, intellectuals and soldiers are being arrested wholesale. Opposition leaders such as Doctor Arlindo Vicente, the Presidential candidate in 1958, distinguished scientists, among them Mario Silva, professor of the University of Coimbra, poets, of whom J. Namorado is one, writers, army officers, liberal priests and students—all have been incarcerated in the Salazar dungeons. There, too, are many nationalists from the colonies; the well-known Angolan patriot Doctor Agostinho Neto is one.

The Communist Party—vanguard of the democratic movement, champion of the unity of the enemies of the regime, a Party that has been underground for 35 of its 40 years of existence—is the object of particularly ferocious attack. Candido Martins, a young worker, was killed by machine-gun fire in the streets of Almada; the talented sculptor Dias Coelho, who had worked underground for many years, was shot in a Lisbon street; their names have added to the long list of Communist martyrs. On December 16 four well-known Communist Party leaders fell into the clutches of the PIDE: they are Pires Jorge, who worked underground for 18

years after escaping in 1943 from a Salazar dungeon where he had spent many years; Octavio Pato, who has a record of 16 years of underground work; Carlos Costa, who escaped in 1960 after eight years in prison, and Americo da Coza. These brave fighters, sought everywhere by the Salazar bloodhounds, remained in the country, leading the anti-fascist struggle. They are now in the police torture-chambers and their lives are in grave danger.

In prison the fascists subject their victims to fearful torture. Isolated from the outside world, suffering cruel privations, violence and humiliation, the political prisoners are condemned to a slow death. Medical assistance is refused even in the gravest cases. Thus Manuel Rodriguez, worker, outstanding fighter, and member of the Central Committee of the Party, has been in prison for over 21 years. Quite recently he suffered a cerebral haemorrhage and is now paralyzed. Although his life was in danger, he was denied medical treatment.

And although under the so-called security measures, prisoners are continually having their sentences extended, they valiantly continue the struggle. The people and their comrades have not forgotten them. On numerous occasions the Communist Party has organized major escapes from the Salazar prisons. One of these took place early in December 1961 from Caxias Fort when eight Communists, including Francisco Miguel, member of the Central Committee and national hero, who has spent over 20 years in prison, made a dash for freedom.

The struggle against the terror and for an amnesty for the political prisoners is the common cause of all the democratic forces of Portugal. Petitions signed by prominent intellectuals and thousands of working people are constantly appearing. The slogan "Amnesty!" is always taken up by the masses during demonstrations. The struggle in Portugal, however, needs the support of public opinion in other countries, the solidarity of the working people and progressives all over the world. An even bigger international movement against the terror in Portugal and for an amnesty will help stay the hand of the Salazar executioner, save the lives of those who are in danger and win new forces for the nationwide struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

Salazar's latest wave of terror is a sign not of his strength but of his weakness, frantic fear and desperation. The democratic

movement in Portugal and the liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies is growing rapidly. The hour is approaching when

the Salazar dictatorship will be swept away and the sun of freedom will rise over the long-suffering people of Portugal.

The Liberation of Goa

Ajoy Kumar Ghosh

The following article by the late Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Indian Communist Party, was written for our journal shortly before his death.

DECEMBER 18, 1961, will go down as a signal milestone in the annals of India's history. On that day the liberation of the last Indian territories still under colonial yoke began. Within 26 hours Portuguese rule collapsed in Daman, Diu and Goa. This marked the end of 451 years of injustice; all of India was now free. The Indian tricolor went up at Panjim, the capital of Goa.

The Portuguese territories in India consisted of three parts. Their area and population (according to the 1950 census) were as follows:

	Area	Population
Goa	1,309 sq. mi.	547,448
Daman	21 sq. mi.	28,453
Diu	14 sq. mi.	21,138

The population was overwhelmingly Indian, the Portuguese numbering only 517, and people of mixed descent 336. Over 78 per cent of the people were illiterate. Less than three per cent could speak and write Portuguese. These cold figures blast the myth about Goa, Daman and Diu being "a part of Portugal."

A Bit of History

In 1510 the Portuguese under Albuquerque landed in Goa—the first Europeans to secure a foothold in India. Ostensibly they came to spread Christianity. But the conquest of Goa was followed by an indiscriminate slaughter of Indians in which over 6,000 perished. Daman and Diu were razed to the ground before they could be occupied.

Time and again, the Goan people, subjected to ruthless exploitation and discrimination, rose in revolt. As early as 1582-83, the peo-

ple of five villages strove to break away from Portuguese rule. They were crushed, their leaders put to death and their properties confiscated. Again in 1787, there was another rebellion of which patriotic Goan priests professing Christianity were the leaders. The rebellion was defeated. The priests were exiled. As for the participants in the rebellion, the Portuguese rulers dealt with them savagely to terrorize the whole population of Goa. According to Evagrio George, "those sentenced to death were tied to the tails of horses and dragged through the streets of the town. Their hands were cut off and they were then sent to the gallows. Even their corpses were cut in pieces and exhibited in different parts of the town to instil fear in the hearts of the dominated people."

Nevertheless, the Portuguese could not "pacify" the country. By 1912 there had been no less than 20 armed revolts. In 1946 there was a particularly big mass movement against Portuguese rule. Thousands were arrested, many of them were given savage sentences, a great many were exiled to Africa.

A New Stage of the Struggle

In 1947 India won her independence. This ushered in a new stage in the struggle for the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu, a struggle that was waged not only by the people under Portuguese colonial rule but by the entire nation. Our Party played a leading role in developing the nationwide movement in support of the Goan patriots which culminated in "the march on Goa" in 1955.

This was a march of unarmed people who braved repression and wanted to demonstrate their solidarity with the Goan people battling for freedom. Among them were workers, pea-

sants, intellectuals — people of all classes. They included Congress followers, Socialists, Communists and others. The marchers were led by Comrade V. D. Chitale, a prominent Communist leader of Maharashtra. They carried no weapons but held aloft the banner of the Indian Republic.

On the border the Portuguese opened murderous fire on the unarmed marchers. More than 20 were killed and hundreds were wounded. Several of those killed and wounded were members of our Party.

Anger swept the country. There were protest meetings and demonstrations everywhere. The workers in major industrial centers went on a one-day strike.

Instead of acting firmly, the government of India closed the frontiers. No marchers were allowed to enter Goa. Prime Minister Nehru, while strongly condemning the barbaric acts of the Portuguese imperialists and severing relations with the Portuguese government, said that India could not and would not use force, for this would be contrary to its policy of "peaceful approach."

The Portuguese fascists interpreted this as weakness and intensified the terror. They bragged that India dared not act, for they had their NATO allies to back them.

After the brutal repressions of 1955 the movement in Goa suffered a temporary setback. But soon it began to gather strength again. However, this time its forms were different. Peaceful methods had been tried but had failed. They could not succeed under the regime of fascist dictatorship that prevailed in Goa. The Goan patriots took to arms. Commandos raided police and military stations, blew up arms stores, destroyed military installations. Among these commandos were people of all parties, including Communists. The fascists were being addressed in the only language they understood.

Simultaneously, a powerful campaign developed in all parts of India, urging the government to act. The public was strongly in favor of action by the government to end the last vestiges of colonial rule and eliminate the threat which Portuguese-occupied Goa presented to Indian freedom. There was discontent over the fact that the government, though declaring Goa to be part of India, took no action for 14 years. The Indian government hoped that the Portuguese would display common sense and that Britain and the USA would persuade them to quit voluntarily. In Parliament, the government's Goa policy was subjected to sharp criticism.

A big role in rousing the people of India and creating the atmosphere which overcame the vacillations of the government, was played by the National Campaign Committee for Goa. This committee, headed by the well-known public figure, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, united all patriotic forces of the country. "Goa must be liberated before the end of 1961" was its slogan. Enthusiastic throngs greeted the leaders of this organization wherever they went.

The Salazar Government Has Learned Nothing

The world situation grew increasingly favorable for driving the Portuguese imperialists out of their colonies. The socialist camp, which consistently and unequivocally supported India on Goa, demonstrated its might during the Suez crisis and the Iraqi and Cuban events. Many African peoples won independence, and most of them took a definitely anti-imperialist stand. In these conditions the United Nations was able to pass a resolution calling for an end to colonialism. The World Peace Council denounced the Portuguese colonialists. Angola rose in revolt against Portuguese rule. Riots began in Mozambique.

Opposition to the Salazar regime grew in Portugal itself. Working in the difficult conditions of illegality, the Portuguese Communists sought to weaken the dictatorship and to rally the people to the struggle for democracy, freedom, peace and against colonialism. They gave their full support to the cause of the peoples of Goa, Angola and other Portuguese colonies.

All this, however, brought no change in the policy of the Salazar government. Relying on its membership of NATO, it ignored the demand of the people and government of India. Moreover, it started building up the Portuguese forces in Goa. These forces, which in the days of British rule did not exceed 500, were increased to 15,000 after India had won her freedom. Imports of arms and munitions went up substantially. Fortification work began on the off-shore islands. Portugal refused to leave Goa and to negotiate with the Indian government. It defied the United Nations and would not submit facts about its colonies.

The support rendered the Portuguese fascists by NATO countries, above all the USA and Britain, emboldened Salazar still further. The Portuguese stepped up their provocative activities. In November 1961 they fired at the Indian ship *Sabarmati* from Anjadeev Island near Goa, which they had fortified. Portu-

guese troops crossed the border, raided Indian villages and opened fire at the inhabitants.

After a good deal of hesitation, Indian troops were moved to the Goa frontier at the end of November. This decision was acclaimed by all political parties, except the Swatantra, the Party of the extreme Right.

The Liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu

On December 18, Indian troops moved into Daman, Diu and Goa. Resistance on the part of the Salazar troops was negligible; on neither side did the casualties exceed 20. The rotten colonial administration collapsed. Whatever delay there was, was caused by the blowing up of bridges and culverts by the retreating Portuguese soldiers. The fascists destroyed the radio station, the water works and other public utilities.

On December 20 the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu was completed. About 3,000 Portuguese soldiers were taken prisoner. A vast quantity of arms was captured. Many of them bore NATO marks — a fact which brings out the real nature of this aggressive bloc. Some 12,000 Goans who had been recruited into the Portuguese army surrendered without a fight. The Indian soldiers were garlanded by the local people and accorded a warm welcome. Special services were held in churches. The last bit of Indian territory under imperialist domination was reunited with the motherland.

The Friends and Foes of the Indian People

The liquidation of the Portuguese colonies in India showed conclusively who were the sincere and who the false friends of the Indian people. It also threw light on the growth of Afro-Asian solidarity. On December 20, N. S. Khrushchov sent a message in which, on behalf of the Soviet people, he congratulated the Indian government on its resolute action to eliminate colonialism on Indian territory. People's China, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries warmly acclaimed the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. With the exception of Pakistan, Turkey and Iran — members of the CENTO and SEATO aggressive blocs — no country in Asia criticized India's just action. Most of the Afro-Asian countries supported her.

The attitude of the imperialist countries — members of aggressive blocs — which claim to be friends of India, was different. The liquidation of the Portuguese colonies in

India ripped off their hypocritical mask. For 14 years in the postwar period when Goa groaned under the iron heel of the fascists, they kept silent. They had nothing to say even as late as November 1961 when the Portuguese fired at an Indian ship and killed an Indian fisherman. But as soon as they learned that Indian troops had been moved to the Goa border, they woke up. The British government sent a note to India expressing "grave concern" over the situation and "earnest hopes" that there would be no resort to force. A similar message came from the American President, Mr. Kennedy.

When the action was over, Lord Home, the British Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Sandys, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, strongly criticized India in the British Parliament. They were joined by Mr. Gaitskell, the Leader of the British Labor Party. All British newspapers condemned India. The only exception was the *Daily Worker* which supported us wholeheartedly. The American press followed the same pattern. So angry were the American monopolists that the United States Time Corporation, which had earlier decided to build a watch factory in India, reversed its decision. The Chairman of the Corporation sent a cable to India in which it said: "As an inescapable consequence of your government's violation of its pledged word (no such pledge was ever given—A.G.) by invading the Portuguese enclaves of Daman, Diu and Goa, our desire to establish a watch factory in India has disappeared." This was nothing but blackmail of the crudest type. It showed how the dollar barons seek to make use of their money to dictate foreign policies.

In the United Nations Security Council, the Western powers — United States, Britain, France — and their ally Turkey, and also the puppet Kuomintang regime did all in their power to bring about what they called a "cease-fire," that is, to halt the liberation action of the Indian army. Mr. Stevenson, the United States representative, declared rhetorically: "Tonight we are witnessing the first act of a drama that could end with its (United Nation's) death." He found the attitude of Ceylon, Liberia and the UAR, which supported India's just action, to be "profoundly disturbing and ominous." The mask was off. The real face of the imperialists could be seen by all.

The imperialists got a majority for their resolution in the Security Council. But the Soviet Union vetoed it. By this act, the USSR demonstrated once again its firm policy of

friendship with the peoples of the East and its uncompromising opposition to colonialism. This friendly act of the Soviet Union was welcomed by the Indian people with deep gratitude. At a public meeting held in Delhi on December 24 under the joint auspices of the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the National Campaign Committee for Goa, a resolution was adopted "thanking the Soviet Union for foiling the imperialist attempt in the Security Council." The meeting also thanked the UAR, Ceylon and Indonesia.

Unable to prevent the collapse of their "empire" in India, the Portuguese fascists have retaliated by imprisoning or interning all Indians in their territories. All this, however, will not help them. No power on earth can separate Goa from India.

International Significance of the Liquidation of Portuguese Colonies in India

The liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu is of great political, military and economic significance for India. All the Indian peoples have now been reunited and the last seats of imperialist colonial rule done away with. As long as Portuguese colonies—military springboards for the colonial powers and NATO bases — existed on her territory, India had no guarantee against provocations and aggression by the colonialists. As a NATO base, Goa could be used to bring pressure to bear on India and other countries in South-East Asia and threaten the security of the peace-loving nations in this part of the world. Considering Goa's location on the sea route from West Asia to South-East Asia, it was not by

chance that the imperialists spent huge sums to deepen and broaden the Marma-Goa harbor, to improve its port facilities and to lay out big military airfields. Goa, Daman and Diu were hotbeds of international trouble on India's territory which it was high time to stamp out.

A conference held in India in August 1961 and attended by representatives from Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Congo and other African countries, correctly declared that "the liberation of Goa will be of great importance for the liberation of other Portuguese colonies." The liberation action of the Indian army showed that the Portuguese colonialists have no support in their possessions. They cannot rely on local conscripts, nor can they count on the Portuguese soldiers, who are coming to see more and more that the fascist regime in their country is the enemy of its people. The brutal plunder of the local population, the corruption and the savage tyranny of the colonial rulers have sharply aggravated the political situation in the Portuguese colonies and led to the virtual collapse of the colonial administration. In Goa, for instance, the colonial administration had no contact with the local population, and this contributed to the ease with which it was liberated.

The imperialist monopolies failed to gain control over the rich iron and manganese deposits of Goa. They also lost important centers for the smuggling of contraband goods into India which cost the Indian government millions of rupees every year.

The liberation of Daman, Diu and Goa has dealt a heavy blow at world imperialism. It clearly demonstrates that the days of colonialism are coming to an end.

Among Our Contributors

ALVARO CUNHAL: *General Secretary, Communist Party of Portugal.*

AJOY KUMAR GHOSH

General Secretary, Communist Party of India.

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU: *General Secretary, Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People.*

ERICH CORRENS: *Professor, Chairman of National Council, National Front of Democratic Germany, prominent non-party scientist and public leader.*

STANLEY RYERSON: *member, National Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada; historian, editor of MARXIST QUARTERLY.*

The People of Cyprus in the Struggle for Freedom and Social Advance

Ezekias Papaioannou

A YEAR and a half has passed since Cyprus was declared an independent republic, but its people are still forced to fight against the imperialists for complete independence. Since its inception the young republic has been beset by serious economic and political problems which can be traced back to the long years of colonial rule and which have been aggravated by the Zurich agreement on Cyprus*.

Economic Difficulties

The British colonialists, who are firmly entrenched in their war bases on the island, handed the young Cyprus Republic a backward economy with a gross national product of £78 million, a chronic deficit in trade balances amounting to £22 million, a bureaucratic and highly expensive governmental machine, a high cost of living and over 10,000 unemployed. The gross national product of Cyprus has been on the decline during the last few years.

Assessment of the contribution of the different sectors of the economy to the gross national product reveals the backwardness of Cyprus' economy. Figures show that agriculture contributes, on an average, 23 per cent of the total, industry only 12 per cent, mining 12 per cent and trade 10 per cent. In other words, industry and agriculture account for less than half of the total. The British colonialists made the island's economy dependent on expenditures on their military bases, the colonial services and remittances of Cypriot emigrants.

Though Cyprus is mainly an agricultural country, its rural economy is very backward. Its arable land totals about 3.5 million donums (one donum = 1,600 square yards or 0.134 hectare). While thousands of peasants suffer from land hunger, over one million donums, mostly the best farmland on the island, are either church property or held by big landlords and the state. The remainder

is parcelled out among some 60,000 peasant families. Most of these have less than 30-40 donums each, and that in small scattered plots.

Only 18.5 per cent of the cultivated area is irrigated; the rest is wholly at the mercy of the weather.

The diminutive size of the average farmhold, lack of water supply, limited use of fertilizers and a debt burden of more than £15 million weighing down on the farmers are the chief reasons for the backwardness of Cyprus' agriculture.

The peasant masses, ground down by hardships, are waging a vigorous fight for measures to protect farming against natural disasters, for the expropriation of the land belonging to the Church and landlords and its distribution among the peasants, and for adequate farm prices. Unity of action is being forged in the course of this struggle. Unfortunately, however, it cannot be said as yet that this unity has extended to the central leadership of the peasants' unions.

Cyprus is rich in minerals. But its mineral wealth is exploited by foreign monopoly capital, which is raking in huge profits every year. Mining accounts for about 12 per cent of the national product and provides about 57 per cent of the exports.

The chief minerals are: copper pyrites, 430,000 tons annually; iron pyrites, 660,000 tons; unpolluted asbestos, 14,500 tons; chromium, 12,000 tons; gypsum, 53,000 tons, and terra umbra, 4,000 tons annually. The minerals mined are exported to other capitalist countries, mainly West Germany. Offers from socialist countries to buy some of these minerals have been turned down on various pretexts by the foreign monopoly concerns that own the mines.

The foreign monopolies that exploit the mineral wealth of Cyprus are: the Cyprus Mining Corporation, which is wholly owned by American capital and accounts for 65 per cent of the exports of Cyprus' mineral production; the Cyprus Asbestos Mines Ltd., which is under the control of British capital;

*An agreement on establishing the Republic of Cyprus, with representatives of both the Greek and the Turkish inhabitants of the island participating in its administration, was reached at a conference of the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey in Zurich in February 1959.

the Cypriot Mining Company, controlled by Danish and Swedish capital, and the Cypriot Chromium Company, with Swedish and Dutch capital.

The contribution of industry other than mining to the national product is only 12 per cent. Such industry as exists is only in the nature of light industry, with wine and spirits as the most important branches. The soft drinks and refreshment industry produces also the American "Coca-Cola" and "Pepsi-Cola." These two soft drinks cost Cyprus over £125,000 a year, because the only Cypriot material used for their production is water and labor. The rest is brought in from abroad, including the bottles.

Other branches of light industry include canning, ceramics, cigarette and tobacco, shoe-making, plastics and soap.

There is also a big cement industry, the only large-scale non-extractive industry in Cyprus controlled by Danish capital.

Foreign interests are making big inroads into industry, threatening Cypriot industrial capital and subordinating the economy to foreign-monopoly concerns. An example of this are the British-American Tobacco Co. and the Imperial Tobacco Co. Although there are seven local cigarette factories, these two giant foreign monopolies were allowed to set up their own factories or to conclude agreements with local concerns for the manufacture of their own brands in Cyprus. And as some of the local capitalists are eager to become either junior partners or commercial agents of these monopolies, this threatens the Cypriot cigarette factories with complete bankruptcy.

West German and American monopoly concerns have been showing an increasing interest in Cyprus of late. A sugar factory and a shipbuilding yard are among the projects planned by West German monopolies for the island. Considering that Cyprus has no shipping at all, it may well be assumed that the shipyard project is designed to provide a repair base for the American Sixth Fleet. Besides, it would provide an excuse for the Americans to station naval forces in Cyprus' waters.

Trade accounts for about 10 per cent of the national product. About 35 per cent of Cyprus' imports come from the United Kingdom, eight per cent from other countries of the sterling area, 41 per cent from the European Common Market, four per cent from the dollar area and the remainder from other countries.

As to exports, the United Kingdom takes 33 per cent, other sterling area countries three per cent, the European Common Market 48 per cent and the dollar area five per cent. What is left goes to other countries. Cyprus has had an adverse trade balance for many years with a deficit of nearly £22 million and has had to rely on what the British imperialists spend on the maintenance of their war bases as well as remittances from Cypriot emigrants to cover a big proportion of this deficit.

The majority of Cypriot workers are employed in the mines or in small enterprises of the food and light industries. When the island was under colonial rule, the colonialists did their best to prevent the development of its national economy. The entire output of the mining industry, for example, was exported unprocessed. The arduous working conditions, low wages, unemployment and the harsh colonial regime gave rise to mass protests and organized actions on the part of the working class headed by the Pancyprian Federation of Labor (PEO), which has a membership of over 42,000.

Today the working class is the vanguard force in the fight for full independence and national economic development.

Development Program

More than two years ago the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) elaborated a program for the economic development of Cyprus with a view to effectively combating the onerous legacy of British colonial rule.

The program provided for the development of agriculture by building large-scale irrigation works which would finally solve the pressing problem of water supply; expropriating all big landed estates, including church land, and distributing them among the landless peasants, as well as providing credits, agricultural machinery, and scientific and technical aid to the farmers.

With a view to promoting industry, the program called for the establishment of such industries as could rely mostly on local raw materials, construction of ports, development of merchant and passenger shipping, fishing, and trade, especially with the socialist countries on the basis of bilateral trade agreements.

To finance this program, AKEL proposed floating internal and external loans. With regard to the latter, it warned against any military or political commitments, pointing out that such a loan must have no strings attached.

Some of these proposals were reflected in the five-year program for the economic development of Cyprus which Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic, announced in the House of Representatives last August. This program provides for the expenditure of £61,970,000 on the development of agriculture, port facilities, roads and other public works.

Despite its many shortcomings, to which reference will be made further on, this five-year program constitutes the first attempt at state planning of economic development ever made in Cyprus.

It provides for the expenditure of substantial sums on the construction of irrigation works, provision of long-term credits to the farmers and other effective measures to promote agriculture. In many respects the plan for agriculture has much in common with the program of AKEL. The five-year program also provides for the construction of ports and the extension of electric power installations.

AKEL gave full support to all the positive measures included in the plan and declared its readiness to work perseveringly to carry them out. At the same time, however, it pointed to serious shortcomings in the program and suggested constructive amendments.

The most serious shortcoming is the fact that the development of industry is left wholly to the initiative of private enterprise. The allocation of only £600,000 for the establishment of a development bank is utterly inadequate. Industry constitutes one of the two pillars of the national economy; if it is neglected, the economy will be lopsided. AKEL suggests that an all-round program for industrial development be worked out on the basis of a scientific, economic and technological study of the whole problem.

The main shortcoming of the program on agriculture is the lack of any provision for the expropriation of church lands and other big landed estates and their distribution among the landless farmers for cultivation.

On the vital question of the mines belonging to foreign concerns, the program not only does not provide for any increase in the income tax paid by these companies, but it actually encourages them to expand prospecting operations by hinting at tax-free periods.

AKEL, on the contrary, proposes that the income tax paid by the foreign mining concerns should be immediately doubled and their rights curtailed as a first step towards nationalization of the mines.

Moreover, the five-year program completely disregards cooperatives at a time when cooperatives (producers' in farming and consumers' in trade) have extended far and wide in the Cypriot economy.

The five-year program also contains a highly dangerous thesis which provides for the encouragement of foreign capital investment. This is tantamount to encouraging neo-colonialism since foreign monopoly investments are inevitably linked up with political consequences. Cyprus is not yet free from imperialism and it would be a suicidal act to allow neo-colonialism to make further serious inroads in the economy of the island.

The policy of the AKEL on this score is crystal clear. It declares: "It is a thousand times more preferable to obtain an external loan without any political or military strings attached and to use it for the development of industry and agriculture than to allow foreign monopoly capital to be invested in Cyprus."

The offer of Soviet aid to Cyprus holds out the best possible prospects for independent economic development. The value of this disinterested aid is not as yet appreciated by the Cyprus government, but it is becoming abundantly clear that the success of the five-year economic program will depend to a great extent on aid from the socialist countries.

Political Problems

The political problems faced by the young Republic of Cyprus are many and varied. The most serious of these problems are the imperialist military bases on Cyprus' soil, the mounting imperialist subversion, relations between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish minority, and the all-important problem of the anti-imperialist front of the Cypriot people for achieving full national liberation.

Under the Zurich agreement the British imperialists retained 99 square miles of territory and 31 other points in different parts of the island for their military bases. They also acquired the right to use Cyprus' air space, roads and ports as well as training grounds for military exercises.

At Akrotiri, the southern tip of the island, the British imperialists have built the biggest military airfields in the Middle East, capable of taking the heaviest bombers. Press reports have it that nuclear bombs are stored in Cyprus.

On the other hand, the American imperialists have three radio monitoring stations, acquired when Cyprus was under British colo-

nial rule and used for spying on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The presence of these imperialist bases is not only incompatible with the independence of Cyprus but spells mortal danger to its people in the event of nuclear war. The problem of imperialist military bases is therefore a matter of life or death for all Cypriots.

The people of Cyprus are fighting for the abolition of the foreign military bases and for the peaceful solution of all international problems. They fully support the policy of peaceful co-existence so perseveringly pursued by the Soviet Union, for they see in it their hope of survival and an earnest of full national independence. The peace movement embraces the widest sections of the people who wholeheartedly support the consistent efforts of the Soviet Union for general and complete disarmament, fully realizing that the policy of disarmament greatly facilitates the struggle of all colonial and dependent peoples for independence.

Since Cyprus was proclaimed an independent republic the imperialists have been conducting subversive activities aimed at stifling the young republic.

During the years of their rule, the British colonialists did their utmost to sow distrust and hatred among the various sections of the Cypriot people. They fomented intercommunal strife between Greeks and Turks, which led to substantial loss of life and property on both sides. They tried to do the same between the Right and the Left, but thanks to the firm patriotic policy of AKEL not to yield to provocation, the imperialist plans to foment civil war were thwarted.

The imperialists succeeded, however, in including provisions in the Zurich agreement which favor the Turkish Cypriots at the expense of the Greek. Thus, although the Turkish Cypriots constitute no more than 19 per cent of the population, they were given 40 per cent representation in the army, 40 per cent in the police force, 30 per cent in the public services and 30 per cent in the House of Representatives. The Turkish Vice-President of the Republic was granted veto powers on a number of important questions, and various other provisions of the Constitution also showed a bias in favor of the Turkish minority.

It was only too obvious that this inequality and one-sidedness would create permanent dissatisfaction and friction between the two communities and lead at times to political deadlock. Such a state of affairs was

calculated to serve the imperialist maxim of "divide and rule."

Disagreement and deadlock have already been registered over the question of separate municipalities (for the Greek and Turkish communities—*Ed.*) provided for in the Zurich agreement but unheard of elsewhere.

Disagreement and deadlock were also registered on the question of the Cyprus army when the Turkish Vice-President used his veto powers in an effort to set up a separate Turkish army, as well as on other issues.

The imperialist subversive and splitting activity is three-pronged. First there is the anti-Communist activity of British imperialism conducted through the pro-British English-language newspaper, the *Cyprus Mail*.

Day after day this newspaper has been campaigning in leading articles against the AKEL and carrying on violent anti-Communist propaganda. It urges all nationalists, Greeks and Turks, to unite and fight the Communists who would otherwise "win the next general elections." It threatened that if the nationalist "Patriotic Front" did not organize an anti-Communist drive, "other forces" would do so. This threat meant that if the Cypriot nationalists did not heed the "advice" of the pro-imperialist *Cyprus Mail* and oblige with a campaign of civil strife, the imperialists themselves would intervene openly in the internal affairs of Cyprus and do the dirty work. With the exception of one Greek Right-wing newspaper, the "advice" of the *Cyprus Mail* has not found any response so far.

The subversive activities of the American and West German imperialists in Cyprus are also highly dangerous.

The working class, the majority of which is under the ideological influence of the AKEL, is in the vanguard of the struggle for full national independence and democracy. Hence the U.S. imperialists, who besides political objectives also have economic interests in Cyprus (they own the biggest copper mines on the island), are beating the anti-Communist drum and carrying on treacherous activities in the nationalist trade unions trying to split the workers' ranks.

The Cypriot trade union movement — from the Pancyprian Federation of Labor (PEO), which has the biggest membership and is affiliated to the WFTU, to the Confederation of Cyprus Workers (SEK), affiliated to the IFFTU, and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, and on many occasions also the Turkish Trade Unions—has been carry-

ing on a united struggle during the past few years to safeguard and improve the standard of living of the working class.

This working-class unity has been a source of strength to all Cypriot workers. And it is this unity that the American imperialists are bent on disrupting.

American intervention in the internal affairs of the trade unions and the working-class movement has reached a point where a Councillor of the U.S. Embassy said that he would not allow the Progressive Party to come to power in Cyprus.

The West German imperialists are also active. The crudest instance so far of their interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus was the demand of the West German Embassy—and compliance with this demand on the part of the government—that the flag of the German Democratic Republic be removed from a pavilion at the Eighth International Exhibition of Cyprus where GDR products were exhibited.

These are only a few examples of the subversive activities of the imperialists in the young Cyprus Republic—activities which constitute a serious danger to the life and future of its people. They are directed at splitting the popular forces, fomenting tension and civil strife with the objective purpose of complete economic and political subjugation of Cyprus.

The imperialists are exploiting the economic difficulties of the Cypriot people and posing as their "economic saviors" in order to secure new positions on the island. It has been reported, for instance, that the American imperialists have applied to the Cyprus government for permission to build a broadcasting station to transmit the Voice of America. And to secure a favorable decision they are playing up the \$15 million they are prepared to spend for this radio station.

The President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, has repeatedly declared that the foreign policy of the Cyprus government is one of neutrality and friendship with all nations. The people are unanimous in their support for a policy of positive neutrality. The recent visit of President Makarios to the United Arab Republic and the joint statement signed by the two Presidents reiterating their support of the policy of neutrality was acclaimed by all shades of political opinion in Cyprus.

Unfortunately, however, this policy is not always strictly adhered to by the Cyprus government. The position taken by its rep-

resentative in the United Nations on Cuba, the Congo and other questions, as well as the stand outlined in President Makarios' speech in Belgrade on the question of Berlin, was far from consistent with neutrality. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the Cyprus government has completely thrown the policy of neutrality overboard. There have been instances, such as the Algerian question and others, when the Cyprus government has taken a firm stand for positive neutrality.

The imperialists are not satisfied with the foreign policy of the Cyprus government. They want it to give up all talk of neutrality and openly side with the imperialist NATO powers. Some of the most reactionary Cyprus circles hold that the government should be more favorably disposed towards Britain and the USA in order to win their support. These circles are so fearful of communism that they seek refuge in the imperialist den and strive to foster the illusion that complete independence can be won only with the help of the imperialist powers.

The people, however, are genuinely anti-imperialist and mistrustful of everything that emanates from the imperialists. They want Cyprus to stand alongside the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have won or are fighting to win national independence. Our place is among the fighters against imperialism, oppression and war. The foreign policy which corresponds to the interests and commands the support of almost the entire Cypriot people is that of positive neutrality.

The Policy and Tactics of AKEL

In this complex economic and political situation the policy of AKEL is crystal clear. In its estimation, even though Cyprus has been proclaimed an independent republic, the popular struggle remains at the anti-imperialist and national-liberation stage. That this estimate is correct is obvious from the fact that the people are not free, that imperialism is still with us and the Zurich agreement has not solved the Cypriots' problems. Basically, therefore, the struggle is still anti-imperialist in character and hence all the forces of the people must unite against the main enemy—imperialism.

The imperialists are trying might and main to set the Cypriot people on the wrong course, to divert them from the anti-imperialist struggle. To counteract the correct slogan advanced by AKEL calling for the concentration of fire on the main enemy of all Cypriots—imperialism—the imperialist

propagandists have raised a hue and cry about a "communist conspiracy" and "AKEL plans for the seizure of power."

These fabrications are part and parcel of the insidious plans of the imperialists and their accomplices among the reactionaries at home to strangle the young republic.

In a statement issued in January, the Political Bureau of the AKEL exposed the criminal designs of the imperialists before the nation and the world. "There is a plan to turn Cyprus into a missile and nuclear base, and this plan is already being carried out," the statement said. "Moreover, there is an imperialist plan to disunite the forces of the Cypriot people, to weaken the government of Cyprus, and to use the one-sided Zurich agreement to create tension and provoke clashes between the communities in order to have a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of Cyprus and restoring colonial rule on the island. . . .

"The imperialists are striving to conceal their plans behind a smokescreen of talk about the 'danger of communism' in Cyprus. On an international scale they hold up the bogey of communism in order to divert the attention of the people from the real threat presented by imperialism and its subversive activities, to disunite the people and weaken the popular struggle, and to carry out their aggressive plans."

AKEL is the champion of the interests of the working people. Uniting both Greeks and Turks, it pursues a truly internationalist policy. Condemning and exposing the imperialist conspiracy which threatens the very

existence of the people of Cyprus, it exerts every effort to rally the masses against imperialism. AKEL campaigns for the unity of all Cypriots, irrespective of nationality and ideological convictions, in the struggle for the abolition of the imperialist military bases, for peace and peaceful coexistence, for positive neutrality, economic development, democracy and achievement of full national independence.

AKEL supports all the actions of the government of President Makarios which it believes serve the interests of the people and their anti-imperialist cause, and criticizes every move which it deems detrimental to Cypriot interests. While adhering strictly to its principles, the Party displays flexibility in tactics in full conformity with the character of the struggle waged by the people. Unity of all the national forces is its aim. The patriotic policy has won the support and respect of the masses. Never has the Party's influence been as great or its membership as large as today.

The struggle is not an easy one. The population of Cyprus is small* and this makes the fight against imperialism harder. But the Cypriots know that they are not alone in this fight. They have powerful allies in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the invincible camp of socialism. On their side are all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have thrown off the colonial yoke or are fighting for liberation. On their side is the mighty camp of peace and democracy the world over.

*Cyprus has a population of about 560,000.

The National Front of Democratic Germany in the Struggle for a Peace Treaty and Socialist Construction

Erich Correns

WORLD public opinion is following the resurgence of militarism and revanchism in West Germany with understandable concern. The struggle to eliminate the leftovers of the Second World War has become a matter of paramount international importance—one affecting the vital interests not only of the German people, but of other peoples in the world.

There are on German soil today forces capable of upholding the cause of peace. They have a stronghold in the German Democratic Republic, a worker-peasant state, a state personifying peace and friendship among the peoples, democracy and social progress. *The existence of the GDR and its consolidation are factors determining the social development of Germany.*

The imperialist propaganda machine is hard at work smearing the GDR and its social system. Those behind the persecution of democrats and peace fighters in West Germany, trampling on elementary political freedoms and civic rights, have donned the garb of champions of democracy and invent one lie after another concerning "terror" and a "totalitarian regime" in the German Democratic Republic. But the fact is that a genuine democracy has for the first time been established on German soil; imperialism and militarism, its arch-enemies, have been uprooted and the conditions created under which citizens can freely express their will.

The GDR derives its strength from the unity of the masses led by the working class. This unity is an earnest of the ultimate victory over the reactionary forces in West Germany who are now pursuing a policy charged with disaster for the entire German nation. It is embodied in the *National Front of Democratic Germany*, which has rallied the peace-loving and patriotic forces for the purpose of combating imperialism and militarism and securing a tranquil and happy future for the nation.

In January 1950, the people's committees for unity and a just peace developed into the National Front, which is a broad, popular movement. Its tasks, deriving from the new conditions, were more far-reaching than those of the committees. People of differing political views and outlook, and representatives of many political parties and public organizations from the two parts of Germany played an active part in this movement which embraced all sections of the population. They were united by love of country, by a sincere desire to eradicate imperialism and militarism from German soil, and by readiness to work for a peace treaty and the regeneration of Germany as a peace-loving democratic state.

This patriotic movement was banned in West Germany, for its objectives conflicted with the policy of the ruling classes. But West German patriots continue to participate in it, despite persecution.

The National Front congresses, convened once every four years, define its policy. They elect the front's council, its leading body. Some 20,000 National Front committees, elected at meetings of members, function throughout the GDR. Party and non-Party people work together in these committees, which have some 300,000 members.

The National Front of Democratic Germany has no primary organizations or membership registration. Its work is felt in the activities of the primary organizations of the parties, trade unions and other organizations, and in the house communities (*Hausgemeinschaft*). The aims of the Front are realized in the day-to-day work of the People's Chamber, the State Council, the government and the local authorities in the GDR, in which all sections of the people are represented through the Front. People's power rests on the solidarity and activity of the Front.

What is the role and the significance of this movement? Before replying, let us take a glance into the past.

The People Have Drawn Lessons from the Past

The German people's struggle for peace, democracy, progress and national unity is not something recent. It has historical roots. Yet never once was it successful, basically because the people were divided. The lessons of this century have been hard indeed. Twice have the monopolists, the bankers and the junkers gambled with the destiny of the nation by plunging the people into predatory wars. They encouraged the most revolting outrages by reactionary, chauvinistic elements.

Every true German patriot had long since realized that national unity was needed to combat German imperialism. Numbers of people had sought to effect democratic changes in the country. But the opposition groups, which included people of different outlook, atheists and believers, from the ranks of the intellectuals and the middle urban sections, the peasantry and some circles of the bourgeoisie, lacked unity; they were irresolute in action and not strong enough to block the way to fascism and to avert war. The most forward-looking social force—the working class—was also divided and therefore, despite the hard battles fought by its vanguard, it failed to unite all the working people. One of the main obstacles to working-class unity was the anti-communism of the Right-wing leaders of German Social Democracy. Anti-communism, rightly called by Thomas Mann, the famous German writer, the stupidity of our century, continues to be the principal ideological weapon used by the bourgeoisie and the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders to maintain and deepen the working-class split.

Joint action was initiated by opposition trends—ranging from the working class to representatives of bourgeois circles and officers with anti-Hitler sentiments—during their resistance to the Hitler dictatorship, when the latter had brought the country to the brink of disaster. This united front against fascism and war was most fully expressed in the "Free Germany" National Committee set up in 1943. The anti-fascist resistance included Communists, Social Democrats and bourgeois democrats, Catholics, Protestants, atheists, workers, peasants, artisans, proprietors, students, professors, soldiers and officers. This cooperation of diverse sections of the population in the resistance groups and the "Free Germany" National Committee created the conditions for a broad popular movement after the liberation of the country from

fascism, and was the precursor of the National Front of Democratic Germany. It showed, too, that progressive Germans had drawn the correct conclusions from the lessons of the past.

The liberation paved the way for reorganizing the country's life along entirely new lines. More and more people began to realize that they had been misled by the imperialists and militarists who had used them for their own criminal ends and against the interests of the nation. The adventurist, reactionary policy of German imperialism, with its anti-communism, racism and world supremacy, was now discredited. *The historical necessity to unite the whole people for the eradication of imperialism and militarism and the struggle for the peaceful democratic development of the nation was obvious.*

Appreciating this, the parties which after the liberation had been formed or again acquired legal status in the East of Germany, united in July 1945 for the purpose of joint action in an anti-fascist, democratic bloc. The split in the working class had to be overcome before unity could be achieved. The line of uniting the working-class forces, advocated by the Communist Party of Germany, was supported by the Social Democratic masses. Sincere Social Democrats had drawn a lesson from the tragic experience of the past and cooperated with the Communists. Joint action by Communists and Social Democrats was initiated, and subsequently, in April 1946, the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party merged to form the Social Unity Party of Germany. *The formation of the SUPG was of great historical significance for the whole German people.* It became a powerful militant center attracting all honest German patriots. Its program for the regeneration of the country as a peace-loving democratic state accorded with the interests of the German people.

The unity of the anti-fascist democratic forces in East Germany withstood some hard tests in the early years after the liberation. Despite reactionary resistance, overt and covert, a land reform was carried through, and the banks, the monopolies and enterprises owned by active Nazis and war criminals were nationalized. New democratic government bodies were set up, the educational privileges enjoyed by the former ruling classes were abolished and the organs of justice, one of the mainstays of reaction, were democratized.

The democratic forces in East Germany matured and became even more united in

the struggle to root out imperialism and militarism, to democratize social life and rehabilitate the economy.

Popular Movement for National Unity and a Just Peace

In contrast to the progressive development in the Eastern part of the country, the situation in West Germany—the zones occupied by the United States, Great Britain and France—evoked the growing concern of all German patriots. Contrary to the provisions of the Four Power agreements, the Western governments pursued a policy of dividing Germany and re-establishing the rule of the former reactionary forces in the Western part of the country—the monopoly and bank magnates, reactionary politicians and avowed militarists. These enemies of the German people hoped to divide the nation's democratic forces with the aid of the old ideological weapon, anti-communism.

In the face of this dangerous development in West Germany, the parties in the anti-fascist democratic bloc and the public organizations convened, on the initiative of the Socialist Unity Party, the first People's Congress for unity and a just peace, which was held in Berlin in December 1947. Over 2,000 delegates from all over the country, representing various political parties and other organizations, took part in the Congress which, it can be said with justification, was representative of all sections of the German people. The Congress drew up proposals for a peace treaty, for a central German government and a national referendum to decide on the economic and political unity of Germany.

The first People's Congress initiated a powerful movement for a united, democratic Germany. People's Congress committees were set up in the towns, villages, districts and laender of what was then the Soviet zone of occupation, as well as in the Western zones. These committees launched campaigns to explain things to the population and to rally the people for a struggle for a just peace and unity. The West German administrative bodies and the Western occupation authorities went to all lengths to hold back the development of this popular movement and to split it; they resorted to smear campaigns, provocations, persecutions, bans and arrests. It was difficult in this situation to develop the movement fully, or to prevent the partition of Germany.

The three Western powers created "Trizonia," carried out a separate currency re-

form, and set up a separate West German state in which the German monopolies regained their domination. Thus the economic basis was preserved for the political rule of those self-same forces which more than once had brought Germany to calamity. The governments of the three Western powers and the West German rulers ignored the popular will for nationalization of the basic branches of heavy industry, for the abolition of the concerns and trusts, and for land reform. These democratic demands found expression in the results of a popular referendum in Hessen and in the resolutions of a number of Landtags in the West and the Berlin municipality.

By creating a separate West German state the ruling circles in West Germany, aided by the United States, Britain and France, completed the partition of the country. The progressive forces had to take appropriate measures against the offensive launched by the imperialist reaction. On October 7, 1949, the German People's Council, elected at the third People's Congress in May of that year, was constituted the Provisional People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic. This body, the supreme organ of the worker-peasant republic, elected Wilhelm Pieck President and formed a government headed by Otto Grotewohl. All the political parties in existence at that time were represented in this government. Thus the joint efforts of the progressive forces, led by the working class, established a bastion against German imperialism and militarism.

In the autumn of 1949 the Socialist Unity Party proposed that a National Front of Democratic Germany should be established as a broad national movement for peace, democracy, and the reunification of Germany. The parties and public organizations and all progressive Germans were invited to cooperate. The proposal met with warm approval. It was supported by the National Congress committees throughout the country. The National Council of the Front was formed in February 1950 in Berlin. It included, in addition to prominent leaders of the parties and other organizations, representatives of non-Party workers, peasants, intellectuals, the middle sections and some groups of the bourgeoisie from the two Germanys. The Front developed into a movement expressing the vital interests of the German nation.

In the summer of 1950 the National Congress of the Front met for the first time in Berlin. Much of its time was devoted to the first elections to the People's Chamber

of the German Democratic Republic. The bloc of anti-fascist democratic parties and mass organizations decided to come forward with a single platform and a single list of National Front candidates. This decision proved of historical importance. It incorporated both the conclusions from past lessons and the experience gained in the first few years of cooperation. The elections confirmed the nation's recognition of the first German worker-peasant state and its peace policy, and the determination of the people to continue the struggle for a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany.

New Phase in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

The situation in Germany became even more complicated in the mid-fifties. Early in 1955 the Bundestag in Bonn ratified the Paris agreements. West Germany's rulers thereby committed another act of national betrayal. They included the separate West German state in the aggressive North Atlantic Pact, approved the foreign occupation of West Germany up to the year 2005, and gave the Western imperialist powers the right to conduct negotiations on the reunification of Germany. West Germany was allotted the role of NATO's jumping-off ground against the socialist camp. The Bonn politicians frankly pursued a policy of militarizing West Germany, joined the arms race, and began to demand atomic weapons. Subversive activity against the GDR; revanchist territorial claims on the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the USSR, and unbridled anti-Communist propaganda became state doctrine in West Germany. The Communist Party of Germany, numerous mass organizations and the National Front committees were banned, while their active members were persecuted and unlawfully imprisoned.

War criminals and active Nazis were appointed to leading posts in the administration and the judiciary, particularly in the police, and in the army.

It was impossible in these conditions to effect the peaceful reunification of Germany by direct agreement or through all-German elections, as the National Front had hitherto suggested. The task now was to rally all the people for the struggle against Bonn's policy of war and revenge. In its policy statement of November 13, 1955, the National Front gave its backing to the GDR's proposals that West Germany should leave NATO, that militarism should be eradicated and democratic conditions created there, that foreign troops be withdrawn from Germany and

foreign military bases abolished, that an all-German Council be formed on a parity basis. The statement underlined the GDR's historical role in the struggle for the democratic regeneration of Germany: "Now that German militarism is again sharpening its claws to enslave and destroy other peoples," it said, "the existence and the growing strength of the German Democratic Republic are an earnest that the German nation will never again slither into the abyss of the imperialist policy of strength." *An important task devolving on the people of the Republic, declared the National Front at that time, was to consolidate the GDR; this would be a decisive contribution to combating the war danger and creating a united, democratic and peace-loving German state.*

The National Front Is a Popular Socialist Movement in the GDR

In the course of carrying out its patriotic tasks, the National Front grew into a popular socialist movement. Fully aware that accelerated and successful socialist construction in the GDR would be a decisive contribution to the struggle for a peace treaty and the settlement of the German question, the National Front set itself the task—relying on the working class and under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party—of bringing all sections of the people to socialism.

One of the factors making for the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism in the GDR was the close cooperation of all sections of the population. Socialism has recorded important victories in the GDR. In an historically brief period, the Republic has made economic, social and cultural progress which would have been impossible under capitalism. Helped by the fraternal socialist countries, the GDR now occupies fifth place in Europe for industrial output. Provisional figures show that in 1961 industrial production was almost 3.5 times the 1936 figure. Socialist agriculture is making headway. Living standards are rising, as the 2.8-fold increase in retail trade in 1961 compared with 1950 indicates. Per capita consumption of meat, butter, fish and sugar is higher than in West Germany, as the following figures show.

	GDR 1960	FRG 1959-60
Butter	13.6 kg	7.8 kg
Meat	57.1 kg	54.5 kg
Fish	13.9 kg	12.2 kg
Sugar (refined)	30.3 kg	27.3 kg

Unity of the various sections of society was promoted and consolidated on a new, socialist basis in the course of the socialist construction, thanks in large measure to the effort of the National Front.

When drawing people from the different sections of the community into socialist construction, the National Front organizations take careful account of their past, their experience and their way of life. Separate meetings are held, for example, for intellectuals, the middle sections, religious people, etc., to explain the policy of the working-class Party and the worker-peasant government.

Peasants and artisans, organized in co-operatives, have firmly taken the socialist path. Intellectuals, too, are playing an increasingly active role in socialist construction. Some capitalist proprietors have found their way to socialism by voluntarily turning their enterprises into mixed state-private undertakings. There is greater cooperation between political parties* and organizations representing the different sections of the population. The vanguard role of the Socialist Unity Party, the Party of the working class, is universally acknowledged. New, socialist relations have come into being between people and are successfully developing. The ideas of humanism prevail in our Republic.

Conscious of their historical role in social development, the people are becoming increasingly active in all fields of public life. All parties and mass organizations in the GDR participate in running the state, in managing industry, and in solving cultural and educational problems.

One of the most important aspects of the cooperation of the parties, organizations and thousands of non-Party people in the National Front is their indefatigable work in the countryside with the result that in the spring of 1960 the peasants' voluntary organization into producer cooperatives was completed. Most of the well-to-do peasants joined too. The National Front is doing important work in exposing the intrigues of the subversive Western propaganda. Thus the joint efforts of the Socialist Unity Party and the Christian Democratic Union paralyzed the attempts made by the NATO-supporting bishops of the Evangelical Church in West Germany and West Berlin to set Christians in the GDR against their government and to prevent their taking any part in the socialist construction.

*In addition to the Socialist Unity Party, four other parties are represented in the government: the Democratic Peasants' Party, National Democratic Party, Liberal Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union.

The propaganda conducted by the National Front covers a wide range of issues. Not only does it clarify the major political problems and current events, but it aims at drawing people into active and conscious cooperation in the efforts to strengthen the worker-peasant state and increase production. An indication of the growing political consciousness of the masses and of their support for government policy is their contribution of voluntary labor to the "National Construction" (*Nationales Aufbauwerk*) — that is, voluntary participation of citizens in building dwellings, recreation and welfare centers, and in town and country planning. This movement began in 1952. The voluntary spare-time labor of the citizens at that time created material values totalling 26 million marks, while the figure in 1960 stood at 450 million.

The National Front organizes the residents of big apartment blocks in the towns into house communities, the people in the villages into street communities. They discuss all matters of interest to the residents. They repair and improve dwellings on their own initiative, arrange reciprocal care of children by the residents, hold meetings, make arrangements for holidays, excursions, etc. Political problems, too, are discussed. Backward views and reactionary customs are resolutely combated. Many useful discussions were held, for instance, in the last few months of 1961 with citizens who had been misled by the provocative Western propaganda. Some of them, for example, had begun to hoard goods.

The development of the GDR has proved that only when the rule of imperialist reaction and militarism is abolished can the German people live in peace and friendship with their neighbors and with all nations, and give full play to their talents and their ability to do great deeds for the cause of peace and progress.

For a long time now the people of the GDR have been wanting a peace treaty and a settlement of the West Berlin problem. They know that a peace treaty would help curb the West German militarists and imperialists, that it would be the basis for a neutral Germany and create favorable conditions for its reunification as a peace-loving and democratic state. Aware of the GDR's historic role, millions of citizens are making every effort to strengthen the worker-peasant state still more, to make it a model for the working people of West Germany, to defend it from all attacks by imperialist reaction and to raise its international prestige still higher.

The success of the measures taken on August 13, 1961, to safeguard the GDR, has made its citizens realize more deeply that their efforts in the fight for peace have not been in vain. Many who until then had been hesitant, now know that their state is strong enough to frustrate any plot hatched by the West German militarists, and they know too that much depends on the citizens of the GDR themselves, on their contribution to strengthening the Republic.

Inspired by this knowledge, workers in the nationally-owned Elektrokohle enterprise in Berlin have called on the working people in the Republic to develop an emulation movement in support of a peace treaty. They are prompted by the thought that the GDR's growing economic might is an important weapon in the hands of the people for bridling the Bonn "ultras." The emulation has acquired a mass character and is conducted under the slogan: Produce more in the same time for the same money. Peasants in the cooperatives have followed the example of the factory workers and are competing to increase output of agricultural produce and to strengthen the cooperatives economically. Those engaged in other branches of the national economy are also participating in this noble movement.

A striking manifestation of the growing political consciousness of the people of the GDR was the appeal made by the Union of Free German Youth, after the measures of August 13, to its members and to the youth as a whole to volunteer for the armed forces with a view of protecting their socialist country. In a few weeks some 250,000 young workers, peasants and students had responded.

The smear campaign launched by radio and television from West Germany and West Berlin had no effect on the patriotic initiative. The imperialist efforts to incite the workers to go slow, the peasants to refrain from making grain deliveries, the youth to go wild and to refuse to serve in the army, and the soldiers to desert, failed dismally. The people realized as never before that the correct thing to do was the very opposite of what the provocative propaganda urged.

The high degree of political activity and the unity and cohesion of the working people were demonstrated anew on September 17 last year during the local elections. At these, as at all previous elections, a single list of National Front candidates was put forward by the parties and other organiza-

tions. The latter nominated their most active members. The National Front committees studied this list and suggested some non-Party people. The candidatures agreed upon in the committees were then discussed at conferences the delegates to which were elected at meetings held in the enterprises, house communities, etc. The candidates nominated by the conferences addressed public meetings at which the past activities, political views and moral qualities of each candidate were discussed. As a result of these discussions the electors rejected over 300 nominees who, in their view, failed to meet the requirements of a people's deputy. The Front's list was then submitted to the electorate on polling day.

The people voted unanimously for the National Front candidates; 282,551 deputies were elected. Of these 81,106 were workers, 91,649 cooperative peasants, 21,804 intellectuals and 10,280 from the middle sections. A breakdown by profession shows that 733 deputies are doctors, 13,000 teachers and over 40 clergymen; seven per cent of the deputies are young people of up to 25 years; 19.1 per cent are women.

The rights and duties of deputies were considerably extended before the elections. This was a further step in the development of socialist democracy. The question of extending the rights of the local authorities had been widely discussed before the elections at meetings of the National Front. The new deputies will be responsible during the next four years for the local enterprises producing up to 50 per cent of all consumer goods, for building comprising about 75 per cent of all the construction projects in the Republic, for the entire rural economy and all retail trade, and for recreation facilities, education and public health.

Democracy has become part and parcel of life in the GDR. For the first time the people themselves are managing their affairs. Not only are they participating in the genuinely free and democratic elections, they are actually running their country. In contrast, the resurgence of imperialism in West Germany has led to the violation of all democratic principles.

This was evident during the elections in West Germany, held, too, on September 17, 1961, when the big capitalists and NATO politicians so manipulated things that their men got the seats in the Bundestag. The entire election campaign bore the imprint of the defeat suffered by the Bonn "ultras" in Berlin on August 13. The atmosphere in

which these elections took place was, on the one hand, one of confusion and pessimism in the ruling circles, the result of their defeat, and, on the other, of intensified terror.

The cold-war men, resorting to provocations, were even more unrestrained in their irresponsible speeches, while genuine political debate and action in favor of a peace treaty was suppressed. Candidates were nominated not at public meetings of the electors, but in the offices of the concerns and banks. Only parties upholding the monopolists' policy of aggression, revenge, atomic armament and exploitation of the masses were free to take part in the election campaign. People who had belonged to the now outlawed Communist Party of Germany were not allowed to stand, and many who put forward their candidatures were arrested.

Of all the organizations participating in the elections the German Peace Union alone upheld a policy of peace, neutrality and rejection of atomic weapons. But this organization, too, was persecuted and its electioneering restricted. Although it polled 600,000 votes, it did not, under the reactionary electoral law, get a single seat in Parliament. Thus the monopolies and the militarists saw to it that those who could put forward an alternative to the fatal policy of war and revenge were not represented.

Only 13 deputies who are workers by profession sit in the Bundestag, although workers and their families make up over 50 per cent of the population of West Germany. All the rest—nearly 500—are owners of concerns and banks, big shareholders, landowners and their agents, the Hitler generals, Nazi judges and their ilk. Yet these sections comprise only one per cent of the West German population. By way of contrast the 466 members of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic include 286 workers, 36 peasants, 57 office workers, 41 intellectuals, and 46 representatives of other sections (artisans, handicraftsmen, proprietors and clergymen). The composition of the representative bodies in the two Germanys shows where the ideas of peace, democracy and progress have triumphed in Germany, and where terror and reaction are rife.

The "Secret" of Unity

Many visitors to the German Democratic Republic from the capitalist countries ask, what is it that unites Marxists and Christians, workers and the small proprietors, peasants and intellectuals in the National Front? People from bourgeois circles in the

West try to discover some sort of pressure behind this cohesion. In their view irreconcilable differences must of necessity exist between the social sections and parties. Needless to say there are in the National Front and in the GDR as a whole, people and groups with differing views and outlook. But there is *complete accord between them on the vital national issues*, and therein lies the "secret" of their unity.

The parties and organizations united in the National Front, the tens of thousands of non-Party people actively cooperating in the National Front committees, the citizens who gather in the house communities to discuss questions of vital importance—all agree that peace for them and their families, for our people and the peoples of Europe will be assured only when German imperialism and militarism have been eradicated once and for all.

They all want to see the regeneration of a united peace-loving and democratic Germany, they want the German nation to become a respected nation again. But they understand, too, that for this the mortal enemies of the German nation—the monopolies and the revanchists—must be defeated. And this can be done only through joint struggle. Hence—despite divergences in outlook—the community of aims uniting them in the National Front. They are united by concern for the destiny of their country, which will be in jeopardy so long as imperialism and militarism continue to hold sway in West Germany. *The people cooperating in the National Front have drawn correct conclusions from the lessons of German history, and they realize that the rule of the monopolists, bankers, big landowners and their generals, diplomats, judges and officials is spearheaded against the interests not only of the working class, but of all sections of the people.*

The National Front is united also because the experience gained by the peasants, intellectuals and middle sections has shown them that only a united working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party can save the people from catastrophe and lead them to the triumph of peace.

The members of the National Front realize that *German imperialism can be defeated only by the utmost strengthening of the GDR—the first peace-loving state in German history, only by achieving joint action of the West German working class and uniting all the peace-loving forces in West Germany.* They are united also by the awareness, matured

in the social development, that the triumph of socialism will be the best way to strengthen the German Democratic Republic. And lastly, they all share the conviction, based on experience, that a peaceful future for Germany and Europe as a whole can be ensured only if the GDR strengthens its bonds of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

Thus on the basis of unity on vital issues, the issues on which depends the destiny of

the nation, a powerful movement uniting all sections of the people in the struggle for peace and socialism has grown and gained strength in the GDR under the leadership of the working class and its Party. The unity of the patriotic forces in the GDR, a model for the patriots in West Germany, encourages them to intensify the struggle, under the leadership of a united revolutionary working class, for the ultimate triumph of peace and progress throughout the country.

The American "Way of Life": Some Illusions — and Realities

Stanley Ryerson

IN the words of the Program of the CPSU, today's worldwide struggle between Communist and bourgeois ideology "is a reflection, in the spiritual life of mankind, of the historic process of transition from capitalism to socialism." And the Program makes the further point, which is particularly valid for the conditions obtaining in monopoly-capitalist North America — the United States and Canada: "A revolutionary change in the minds of vast masses of humanity is a long and complex process."

What are some of the specific features and peculiarities of the development of social consciousness among the masses of the people in this sector of the capitalist world? Study of this question is very necessary, for it throws light on the tenacity of bourgeois prejudices and reformist illusions in the United States and Canada. All that I can presume to attempt, here, is to suggest one or two possible lines of inquiry in relation to the problem, realizing full well that much that is valuable has already been — and will be — written about it.

Madison Avenue: Fabrication of False Consciousness

One problem that helps complicate the development of social consciousness (using that term in the sense of awareness of social reality, of the real relationships in the given so-

ciety) is the following. As Marx long since pointed out, a developed commodity-economy regularly engenders a "false consciousness," a baffling mystification in which relations between people appear as relations between things: its root is in the "fetishism of commodities." The "cash nexus" of bourgeois society is thus already, from the start, a source of distortion of consciousness.

Mid-20th century North America is characterized by a further development of this phenomenon: something which is present in all monopoly-capitalist economies, but which in this case is inflated to fantastic proportions. It is "normal" for capitalist firms, competing in pursuit of profit on the market, to conduct commercial publicity, or advertising — and in so doing to present their products or services in as enticing or glamorous a form as possible. What is extraordinary in North American capitalism is the Gargantuan dimensions assumed by this activity, its pervasiveness in all areas of social life, its impact on popular consciousness.

This phenomenon has of late evoked concern, bordering on alarm, even on the part of bourgeois ideologists themselves. Thus, the conservative Paris newspaper *Le Monde* (in its issue of August 2, 1961) observed: "One has to visit the United States to grasp the extent to which American propaganda and foreign policy . . . are dominated by the spirit

and style of commercial advertising . . . The average American is born, lives and dies under the formidable pressure of advertising. He is constantly being told that he can get something or other cheap, that he must buy it, buy it now . . . and his happiness will be complete." And the paper concludes: "The grip on politics, ideology and the whole of American thought, that is exerted by Madison Avenue (the New York Headquarters of the big advertising firms that together comprise one of the most powerful industries in the USA) poses an immense problem . . ."

Advertising operations conduct a constant, remorseless "brainwashing" of the public. The Du Pont firm, the huge war-industry monopoly, increased its annual net profits in the last decade from \$308 million to \$419 million on the strength of U.S. militarization and arms policies. Simultaneously, a lavish campaign of publicity set about convincing the public that this corporation was really not "a mere commercial enterprise but a beneficent institution." Says the author of a best-selling book on Madison Avenue: "Du Pont, by advertising, has changed itself from 'Merchants of Death' to 'Better Things for Better Living, Through Chemistry'."*

Here, then, is a society in which ballyhoo—the fabrication of false consciousness—is a major ingredient. In 1956 direct costs of advertising totalled \$10,000 million, while the "sales effort" as a whole amounted to between \$20,000 and \$25,000 million, or as much as the total of corporation profits after taxes. *Never before has there been a society that spent such astronomical sums on deception and self-deception!*

British historian Arnold Toynbee has this to say about the role played by Madison Avenue in modern capitalist society: "A considerable part of our ability, energy, time and material resources is being spent today on inducing us to . . . find the money for buying material goods that we should never have dreamed of wanting had we been left to ourselves." . . . "An economy that depends for its survival on an artificial stimulation of material wants seems unlikely to survive for very long." From the foregoing he draws what *Time* magazine describes as "a startling conclusion"; says Toynbee: "I would suggest that the destiny of our Western civilization turns on the issue of our struggle with all that Madison Avenue stands for, more than it turns

on the issue of our struggle with communism."*

American commentators are less drastic in their conclusions, but the presence of a certain disquiet is unmistakable. A crop of popular "best-sellers" dealing with various ramifications of the advertising racket have appeared in recent years: Vance Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders*, John Keats' *The Insolent Charlots*, Mayer's already cited book on Madison Ave., etc. While they refer to some of the negative social consequences engendered by the evils of advertising, they carefully evade the root-problem of capitalist exploitation and class rule.

Yet it is precisely this key feature of the society that is the problem. It is to keeping it hidden that the high-pressure salesmanship of big business is above all devoted. The measure of its success is the fact that for the "average person" it is not easy to see things as they are. The social reality is perceived only in a distorted way, through a fog of mystification.

This multiplication on a nationwide scale of "false consciousness" as personified by Madison Avenue is one large element in the complex phenomenon of the "American way of life."

The Paradox of "Affluence"

There is one sense in which this is an "affluent society": it is in the level of growth of the productive forces, and their resultant capacity for producing an immense abundance of commodities. The development of North American industry — untouched, in the 20th century, by war-devastation, but enormously expanded through war-production and the exploitation of vast areas of the world — has enabled it to achieve the world's highest level of productivity. It is this industrial base that accounts for the relatively high standard of living in North America. It is this industrial base that accounts for the seeming paradox, that catching up with and overtaking the level of monopoly-capitalist American per capita production is the economic objective of the Soviet people for the next decade, the target of the heroic efforts of the socialist world, historically immeasurably the more advanced in terms of its social relationships, its social system. How short-lived this anomalous situation is destined to be, the Program of the CPSU makes crystal-clear. By the end of the current decade the Soviet Union will have surpassed the USA not only in the overall

*Quoted in *Le Devoir*, Montreal, August 11, 1961.

**M. Mayer, *Madison Avenue, USA*, N.Y. (1959), pp. 23-24.

Time, September 22, 1961.

production but also in per capita output. The North American level of output as a target is only a passing phenomenon: but the point here is that now, this temporary phenomenon does exert influence on the consciousness of the inhabitants of Canada and the United States.

The American advertisers' glossy picture of a dream-world of "affluence" and "consumer abundance" is a wildly distorted reflection of reality. But this distortion would have little effect were it not for the element of reality contained in it. The grain of reality in the dream-picture is the ability of North American industry to put on the market an enormous flood of commodities.

The sleight-of-hand trick performed by Madison Avenue and all the associated media of mass communication consists in the following: the "image" of what is in fact upper-middle class living is projected on the screen as the "true picture" of the American "way of life." A sociological study of an exclusive upper-middle class area in Toronto noted that community attitudes were characterized by "a deep allegiance to the North American dream, a material heaven in the here and now, to be entered by the successful elect . . . A man is judged by the number and quality of the things he owns . . . the community serves the psychological purpose of a super-market-place, where status may be validated in the acquisition and exhibition of material and non-material 'objects': houses, cars, clothes, jewellery, gadgets, furniture . . . stocks and bonds," etc.*

With the ability of better-paid workers to acquire (however precariously) some of the gadgets and household appliances and a car, a tenuous material toehold is provided for the high-pressure advertisers to persuade them that this is indeed the "affluent society" and that they have a "stake" in its preservation.

Incredible as it may seem, this ideological conjuring trick is effective — up to a point. It could not be effective if there were not at least the element, however small, of a basis of material reality on which to build up the illusion.

Take, for instance, the ever widely proclaimed symbol of North American "affluence": the automobile. In Canada, which has a labor force (counting all the "gainfully occupied") of some six and a half million persons, there are some four million passen-

ger automobiles. This fact, with its accompaniment of fantastic traffic congestion in the large urban centers, and vast expenditures on elaborate highway arteries in the central industrial area of the country, reflects the productive capacity of industrial North America. So also does the fact that with 724,000 persons occupied in farming in Canada, the number of tractors on farms totals some 500,000. It is this high level of equipment that accounts for the fact that whereas in 1940 one person working in agriculture supplied enough food for himself and nine other persons, one person now can supply enough for himself and twenty-two other persons.

Contrary to the claims of reformists and revisionists, the facts by no means suggest that "free enterprise" in Canada is still on a rising curve of development. As the program of the Communist Party of Canada points out, the socio-economic position of North America cannot be arbitrarily taken out of the context of the capitalist world system as a whole. *In that system the position of Canada is dual: on the one hand, she is exploited by the incomparably more powerful monopoly capital of the USA and, on the other, she herself is a junior partner of the United States and Britain in exploiting vast economically backward and politically dependent areas of the capitalist world.* The Canadian bourgeoisie draws huge superprofits on capital invested in Latin America (e.g., bauxite extraction in Guiana and Jamaica, oil in Venezuela and Trinidad, railroads, insurance and banks in Brazil, etc.); the bourgeoisie also makes a pretty capital from the artificially created disparity between the prices of industrial goods and raw materials on the capitalist world market; another favorable circumstance is imperial preferences in the trade with the other Commonwealth countries, etc. And although this bourgeoisie has to share its superprofits with monopoly capital of the USA and, partly, Britain, it has nevertheless enough means at its disposal to bribe part of the working class and create a relatively numerous labor aristocracy.

It should be emphasized that the relative and shaky prosperity of the Canadian economy has as its accompaniment government policies of studied neglect of social security, health and educational needs, several areas of which are in critical condition as a result.

The vast scale of output of commodities masks, but by no means negates, the deep-going contradictions that gnaw at the vitals

*Crestwood Heights, University of Toronto Press, 1956, pp. 6-7.

of this society. One expression of these inner conflicts and strains is the fantastic accumulation of debt borne by individuals. In the decade 1950-1960, consumer debt in the United States rose by 200 per cent, to a total of \$195,000 million. Of this total, "consumer credit" or the amount owed on purchases of cars, home appliances, etc., had increased by over 550 per cent since 1940, to a total of \$56,000 million, while the remainder — \$139,000 million — represented mortgages on homes.*

The car-owner or small home-owner thinks he "owns" these symbols of a share in the "affluent society"; but that is just an optical illusion. The load of debt that presses on his pay-envelope steadily weighs down his real standard of living. In September 1961 in Canada, personal disposable (cash) income was three per cent above the 1960 level; but in the same period consumer debt had risen by seven per cent. The growth in U.S. consumer debt in the past decade is more than three times the growth in "disposable income."**

The whole structure of this pyramid of debt rests on the precarious fundament of a spasmodic and unsure "prosperity." Any serious economic decline would pull the props out from under it, with devastating results for the mass of people in the low-income brackets. "Easy credit," writes one bourgeois commentator, "is the diseased heart of our prosperity."***

More "Worms in the Apple"

At closer scrutiny the "American way of life" appears to be a huge décor designed to conceal the poverty of the working people of the whole continent. Above all, it must be emphasized that it does not screen the realities of Latin America, one of the most backward parts of the world, both economically and socially. But even in the United States and Canada this much-vaunted "way of life," even if on a credit basis, is enjoyed by only a minority. Naturally, the unemployed and their families cannot afford it, the same is true of the bulk of the rural population, immigrant workers (in Canada these include many Italians and "displaced persons"), many French Canadians and members of minority national groups. The more we study the situation the greater the numbers we find beyond the fringes of the "American way of life."

Not long ago I had occasion to go by air to Montreal, Canada's largest city. Driving

from the huge, gleaming airport at Dorval to the city, one cannot help being struck by the externals of prosperity — "show-place" factories, newly built, often with surrounding lawns, suburban houses, some with small plastic "wading pools" for children: the advertisers' picture of "American well-being."

The reality of mortgage debt is not inscribed on these dwellings, it is hidden. But over great areas of Montreal the misery of housing is open, blatant. The newspapers last July reported the findings of a research survey: 17,645 slum dwellings in Montreal, housing a total of 116,455 persons. Almost one-sixth of all the buildings in this, the metropolis of Canada, are slums, broken-down dwellings, urgently in need of replacement.*

Moreover, with 116,000 jobless in September 1961, the Province of Quebec is the area with the greatest concentration of mass unemployment in Canada.

A province-wide survey in Quebec has shown that at a time when official figures reported five per cent of the labor force as unemployed (summer 1958 to summer 1959), actually 29 per cent of the families of wage-earners had in fact suffered from unemployment of one or another member. The survey noted: "For the French-Canadian wage-earning family, unemployment is a major catastrophe . . . Unemployment allowance payments . . . are insufficient to allow the family a normal life." Further: "close to half the families of unemployed had no assurance of security in the event of a family disaster" (illness, etc.). "The unemployed family thus not only suffers privation due to the lack of work, but is vulnerable in the face of contingencies." The survey noted the presence of widespread unemployment not only in urban centers but in the countryside. Here a further aspect was revealed: what the survey designated as "hereditary unemployment":

"Among heads of families in distressed areas unemployment assumes the character of a more or less hereditary phenomenon. It is not an accident in the career of an individual, but rather a more or less permanent state This permanence of unemployment . . . (engenders) a very low standard of living, a total lack of security in the face of eventualities, and the impossibility of aspiring to a better lot for future generations."**

*Le Devoir, Montreal, July 4, 1961. A further comment: "The poorest quarter of our population still lives in appalling housing in both town and country. The next two quarters are slaves to mortgage companies . . ." (Social Planning for Canada, University of Toronto Press, 1961, p. 12).

**Le Devoir, Montreal, March 24, 1961. The survey in question was prepared by the Social Research Center of Laval University, Quebec, and presented as a submission to the Committee on Manpower of the Senate of Canada.

*Canada Year Book, 1960, p. 434.

**Globe and Mail, Toronto, September 20, 1961.

***J. Keats, The Crack in the Picture Window, p. 116.

This is not exactly the "standard of living," the "way of life" so stridently proclaimed by the high-pressure promoters of the "affluent society"

Stagnation, Frustration, Dementia

Chronic mass unemployment is growing in the United States and Canada because of an increasing tendency to economic stagnation in these countries: a slowing down in the rate of growth and on occasion an actual decline in output. In Canada the average rate of annual growth in per capita national production in the decade 1950-1960 was two per cent, but in 1954-59 it was 1.8 per cent. In 1960, with a 2.1 per cent growth in population, the gross national product increased by only 1.5 per cent — hence, a reduction in per capita production. "Canada was going backward rather than forward," commented the *Toronto Globe and Mail* in an editorial entitled "Economy in the Doldrums" (April 13, 1961).

Monopoly capitalist society lurches into the future — blindfolded. "Where are we going?" is the ever-haunting, never-confidently answered query, both of the average "man in the street" and of the magnates of finance. The Canadian economy faces, in the words of one financial editor, "formidable unknowns" — whether there will be the "hoped-for expansion", "whether unemployment will rise next winter to crippling proportions."* "Vast Wealth Hides U.S. Poverty of Purpose" is the heading on a "soul-searching" article on the "social turmoil" in today's capitalist world.**

This society in a dead-end suffers from a pervading sense of frustration and insecurity. Symptomatic of the condition of this "affluent society" is the tremendous increase in mental illness. At least one out of ten Americans suffers from some form of psychical disorder; mental illness is as much a part of the "American way of life" as ownership of a car. The leading financial journal in Canada carries an item headed: "Is Mental Illness Now a 'Way of Life'?" and it goes on as follows:

"We stand at the very edge of doom because mental illness has become endemic among us and institutionalized as a way of life," writes Dr. Ashley Montagu in an article published in the *American Journal of Psychiatry*.

"What can we expect of a culture, such as that of the USA, which not only permits,

but provides, enormous circulation to newspaper columnists who are clearly mentally ill," says Montagu.

"If we do not have some type of mass mental illness why then do our popular entertainments thrive on murder, violence, rape and sexuality?"

"It would appear that it is no longer the blind who are leading the blind into the ditch, but the mentally ill who are leading the mentally ill. Our entire culture is in need of social psychiatry."*

Earlier in the year, *Time* magazine carried a lengthy feature article entitled "The Anatomy of 'Angst'" or "Guilt and Anxiety." The following excerpts convey the gist of it:

"There is general agreement among psychiatrists, theologians, sociologists and even poets that in this era, anxiety is indeed different both in quantity and quality . . .

"Psychologists report that 30 years ago the USA was in an 'age of covert anxiety'. It is now in an age of 'overt anxiety'. People tend to believe that it is wrong and 'sick' to feel anxious or guilty; they are beset by guilt about guilt, by anxiety about anxiety."

". . . Anxiety arises from feelings of helplessness."

"Psychologists know that all change is threat and that all threat produces anxiety."

"The American today . . . is facing his demanding destiny in a state of psychological and religious confusion."**

This picture of the prevailing mood accompanying the "American way of life" would not be complete without mention of its worst expression—war hysteria. Washington, in the words of one Canadian financial journal, is the place where "Fright Feeds on Fright":

"The hordes in the State Department and the Pentagon, having drenched themselves so long and so thoroughly in the problems of war, are now gripped with a frenzy they have helped create The John Birch Society, loud-talking generals and other professional patriots talk themselves red, white and blue in the face in stirring up their brew of 'strike first' suggestions. As the mood here darkens, their brew is being gulped by more people."

And the article quotes from the *New York Times*: "The men who fancy themselves in control of events are no longer really in control; or, at any rate, they can no longer be confident that they are really in control."***

**Globe and Mail*, June 27, 1961.

***Toronto Daily Star*, June 19, 1961.

**Financial Post*, October 7, 1961.

***Time*, March 31, 1961.

****Financial Post*, October 7, 1961.

Over the past year war hysteria deliberately whipped up by the publicity machine has assumed huge dimensions. It has increased the worker's feeling of insecurity. To the fear of losing his job, his daily bread and the gadgets bought on credit is now added fear for his life, his family and indeed for the nation. Before he has paid off the mortgage on his house, he is urged to buy, also on credit, a fall-out shelter — another symbol of the "American way of life." The corporations are in clover, raking in hundreds of millions in profits from the fear of war.

Such are the psychopathic trends that accompany the crisis of the system. Stagnant and putrescent, the dying social order threatens mankind — and itself.

The Root of the Evil, and Sprouts of Resistance

At the heart of this crisis-ridden, death-obsessed society is the fundamental contradiction between vastly-developed social productive forces and the constricting framework of private property, of capitalist appropriation. It is this crucial root-problem that is as yet obscured, hidden from the recognition of the masses by all the paraphernalia of deception we have described.

The fundamental "axis" on which this economy turns is of course the extraction of maximum monopoly-capitalist profit through the exploitation of the proletariat and all other working people. The \$45,000 million of U.S. corporation profits (before taxes) in 1960—roughly equivalent to the total war expenditure of that country in the same year—represents the secret *raison d'être* of the entire system. "Secret," because its significance is rather successfully obscured from public view by the smokescreen of ballyhoo about the "affluent society", the "free world" and the like. A not inconsiderable ingredient in the smoke-screen is nationalist chauvinism and anti-communism: the "man in the street" is persuaded that "the Reds" are "greedily" viewing America's riches, threatening the "American Way of Life."

In Canada, the dimension of capitalist profit is indicated by the fact that the total "return on capital" amounted in 1960 to \$13,200 million, while aggregate wages and salaries (the later including those of corporation executives) totalled \$17,600 million. In the same year the gross national product amounted to \$36,000 million.

Only 12 per cent of income receivers in Canada received more than \$5,000 a year; but

they got 34 per cent of the total income received. At the same time 43 per cent of all income receivers got less than \$2,000 a year, or 14 per cent of the total income.* With an "average" wage in manufacturing of somewhat over \$70 a week, it is evident that a very large number of working people receive considerably less than this. The "liquid assets" of the median non-farm family in 1956 amounted to the princely sum of \$234, plus an additional \$28 in loans outstanding!***

Not without reason is a trade-union official quoted as saying that a worker's job "is the only income-producing property for most Canadians."****

As for farm income — in this country of "highly-industrialized" agriculture — it has been only 40 per cent of the average income of other Canadians, over the whole period 1926-1958. So small is the income of most farmers that 89 per cent of them do not earn even the minimum amount that would bring them within the income-tax-paying category. "By whatever income measure one applies, the historical position of agriculture in Canada's developing economy has been one of chronic depression and uncertainty." Industrialization has meant "the . . . drift of people from rural poverty to urban slums."*****

Great expanses of regional poverty characterize this "affluent" country of ours. While in Ontario 13 per cent of all persons between the ages of 65 and 69 were dependent on "old-age assistance," in New Brunswick the figure was 38 per cent, in Newfoundland 61 per cent.*****

Profiteering and exploitation pervade every area of social being. The enormous costs of ill-health are thrust on the shoulders of the mass of the people. Pharmaceutical companies will sell a pill that costs 1.5 cents or less to produce, for 30 cents. One manufacturer at a government hearing reported that in 1960 on a capital of \$58 million his company took in a profit (before taxes) of \$14 million — a rate of profit of 24 per cent!

North American advertising, press, radio and television are simultaneously ideological and commercial enterprises. A peculiarly revealing insight into the governing motive of this society was provided recently by the Canadian private radio and television industry. Addressing a conference of French-lan-

*Figures for 1957, covering non-farm incomes only: *Economics for Canadians*, H. and K. Buckley, p. 14.

***Social Purpose for Canada* (1961), p. 186.

****Toronto Telegram*, Oct. 20, 1961.

*****Social Purpose for Canada*, pp. 304, 307.

******Ibid.* 141.

guage radio and TV broadcasters, a Mr. Brown, spokesman of the Colgate-Palmolive soap monopoly, told them bluntly that "the second area of your responsibility (is) to your listeners" — but "broadcasting stations' first responsibility was to their shareholders . . . to make a profit." Radio-TV programs are constantly interrupted to allow commercial advertisers to tout their wares; and the viewer gets the impression, finally, that the programs really only exist as a means of selling soap or some other commodity. He is, in most cases, blissfully unaware that he himself has long been sold as a potential customer by the broadcasting company to the corporation whose advertising he unwillingly views. Said Mr. Brown: "*Audiences are the product that broadcasters have to sell.*"* The bigger the captive audience that a broadcasting-station can "deliver" to a consumer-seeking monopoly, the bigger will be its share of the monopoly profit. This is what is known as "freedom of broadcasting", one of the pillars of the so-called "free world."

It is not only Marxists who declare that monopoly capitalism is heading for its doom. Even spokesmen of far different outlooks are impelled to utter dire warnings. At Miami Beach, Florida, James Hoffa, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, told a convention of his union "that the U.S. people were on the threshold of an uprising over the problems created by automation and large-scale unemployment." That is an exaggeration, but it contains a core of truth. The insoluble contradictions of the profit-system are more and more impelling its victims to

face it and challenge it. The same newspaper that reported Hoffa's speech carried an article by the English historian Toynbee, predicting "an apparently inevitable social revolution" in the United States.

"Marxism is all-powerful because it is true." This affirmation of Lenin at the same time underlines the deep-going vulnerability and ultimate impotence of monopoly-capitalism, whose hold on the minds of the masses rests on the elaborate but so exceedingly precarious structure of illusion, deception and lies. The everyday experience of the working people presses in the direction of more and more awareness of the class reality of the old society. And to this awareness is added the inspiring recognition of a real alternative: slowly, with extraordinary difficulty, but nonetheless surely *the truth makes headway about the new society of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system.* The confrontation becomes open, inescapable, as between a society where the needs of people, of Man, are paramount, instead of the ruthless, insensate drive for profit; where instead of stagnancy, insecurity, frustration and fear of the morrow, society knows where it is going, forges ahead with such confidence in the future that it overcomes all obstacles and reaches out to blaze pathways to the stars. All this can't be indefinitely kept hidden from the people. With each passing day, the breathtaking realizations of the new society of socialism triumphant, of the advance to communism, projected in the Program of the CPSU, work mightily to reshape the consciousness of millions — in North America as throughout the world.

*Globe and Mail, September 12, 1961.

WMR Interviews

Trade Unions and the Struggle for Socialism

THE Fifth World Trade Union Congress took place in Moscow from December 4 to 15, 1961. The Congress was a big event in the life of the international proletariat. Convened by the World Federation of Trade Unions, its significance goes far beyond that of a regular congress. It was attended by about 1,000 delegates, observers and guests from 97 countries representing 119.5 million WFTU members and 23.5 million members of unaffiliated national centers and organizations belonging to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Never before had such a great number (over 80 per cent) of the organized workers of the world been represented at a trade union congress. The resolutions of the assembly are sealed by the signatures of the principal class and chief motive force in society today.

The reports delivered by Louis Saillant and Ibrahim Zaharia, the contributions, the resolutions and, above all, the "program of trade union action for defense of the workers' interests and rights" endorsed by it are of considerable interest. The facts and examples cited in these documents characterize the conditions of the working class of the world and its struggle. But the main thing about the Congress was the profound discussion which took place; the keynote was the endeavor to improve the trade unions as a weapon of class struggle and bring them into line with the political level on which this struggle is now being waged. The draft program of action submitted by the Executive Committee, which had been widely discussed in all coun-

tries prior to the Congress, was amended in the spirit of the criticisms made by the delegates. Many speakers regarded as significant the fact that the Congress was held in the same hall as the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, and its spirit, the spirit of the struggle for the new and against all that hinders the working-class movement from becoming stronger, was indeed palpable.

We shall not dwell in detail on the proceedings, for they have been sufficiently reflected in the Communist Party press in all countries and, furthermore, its materials will be published by the WFTU. But we should like to draw attention to some of the features of the trade union movement that came to the fore at the Congress. With this object in view our correspondents subsequently asked trade union leaders from 12 countries the following questions:

1. What do you consider the most important gains of the working class in your country in recent times achieved through the medium of the trade unions?

2. What in your view are the role and the place of the trade unions in the community and in the struggle for social progress?

3. How do you assess the development of trade union unity on a national and international scale? What are the obstacles to unity?

The leaders interviewed included Communists, Socialists, Catholics, nationalists and non-party people, and they represented WFTU unions, ICFTU unions and unaffiliated bodies. Their replies are given below.

1. What do you consider the most important gains of the working class in your country in recent times achieved through the medium of the trade unions?

FRANTISEK ZUPKA,
Chairman, Central Council of the Trade
Unions of Czechoslovakia:

The most important gain of the working class in Czechoslovakia has been the building of socialism, so that in a brief space of

time Czechoslovakia became the second socialist state in the world. The working class, united in the single revolutionary trade union movement led by the Communist Party, foiled all the attempts of the bourgeoisie to carry out a counter-revolution; it took political power in its own hands and drew the intel-

lectuals and peasants into the work of building the new society. Thanks to this unity the militancy of our people developed into labor enthusiasm after the victory in February 1948, and enabled the trade union movement to rally the working people for the task of reaching and exceeding the targets of socialist construction.

The development of Czechoslovakia is convincing proof of the advantages of the socialist system for all the working people. In the pre-Munich bourgeois republic it was only with great difficulty that the economy developed, while in many of the enterprises closed down after the First World War, including those in Slovakia, production was never resumed. In 1930, the most difficult year for the workers, the number of unemployed totalled nearly a million. Our working class has built hundreds of new enterprises since 1945 and **within 16 years** has increased industrial output almost fourfold. We have no unemployment and what is more, we have to see to it that our labor force is distributed in the most rational way.

Rapid industrial development has been accompanied by a rise in material and cultural standards, which, as foreign visitors, including many bourgeois economists, have confirmed, are among the highest in Europe.

Important, too, is the fact that all the revolutionary gains of the working class and the working people have been embodied in the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Our Constitution creates the conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

THAN DANG TUEN,

*Vice-Chairman, Federation of Trade Unions
of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam:*

The most important victory won by the working class and people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in recent years was the fulfilment of the three-year (1958-1960) plan. The socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the handicraft industry, private capitalist industry and trade was in the main completed by the end of 1960. In those three years industrial output rose in value by an average of 21.7 per cent annually, and agricultural production by six per cent. The standard of living has risen perceptibly. Wages of factory and office workers have gone up 25 per cent.

In 1961 our country embarked on its first five-year plan. The basic task now is the building of socialism. The value of industrial output will increase by 148 per cent, and of

agricultural produce 61 per cent; real incomes will go up by about 30 per cent.

Our progress is due in great measure to the aid rendered us by the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries. At the same time our achievements inspire the working people of South Vietnam in their struggle for the unity of the country, for freedom and happiness, against the aggressive intervention by the U.S. imperialists and the bloody dictatorship of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

The people in the North, engaged in building socialism, and the people in the South fighting the U.S. imperialists and the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem, are closely bound to each other. The working people and the trade unions in North Vietnam fully support the program of struggle drawn up by the Association of Working People for the Liberation of South Vietnam — a genuine trade union organization in the South. Our two delegations had cordial talks at the Fifth World Trade Union Congress about our common tasks in the two parts of Vietnam. We are deeply convinced that fraternal relations between the working people and the trade unions of the North and the South will contribute to the ultimate victory of the Vietnamese people in their revolutionary struggle.

JESUS SOTO DIAZ,

*Secretary, Revolutionary Trade Union Center
of the Working People of Cuba:*

The working class of Cuba has achieved the main objective, the goal towards which all exploited people of the world aspire: we have won national independence and, with it, political power.

The nationalization of the land and the agrarian reform law have cleared the way for economic advance. Some 250,000 formerly exploited agricultural laborers have become either cooperative members or are working on the state farms. Over 30,000 peasants have received plots of land.

Nationalization of enterprises owned by foreign imperialists, the banks, railways, sugar-cane plantations and sugar refineries, electric power plants, telephone companies, and others, has placed 80 per cent of the means of production in the hands of the people.

The education reform law guarantees free education to all.

The housing law in towns and cities has cut rents by 50 per cent. Tenants of apartments will, eventually, become owners of

them and will pay the cost of the apartment in 5-8 years' time.

The reduced charges for gas, electricity and telephones, the lower prices for medicines, the freezing of prices for necessities and the steady growth of wages, which during 1959-1960 alone rose by more than 65 per cent, have also helped to improve conditions.

Fully aware that under the freedom now obtaining, and that with the regard shown for their interests they could get a further wage increase if they so wished, the working people of Cuba have refrained from asking for one. On the contrary, they have suggested that the government should introduce a wage freeze. Their proposal has found reflection in resolutions of various trade union conferences and the congress of our Center. The delegates agreed that it would be wrong to demand the whole product of our labor, for new investments will help to increase the national wealth. Wages of the lower-paid categories have, nevertheless, been increased.

Today, for the first time, we Cubans are happy, and not only because we have achieved a great deal, but because the future promises so much for us.

RAGNAR ANDERSON,

Secretary, Bricklayers' Union of Goeteborg (Sweden):

After 1957 the Swedish trade union movement, jointly with the working-class political movement, succeeded in getting a pensions law under which employers pay pensions to all their employees, irrespective of the state old-age pensions introduced earlier. The working week has been reduced from 48 to 45 hours, vacations have been extended from two to three weeks, and safety measures more rigidly specified and enforced.

JEAN BRETEAU,

General Secretary, Metalworkers' Trade Union (General Confederation of Labor (France):

In the first few weeks of 1961 the monopolies announced through their spokesman, the head of government, that in view of the rise in prices they would increase wages—but not more than four per cent. Joint action by the working people in many industries, however, compelled the owners to go further than they had originally intended. This applies to the building industry and public works, to the iron and steel and the food industries, where wages have risen by an average of from five to 10 per cent and, in some cases, by 15 to 20 per cent. The gov-

ernment, too, had to make concessions. It granted a more than five per cent wage increase to workers in arsenals and other enterprises of the Army, Navy and Air Force ministries.

At some privately-owned works (the Berliet Works in the Rhône Department, Peugeot, Doubs Dept., and Neyrpic and Merlin Gerin, Isère Dept., etc.). The working week was reduced by as much as 2.5 hours without any reduction in wages. Joint action by some categories of post and telegraph employees won them a 5-day week. At least 100,000 workers won the right to an additional, fourth week of paid holidays.

The workers' day-to-day fight for their rights took place, as a rule, on the call of the General Confederation of Labor.

On the initiative of the Confederation, its organizations and members, the struggle for peace in Algeria has acquired greater scope. The GCL and the working people generally took an active part in the National Day of Action for Peace in Algeria on November 29, 1961. Other forms of struggle were also utilized during the year, brief protest strikes, for example, or despatch of deputations, etc. The General Confederation of Labor was the only trade union organization which showed initiative in this struggle, in the actions against fascism and war, and against German militarism.

Unity against the growing danger of fascism gained in scope in 1961, as the actions of April 24, December 6 and 19 last year, and the big demonstrations and strikes all over France since the beginning of this year show.

ANDREAS ZUARTHIDIS,

General Secretary, Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labor:

In conditions of unemployment and economic crisis, I believe the most important gain of the Cypriot working class was that, through the united action of the trade union movement, all attempts by the employers to violate the collective agreements were repulsed.

In the past six years the miners have waged a hard fight for a shorter work day. As a result, by 1960 all the mining companies—they are owned by foreign monopolies—introduced a 44-hour week without loss of pay. But the miners were not satisfied. The trade unions demanded a 40-hour week for all underground workers. So the pressure went on, not only on the companies but also on the government. The results were excellent. In spite of the resistance of the foreign

monopolies, the Council of Ministers passed the appropriate law in May 1961.

I should like to mention also the Pneumoconiosis (prevention and compensation) Law, for which the miners' unions in Cyprus fought for years, and also the progress achieved by several unions in getting the employers to pay into a social insurance fund. This fund, providing for compensation on dismissal or retirement, and the Pneumoconiosis Law are important gains in a country where social insurance is in its early stages.

KHACHATUR ARA,

*General Secretary, General Federation
of Trade Unions of Iraq:*

The Iraqi national revolution of July 14, 1958, which abolished the royal regime, the mainstay of imperialism, feudalism and reaction, gave the working class and the people generally democratic rights and freedom of which they had been deprived for years. The trade unions, formerly illegal, grew rapidly. In a few months 46 of them came into being and were joined by 300,000 workers; the General Federation of Trade Unions of Iraq (GFTUI) was established and subsequently became affiliated to the WFTU. This upsurge of the trade union movement and the participation of the workers in solving common national problems such as the consolidation of independence, are undoubtedly the most important achievements of our working class in all its history.

With the advance of the working-class movement, the growth of its political consciousness and organization, the workers ceased to be subjected to oppression, insults and unlawful dismissals. An 8-hour day was established. Our workers formerly had no right to a rest day, the revolution gave it to them. Some provisions of the Labor Law, which had previously remained on paper, such as compensation for industrial disability, were implemented. Workers qualified for housing on reasonable terms. The trade unions won these demands, it should be noted, without strike action, by negotiations and agreements with the employers—the government, foreign companies and Iraqi capitalists.

One year after the revolution, however, the government gradually began to suppress the revolutionary national movement, including the working-class movement, and snatched one gain after another from it. It began to persecute patriotic trade union leaders, openly interfered in the elections of trade union committees and the leading GFTUI bodies,

and refused to allow most of the legally elected delegates to participate in its congress. Oppression and arbitrary rule became the order of the day; strikes and demonstrations were forcibly suppressed, and thousands of workers were driven from the factories.

This ruthless policy, pursued now for more than two and a half years, has not succeeded in isolating the revolutionary trade union leadership from the people. Their experience has taught the workers that there is a link between the oppression to which they are subjected and the suppression of the national movement as a whole. The working class is, therefore, rallying closer around its revolutionary vanguard and coordinating its struggle with that of all national and democratic forces to safeguard the common gains and for a national democratic government.

SOICHI HOSOI,

*leading member, All-Japan Trade Union
of State Railway Workers:*

Our working class has achieved its most outstanding victories in the struggle against the new Japanese-American "security treaty." This struggle has no equal in the history of the working-class movement of Japan. Over 2,000 joint action committees were established throughout the country, in which the Communist and Socialist parties, the trade unions, peasant organizations, urban middle sections, women, the youth, and intellectuals cooperated. The trade unions called a general strike three times; big sections of the citizens, including small and medium shopkeepers, participated in the strike movement and successfully held solidarity strikes. Unfortunately, the struggle failed to prevent the signing of the "security treaty" but it did throw the Kishi government out of office.

Another highlight of the battle was the action against the dismissal of 1,200 miners from the Miike mine owned by Mitsui, the biggest monopoly in Japan. This action fused with the struggle against American imperialism. The U.S. oil monopolies are striving to gain control of Japan's fuel industry, and Japanese monopoly capital, aiding and abetting them, has advanced the theory that the coal industry is declining and should be "rationalized" at the expense of the workers. The Miike miners waged an unremitting struggle for 318 days. Police, civil-defense detachments and gangster groups were used against them. All attempts by the capitalists to break the workers' resistance by bringing them before the courts and to split their ranks failed.

There is yet another victory—after 12 years of effort, the 20 accused in the notorious Matsukawa case have been acquitted.

MICHAEL IMOUDU,
*Chairman, Nigerian Congress
of Trade Unions:*

An important gain of the working people of my country is the rise and growth of the trade union movement. Through their trade unions the workers are fighting the imperialist monopolies, which pay them pitiful wages. Suffice it to say that nearly all the lower-paid workers suffer from malnutrition, just as they did when Nigeria was a colony.

Another important gain is that the workers, fighting side by side with their national leaders, have won independence for their beloved country. That was a great day for the Nigerian people.

MOSES MABHIDA,
*Vice-Chairman, South African Congress
of Trade Unions:*

The recent successes of the South African trade unions are significant primarily because they were won under exceedingly difficult conditions, in a climate of terror and suppression of rights. African workers are not allowed to belong to trade unions and organization of strikes carries with it a three-year prison sentence or a £500 fine. But the workers' will to fight has led them to organize in trade unions against the wishes of the government and their white masters. The unions have negotiated successfully with many employers, although it is against the law to negotiate with employers. The capitalists have such a dread of strikes that they themselves are pressing the government to recognize the African trade unions. The latter have shown that they can fight—and not only in the economic field. They are taking an active part in the anti-pass campaigns,* fighting successfully for the release of Africans arrested for failing to pay the excessively high rents, and in establishing women's organizations.

In short, despite the repressions, the South African Congress of Trade Unions has never been so powerful or influential as it is today. And that, probably, is our biggest gain.

*Under the South African race laws the indigenous African is required to carry a special pass bearing his name and indicating the districts in which he is allowed to travel. Should he have no pass, or if it is not in order, he is immediately imprisoned. Over one million Africans were arrested during 1960 for "violations" of the pass law.

SINFOROSO CABRERA ROMERO,
*Secretary, Miners' Trade Union
of Catavi (Bolivia):*

The militant actions of our working class helped to establish in April 1952 a political regime which carried out the following measures:

a) Agrarian reform and nationalization of big mines; granting the working people the right to participate in the management of these mines through workers' control committees. These committees can veto or revise any decision of the administration if it infringes the national interests or the interests of the working class. Difficulties are encountered in giving this control practical effect, but they are overcome by criticism and self-criticism at general meetings of the workers.

b) An educational reform law which takes due account of modern technological advance. The lack of funds is complicating implementation of this reform.

c) A comprehensive social insurance scheme which provides for pre- and post-natal maternity benefits; family allowances; sickness and accident benefits; family grants on the death of the breadwinner; old-age pensions; medical service for workers and their families; provision of inexpensive housing. The workers contribute 7.5 per cent of their wages to a social insurance fund. Operation of this scheme is hindered by financial difficulties, for declining production prevents the enterprises from making the necessary contribution to the fund. Furthermore, housing is inadequately planned.

d) Universal suffrage after the age of 19 for citizens of both sexes. This measure has helped to draw peasants into civic life.

e) The right to organize trade unions and guarantee of trade union gains.

I should mention, however, that in view of the currency devaluation, a result of the economic crisis in the country, the economic gains of the workers have proved to be only a half-measure. Hence the trade unions still have much to do before a real improvement in living standards is achieved.

ANTONIA PEREIRA DOS SANTOS,
*Secretary, Spinners' and Weavers' Trade
Union, Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais State
(Brazil):*

The biggest victory won by the Brazilian workers in the recent period was undoubtedly the adoption in September 1960 of the social welfare law for which they had been fighting for 14 years. This gave them better living

conditions, medical service, higher pensions and maternity grants. Under the aid-to-prisoners provision of this law, allowances are paid to the families of workers who for one reason or another are serving sentences. Should a worker continue to work after pension age, he receives under the long-service benefits clause a compensation amounting

to 25 per cent of his wage.

In my view the most important thing about this law is that it has changed the leadership of the social welfare system. Formerly it was in charge of a chairman appointed by the President of the Republic. Now it is headed by a collegium of six persons, two of whom are elected by the trade unions.

(to be concluded in our next issue)

Practice and Truth

Otto Bruno

Reader Hans Klotz, Plaenterwald 4, Berlin-Treptow, has asked us to elucidate the Marxist view on the concept of truth and its criteria. The following article is in response to his request.

Editor.

THE question of truth is rightly considered one of the most complex problems of philosophy. Posed scholastically, in isolation from the realities of life, it defies solution. We, however, reject the scholastic approach and examine all questions, including philosophy, in the light of the practical activities of people, in close connection with life. "The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a *practical* question," Marx said. "The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely *scholastic* question."*

Marxists cannot examine philosophical questions in isolation from practice, particularly because the emancipation struggle of the working class, the building of socialism and communism, indeed all the activities of the Communist and Workers' parties, are in the highest degree of philosophical significance. The international working class is faced with the grand task of making, as Marx put it, philosophy real and reality philosophical, that is, rational. Every practical step taken by the Communist parties poses profound questions of philosophy.

"The standpoint of life, of practice, must be the prime and basic standpoint of the theory of knowledge,"** Lenin said. Practice is the basis of knowledge, the criterion of the trustworthiness of knowledge and its ultimate purpose. Science of course has its own inner logic and its purely theoretical tasks stemming from that logic. But for all that,

knowledge, science, philosophy as well as art exist not for themselves but to satisfy definite social requirements. In modern society their supreme purpose is to serve the working class in its struggle for a better future for humanity.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy is humanistic and optimistic. It rises above that lack of faith in the powers of the human mind and in truth which is typical of most trends of modern bourgeois philosophy. Many non-Marxist philosophers hold that the powers of human reason are limited and that truth cannot be found. Life, however, has shown that the potential of the human intellect is boundless, that humanity has penetrated into many truths and can acquire still greater knowledge, that science reveals the essence of things, discloses the secrets of the cosmos and the micro-world of infinitesimal particles alike, discovers the laws of Nature and society and places them in the service of man. In view of this it sounds strange indeed to hear anyone claim that truth is beyond the reach of man. *Truth is knowledge that adequately reflects the objective material world.* This is the point of departure of the Marxist theory of truth.

Marxism complements this general definition with a number of precise dialectical propositions without which it would be somewhat one-sided and incomplete.

It would be a mistake to think that human cognition reveals truths that are completely identical with the cognized object. To regard truth as the complete identity of knowledge

*Karl Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach*.

**V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

and of the object would be an unjustified exaggeration. For the object of cognition is so multiform, it has so many properties, its connections with other objects are so numerous and, not being static but a process, its properties are so varied that it is impossible to perceive them all. Nor — and this is most important — is there any need for this. If we were to aim at complete identity of the thing cognized and our knowledge of it, a pea-pod, as Engels said, “would already provide more causal connections for following up than all the botanists in the world could solve.”* Science seeks to embrace as fully as possible the qualities and causal connections inherent in an object in order to guard against one-sidedness and to make our knowledge more concrete. At the same time it limits its purpose to revealing the laws governing the changes that take place in things, while excluding the particular and casual phenomena which only complicate the matter. In other words, *truth is knowledge of the essence of the object.*

In the strict sense, the concept “truth” cannot be indiscriminately applied to every instance of adequate knowledge of the properties of the subject. For example, the assertions that the Dalmatian daisy produces pink and white blossoms as well as red, or that all people have ear lobes, correspond to reality, yet they are mere facts, not truths in the full sense of the word. The word “truth” as used in philosophy is as lofty in meaning as the word “freedom” in the sphere of social life. It is applicable to knowledge revealing the essence of things, the laws of their existence and development. It is such truths that science seeks to uncover.

“Recognition of theory as a photograph, an approximate copy of objective reality — this is what we regard as materialism,”** Lenin said. If we were to demand from science propositions that are completely identical with objective reality, we should have to conclude — by virtue of the fact that any one-sidedness leads to one or another extreme — that it is incapable of fathoming the truth, that to this day man is not in possession of a single truth. And yet we know that science has revealed many natural and social laws of inestimable value to man in his struggle against Nature and to perfect society.

True, the dialectical theory of knowledge holds that all human knowledge is relative. All truths attained by human cognition are

relative either in the sense that they have not yet been fully perceived and require deeper and more precise definition; that their general formulas necessitate concrete interpretation in the light of definite conditions (“there is no abstract truth, truth is concrete”), that, generally speaking, truth is subject to spatial limitations, as, for instance, most laws of physics, chemistry and biology which hold good only for the Earth, or that truths are valid only for a given time, as is the case, for instance, with the laws of capitalist production discovered by Marx which remain in force only for the duration of capitalism. Finally, no truths, not even the most absolute, can embrace all the phenomena in those spheres for which they formulate principles; they always stand in need of other, supplementary truths, and the entire area of phenomena to which they are related — by virtue of its multiformity and unceasing development — necessitates continuous study, formulation of new principles, endless human cognition by an endless succession of generations.

Recognition of the relativity of truth safeguards our knowledge, our science, against dogmatism, against turning scientific truths into untruths, into dead dogma divorced from life and its development. But although dialectics regards all truths as relative, it does not fall into relativism. One-sided relativism questions the veracity of all the truths revealed by science, of all ideas and principles. From this point of view man has no reliable knowledge — it is all dubious. Marxist dialectics, on the contrary, regards relative truths as the form in which absolute truth is manifested. Although the truths discovered by science are, by virtue of the reasons enumerated above, relative, they are at the same time stages in the approximation of human knowledge to the absolute truth. Full knowledge of Nature develops out of the sum of relative truths.

This is true. Yet no amount of discoursing on the relative and absolute elements of human knowledge will give a full and clear picture of the materialist theory of knowledge unless we answer the question: is man in possession of truths complete and perfect enough to be called absolute truths? Indeed, if we were to confine ourselves to the precepts that absolute truth is arrived at through relative truths and that our knowledge contains only elements of the truth, it would appear that man so far has no trustworthy knowledge and that the act of attaining to perfect, complete truths is relegated to infinity. Is this really so?

*Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*.

**V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empiric-Criticism*.

No, far from it. Man is in possession of many truths which are absolute as regards their completeness, even though they are relative in some of the respects mentioned above. Take, for instance, the law of conservation and transformation of the forms of the motion of matter: "Any form of motion proves able and compelled under special conditions to undergo transformation, directly or indirectly, into any other form of motion." Concerning this law, Engels said: "In this form the law attains its final expression. By new discoveries we can give new examples of it, we can give it a new and richer content. But we cannot add anything to the law itself as so formulated. In its universality . . . it is not susceptible of further extension: it is an absolute law of Nature."* Needless to say, knowledge giving expression to this law is absolute knowledge, an absolute truth. From this example it can be seen that in some important respects man's knowledge has reached a degree of perfection which reveals to us the content of one or another law of Nature. Such knowledge has already reached the goal of cognition. Here there is nothing to relate to the future.

The question of practice should also be approached from the same standpoint. Practice is the supreme test of the truth or untruth contained in one or another scientific proposition. But it should be borne in mind that when we speak of practice as the criterion of the trustworthiness of scientific precepts, we are referring to the sum total of human practice in all its manifestations, not only the practice of the future but of the present and the past as well. Yet the idea of the test of practice is often interpreted as a matter of *the future*. Future practice, it is said, will either confirm or disprove the scientific propositions of today. From this the one-sided, erroneous, purely relativist conclusion can be inferred that at present there is no true knowledge and that if we shall one day penetrate to the truth, it will only be in the more or less distant future. And since the adherents of this view regard practice as an infinite process that will never be consummated, the inference is that the practical test of a truth is never completed, truths remain forever unverified, and, in general, we come back to the **absence of trustworthy knowledge**. Once again agnosticism and relativism denying man's ability to cognize the laws of Nature and social development are smuggled in to supplant dialectics.

*Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*.

In the strict sense of the word, only such knowledge can be called true which has already passed the test of practice, has been borne out by past experience and will find new confirmation in the future — such as the law of the conservation and transformation of motion. All human knowledge flows from the past practice, from experience.

How truths emerge in the social sciences can be seen from the example of the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The elaboration of this theory by Marx and Engels is traced by Lenin in his *The State and Revolution* (the chapters headed "The Experience of 1848-51" and "Experience of the Paris Commune of 1871"), where he shows that they arrived at the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat before the 1848 revolution and finally formulated it on the basis of the experience of the Paris Commune. It may be asked, was the teaching of Marx and Engels concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat a scientific truth before it was confirmed by the October Revolution in Russia, or was it a mere hypothesis, a conjecture or a half-truth which became the truth only after it had been given tangible shape by the October Revolution? No, it was neither a conjecture nor a half-truth; it was *the truth* in the full gnoseological meaning of the word, a scientific truth, inasmuch as 1) it was based on the class struggles of the European proletariat during the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and on the experience of the Paris Commune, and 2) it was founded on the vast theoretical material studied by Marx and Engels.

It should be noted that the classics of Marxism-Leninism formulated some of the scientific truths discovered by them as apodictic propositions. Such are the inspiring words in the *Communist Manifesto* proclaiming that the downfall of the bourgeoisie and "the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." Or this passage in the first volume of *Capital*: "The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." Lenin speaks equally apodictically of the dictatorship of the proletariat in *The State and Revolution*: "The transition from capitalism to communism certainly cannot but yield a tremendous abundance and

variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat.*"

"Apodictic" is the term used in logic to describe statements expressing law-governed necessity. The foregoing propositions formulated by our classics are apodictic in nature precisely because they have the value of absolute truths. What Engels said of the law of the conservation and transformation of energy is fully applicable to them. It goes without saying, of course, that, by virtue of the dialectics of human cognition, all truths that have absolute value are at the same time relative truths. However, it would be a mistake to assume that any relative truth is not yet truth in the strict sense on the grounds that future practice may not attest to its soundness but, on the contrary, disprove it, show that it never was truth. Genuine scientific truth rests on the solid foundation of past practice; future practice will but confirm it over and over again, concretize it, and supplement it with other truths.

Particular relative truths with an absolute value, incomplete truths, hypotheses and theoretical assumptions add up to the overall process of gradual cognition of the objective material world as a whole. Truth is a process in the sense that it is developed and enriched, concretized and complemented by other truths on the basis of new practice. Nature and human society are in constant change, and human knowledge must strive to keep up with these changes, bring old truths into conformity with the new conditions and formulate new truths stemming from them. But in examining truth as a process there is another important aspect that should not be overlooked: genuine, profound truths disclosing the laws of life can only be dialectical truths, not metaphysical, for only dialectical truths correctly reflect the process of development.

Any process of development is a dialectical contradiction. It consists of two basic interacting opposites which carry the process as a whole beyond the bounds of the given state to new forms of development. It is the supreme task of science and scientific truth to reveal the dialectical contradictions underlying development and to indicate the outcome ensuing from these contradictions, the result which is bound to follow from the play of opposites. If a scientific proposition embraces only one side of the process, it fails to grasp the process as a whole and, hence, sees no development; it remains incomplete, one-

sided, metaphysical. Furthermore, even a scientific proposition that overcomes this one-sidedness to one or another extent and records the presence of two contradictory aspects in a process, but does not reveal the interaction and inter-penetration of these aspects and fails to show the likely outcome of the interplay of forces, falls short of the complete truth; it is still not free of one-sidedness and, remaining within the realm of metaphysics, does not convey genuine dialectical knowledge, the only consistently trustworthy knowledge there is.

One can register scores of contradictions, big and small, in a process, but this alone does not elevate science above descriptive cataloguing which has nothing in common with living development. Indeed, such registration of contradictions without delineating the necessary or possible outcome is incapable of transcending the bounds of philosophical mechanism and *the theory of equilibrium*. According to this theory, equilibrium upset by the antagonism between two diametrically opposed forces is restored to its previous state, which in turn, is disturbed, restored, and so on *ad infinitum*. The theory of equilibrium obviously cannot give a true picture of development inasmuch as it is limited to a simple registration of contradictions without indicating their outcome. Truths formulated on this philosophical basis, though not one-sided, are nevertheless metaphysical. Dialectical truths follow a different pattern.

Here is an example which clearly shows how dialectical truths are formulated. In a letter to Weydemeyer on March 5, 1852, Marx wrote that the discovery of the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them was not his discovery. The existence in capitalist society of the two antagonistic classes — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat — and the struggle between them are, strictly speaking, surface facts which bourgeois historians and economists had described long before Marx. What Marx did, as we know, was to prove 1) that the existence of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was not an eternal social law, that it was bound up only with the capitalist society and would come to an end with the passing of that society; 2) "that the class struggle necessarily leads to *the dictatorship of the proletariat*"; 3) "that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to *the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.*" Here we have the dialectical formula of truth: it indicates not only the contradiction, but also its inevitable solution. There is no trace here of

the theory of equilibrium with its dead, ossified opposites and eternal antagonisms! The way out of antagonistic class relationships is clearly defined.

True knowledge is never one-sided. "In order really to know an object, we must embrace, study, all its aspects, all connections and 'mediations'," Lenin said. But he also pointed out another requirement essential to dialectical cognition of things: "Dialectical logic demands that we take an object in its development, its 'self-movement' . . . in its changes."* Scientific truths, therefore, should not only state a fact, they should serve as a guide to action.

Marxist philosophy is not a passive contemplative philosophy which observes the march of events from the sidelines and registers them with cold indifference. It is an active philosophy which poses before humanity the task of changing the world. Hence it demands from science, from knowledge and truth that they help change the world, help build socialism and communism. And for this truths must teach us not only to state facts, but to solve the contradictions of life.

Let us take some propositions pertaining to the tasks of the international Communist movement today as examples of the dialectical formulation of truth. For instance, it is patent that there are in the world both socialist and capitalist countries, and that the relations between them are antagonistic. What is to be deducted from this? One could say that according to the laws of dialectics, antagonistic contradictions cannot be reconciled, that the struggle between them is waged by correspondingly antagonistic means. In other words, antagonistic contradictions are solved by antagonistic struggle, which so far has often found expression in war. This being so, what next? Wholesale destruction of human life in the holocaust of nuclear war and the contamination of the atmosphere by radioactive fallout. This kind of vulgarized dialectics holds out nothing for humanity except nuclear destruction. It is an abstraction, a one-sided, static, deadly dialectic which, in effect, is the selfsame theory of equilibrium. Engels aptly said that if dialectics is reduced to the platitude of forces moving in opposite directions, certainly the best thing to do is "to avoid any application of this commonplace."** Indeed, would it not be better to approach the question of antagonistic contradictions from the standpoint of concrete history and search

for solutions more appropriate to present-day conditions than war?

The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence is based on a concrete assessment of the situation, an all-round examination of each of the opposites and the impact of one on the other, and it opens the way to humanity from the blind alley of nuclear war to socialism and communism.

True enough, the relations between the socialist and capitalist countries are antagonistic. It is also true that the nature of imperialism has not changed; it is as rapacious as ever, and the existence of imperialist countries is the source of a constant danger of war. But, firstly, the socialist camp is powerful enough to compel the capitalists to give up war as an instrument for settling international conflicts and to agree to peaceful coexistence. Second, the senselessness of nuclear war, which threatens mankind with incalculable disaster, is becoming more and more obvious to people everywhere. Third, and this is highly important, peaceful coexistence by no means implies perpetuation of the present division into the hostile camps for all time. The idea of coexistence does not infringe in any way the principles of the most abstractly interpreted dialectics. It is a form of competition and struggle between socialism and capitalism which is bound to lead to the victory of the former along lines completely excluding war. "Peaceful coexistence does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim," nor does it "mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies."* It is a form of class struggle between capitalism and socialism. As the statement of the meeting of the 81 parties points out, coexistence will facilitate the struggle of the working class and the Communist parties for socialism. This conclusion of the Communist and Workers' parties not only posits the existence of the antagonism, but gives a dialectical picture of the development of the struggle waged by the working class and the Communist parties for socialism and peace.

Also dialectically true are the conclusions of the 1957 and 1960 international meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties concerning the possibility of using the bourgeois parliaments for the peaceful transfer of power into the hands of the working class. We Communists have, of course, many bitter things to say about bourgeois parliaments — for instance, the general truth that they are

*V. I. Lenin, *Once Again on the Trade Unions*.

**Frederick Engels, *Anti-Duehring*.

*Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, 1960.

one of the instruments of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, one of the means employed by the bourgeoisie to suppress the working people through the machinery of state. On the whole this is correct, but at the same time it is too sweeping a generalization, and in some respects not even true. Nobody did more than Lenin to expose bourgeois parliamentarism as an instrument of capitalist dictatorship. But Lenin was never one-sided; he was dialectical and reasoned in concrete terms. "The bourgeois republic, parliament, universal suffrage — all represent great progress from the standpoint of the world development of society," Lenin said. They "have enabled the proletariat to achieve its present unity and solidarity, to form those firm and disciplined ranks which are waging a systematic struggle against capital."^{*} These words of Lenin's should always be borne in mind. But he also pointed out that socialist democracy is incomparably superior to bourgeois democracy. It should not be forgotten that in the conditions prevailing today in such capitalist countries as France, Italy, the USA and Federal Germany, the working class has to fight reactionaries, fascists, representatives of the capitalist monopolies, exploiters and oppressors for even the smallest democratic gains. But for all that there are a number of capitalist countries where the possibility exists of the working class, led by its vanguard, being able to unite, on the basis of a working-class and popular front and other forms of agreement and political cooperation among different parties and public organizations, the majority of the people, defeat the reactionary forces, win a democratic majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, and, by developing an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, break the resistance of the reactionaries, create the prerequisites for a non-violent socialist revolution, the peaceful conquest of state power and peaceful transfer of the basic means of production to the people (see statement of the 81-Party meeting of 1960). This is one more example of a concrete, dialectic formulation of truth. Instead of the generally correct but abstract formula "bourgeois democracy versus socialist democracy" we find here a definitive, purposeful, perfectly real program of action aimed at making use of such a form of bourgeois democracy as parliament in the interests of socialist revolution and socialist democracy.

^{*}V. I. Lenin, *The State*.

The 81-Party statement of 1960 also points out that the working class in many capitalist countries could strike hard at the policy of their governments by overcoming the split in its ranks and achieving unity of action among all its detachments, in particular between the Communists and the Social Democrats. The relationship between the Communists and the Social Democrats as posed here could be regarded as antagonistic: since Social Democracy is an agency of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, Communists can only combat it. This formula, too, contains more than a modicum of truth. For the Communists will continue to criticize the ideological positions of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders and their betrayal of the working class. But to stop there would not be in the interests of the international working-class movement. The overwhelming majority of the Social Democratic rank and file, especially the workers, stand for peace and social progress. Therefore the Communists seek cooperation with the working-class following of the Social Democratic parties. There is no revisionism in this, no yielding of positions by the Communists; on the contrary, this is a consistently dialectical and profoundly correct formulation of the militant tasks of the international working-class movement. These are true slogans, true knowledge, since they not only register the two opposites involved, but indicate their interaction and the way out of the contradiction, throwing full clarity on the perspectives arising from these slogans.

A "philosophical" objection that might be raised is this: would not the outbreak of war disprove the thesis of the possibility of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social and economic systems? And likewise, if there are no instances of the working class taking power peacefully by making use of the parliamentary system created by the bourgeoisie, would this not refute the truth of the thesis that a non-violent transfer of power into the hands of the working class is possible? Would it not be better to consider these theses not as truths, but as conjectures unconfirmed by practice, and wait until practice either confirms or refutes them?

These objections are erroneous. They are based on a metaphysical conception of law-governed necessity, and, hence, of the truths reflecting it. Besides the direct manifestations of the operation of any law or necessity, there are also departures from them. But such departures do not abolish the law; they

merely show that it has been modified by the complexities of the situation which prevent all its inherent possibilities from being realized. Truths expressing the law remain truths, the general rule, for necessity is bound to assert itself in one or another way despite the contradictory phenomena. The documents of the Communist and Workers' parties dealing with the possibility of averting a new world war emphasize that the nature of imperialism has not changed, that the imperialists are capable of unleashing another world war despite everything. But this does not do away with the truth that in contemporary conditions the socialist countries can compel the imperialists to renounce war as a means of resolving disputed issues. Similarly, these documents stress that the transfer of power into the hands of the working class may also take place through non-peaceful means. But although this possibility remains, it in no way disproves the proposition that in present-day conditions the working class in a number of countries may come to power by peaceful, constitutional means. Other similar instances could be cited. These are indisputable truths in our time.

The truths mentioned above are a generalization of the vast experience of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world. They are backed by the prestige of the tens of millions of Communists, the finest, most advanced sections of the working class. It should be remembered that in our time the political consciousness of the masses and with it their role in shaping history have grown immensely in all countries. Especially is this so in the socialist countries, where the masses of working people are for the first time in human history assimilating the achievements of culture and taking an active part in state activity. In these circumstances the role of *individual men of genius* is gradually declining in the governmental, cultural and scientific spheres. The scale of scientific research — be it in space exploration, use of nuclear energy or social development — is too vast for any scientist to cope with single-handed. Joint work by *large groups* in all fields of knowledge is an objective necessity dictated by the dimensions of developments in industrial production and political life alike. Any attempt on the part of one man, even a genius, to guide millions of people leading an active political life is, by virtue of the above-mentioned objective circumstances, doomed to failure and fraught with major errors which often are difficult to rectify.

The Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union subjected the Stalin cult to severe criticism in order to put an end to a state of affairs when individuals posed as the sole custodians of the truth and began to sidetrack the masses from active endeavor. The struggle for the restoration in the parties of collective leadership and extensive enlistment of the rank and file in active democratic participation in Party life has released the initiative of the masses, who in socialist society are not only the producers of material values but also the *fountainhead and vehicle of truth*.

It would be incorrect, therefore, to claim that truths are discovered only by the élite, by individual men of genius, propounders of truth, and it would be still more erroneous to think that only after a genius has discovered a truth will it be assimilated by the masses and become generally recognized or acquire "universal meaning." Such a view would in no way differ from the long disproved idealistic theory that history is made by "heroes" while the "inarticulate multitude" passively bows to their authority. In the modern world, and all the more so in the socialist countries, truths emerge primarily in the process of the activity of the masses, it is here that they acquire their "universal meaning," whereas the task of the scientist is to generalize the experience of the masses, to systematize it and draw on it to fathom the future. Hegel said that geniuses are men with the capacity to discern trends which others fail to see. To this we need only add the truth revealed by Marxism that the true foresight of leaders stems only from the overall experience of the people, is bound up with the life and creative endeavor of the people, and is nourished by the constructive activities of millions.

Precisely because of this the collective bodies of the Communist parties — their Central Committees, congresses, membership meetings, etc.—are capable of foreseeing the future, of disclosing new truths which unerringly anticipate events and correctly formulate the strategic and tactical tasks of the working-class struggle.

Subjective idealism, which reduces the material world to the sum total of human perceptions and notions, also reduces truth to the opinion of a single person or group, to their collective, agreed experience. For it there is no objective truth, because it regards truth merely as the expression of subjective notions of people. We have seen above that

the Marxist theory of knowledge, which defines truth as the conformity of human knowledge with the objective material world, thereby proceeds from the recognition of *objective truth*. True knowledge is that which depends not on the subjective notions of individuals or even of groups, but on the actual realities of Nature and human society.

Clearly, subjective experience as the sum of people's opinions is not the criterion of truth, not even a guarantee against the majority not holding another, contrary opinion on one or another question. But it is not *opinions* we are concerned with, but the trustworthiness of collectively elaborated *knowledge*. Hence it is important to be clear as to what kind of majority we have in mind — whether the question is of the spontaneously formed opinion of the mass or of the knowledge of people who have specially united in groups, people equipped with the materialist understanding of the laws of social development and the materialist method of analyzing the new phenomenon, people who jointly examine all new problems and subject every step in their analysis to the test of practice. The decision reached by the majority of this group will, naturally, be more reliable than the judgment of individuals or of a small minority. A conclusion of this order elaborated by a special group is bound to be true primarily because it is based on a scien-

tific generalization of materialistically understood *practice*, which implies above all production activity, class struggle, the material factors of truth—the material practice which is the source and criterion of all theoretical endeavor, all cognitive activity and all truths. Practice can be most precisely defined as the joint activity of man, and hence finds its supreme embodiment in the international collectivity of Communist and Workers' parties as represented by their international conferences.

The propositions and knowledge elaborated through the joint efforts of the parties have been tested in the crucible of the international proletarian class struggle, they have been verified by the experience of the entire international working-class movement, and hence they have the value of truth. They provide a reliable guide to all Communist organizations and their members, enabling them to orientate in contemporary reality, correctly to solve the problems that arise, and to hasten the victory of socialism.

Truth is the correspondence of human knowledge to objective material reality. The criterion of truth is practice. The exponent of this practice is the international working class, its vanguard, and their collective thinking which in our time serves as the main-spring of living, fruitful, all-powerful, objective, true and absolute human knowledge.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Party Work Among Women

FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN ARGENTINA

ONE of the major tasks of the Communist Party of Argentina in its efforts to build a national democratic front is to organize women and draw them into the emancipation movement.

In 1947 Communist and other women active politically formed the Argentine Women's League. The aims of this organization are "to ensure well-being for every family, full rights for women and a secure future for the children; to safeguard the national sovereignty and democracy and to work for world peace."

During the 14 years of its existence the League, despite persecution, has worked to bring the working women into action to deepen their political consciousness. It maintains close contact with the movement for trade union unity and joint action and calls on the unions embracing large numbers of women in textile, food and clothing industries to fight for the specific demands of women.

But the main thing in the League's activity is its direct contact with working women, effected through its monthly journal *Nuestras Mujeres*.

Despite the difficulties caused by the restrictions on freedom of the press in Argentina, the journal has built up a steady readership. It is sold in factories, in the streets and is delivered from house to house. Circulation is in the hands of special groups functioning throughout the country. *Nuestras Mujeres* depends for its existence on the efforts and initiative of its devoted supporters. It counsels women to join the trade unions and helps them to distinguish the real leaders of the working people from the demagogues.

No strike takes place without women doing their bit for its success. The League helps in opening canteens for the strikers and collects funds for them. It campaigns for solidarity with the strikers, explains the reasons for the strike and aids strikers' families.

In cooperation with the trade unions the League is campaigning for amending the mother and child welfare law and for extending it to all women. Signatures to petitions are being collected all over the country; appeals are being sent to the state

legislatures and discussions are being held. Working in this way the League is drawing many women outside the trade unions into active public life.

Perhaps the most difficult task undertaken by the League is that of organizing working women in the rural areas. The difficulty is caused by the fact that the latifundia system and the old forms of exploitation separate the peasant families from all contact with the outside world.

In 1955 we sponsored a national conference of peasant women and women agricultural laborers. The program of the conference, which called for "land to the tiller," just agricultural prices and for the building of markets, schools, hospitals and maternity homes, helped to rally the women. This conference was followed by regional gatherings in the main areas of the country.

Painstaking work was needed before we succeeded in setting up groups to campaign for realization of the program. Later, special centers were set up to maintain contact with these groups and to direct their activities. The result was the establishment of branches of the League in the countryside, closer contact between townswomen and country women and action by the latter for their demands and for tackling the problems facing the country.

Talks and conferences on child welfare with the participation of doctors, teachers and mothers spurred on a nationwide campaign to restore the daily glass of free milk to the school-children. Under mass pressure a number of advisory councils (e.g., in Buenos Aires), state legislatures (e.g., Entre Rios) and many municipal councils allocated funds for this purpose.

The movement against high prices is expressed in the demand for opening shops without middlemen. In some areas this campaign was a success. There is also a demand for shops in which necessities would be sold at reduced prices.

In acting jointly with the trade unions, in organizing housewives' committees and street marches and in collecting signatures to petitions the League has had the support of thousands of women.

Holding public meetings, collecting signatures to the appeal for banning nuclear weapons and for disarmament, arranging talks at fetes and fairs, in schools and factories, organizing exhibitions—these are some of the forms of the League's activity, aimed at drawing as many women as possible into the fight for peace.

Another aspect of League activity is the promotion of solidarity with the peoples fighting for liberation. The League is active in the Committee for the Release of Spanish and Portuguese Political Prisoners. It campaigns for the release of political and trade union leaders jailed for their activity, aids their families and, together with other democratic forces, fights for a return to constitutional law.

Special mention should be made of the activity in promoting solidarity with Cuba. Our women collected hundreds of thousands of pesos for the purchase of surgical instruments for a maternity home in Cuba. Members of the League make articles for sale at bazaars, collect presents, conduct first-aid courses which trained about a thousand young people who volunteered to go to Cuba in the event of an invasion, sell home-baked cakes, hold raffles, and so on. The significance of the Cuban revolution is widely explained.

At the time of the invasion of Cuba our women, despite police persecution, demonstrated their solidarity with Cuba.

The League does much to safeguard the national culture. It arranges classes for teaching adults to read and write, opens children's libraries and clubs, campaigns for good books for children and holds book exhibitions and questionnaires on the subject: "What books do our children read?" The League has drafted the text of a bill calling for a ban on U.S. comics which, with their emphasis on crime and violence, are harmful to children.

Officers of the League attend classes in which they study the economics of Argentina and the history of the national and international women's movement. Much attention is given to the fight for peace, the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries, and also organization, with emphasis on unity as the decisive factor for winning the rights of women.

The League held its Fifth Congress a few months ago. Despite persecution accompanying the state of emergency, 220 delegates came from all parts of the country to sum up their past work and to plan for the future.

The Congress showed that the Argentine women's movement had accumulated rich experience in building unity, that the League was a profoundly national and patriotic organization and that our women were well to the fore in fighting for their daily needs, for peace, democracy and national sovereignty.

Fanny EDELMAN

PROBLEMS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND THE POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

A FEATURE of the upsurge in the mass democratic movement in Japan in recent years is the growing participation of women.

"The women's movement against war, unemployment and poverty, for peace, independence and democracy is spreading year by year," the Japanese Communist Party noted at its Eighth Congress.

The part played by women in the nationwide struggle against the Japanese-American "security treaty" opened a new page in the women's liberation movement in Japan. This fact alone shows that growing numbers of women have begun to realize that no genuine peace and democracy can be won so long as Japan remains dependent on the U.S. imperialists.

The core of this movement consists of women workers who number 6.5 million, or 40 per cent of the total labor force. Women workers are subjected to brutal discrimination. Their wages, for example, are only 42.6 per cent of the wages

of the male workers according to Ministry of Labor figures for 1960. Women do not have the same opportunities as men in obtaining employment, marriage can be a pretext for dismissal, and teenage girls are taken on in preference to older women. There is discrimination also in the matter of promotion, wage increases, etc. In a word, women workers are more exploited than men, and their position has become still worse since the American and Japanese monopolies embarked on the large-scale "rationalization" of production. With prices constantly rising, housewives find it well-nigh impossible to make ends meet and are obliged to take work home in order to add to the meager family budget. But inasmuch as payment for home work is miserably low, these women are even more cruelly exploited than those who work in factories.

The working women are fighting for equal pay, for implementation of laws covering paid maternity leave, time off for nursing mothers without deduc-

tions from wages, genuine care for women, protection of mother and child, etc.

In the countryside two-thirds of the peasant families are forced to combine work in agriculture with other occupations, for their land allotments are small and the low farm prices barely cover their expenses. Since the men go to the cities to look for work, most of the farm work is done by the women. Women comprise more than half the rural population and are the chief labor force in six million peasant farms. Semi-feudal survivals are still strong in the countryside and there is no equality between men and women. But this problem is not confined to the villages: women belonging to other groups of the population are in a similar position.

In its report to the Eighth Congress the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party pointed out that one of the most important tasks of the women's movement is to combat the revival of semi-feudal family relationships, and to fight for the abolition of feudal survivals, which are hampering progress.

Another widespread movement is the "mothers' congress." This movement began in 1955 with the first World Congress of Mothers, held on the initiative of the Women's International Democratic Federation. Since then all-Japan mothers' congresses have been held annually in Tokyo with the participation, as a rule, of over 10,000 women. The movement unites millions of women from all parts of the country and from all sections of the population.

Its members discuss all the problems facing Japanese women today: from the fight for peace, for the banning of nuclear weapons and the abolition of military bases to questions of education, social welfare, prices, and family relations. The influence of the movement is spreading rapidly. Last year, for example, it won a big victory when, as a result of its campaign for universal polio vaccination, the government was compelled to import enough live vaccine for 13 million children (i.e., all children under six), including vaccine from the Soviet Union for 10 million children.

However, although considerable progress is to be observed in the development of joint action by women, organizationally the women's move-

ment is still rather diffused. According to government statistics, Japan has as many as 30,000 women's organizations with a total membership of some 7.5 million. More than half of these organized women belong to women's neighborhood societies, associations of teachers and parents, women's sections of peasant cooperatives, etc., and are mainly under the influence of the Liberal Democratic Party. However, definite opportunities exist for drawing these women into the joint struggle of the democratic forces. On the other hand, working women are organized in the women's sections of the trade unions. There are also councils of housewives—the wives of miners, iron and steel workers, railwaymen, etc. These belong to the democratic movement. There are other progressive organizations, such as the women's sections of cooperatives, the Federation of Housewives of Kansai Province, the Women's Peace Society of Hokkaido, the Women's Democratic Club, etc. These form a part of the Federation of Women's Organizations which is a member of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

The Eighth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party noted that of late the Liberal Democratic Party has begun to strengthen the leadership of the semi-official women's organizations in order to check the growing political consciousness of women and the development of their movement. The Socialist Party is setting up its women's councils in an effort to oust the Communist Party from the women's front.

In view of this the Eighth Congress called for the consolidation of the women's democratic movement. "We must not in the present state of affairs allow things to drift," states the Central Committee in its political report. "The time has come to discuss together with the leaders of the women's movement the question of building an organization capable of strengthening the unity of the women's front. What is wanted is a single national organization that would unite all women and all democratic women's organizations."

The creation of an organization of this kind is the urgent task of the moment, an important part of the struggle to strengthen all the democratic forces of the country headed by the working class.

M. O.

PEACE AND SOCIALISM — THE VITAL CAUSE OF WOMEN IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

THE position of women, their role in building socialism and how they are participating in running the country is being widely discussed at present in factories, agricultural cooperatives and

offices all over the GDR, following a decision on the women's question adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

At its 14th plenary meeting, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party pointed out that the elimination of the remnants of the last war, the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two German states and the settlement of the West Berlin problem were the paramount tasks of the working people in the GDR. It was necessary to build socialism in the republic and then proceed to laying the foundations of the communist society regardless of how the relations between the two German states would develop in the future.

Never before have women had such an opportunity to take part in shaping the life of society as at present under the workers' and peasants' government in the GDR. The Constitution and the "law on the protection of mother and child and the rights of women" guaranteed women equal rights in all spheres of public life.

This is evident from the following facts. Fifty-five thousand women have been elected to local organs of government. One-fourth of the deputies to the supreme legislative body of the republic, the People's Chamber, are women. Two hundred women head agricultural cooperatives. A broad network of kindergartens takes care of 45 per cent of all children of pre-school age. A total of 612,400 women are members of Socialist labor teams.

"Under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party," says the decision of its Political Bureau, "the women's committees set up ten years ago have enabled many women to exercise their equality and work selflessly in the fight for peace and the victory of socialism."

The name of Frida Hockauf, the woman worker who initiated the movement "Our life tomorrow depends on our work today!" is known throughout the land. Another famous name is that of Irmgard Richter, founder of the movement for socialist mutual aid. Irmgard voluntarily transferred to one of the lagging teams at her factory and helped it to become one of the foremost. There are many women patriots like these in the agricultural cooperatives, government offices, health, transport and trading institutions. Housewives, too, are making a valuable contribution to the nationwide

effort, doing much useful work in the community, especially in the trading network and in the schools.

Work in industry and in public life are changing the outlook of the women. They are learning to appreciate the importance of the public interest, becoming public-minded and learning to solve problems extending far beyond their former narrow range of interests.

However, as the Central Committee noted, underestimation of the role of women is still encountered here and there. Although 45 per cent of the labor force are women, only a negligible number of them occupy managerial and responsible positions. The training of young women for the technical professions is far from satisfactory.

Achieving full equality for women is a long and complex process; moreover, it concerns not women alone but the whole of society. It is the duty of every citizen to observe that equality in everyday life.

In the course of discussing the decision, women gave numerous examples showing what must still be done to carry the decision into life. They demanded more initiative and activity on the part of local government bodies, agricultural cooperative boards and factory management in exploring ways and means to make the life of the working woman easier. They proposed opening more catering establishments, more centers where various household conveniences could be hired, and similar facilities.

Many women criticize the work of the Democratic Women's League organizations, pointing among other things to the formal approach to their work and inability to combine the solution of the specific problems of the women's movement with the general tasks of socialist construction.

The broad discussion of all these problems is bound to have a major educational significance; it will be of help in carrying out a number of practical measures which, in turn, will act as an additional spur to the initiative and enthusiasm of the women in the fight for the triumph of peace and socialism.

Emmi LATH

Ideological Training of the Italian Communist Party Cadres

THE Italian Communist Party devotes much attention to the theoretical and political training of its functionaries, those upon whose activity the implementation of Party policy largely depends. A network of Party schools and classes has been organized for this purpose and steps are being taken to improve the standard of instruction in Marxism-Leninism in conformity with the political platform elaborated by the Party and known as the Italian road to socialism.

The forms of study in the national party schools are extremely varied. In Rome the functionaries of the Communist Youth Federation and young Party officials attend a short (two to three months) course the purpose of which is to make a thorough study of the program-documents of the Eighth Congress and the political theses of the Ninth Congress of the Party. In 1961 the Central Party School in Rome organized a six-month course for the youth similar to the course for Federation committee members. Here they are given a grounding in Marxist political economy, Italian history (from the Risorgimento up to the present), the international working-class movement and contemporary political problems. Moreover, the program is supplemented by essential information on the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism and by lectures on cultural questions. The Bologna Party School is attended mainly by middle level functionaries from district organizations and sections who take a brief course (1-2 months) which includes basic questions of modern politics.

The scope of ideological and political education can be judged by the following figures. From January 1, 1957, to December 31, 1960, 27 courses of lectures and seminars were held in the Rome Party School with the participation of 865 comrades; in the Bologna Party School 41 courses were held with the participation of 1,253 comrades. Thus, altogether 2,118 Communists, the majority of them young people (including 425 women) finished the National Party School.

Study material consists chiefly of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the documents of CPSU congresses, and the documents of the most important international meetings of Communist Party leaders. A thorough study is made of the Marxist analysis of Italian history and Italian society by Antonio Gramsci and subsequently expanded and elucidated by Palmiro Togliatti and other Party leaders. The works of numerous scientists, historians, economists and philosophers, members of the Party or otherwise associated with the Italian

working-class and progressive movement, are also included in the study program.

The libraries of the Party schools, especially that of Rome which has some 15,000 volumes, contain, besides the works of Marxist authors and Party publications, books and magazines put out by other political and cultural organizations. The cadres are moulded in the process of a constant struggle between the ideas of Marxism and those of other political and ideological trends, and in theoretical polemics with the class opponents.

Lectures in the central Party schools are delivered not only by the schools' tutors but also by leaders of the Party and sometimes by non-Party scholars and specialists. Much importance is attached to debates, and hence a great deal of time is spent in discussing lectures. Frank and open expression of opinions and viewpoints is encouraged; for erroneous views cannot be corrected if they are left unspoken. In this way everything is done to ensure real and not formal political and ideological unity.

The Italian Communist Party, like all other parties functioning in capitalist countries, encounters great difficulties in organizing mass education of its members in industry. Besides chronic unemployment and discrimination against workers active in the movement, who are constantly threatened with dismissal, there are other obstacles which prevent Party workers from leaving their place of work for any length of time.

In this connection it was decided—and this decision has been carried out with increasing success for several years now—to organize under the auspices of the Rome Central Party School short (12 to 15 days) courses for factory workers during the August holidays. The program covers three main themes of current interest: "Changes in the world situation and the struggle for peaceful coexistence," "Problems of the Italian road to socialism"; and "Aspect of the struggle of the workers and the role of the working class in Italy." The number of workers attending them has increased from 153 in 1957-60 to 194 in August 1961.

For many years we have been striving to promote mass educational work in the Party. The courses vary in type and duration, and we arrange seminars and study classes, conferences and discussions conducted by the federations in the localities ("Short courses") have been published illustrating questions of Party history, the fight for peace, against capitalist exploitation, the agrarian

problem, the history of the Risorgimento, the women's question, etc. These textbooks examine—although in a form since found to be rather schematic—the specific features of the Italian road to socialism and emphasize the need for broader and more open ideological debates.

Several of these pamphlets are being reprinted, some in editions of up to 100,000, and the text is being revised. Pamphlets like the *Historical Prerequisites and the Present Conditions of the Struggle for Socialism in Italy*, *The Present Position of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Working-Class Movement in the Democratic Development of Italian Society* have aroused much interest and are being used as textbooks for study courses and seminars.

Another valuable and interesting experiment was the organization of three correspondence courses. Special textbooks and other literature were published for this purpose. One course, consisting of ten lectures dealing with basic problems of Italian history was taken by 11,300 people. Another 30,000 copies of these textbooks were sold later. Another course, consisting of eight lectures, dealt with the basic principles of political economy.

During the past few years (1959-60) nine federations of the Party have organized 13 short-term courses (from two weeks to one month) for 183 section leaders. Other federations, especially those in Sicily and Sardinia, organized 13 brief courses (from three to seven days) with 261 students. As regards the regular daily and evening courses, eight federations organized 12 of these for the Communist youth in 1960 (attended by 300); five federations held seven courses for provincial functionaries (attended by 203), and four other federations held 19 seminars with the participation of some 300.

On the whole, some 300 evening classes attended by 4,000 people are held throughout the country annually. The most active are those in the federations of the north and central parts of the country; things are more difficult in the south and on the islands.

Educational work is not limited to the courses under the auspices of the central Party schools and federations. Some of the federations regularly hold public conferences on questions of theory and current politics. These are conducted by specialists in the field or held with the assistance of the Central Press and Propaganda Commission of the Party which undertakes the regular publication of special materials. The subjects at these conferences, which frequently develop into highly interesting debates, cover a wide range—economics, structural reforms in Italian society, nationalization, the crisis in agriculture, agrarian reform, the problem of the South, the relations between state and Church, Lenin's concept of the Party,

the international working-class movement, etc. Special attention is devoted to the history of the CPSU, the materials of recent CPSU congresses, and also to the national-liberation struggle of the colonial peoples.

In 1961, on the occasion of the centenary of Italian national unity, attention was focused on the epoch of reunion; moreover, this subject was linked with a study of the origin and development of the Italian working-class movement. During the same year a broad ideological campaign was launched in connection with the 40th anniversary of the Italian Communist Party. In Rome and other cities Party leaders delivered lectures on the part played by the Communist Party in the anti-fascist and national-liberation struggle, and the Communist contribution to drafting the Constitution.

A critical analysis of our ideological activity will, of course, reveal certain oversights and shortcomings. For example, the ratio between the work carried out and the results achieved differs in the various provinces and regions, the difference depending not so much on the relative conditions and strength of the Communist movement, as on shortcomings in the work and underestimation of the significance of ideological struggle.

At one of its recent meetings the Central Committee of the Party examined the question of Party schools and mass educational work in relation to the problem of enrolling new members and revitalizing the work of the Party. A thorough analysis of the ideological work of the Party was made in April 1961 at a special meeting of the Central Control Commission. It was noted that to this day mass educational work continues to be the weakest link in our work. Notwithstanding the upsurge which began in 1959, and which became particularly marked in 1960 and during the first months of 1961, our activity in this sphere is still inadequate and does not always answer the needs of the situation and the current struggle. It was reaffirmed that the organization and conduct of educational work must take a wide variety of forms supplementing and complementing one another, constituting a series of stages, each serving as the preparatory stage for the next.

The question of study programs for the various courses was discussed in all its aspects. It was decided to draw up these programs as soon as possible, tying them up with the problems and tasks posed by life.

The resolution of the Central Control Commission, approved by the Party leadership, clarifies the position of the Party on questions of mass educational work and gives important directives about developing initiative and improving the work of the branches—a decisive factor for such a large party as the ICP.

"The first thing required of these programs," says the resolution, "is that they clarify to the maximum the historical perspectives of the working-class movement and the struggle for socialism. For this purpose it is essential to study problems pertaining to the character of the present epoch and the new phase in the general crisis of capitalism in connection with the growing influence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; the new forms of imperialism and neo-colonialism; the development of the monopolies and state-monopoly capitalism; the possibility of averting war and implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence; the relations between democracy and socialism; the laws governing the building of socialist society and its development into Communist society, etc.

"The second requirement is the need to ensure the fullest accord between the elaboration of the political line and its realization in practice. To this end a deeper theoretical and practical study of political, economic and social questions is essential in order to ensure a real "swing to the left" in Italy, and particularly, of such questions as the democratic majority and relations with the Socialist Party; monopoly expansion and democratic economic development; the new tasks of

the trade unions and the nationalization of the monopolies or control over them; new forms of struggle for agrarian reform and developing agriculture; local self-government; regional self-government; educational reform, etc.

"And, lastly, the third requirement is the need to put an end to the misconception that political problems can be solved by organizational measures alone. For this it is necessary to make a more profound study of Party theory: of the nature and character of the Communist Party; its tasks and its role; the relations between the Party and the masses; democratic centralism and its ideological and political significance, etc.

These are the main lines along which we can strengthen the existing courses and the new courses that will be organized (apart from the courses of a general nature), the seminars conducted by the central schools, as well as the classes in the local schools of the federations and sections, short-term and correspondence courses and other measures promoting individual and collective forms of political study on the basis of the practical experience accumulated by our organizations and in the course of political and ideological struggle of our Party."

Luigi BIANCI

France: the Condition of Government Employees and the Work of the Communist Party

ENGELS, and later Lenin, rightly noted that government employees are placed above society, that special laws are enacted proclaiming their sanctity and their immunity. Rising capitalism provided privileges for this category of people, offering them jobs in the colonies with salaries double and treble those at home.

In 1850, government employees in France numbered 160,000. Today there are 880,000. The increase is explained chiefly by the sharpening of class conflicts at home, by the rivalry between the capitalist states, and, at a later stage, by the antagonisms between the capitalist and socialist countries. These developments have been accompanied by an extension of the state machinery of coercion (the armed forces, the police and courts). And this is only natural, for the more the state is alienated from the nation and the more it becomes the instrument of the class heading to-

wards reaction, the greater the emphasis on coercion.

Administrative personnel (e.g., the Ministries of Finance, Agriculture and Public Works) have grown, too. The reason for this should be sought in the evolution of the functions of the state in the epoch of capitalism, and later of imperialism. The state now intervenes in economic life on a much greater scale and is a big producer and consumer of goods and services.

The growth of personnel has compelled the state to reduce its "general expenditure," i.e., gradually to lower the purchasing power of its employees. Lenin foresaw this trend when in his *The State and Revolution* he wrote: "Capitalist culture has created large-scale production, factories, railways, the postal service, telephones, etc., and on this basis the great majority of the functions of the old 'state power' have become so simplified and

can be reduced to such simple operations of registration, filing and checking that they can be easily performed by any literate person, can quite easily be performed for ordinary 'workmen's wages' . . ."

In France 33 per cent of the government employees have had only an elementary education, while 18 per cent have not completed secondary education. These are children of workers and more often of small and middle peasants and handicraftsmen. The monopoly of the big and middle bourgeois in the civil service has come to an end.

About 60 per cent of the government employees in Paris receive less than 60,000 old francs a month, 35 per cent get less than 48,000 francs, while 10,000 draw a meagre wage of 37,000 francs.

It should be noted that more than 40 per cent of the employees are women. Compared with 1906 the number of female employees has risen fivefold—twofold since 1938. These women go out to work not because they have too much time on their hands or want to be able to buy perfumes, nylons or a mink coat. The figures given above refute the nonsense written about women going out to work in order to get "pin-money." In point of fact, the salary earned by a married woman employed in a government office is *essential* for her and her family. For 41.4 per cent of these women are either single, widows, or divorcees who live only on what they earn.

State-monopoly capitalism has worsened their condition. Today the monopolies directly control the machinery of state. They spend vast sums on the police force, on the army and judicial bodies, and to pay for these they cut the share of the surplus value paid to other government employees.

Not long ago the General Secretary of the Gaullist UNR said: "In any case, the matter of cutting government spending must cease being simply a slogan." According to this gentleman, "the advances in mechanization and even automation have not been used sufficiently."

Clerical work has changed greatly. Since 1958 electronic computers and data-processing machines have been installed on a growing scale in many government offices. The new machines are breaking down the classical structure of office establishments, depriving office work of its individuality. Bureaus for organizing clerical work with the participation of "planners" from the private sector are functioning almost in every government office. The practice of engaging people to do auxiliary jobs, without their enjoying staff rights, has become common. The proportion of auxiliary employees is much higher now than it was in 1914. It is higher than it was before April 3, 1950, when a law banning auxiliary jobs was enacted.

To force through the measures aimed at lowering the living standards of government employees, the de Gaulle government, aided by Guy Mollet, annulled the Statute for Government Employees of October 19, 1946, which, drafted by Maurice Thorez, had been agreed upon with the trade unions and had been approved by Parliament. With the same object in view, ordinances were issued in September and October 1960 authorizing ministers to suspend for a period of one year employees known to have views contrary to those of the government, say, on the war in Algeria (dismissals in this case are not even considered by the disciplinary councils).

Thus an employee ceases to be "a full and equal" citizen even within the framework of bourgeois law. Not only is his right to work infringed, court decisions taken against him may entail professional sanctions. Last May, when government employees increased their pressure, the de Gaulle government issued a decree authorizing the ministries to call them up for military service. The personnel of airports and the National Meteorological Service have been deprived of the right to strike, and de Gaulle aims at extending this to all workers. And should the government employees fail to rebuff these intrigues, then, deprived of the right to strike and restricted in their civic and trade union rights, they will be thrown back for a century.

The danger is a grave one, but it must be assessed accurately. This eroding of rights is a measure of weakness of the monopolist government, a sign that it is being forced onto the defensive. Today the initiative is in the hands of the employees.

In his closing speech at the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party, Maurice Thorez said: "Along with the basic social contradiction—that between capital and labor—we observe a growing antagonism between the handful of monopolists and *all* other strata of society." Thorez stressed that civil servants "see in this attitude (of the government) an additional reason for stepping up their struggle jointly with the working class for economic demands and freedoms."

The monopoly onslaught has aggravated the ills of the capitalist machinery of state. The traditional officials, deprived of all initiative and completely subordinate to government advisers, financial inspectors and technocrats—the faithful stewards of the monopolies—are beginning to inquire about the meaning of their professions and duties. Experience teaches them that they no longer "serve the state" but interests increasingly remote from those which only yesterday they regarded as being the "interests of the nation."

Two groups have emerged in the public service. On the one hand, the minority of senior officials, "high-ranking stewards" closely linked with the monopolies by virtue of their origin and family connections. These can indeed be said to stand above society. On the other hand, and in a way at the opposite pole, the junior and medium-level employees whom reality impels toward union, closer association with the working class and integration in the labor movement. Whether it is a question of satisfying the economic claims of government employees (until 1958 this depended to a certain extent on Parliament), or of their everyday work, the slogan of restoring and regenerating democracy becomes a living thing for them: they are beginning to realize that the matter of safeguarding and extending *their rights* is bound up with the defense of democracy.

For instance, the Paris strike of 240,000 teachers, post office, municipal and medical workers was objectively directed against state-monopoly capitalism. These government workers, who were not to be seen in the famous 1936 strikes, in the past three years held six marches in Paris and other cities and three 24-hour general strikes. It should be noted that decisions to hold these strikes and demonstrations were taken jointly by all the civil service unions. The Federation of National Education alone abstained twice. This nationwide unity explains the scope of the strike movement: about a million took part in the strike on March 14, 1961; on April 19 more than 50,000 marched in the Paris demonstration which lasted about two hours.

But unity on a national scale remains, so to say, "one-sided": the various trade union centers, while calling on their members to go into the streets, fail to issue joint appeals. In the Departments and in government establishments, however, the various trade unions issue joint appeals and reach agreement on unity. For example, in more than 60 government establishments in the Seine Department only five unions failed to reach agreement on unity on April 19. Rank-and-file pressure forced the reformist union leaders in the Seine Department to hold a joint demonstration with the General Confederation of Labor. Jointly-prepared leaflets explained the reasons for the economic struggles. The placards of the organizations sponsoring demonstrations were carried by the marchers, led by national and departmental union officials.

But this is only one, though important, aspect of the struggle waged by government employees. Another aspect is that not a month passes without one or another category launching a struggle for their demands in the form of strikes or demonstrations. During the first half of 1961 the customs

officers conducted "work to rule" campaigns; the technical and administrative staff of the National Research Center alternated 24-hour strikes with meetings and demonstrations; bank clerks started work later or went home earlier; airport personnel held up air traffic by strict observance of the working day.

Thus, despite the reformist ideology among these sections (making them the mainstay of the Socialist Party, the United Socialist Party and Force Ouvrière), unity among government employees is gaining in strength. Moreover, the economic struggles are beginning to overcome the backstage maneuvers so beloved of the reformist union leaders.

Much remains to be done. But the movement is underway. Changes in man's social status color his outlook. Government employees active in public life and critical of government policy are no longer the exception. They are well to the fore among the Communist members of municipal and departmental councils and in Parliament.

But the gains must be preserved. The capitalists have always restricted the political rights of office employees. The reactionary Henri Bordeaux once said that the "servants of the state should be as silent as eunuchs in the harem." Prime Minister Debré is of the same opinion. "A civil servant," he wrote, "is a man of silence; he works, serves and is silent." Only democracy in the administrative machinery, closely linked with the regeneration of democracy in general, will provide the government employees with normal conditions of life and work.

The Communist Party devotes special attention to the economic and political problems of this category of workers. Back in July 1932 its parliamentary group urged a 10 per cent pay increase for those earning less than 15,000 francs annually. The Party's policy towards office workers was clearly formulated by the Central Committee on February 11, 1933: "The struggle waged by government employees is now an integral part of our Party work and not only because their salaries are under attack but also because this attack is a preliminary to attacks on the wages of industrial workers."

Shortly after the liberation Maurice Thorez, then Deputy Prime Minister, prepared with the people and organizations concerned a common Statute for Government Employees providing for recognition of their trade union rights, a more democratic procedure of enrollment in the civil service, equal rights for women, guarantees of promotion and a minimum salary.

One of the main aspects of the general line of the Communist Party is alliance of the working class and the middle strata. That is why the

Fifteenth and Sixteenth congresses advanced the slogans: "A united front of the working class!", "An alliance of the working class and middle strata!"

The Party carries on extensive organizational and educational work among civil servants. In 1959 its journal *Cahiers du communisme* devoted a special issue to their struggle. In recent years *Economie et Politique* published two investigations into their conditions. *France Nouvelle* is the only weekly in France which regularly, at least once a month, features the current problems of government employees. The Central Propaganda Department puts out special pamphlets and leaflets for employees and arranges public meetings among them.

The policy of the Party and its educational and organizational work achieve results. Many civil servants work as Party functionaries. That there are Party branches in all ministries is no secret, the sole exceptions are the ministries of Justice and Internal Affairs. Despite the difficulties these branches vigorously uphold the policy of the Party.

The bulletins and other literature put out by the Party branches are sold by members outside the offices. This literature is a reliable means of contact with the government employees. Since 1944, the Party branch in the Ministry of Labor, for instance, has sold more than 100,000 copies of its bulletin, not counting pamphlets and other materials.

Our members write about the Party policy and how it is applied to the situation in their ministries, to the needs of their colleagues. This work is important because it helps to explain, in a convincing way, the political line of the Party which is systematically distorted by the capitalist press still read by the vast majority of civil servants.

The branches arrange small meetings which are usually attended by a few dozen people. The success of these meetings depends mainly on how the Party members employed in the ministries main-

tain contact with their colleagues. The meetings are useful also from the standpoint of recruiting new members. There is, however, one shortcoming in the work of our members and branches in government establishments; while explanatory and educational work is conducted properly, it is not always accompanied by practical work for rallying around the Party the people to whom the branches have explained the need for joint action. But it should be noted that during recent political actions the government employees began to find their place in the struggle, particularly through drawing up petitions and by taking part in demonstrations.

Communist office employees conduct work also in their trade unions and in the mutual aid societies. Most government employees are members of these societies the funds of which make up for deficiencies in social insurance by rendering material aid. These societies could be a good means of strengthening solidarity among the government employees but, unfortunately, their officials often take the way of pleasing department chiefs and the authorities. As a rule, the Communists shun these organizations and are reluctant to work in them. We are combating this wrong tendency which, in effect, gives a free hand to the Social Democratic and Catholic officials of the mutual aid societies.

As to the trade unions, which with rare exceptions are joined only by part of the government employees, the Communists conduct active work in them, helping to safeguard the interests of their colleagues.

The work is aimed at spreading the revolutionary ideas of the popular movement and exposing reformist ideas. As we have seen from the examples cited above, this work has already yielded good results. It would be no exaggeration to say that the influence of the Communist Party and its prestige are growing among the government employees.

Marius BERTOU,
Member of the Federal
Committee, Paris

Meetings of Central Committees

PLENARY meetings of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties continue to discuss the results of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. The Communist parties express their wholehearted agreement with its decisions and draw from them practical conclusions for stepping up the fight for peace, democracy and socialism. They appreciate the new Program of the CPSU and point to its international significance.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia hailed the Soviet Communists, who, by announcing the all-out building of communism, are realizing the cherished aspirations of progressive people everywhere. Though the imperialists are trying to detract from the significance of the Program and to prevent its realization, reads the C.C. resolution, it will be carried out and will further change the correlation of forces on the world arena.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain noted that "the CPSU has rendered great help in the matter of theory by its sound explanation of the crucial issues of the day, issues which all Communist and Workers' parties come up against in one way or another." The Central Committee urged all members to study the Program and to discuss it among the workers.

"The discussion of this historical document with Socialist, anarchist, Catholic and non-party workers can be of great help in healing the split in the Spanish working-class movement; it will help deepen the consciousness and militancy of the people in town and countryside. In popularizing the Program among the working people the Party organizations and members should point to the progress made by the Soviet system and to the material and cultural benefits envisaged in this document for all Soviet citizens."

The Communists in all countries wholeheartedly approve the uncompromising struggle of the CPSU to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to observe the Leninist standards of Party life and to eliminate the consequences of the Stalin cult.

The Central Committee of the Moroccan Communist Party, the development of which was decisively furthered by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, expressed "admiration for the firmness and courage with which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is working to observe Marxist-Leninist principles and to abolish dogmatic and revisionist deviations."

The personality cult, the departure from collective leadership and socialist law, the National

Committee of the Popular Vanguard Party of Costa Rica stressed, caused harm to the Soviet people and, indirectly, to the world revolutionary movement. We think the CPSU was courageous and correct in disclosing the mistakes and abuses of the Stalin years even at the risk of giving, temporarily, an argument to the adversaries of socialism.

The Communist parties have condemned the disruptive and reckless policy of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor, pointing out that this policy is aimed at wrecking the unity of the international Communist movement, that it plays into the hands of the enemies of peace and democracy.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Paraguay has expressed "disagreement and indignation with the policy of the present Party leadership in Albania headed by Hoxha, because the *deliberate* purpose of this policy is to fan the 'psychological war' as part of the 'cold war' and because Hoxha's anti-Soviet propaganda adds fuel to the anti-communist campaign through which the colonial powers are endeavoring to halt and divide the growing national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples."

At this critical hour in international affairs with the imperialists openly threatening an attack on the USSR, the Central Committee said further, it should be the sacred duty of the Albanian leaders to join with the Soviet Union in rebuffing the threats and provocations of the aggressive forces. The Hoxha group "closes its eyes to the existence of the enemy and has virtually joined with him in an anti-Soviet propaganda campaign, while stepping up its subversive activities against the unity of the socialist system."

"The Albanian leaders, while talking loudly about the possibility of war," the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party declared, "ignore the special wording of the 81 parties' statement of the grave danger for humanity involved in nuclear war and underestimate the forces that can prevent war."

"For anyone claiming to be a Communist," it went on, "to distort the patient efforts of the Soviet Union to reach understanding into 'fear' of the imperialists while 'brave' Albania alone stands ready to fight it out, is dangerous political adventurism. . . ."

Denouncing the attitude of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia says that they are "persisting in their calumny and provo-

cations against the Central Committee of the CPSU. They are trying, in vain, to confuse the Communists by false anti-Soviet statements. The irresponsible attitude of these leaders can be used by the imperialists, by the enemies of peace and socialism only against the Albanian people."

The Communist parties note that the differences between the sectarian Hoxha clique and the international Communist movement did not come like a bolt from the blue. In point of fact, this clique has never agreed with the historical change which the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU signified for revolutionary Marxists. The differences, then, are not on minor issues, but on the basic strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina stresses that the Albanian leaders have deserted Marxism-Leninism, that they are sinking in the quagmire of bourgeois nationalism and have become renegades.

The Communist parties call for closer unity of the international Communist and working-class movement.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel declared that it "joins in the condemnation of the Albanian leaders who, in their own country, violate socialist democracy and socialist law, and have taken a stand against the principles of proletarian internationalism." The Central Committee is of the opinion that "the surest way of bringing the Albanian Party of Labor into the fold of the international Communist movement is for all Marxist-Leninist parties to take a firm and united stand against the deviations and errors committed by the leadership of that Party."

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran stated that the CPSU was the most experienced, tested and staunch vanguard of the world Communist movement. "Maintaining the prestige of this Party, supporting its just struggle and strengthening fraternal solidarity with it is the sacred duty of all Communists."

IRAQ

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iraq discussed at its meeting the situation at home and abroad and the current tasks of the Party. It was pointed out in the report on this question that despite the world tensions caused by imperialism the international events of 1961 testified to "the strengthening and consolidation of the might of the socialist camp and the intensification of the fight for peace and national liberation."

The meeting condemned the disruptive activities of the Albanian leaders and recommended to all Party organizations to make a careful study of

the documents of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

It was noted that the Syrian experience of unification had demonstrated "the bankruptcy and failure of the policy and line of the Arab bourgeoisie in the question of unity . . . and that only a working-class line and policy can satisfy Arab national aspirations for freedom and unification."

Concerning recent events in Kurdistan, the meeting pointed to the complicated situation in which the Party pursued its line on the Kurdish question. These events were a test of the internationalism of the Communist Party and its cadres. The Central Committee is of the opinion that without satisfying the national demands of the Kurds the unity of Iraq will be formal and rest only on force, it will be a unity which the Kurds will strive to get rid of.

The Kassem regime, the meeting stated, is still anti-imperialist by nature. Under mass pressure it has had to take a firm stand against the oil companies and has pursued in the main an anti-imperialist policy. But its prestige is declining. Even the majority of the national bourgeoisie are demanding an end to the one-man rule. Communist policy remains as before: support for the government against the imperialist intrigues and pressure, and struggle against its anti-democratic measures.

The immediate slogan advanced by the Party is: an end to the one-man rule and the establishment of a democratic order.

"Our struggle against one-man rule," the meeting noted, "should be linked with the worldwide struggle for peace and disarmament."

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

THE second meeting of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party held recently adopted a resolution on the report delivered by Comrade Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Party, on the results of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and the tasks of the MPRP.

The Communist parties, the resolution notes, demonstrated at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU that they consistently upheld the purity of Marxism-Leninism and work for closer unity of the socialist countries and of the Communist movement.

The meeting unanimously supported the open and principled criticism by the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties of the anti-Marxist attitude and subversive activity of the Albanian leaders. "Any attempts to justify the disruptive activities of the Albanian leaders," the resolution stated, "is contrary to the interests of strengthening the

unity of the socialist camp and of the world Communist movement."

The meeting pointed to the significance for the international Communist and working-class movement, including the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, of the struggle of the CPSU against the personality cult. "Along with the Stalin cult," the resolution reads, "we had in our Party and the country the cult of Choibalsan."

Choibalsan, the resolution goes on, was one of the founders of our Party and the people's democratic state. He rendered great services in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, in consolidating the independence of our people and in establishing friendship between Mongolia and the Soviet Union. The Party and the people reposed their trust in him. But, having concentrated much power in his hands, Choibalsan made the grave political mistake of placing the security organs beyond the control of the Party and the government. This circumstance led to gross violations of revolutionary law.

"Another result of the Choibalsan cult," the meeting noted, "was the ignoring of the Leninist norms of inner-Party life; it retarded the extension of socialist democracy in our country, held back the creative energies and initiative of the working people and weakened the contact between them and the Party. The cult engendered dogmatism, put the brakes on original thinking and did great harm to the ideological work of the Party."

The meeting considered it necessary to take resolute measures for the complete elimination of the harmful consequences of the Choibalsan cult in all spheres of national life and thus prevent any possibility of its revival.

The resolution outlined the ways of improving the political and organizational work of the Party in developing the national economy.

The meeting charged the Political Bureau with the task of drafting a new Party program which would reflect the final stage of building socialism in Mongolia and the more or less simultaneous transition to a higher phase of communist society together with the other socialist countries.

JAPAN

THE second meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan adopted a resolution on "The tasks of the Party in connection with the forthcoming elections to the House of Councillors."

The resolution which analyzes the political scene at home and on the international arena since the Eighth Party Congress, says that the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU has opened up the

grand prospect of laying in the next 20 years the foundations of communist society the principle of which will be: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." This society, long the cherished ideal of mankind, is now being built in the USSR.

The resolution pointed to the growing economic and political contradictions of imperialism and the increased danger of war arising from the provocations of the U.S. imperialists and their allies in military blocs; it condemned the political course of the Ikeda government which follows in the wake of U.S. foreign policy. The policy of the Ikeda government, disastrous for the Japanese people and a danger to peace in the Far East, perpetuates the dependence of Japan on U.S. imperialism.

The Central Committee drew attention to the worsening economic situation in the country. The reactionaries are trying to overcome the economic difficulties by penetrating into other Asian countries and, subordinate to U.S. imperialism, act as accomplices in its aggressive designs.

The forthcoming elections, the meeting noted, will be a big political struggle in the course of which our Party must fulfil the tasks facing it. One of the main tasks at present in the struggle against the danger of war engendered by U.S. imperialism, for closing the U.S. military bases on Japanese soil, for an atom-free zone in Asia and in the Pacific, for international agreement on general and complete disarmament, including a ban on testing and stockpiling nuclear weapons; against the negotiations with the reactionary rulers in Seoul, against the "two Chinas" plan, for a peace treaty with the Soviet Union, and against the exploitation of the people by monopoly capital.

These slogans, the resolution points out, reflect the aspirations of the people and fully conform with the new Party Program adopted at the Eighth Congress. In the course of the election campaign the Communists should work to unite the democratic forces and, on this basis, build a united national front.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH WORKERS' PARTY

THE twentieth anniversary of the Polish Workers' Party was widely celebrated in Poland.

The Polish Workers' Party was founded in January 1942, in wartime Warsaw, in conditions of Gestapo terror. Although the Workers' Party existed only seven years, these years were crucial in the history of the Polish working-class movement and the nation. The magnitude of events in this period is the chief criterion of its historical role.

The Workers' Party emerged as a Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class, successor to the glorious revolutionary traditions of the Polish working-class movement and above all of its Communist Party. At the same time it was a party of the people which rallied around the working class the democratic and patriotic forces of the nation in the struggle for national liberation, for far-reaching social and economic reforms and for an alliance of free Poland with the Soviet Union.

History, said Wladyslaw Gomulka, at the anniversary meeting in Warsaw, has proved the correctness of the program and tactics of the Workers' Party, which brought the country onto the highway of national freedom, people's rule, progress, peace and socialism.

In due time the Workers' Party, after uniting the Polish working-class movement, made way for a united Marxist-Leninist party — the Polish United Workers' Party — which took over the glorious legacy of its predecessor.

The anniversary was marked in Poland by Party and public meetings and scientific sessions. A number of exhibitions were arranged and many books and tracts published on the history of the Workers' Party. Newspapers and journals carried documents, articles and reminiscences. The journal *From the Battlefield* put out a special issue devoted to the history of the working-class movement and the Workers' Party. The Institute of Party History has prepared a history of the Workers' Party, of the military organizations formed and led by it (Gwardia Ludowa, Armia Ludowa) and of the Krajowa Rada Narodowa — a prototype of people's democratic power during the days of the underground movement.

The anniversary was also marked abroad. In Moscow, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Academy of Social Sciences held a joint meeting on this occasion; a meeting was also held by the Slav Institute of the Academy of Sciences. Anniversary meetings took place in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and other countries.

Exchange of Views

World Marxist Review Round Table

Crises and the Working People

Growing internal instability and decline, as can be seen from the failure of capitalism to make full use of the productive forces (low rates of production growth, periodic crises, undercapacity operation of industrial plant, and chronic unemployment) — this is how the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union defines the economic prospects of present-day capitalism.

Instability of the capitalist economy, cyclical crises, and the rates of production growth in the imperialist countries constitute important subjects of study for Marxist researchers. These problems were discussed in articles in our issues Nos. 7, 8 and 9 for 1961 and gave a theoretical appraisal of some of the new features of capitalist reproduction and examined the complex machinery of modern cyclical development.

With the same object a round-table discussion of the features and forms of modern crises and economic cycles with the participation of economists, sociologists and journalists from Britain, Czechoslovakia, France, the German Democratic Republic, Italy, USA and USSR was held in our editorial office. In this issue we give an abridged transcript of the discussion.

A. RUMYANTSEV (Editor-in-Chief): The subject of our discussion is the features and forms of the crises and economic cycles of modern capitalism. This theme is not only of theoretical significance. It is also an important practical problem.

The capitalist cycle in the broad sense is a matter of the prospects and forms of capitalist economic development. Elucidation of the way in which the law of crises and cycles operates in our time means examining the *basic and specific features of capitalist development* in this new stage of the general crisis of capitalism. And from this it follows that the correct answer to the problem of crises and cycles will contain the key to the many other pressing issues now holding the attention of the world Communist movement.

Cycles and crises are a problem at once both *new and old, solved and unsolved*. It is not new inasmuch as the course of capitalist production has been systematically disrupted by recurring crises ever since the economy of Britain experienced its first crisis in 1825. The problem has been solved once and for all in the sense that history has fully confirmed the fundamental precepts of Marxism-Leninism concerning the causes of economic crises and their inevitability in capitalist society. Whatever the form of capitalist production — be it pre-monopoly, monopoly or state-monopoly capitalism — crises are an essential

ingredient of it. The fluctuations of capitalist reproduction since the Second World War, particularly the four postwar crises in the USA (1948-49, 1953-54, 1957-58 and 1960-61) have demonstrated the fallacy of the claims made by bourgeois economists that capitalism has entered a period of smooth, crisis-free development.

Yet if we limit ourselves merely to repeating axioms, we shall not get far in exploring the features and forms of capitalist reproduction since the Second World War. Nor will our investigations be fruitful enough if we expect to find ready solutions for new problems and base our deductions on analogies between the new crises and the old. Undoubtedly, the crises of the past and the present have much in common inasmuch as the process of capitalist reproduction has not undergone any fundamental change. But we are interested now not in the general but *the particular*, since it is *the specific features* of the modern crises and cycles that reflect *the new phenomena* the Marxist study of which is so pressing a requirement of the international working-class movement. There is no need for me to dwell in these opening remarks on the new elements in the development of the capitalist economic cycle. I shall but stress that the pattern of the postwar crises differs greatly from that of cyclical development not only in the 19th century and the early years of this century, but also in the 'thirties. Suffice it to mention the protracted asynchronism of

the world economic cycle and the absence of clear-cut cyclical crises in Western Europe; the chronic dislocation of the usual phases of the cycle; the growing frequency and at the same time the relatively short duration and diminished depth of the economic crises in the USA. We can, I think, say that some of these processes have already assumed the nature of a law; at any rate the postwar development of capitalist economy suggests such a conclusion. An analysis of this development shows that the many fundamental changes in the capitalist cycle are due not to accidental, transient factors, but to *the new objective historical conditions* in which capitalism finds itself, namely, the division of the world into two diametrically opposed socio-economic systems, the disintegration of the colonial hinterland of imperialism, and the entry of capitalist society into the stage of state-monopoly capitalism. As for the absence of clearly defined world crises or of crisis eruptions in Western Europe, these can hardly be assessed as being due to the operation of any law. Both, unquestionably, are temporary

conditions. But many of the "unusual" processes of capitalist reproduction which formerly we correctly regarded as departures from the rule are now becoming more and more typical.

It is to discuss these questions which, as I have said, are of exceptional importance for the struggles of the working class, that we have gathered around our editorial round table. This kind of discussion provides for both papers prepared in advance and for a frank exchange of opinions and friendly debates. This, we think, is the most expedient way to examine the complex and still unelucidated problems connected with the contemporary economic cycle.

The following points are suggested for discussion: 1) the deformation of the cycle; 2) state-monopoly capitalism, technological progress and reproduction, and 3) the impact of world socialism, of the break-up of the colonial system, and of the class struggle waged by the working people on modern cyclical processes. If there are no objections, we can begin our discussion. And so, the first point on the agenda is:

THE DEFORMATION OF THE CAPITALIST CYCLE AND THE REASONS FOR THE DEFORMATION

J. SCHMIDT: It can be assumed from our preliminary discussions that not all of us are of the same opinion about the deformation of the modern capitalist cycle.

R. BELLAMY: The whole concept of deformation of the cycle seems to me to assume that there is something regular to deform. But can one say that there has been a regularity in the development of economic cycles over any historical period?

J. SCHMIDT: Comrade Bellamy is quite right. It would be naive to believe that the cycles and crises of the days of free competition were absolutely identical. The same holds true for the cycles of the stage of monopoly capitalism. And yet we have good grounds for speaking about a deformation of the cycles and crises in the period since the Second World War. There is a very big difference between the prewar and postwar cycles. Never before has there been such an upset in the world cycle. On the one hand, we have seen an especially protracted boom in the European capitalist countries and in Japan. Since 1950 this boom has been interrupted only by minor partial crises. On the other hand, there have been frequent but relatively mild crises in the United States. These facts make it possible to speak about a far-reaching deformation of the postwar cycle.

L. URBAN: First about the so-called "deformation of the cycle." I would like to pose a simple and, it may be, a naive question; what do we

mean by deformation of the cycle? Comrade Schmidt has shown only the specific features of postwar cyclical development. And I agree with his definition of these specific features. But we are still unclear as to what we mean by deformation of the cycle. If we say that the postwar cycle has become deformed, this means a deformation compared with the prewar cycles. But during the inter-war years, too, the cycle was said to be deformed. At that time, perhaps, comparisons were made with the cycle of the period before the First World War. But even here we would have to admit a deformation of the pre-1914 cycle since it was interrupted by the war.

What we get, then, is on the one hand, a prolonged period of deformed cycles and, on the other, an era of "normal," or "classical," cyclical development.

It has become customary to regard as "classical" that cycle which consisted of four regularly recurring phases and which was typical of the 19th century. But such development was neither "classical" nor "normal," it was simply a reflection of the features and peculiarities of the epoch of pre-monopoly capitalism. It was that development which Marx studied.

Marx's theory of crises contains, on the one hand, general concepts applicable to capitalism as a whole, including monopoly capitalism. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that Marx based his analysis on the conditions obtaining in the epoch of free competition and, naturally, he

could not foresee the impact on the cycle of the many economic and political factors that arose only in the epoch of imperialism.

If we are to apply Marx's method correctly, we should not reduce study of cyclical development of monopoly capitalism merely to a comparison of the cycles of the 19th and 20th centuries and stating the differences between them. For this approach would imply that the new in the cyclical development in this century is brought in from without, and in the final analysis the deformation would appear to be something fortuitous and even abnormal. If this were so, we would be led to the view that after a certain time the "normal" cycle would be restored. But I am convinced that this restoration is ruled out. In the conditions of monopoly capitalism the so-called "deformed cycle" is not the exception, it is the rule. And this being so, it can no longer be regarded as deformed, since by deformation we usually infer a deviation from the typical, a kind of yardstick for assessing all other crises and cycles.

We should not, in my view, be carried away by the term "deformation." It will be much more expedient to concentrate on studying the new factors which have contributed to the profound changes in the cycles of our century.

Among these the following four merit attention: monopoly domination, the general crisis of capitalism and, notably, the division of the world into two systems, state intervention in capitalist economy and world wars. I would stress the significance of studying the role played by the monopolies in the process of capitalist reproduction and accumulation. We often say that the monopolies are the economic essence of imperialism, but we have not made an adequate study of their influence on the capitalist cycle.

There are, of course, other factors as well. You all know, for example, that Marx based his analysis of reproduction on the metallic currency in use in his day. But in our times it is mostly paper money that circulates in the capitalist countries. This, naturally, has its effect on the course of reproduction.

A comprehensive analysis of the new factors that have appeared in the epoch of imperialism would enable us to evolve a theory of the cyclical development of monopoly capitalism. We should no longer confine ourselves merely to describing the new phenomena — what is needed is a profound and all-round analysis.

R. BELLAMY: I would be prepared to reject the concept of "deformation" altogether, because it detracts our attention from the sum totality of the internal contradictions of capitalism, including economic, political, military and cultural and, above all, the contradiction between basis and

superstructure. I do not deny that it is legitimate in a certain historical epoch to construct a model of expanded capitalist reproduction, in which political and other social phenomena play only a minor role. But such a model has no more right to be called classical than a model which is built on the basis of state-monopoly capitalism alone. Should we attempt to build such a model for the postwar period, we would encounter the following circumstances. The first proposition is the simple one with which, I think, all will agree, that we are dealing with a process of expanded capitalist reproduction. I stress the word *expanded*, because from reading some of our textbooks and some of our past writings one might get the impression at times that under the conditions of monopoly capitalism we are dealing with a contractive capitalist reproduction. It is worth while recalling that in his work on imperialism Lenin stressed that under conditions of monopoly capitalism the growth of production may go on even more rapidly than before.

And I would be so bold as to suggest that at least two propositions that occur in many works about the general crisis should be abandoned. One is that the period of the general crisis is necessarily accompanied by chronic mass unemployment and the second, that it is necessarily accompanied by chronic under-utilization of capacity. The period from 1940 until roughly 1955, that is, a period of about a third of the whole of the general crisis, has been marked in many capitalist countries by a lower level of unemployment and a shortage of capacity.

Now may I come to the central thesis. The process of expanded reproduction takes place in the conditions of the sharpened contradiction between productive forces and production relations. And the production relations in their turn are affected by the superstructure. Among Marxist economists in Britain there is a considerable controversy about the question whether or not one should regard the productive forces as *always the leading element* in this contradiction. If you regard the productive forces as always the leading element you then begin to look at questions of technical progress, at new industries that are growing up and what is the character of the productive forces in them. And there is no doubt that some comrades have concentrated a very great deal of attention on that question. I think that if I were to deny the leading role of the productive forces in the long run of social development, I would not be a materialist. But for any short period it seems to me that to insist on the leading character of the productive forces is to be undialectic.

Naturally I would not want to ignore the important changes in the character of the productive forces. Clearly, these are considerable and they must be taken into account. I do not think anyone will dispute the fundamental importance of two new socio-economic factors of the postwar period which have had a tremendous impact on capitalist reproduction. The first is the socialist world system. In the earlier postwar years it had a limited impact upon the economic development of capitalism. But its role is increasing very rapidly. It is increasing not only in the political and ideological spheres, but also in the sphere of world trade, primarily in the relations between the socialist world and the underdeveloped countries. This brings me to the second point, namely, the impact on the world capitalist cycle caused by the increasingly rapid disintegration of the colonial system. As the economies of the former colonial countries begin to grow (especially with the assistance of socialist economic aid) the impact of these countries upon the world market becomes very important for the cycle.

And now the last point I want to make. The key feature of the postwar period has been the cold war which is the expression of the severity of the sum total of the contradictions, economic and political, of our times. No comrade will deny that full-scale war alters the cycle quite fundamentally. But to a certain extent the impact of the cold war upon the cycle is much the same. Cold war expenditures (and these are not simply arms expenditures) are one of the main levers of the influence of state monopoly capitalism upon the economy to meet a whole series of contradictions. And this process in its turn includes the interference of the superstructure with the basis.

J. SCHMIDT: Comrade Urban was quite right when he spoke about deformation of the cycles and the crises in the prewar period. But these facts should not blur the specific character of the deformation of the cycles and the crises in the postwar. Any ignoring of the specific features of the modern cycles would be tantamount to ignoring the peculiarities of the second and third stages of the general crisis of capitalism. The postwar deformation of the cycles and the crises cannot be likened to the deformations of the past.

And now a word to Comrade Bellamy. You suggest that such concepts as chronic under-utilization of capacity and chronic mass unemployment during the general crisis of capitalism should be abandoned. I think they should not. What we should stress is that these are uneven processes. Isn't it a fact that in the United States there is chronic unemployment affecting several million, and this has been the case ever since the end of the Second World War? I could adduce more arguments

but I don't want to take up the time of the comrades.

A. RUMYANTSEV: I would like to dwell briefly on the concept of the "deformation" of the cycle. Comrade Urban has substantiated in an interesting and well-argued way the need for studying the new elements in the present-day cycle. He also expressed the view that this was in essence an absolutely new cycle of the period of monopoly capitalism.

It goes without saying that in our analysis of the current cycle we should not lose sight either of the monopoly domination, state intervention in the economy, world wars or the impact of the socialist system. But does this mean that the present-day cycle has nothing in common with the cycles of the past? Cyclical development is inherent in capitalism, has been since its inception and will be until its complete abolition. There is not, nor can there be, non-cyclical capitalist reproduction. But different cycles have their specific features, and if we see that at any given period the cycle assumes one form, then another, then we are entitled to say that its form has changed, i.e., there has been a deformation of the cycle.

I am rather surprised to hear it said that no deformation has taken place but that simply some kind of new cyclical development has come into being. If this were so it could be said that at first there was one kind of capitalism which later was replaced by another, different kind of capitalism utterly unrelated to the past. The growth of capitalist production relations introduces certain important changes into the capitalist cycle but it does not abolish its essence. Were we to rule out the question of the normal, so-called "classical," cycle (although I for one am not happy about calling it classical), nothing would be left of capitalism as a single system. For this reason I think that the term "deformation of cycle" is not wrong. It is perfectly justified because it expresses a dual process. On the one hand, it stresses the continuation of extended capitalist reproduction with a cyclical course of development and, on the other, it demonstrates that new factors have arisen in this development, factors engendered by monopoly domination and the growth of state-monopoly capitalism.

A. PESENTI: I have listened with keen interest to Comrades Urban and Bellamy. I fully agree with some of the points made by Comrade Bellamy. As for deformation or any other term to denote changes in the cycle we in Italy usually say "modification." By this we mean that the essence of the cycle remains, but the form in which it is manifested changes.

I think it is not our job to rediscover the law of unequal development of capitalism. Still less is

it our task to reaffirm that each cycle has its own history. I think that the purpose of our discussion is to get a better understanding of and to explain from the Marxist standpoint the economic reality, to examine the general laws and conditions which determine the process of reproduction in our times. Only by so doing shall we be able to obtain results that will help us in our search for the most effective means of struggle for the interests of the working people.

We can and should "clear" the course of the postwar cycle of such special circumstances and "cataclysms" as the Korean War, the Suez crisis, and so on. This will enable us to determine the permanent causes affecting the traditional run of the cycle. To my mind, these causes are three in number:

1. the class struggle in the capitalist countries;
2. the impact on capitalism of the socialist world system;
3. the influence exerted by the group of newly-liberated countries.

S. MENSHIKOV: When we talk about a deformation of the cycle we do not imply any radical change in the character of capitalist reproduction. What we mean is the specific features of present-day cyclical development. The basic law of a cycle can be defined as the recurrence of crises over definite spans of time. Marx demonstrated that the abundance of crisis phenomena does not add up to a simple chaotic conglomeration. He was able to see in this chaos of crises, depressions, recoveries and booms a common feature—their periodic regularity. It has been correctly said here that none of the cycles of the 20th century has resembled the other. Things were much the same in the 19th century—none was a copy of the other. It was the merit of Marx that in the differences in the cycles he saw their common denominator, and elaborated his theory of periodical crises of overproduction.

At first glance, present-day capitalist reproduction appears as an extremely complex conglomeration of the various phases of economic development. The thing is to find in this conglomeration the general and concrete mechanism of the operation of the law of crises, a mechanism typical only of our times.

All of us agree that the postwar cycle has not followed the strictly classical pattern. Hence Comrade Urban has suggested that a cycle theory should be elaborated for the period of monopoly capitalism, a theory which would carry forward Marx's teaching on crises. I do not share this view. Nobody, of course, denies that there have been definite changes in the periodicity of crises as well as in the course of capitalist reproduction. These changes can be described as deformation

or modification or as something else. After all it is not words that matter. But since both terms are widely used in Marxist literature, I see no reason why we should not continue to use them.

In my view, deformation of the cycle can be defined as *an essential qualitative change in the way in which the law of crises is manifested*. This change affects both the character of the phases of the cycle and their sequence. An important element here is the appearance of periods in the economic development of separate countries and of capitalism as a whole which do not fit in with any of the phases. I believe that deformation of the cycle is a phenomenon peculiar to the period of the general crisis of capitalism.

I have examined the symptoms of deformation in the various cycles of the 20th century with a view to finding the reason for the specific manifestations of the deformation in each case. We all know that capitalism suffered its most acute crisis of overproduction in 1929-33. Can we say that that cyclical catastrophe was a normal or, so to speak, classical crisis? I don't think we can. What kind of a classical crisis was it if it shattered the entire credit system of capitalism, practically suspended the export of capital, and for a long time held up the large-scale renewal of plant? The 1929-33 crisis erupted as a result of cyclical and non-cyclical contradictions which had their roots in the general crisis of capitalism.

Let us turn to the subsequent crisis—that of 1937-38. The 1937-38 crisis did not affect Hitler Germany, Japan and Italy. The United States entered the crisis which had not been preceded by a boom. We see, therefore, that a pronounced deformation of the world cycle took place at that time.

Pronounced deformation of cyclical reproduction has been typical also of the postwar period. The immediate reasons for it can be summed up as follows: the impact of the socialist world system, the consequences of the disintegration of the colonial hinterland of imperialism, the new conditions in which the class struggle is developing, the growth of state-monopoly capitalism, militarization of the economy, and the revolution in science and technology.

More factors could be cited. Comrade Urban has mentioned the transition from the gold standard to paper money. This is highly important. I believe we should also take account of the currency crisis and various manifestations, because this crisis has played a very big role in disrupting the harmony of the postwar cycle.

R. BELLAMY: Any attempt to reduce the changes in the postwar cycles to deformation generate a tendency to impose a certain pattern on events instead of undertaking the much more

difficult task of the concrete analysis of the contradictions embedded in contemporary capitalism and their impact on the cycle.

L. URBAN: I would like to return to the general aspect of the problem in order to clear up some of the differences which still exist between us. One reason is the approach to Marx's theory of crises and the way in which we should use this theory today in explaining cyclical development.

To my mind, we should distinguish between two aspects of this theory. The first is general concepts which provide the key to the understanding of both stages of capitalism. But we also find in Marx's theory concepts which are a reflection of conditions peculiar to the 19th century.

Let me remind you briefly of some of these conditions. First, Marx analyzed a structure of industry which differed from that of today. In those days the textile industry was the leading branch, while engineering was still in its infancy. Modern capitalism is distinguished from the capitalism of the last century also by different rates of technical progress and duration of capital turnover. Again, we should take full account of the fact that gold was the currency of the 19th century, today it is paper money. At the time when Marx was writing *Capital* the world market was only beginning to take shape and capitalist relations of production were confined to a few Western European countries, to say nothing of the fact that Marx was unable to analyze factors of which I spoke earlier: monopolies, state intervention and world wars.

In our century the conditions in which capitalist reproduction takes place have radically changed. But is it possible to reduce these changes to deformation alone? I would not be against this concept provided it did not create the impression that the changes are something abnormal and fortuitous. To my mind, that which we describe as deformation is perfectly normal for the stage of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism. And it would be a vain hope to expect that the cyclical development will in the future assume its old form at times.

To speak about a deformation of the cycle would be tantamount to saying that we are not yet fully capable of theoretically explaining the course not only of the postwar cycles but also of those of the stage of imperialism as a whole and the general crisis of capitalism. The combined efforts of Marxist economists in the different countries have, it is true, yielded considerable results in this respect. But as yet no theory of cyclical

development in the epoch of imperialism and the general crisis has been elaborated. This reflects not only our theoretical weakness. It would be wrong to assume that only subjective reasons prevent us from explaining the new processes from the standpoint of Marxism. There are objective causes as well. I would like to say a word about the development of theory in general. When a theoretical generalization is made, and then after some time some new facts which do not fully bear out the conclusions come to light, these facts are at first reasoned as being the exception. But gradually the new phenomena accumulate, and with their accumulation comes the need to assess them and carry forward the theory. I think that a similar situation has arisen with regard to the theory of the cycle. Marx's theory appeared on the basis of an analysis of the conditions of the 19th century. But certain new and important phenomena appeared with the onset of imperialism and, still more so, in the period of the general crisis of capitalism. At first we could speak only about the deformation of the cycle because we were unable as yet thoroughly to assess the role played by these new phenomena and processes. Today, in my view, we have this opportunity.

O. REINHOLD: I fully share the view that Marx's concepts of the cycle are applicable to our times, too. The cycles continue to preserve all their phases. And as long as capitalism exists other development is unthinkable. But at the same time I agree, that nowadays the cycle develops differently from what it did in the 19th century or in the period before the Second World War.

We speak about deformation of the cycle not because we consider it something abnormal that will disappear as time goes on. In saying this we merely wish to emphasize that nowadays the cycle has changed considerably compared with the cyclical development of the past. At the same time it should be said that this deformation is both logical and inevitable. It is due to the new factors emerging in the period of the general crisis of capitalism. Comrade Menshikov and other speakers have mentioned a whole number of these factors. The task now is to make a thorough analysis of their qualitative aspect.

A. RUMYANTSEV: All of us, I think, are in agreement with Comrade Reinhold. The time has come to pass from the general problems to a concrete analysis of the mechanism through which the above-mentioned new factors exert their influence on the cycle. At the opening we grouped the points under discussion so that we could more thoroughly discuss each group of questions. *Therefore, allow me to suggest the following theme:*

STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM, TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS AND REPRODUCTION

J. SCHMIDT: It is unquestionable, in my view, that of all the factors modifying the course of the postwar economic cycles and crises, the most important is state-monopoly capitalism, chiefly in the shape of state consumption. Here the biggest role is played by military orders and also by government purchases of agricultural "surpluses." In 1929 purchases by federal, state and local authorities in the USA amounted to a bare one-twentieth of the total. By 1959 they had soared to roughly one-fifth. Clearly, state consumption on this scale cannot but have a substantial effect on reproduction.

I should like to note another important point—the effect of state-monopoly capitalism on the structure of the labor force. It has been estimated that nearly one-fourth of the industrial and office workers in the USA are employed in government-owned factories and offices or in private enterprises working on government orders. From this the apologists of modern capitalism usually deduce that an era has set in of crisis-free development marred only by isolated depressions. Postwar capitalist development, however, completely refutes this fable. Where, indeed, is state-monopoly capitalism most highly developed? In the United States. And it is the USA that has experienced four economic crises since the end of the war. On the other hand, it would be wrong to deny that state-monopoly measures have an effect on the economic cycle. The question, however, is a complicated one and requires serious Marxist analysis.

H. TAMMER: I agree that the role of state-monopoly markets is growing. But new capital investments should not be overlooked. For the intensity and duration of the boom in one or another cycle depend largely on the scale of these investments.

New investments are now largely financed by the monopolies with the aid of the state budget, i.e., at the expense of the taxpayer. State investments have played a particularly big part in the economic development of West Germany, where they amounted in 1950-58 to 35 per cent of the total. In the same period the share of government-financed investments in the USA, Britain and France ranged from 12 to 16 per cent. This explains why the rate of accumulation since 1945 has been higher in West Germany than in many other capitalist countries and why its economy has been expanding considerably faster than that of the USA, Britain and France. The percentage of investments in production is also higher in West Germany. Whereas Britain and France have channelled 44 per cent of all investments to the non-production sectors, and the USA as much as 50

per cent, the corresponding percentage in West Germany is only 38. Production investments have facilitated the rapid economic development in West Germany and have strengthened its competitive position on the world market.

Y. BAREL. It is commonly accepted that in the Western European capitalist countries exploitation of the working class has been greatly intensified since the war. But for all that, in my opinion, the gap between production and purchasing power is not yet wide enough to make the outbreak of a crisis inevitable. It is also interesting to note that crises now cause less fluctuation in purchasing power than they used to; consumer demand shows a certain stability.

What is the reason for this stability? First, the compensating role played by government orders. These are increased whenever consumer demand tends to decline. Another reason is that in a number of capitalist countries the purchasing power of the agricultural population has been stabilized to a point by government propping of farm prices.

Most important, however, is the increased share in the national income of incomes not directly dependent on the economic situation (incomes of civil servants, members of the armed forces, persons engaged in service industries), and also changes in the nature of investments.

Formerly investments were financed mainly by the issue of shares and bonds by joint-stock companies. This made private investment very unstable inasmuch as the money market is exceedingly sensitive to the slightest fluctuations in business activity. The crises of the past were always accompanied by financial crashes.

But much has changed since then. Now the money market is under the strict control of the monopolies and the state. Crises today are not accompanied by panic on the stock exchange or by bank failures. The money market has lost its former significance as a source of finance, its place having been taken by state- and self-financing. In France, for instance, almost half of all investments are provided either directly or indirectly by the state. It is also common knowledge that a sizable part of capitalist profit is no longer distributed in the form of dividends, but is retained as undistributed income and reserve funds.

A feature of the present situation is the debiting of an increasing share of the total investment to depreciation. The prices fixed by the monopolies include inflated depreciation costs—a price policy that channels to the monopolies values created in agriculture, state industry and the non-monopoly sectors of the economy.

Being in the saddle politically, the monopolies hold the government purse-strings and therefore are able in some measure to regulate investment policy. The French iron and steel industry, for example, plans investments years ahead, and experience shows that these plans are carried out to a considerable extent. I believe that the changes in the methods and pattern of financing investment have helped to reduce cyclical fluctuations.

However, the importance of these changes should not be exaggerated. New investment is made by the monopolies only if it promises to raise the rate of profit or at least prevent it from declining. But no monopoly concern can be sure of netting the anticipated return. This in itself predetermines the limited nature of long-range regulation of investment. Moreover, such regulation proceeds only within the framework of separate monopolies, since there is no coordination of investment policy between them.

Y. OSTROVITYANOV: Rapid growth of state-monopoly capitalism is the typical trend in contemporary capitalist society, the general line of development of the capitalist relations of production. One of the reasons for this is *the specific features of present-day capitalist reproduction*. Extended reproduction in monopoly-owned branches of heavy industry requires vast amounts of social capital and a redistribution in favor of the monopolies of the value and surplus value produced in other sectors of the economy. This can be done only through the monopoly-dominated capitalist state with its powerful, highly-ramified economic machinery. State-monopoly capitalism is the foundation on which modern capitalist reproduction rests.

Yet in analyzing crises, many Marxist economists often tend to separate the cyclical regularities from the state-monopoly processes and counterpose one to the other. The law of crises is divorced from the concrete historical situation in which it develops and operates; it is examined in a vacuum or transplanted to the economic soil of the capitalism of the past. We see a striving to examine cyclical development today without regard to the features imparted to it by the growth of state-monopoly capitalism, and we see countless parallels drawn between the crisis phenomena of today and the crises of the 'twenties and 'thirties, or even those of the pre-monopoly period.

Paradoxical though it may seem, this underestimation of the state-monopoly processes can, in a way, be regarded as a by-product of the struggle against bourgeois economic theoreticians and the reformist and revisionist apologists of state-monopoly capitalism. The point is that the capitalist ideologists, reformists and revisionists regard the so-called "managed capitalism" as an era of crisis-

free development, and the deformed cycle is offered as "proof" of the gradual disappearance of the objective cyclical regularities. In arguing against these anti-scientific concepts, some Marxists have tended to belittle the significance of state-monopoly capitalism, saying that deformation of the cycle is transient and that the state-monopoly props would soon lose their efficacy and capitalism would revert to the classical cyclical pattern. The experience of postwar capitalism has not borne out these predictions. On the contrary, the past 16 years have shown that the deformed cycle is not the exception, but rather the rule, the typical feature of modern capitalism. Therefore it is particularly opportune to recall the counsel of Marx and Lenin that the best way to combat bourgeois and opportunist ideology is *not to ignore the new developments but to assess them creatively, from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint*.

If we approach from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint the new factors at work in capitalist expanded reproduction, we shall see that *these very factors* are the most cogent refutation of the bourgeois and reformist theories of a crisis-free capitalism. In the final analysis state-monopoly capitalism, anti-crisis regulation included, tends to exacerbate the contradictions underlying crises. State-monopoly capitalism accelerates the process of capitalist socialization of the productive forces, makes production more and more social in nature. At the same time it seeks to perpetuate private appropriation by mustering in its defense all the power of the state and the monopolies. This shows that state-monopoly capitalism is synonymous with the continuous aggravation of the basic contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation—the root cause of economic crises.

How, then, does state-monopoly capitalism affect the economic cycle? U.S. experience shows that it raises barriers to the fulfilment by crises of their objective historical role. The historical function of crises is, as we know, forcibly to solve the contradictions of capitalist reproduction, to restore a temporary, short-lived balance between production and consumption, supply and demand, to establish for the moment the proper proportions in the economy. Now the operation of this machinery is disrupted by the intrusion of state-monopoly factors in the cycle. The use of these factors to counteract crises prevents a rapid increase of production in times of upswing, slows down the drift of the economy into the trough of a new crisis, at times stimulates premature recovery, and ensures rising prices and profits during crisis eruptions. As a result, each of the postwar crises in the United States has left in its wake

a host of unsolved cyclical contradictions. These contradictions in turn have slowed down the cyclical upswing, shortened the recovery phase, and cut the time-span between the successive industrial crises. Consequently, state-monopoly capitalism is adding to the instability of the U.S. economy. This instability is manifested in the frequency of the crises, in constant ups and downs in business activity, in the alternation of brief booms and slumps. On the whole, the postwar cycle has been hitting U.S. capitalism harder than the preceding crises (with the exception of 1929-1933), which paved the way to stable upswings of greater or lesser duration. The effects are being felt primarily in the rate of economic growth, which, regardless of all the efforts of the ruling class, has not exceeded an annual average of 2.5 per cent.

A. PESENTI: In our days state capitalism is the main instrument of the economic policy of the ruling capitalist class and is, unquestionably, the chief economic cause of the changes in the course of the cycle. But we must agree on a definition of state capitalism, inasmuch as this general term is often used to describe very different economic phenomena.

It seems to me that state intervention in the economy should be distinguished from state capitalism in the true sense of the word. The economic functions of the capitalist state can be roughly characterized as follows.

Indirect state intervention. The state maintains the price level and the demand for monopoly goods, subsidizes capitalist expenditure for production, facilitates the development of exports and influences profits and wages through manipulations of the money market. One purpose of these measures is to lower production costs and ensure profits in the branches affected by crisis. Of course, indirect state intervention influences capitalist reproduction. It prevents the average rate of profit from dropping, and stimulates investment—the basic factor in expanding production. Active state intervention can help, for example, to stave off the collapse of one or another branch of industry, compensate for losses, maintain prices at the level fixed by the monopolies. Maintaining high price levels in the monopoly sectors of the economy during crisis eruptions is new in the cyclical development of capitalism. However, these changes only affect some of the forms of the cycle, not its mechanism.

Genuine state capitalism. This term means that the enterprises belong to the state and are run by it. The state participates directly in investments. The process of accumulation is effected through state finances and taxation. Genuine state capitalism can influence the cycle more radically than indirect state intervention in the economy.

The fact is that investments, which mark the initial phase of a boom, become in the state sector the object of class struggle and are directly influenced by that struggle. The ruling circles in some capitalist countries, for example in Italy, are being forced to a greater or lesser extent to reckon with the political initiative of the working class.

The proletariat has wrested some important concessions from the ruling classes, although the economic laws of capitalism convert every state action into a profitable undertaking for the capitalists. Capital which the state under public pressure invests in production can, in my opinion, lead to certain changes in the mechanism of the cycle. Of course, these investments must be a substantial proportion of the total and should play a major role in the country's economy. I can cite the example of Italy, where state ownership of the means of production is a big factor in the economy. Investments in state-owned industry comprise a good part of the total and their amount is often determined by the class struggle.

However, under all circumstances changes in the cyclical process do not affect the essential nature of crises. The function of crises, as Marx taught, is the destruction of surplus commodities and capital. In our day this function not only remains but is intensified, manifesting itself both during crisis eruptions and in other phases of the cycle. But when the capitalist state operates as a sort of insurance company or shock-absorber modifying the effects of crisis eruptions for all capitalists, it is thereby only shifting the burden of the crises onto the shoulders of the working population.

O. REINHOLD: A careful analysis of the economic structure of the leading capitalist countries shows that state ownership is not the most important feature of state-monopoly capitalism. In West Germany, for example, the nationalization of some enterprises is accompanied by the denationalization of others. The Volkswagenwerke, Preussag and other enterprises are again privately owned. I would say that the distinguishing feature of state-monopoly capitalism is the redistribution through the state of the national income by means of which the monopolies seek to influence economic development. As for a general appraisal of the role of state-monopoly capitalism in modern capitalist reproduction, I fully agree with Comrade Ostrovityanov on this score. It is indeed impossible correctly to appraise the operation of cyclical laws without taking into account the influence of state-monopoly capitalism.

In the United States, one of the consequences of the influence of state-monopoly capitalism on the cycle is the failure of the crisis to fulfil some

of its objective functions, and this in the final analysis leads to an aggravation of the internal contradictions of capitalism. I should like to draw attention to other important effects of the influence of state-monopoly capitalism on the cycle.

As a result of a number of state-monopoly measures, certain economic phenomena in Western Europe, which formerly occurred chiefly in periods of acute cyclical contradictions, have now become chronic. State-monopoly financing has engendered a feature typical for many capitalist countries, namely, chronic inflation. Support given to monopoly export trade, as well as capital investment in some branches of industry (coal mining, for example), has brought about a crisis in the balance of payments and chronic crisis phenomena in coal production. A similar situation is observed in the steel and automobile industry in the United States. These facts indicate that modern technical development has "outgrown" the capitalist framework and requires a socialist organization of production.

A. MANUKYAN: Comrade Ostrovityanov has correctly described the features of postwar development in the United States. I should like to make a few additions and amendments to what he has said. I shall begin with a concrete example — housing. This will help to clarify the general problems of postwar reproduction in the United States. There is no doubt that the state has played a part in promoting residential building in the United States in the period 1954-1958. Among other things, housing was stimulated by the reduction in the bank rate and in interest on mortgage loans. But these state measures were not decisive. The chief role here was played by objective factors such as the effective demand for new houses. At a later date and in different conditions the **same state policy** of lowering interest rates did not have the same effect.

The general conditions of reproduction are undoubtedly deteriorating in the United States. But it would be incorrect to say that from now on every crisis in the United States will be more severe than its predecessor. I do not overestimate the accuracy of the Wojcinskis' estimates, but they are extremely indicative. According to these estimates, losses in the gross national product in 1948-49 amounted to \$46,000 million, in 1953-54 to 35,000 million, and in 1957-58 to 36,000 million. There are, consequently, no grounds at present for assuming that the successive crises are becoming deeper or of longer duration. The worsening of the conditions of reproduction is expressed in the steady growth of unemployment and the undercapacity operation of plant, and also in the fact that each boom is feebler and briefer than the preceding one. There is a close inner connec-

tion between these two groups of phenomena. The more destructive the crisis, the more room it leaves for the development of production in the new cycle. And, conversely, the weakness of the crisis eruption is one of the reasons retarding the growth of production in periods of boom.

Professor Schmidt, speaking in Moscow, pointed out that, on the whole, wages had not been reduced during recent crisis periods. Does this mean that crises no longer have disastrous consequences for the workers? Certainly not. Wage stability induces the capitalists to search for ways of cutting down the number of workers employed. In the U.S. coal industry, for instance, wages have been rising almost steadily. But the number of workers has dropped from 485,000 to 185,000. Thus, the sharper forms of slashing wages have been replaced by the long drawn-out, chronic process of squeezing the workers out of industry.

Will all the new features of the postwar crises remain in the future? I do not think so. The process of reproduction in the United States has taken place in the postwar period under the impact of a number of factors the effects of which have been gradually diminishing. Housing construction in 1949, 1954 and 1958 acted as a counterweight to the deepening of the crisis. But I doubt whether it could play the same role today.

The same can be said about renewal of basic capital. If we accept the principle of the spasmodic nature of renewal of basic capital in capitalist society there are no grounds for assuming that renewal will continue ad infinitum. The comrades here have spoken about the growth of the non-production sphere. They have drawn attention to the fact that the decline in material production does not lead to an immediate reduction in the income of those engaged in the non-production sphere. I believe that this too cannot be regarded as a permanent shock-absorber for crisis eruptions. We must not forget that such a drastic expansion in the non-production sphere was possible only because it was preceded by a substantial increase of material production. If production ceases to expand, or if it expands as slowly as it has in the United States during the past seven years, this is bound to result in a drop in employment in the non-production sphere.

In conclusion I should like to say a few words about the state sector. No one can deny that capitalist production in modern conditions is in the highest degree social in character. I believe that production in the United States is no less socialized than in any other capitalist country. But the state sector is less developed in the United States than it is in Western Europe. The explanation lies in the different level of the class struggle in Western Europe and in the United States.

The class struggle is not a static factor. Neither for that matter is the state capitalist sector. This can best be illustrated by the postwar experience of Britain and West Germany. Throughout almost the entire period since the war, investment in the state sector in Britain has comprised half of all basic capital investments. But it would be wrong to assume that this proportion has remained permanent. A strong tendency to restrict the state sector can be observed. The nationalized sector in Britain has shrunk considerably since 1948. The steel industry and some road transport enterprises have been denationalized and attempts are now being made to return the coal industry and railways to private ownership. At the same time, a new fuel network, which will be in private hands, is being set up. A similar tendency can be observed also in Federal Germany, particularly in the automobile industry. Hence it is clear that the stabilizing role of investment in the state sector will diminish.

E. POZZO: I should like to dwell on the influence of the militarization of the economy on the capitalist cycle. The military programs of 1949 paved the way to an industrial boom in the United States. In 1953, when the Eisenhower Administration cut military expenditure, there was a slump in business activity and a crisis broke out. It looked very much as if the demand determined by military expenditure was the principal element in the development of the cycle. In 1957, however, despite increased military expenditure, the U.S. economy was hit by another crisis. Thus, at some point military expenditure became the principal element in the growth of general demand, but not the determining factor in economic development. With the switchover to new types of arms (missiles, atomic weapons) the role of military expenditure in developing industrial production diminished.

S. MENSNIKOV: I believe that is so. The effectiveness of militarization as a means of influencing business activity is steadily declining. It is one thing to turn out tanks on a mass scale, but to produce missiles is quite another matter. Suppose, for example, that a number of war-industry firms began producing missiles instead of aircraft, with the volume of government orders remaining unchanged. The actual amount of work done by these firms would be bound to drop. The amount of raw material, especially metal, used for every dollar spent on war production would likewise decrease. In a word, in our time every dollar spent by the state on the purchase of armaments multiplies (pardon the Keynesian term) more slowly than formerly. At the same time, the effectiveness of civil expenditure increases both in absolute and relative terms. This, I believe, considerably nar-

rows the sphere of the actual influence extended by military expenditure on social reproduction.

E. POZZO: The comrades have noted the rapid pace of postwar economic development in Japan, West Germany, and also in Italy. The reason for this, in my view, is that for a number of years these countries were less burdened by armaments expenditure than others. One result of the unevenness of the arms race in the capitalist world was the dollar crisis and the weakening of the economic positions of the United States. While the latter was spending colossal sums on military purposes, other countries were investing heavily in industry. In view of this, those in capitalist Europe who advocated militarizing Federal Germany and including her in NATO hoped to undermine West German competition on the world markets.

It should be emphasized that militarization is the source of very grave contradictions not only between the governments and the masses in the capitalist countries, but also between the imperialist countries themselves, particularly in the matter of distributing the burden of military expenditure. The question arises: can capitalism at the present stage of its general crisis be forced to abandon the policy of militarizing the economy? I believe that this question, if only partly, can be answered in the affirmative. Otherwise our fight for disarmament would be futile.

Some politicians in the capitalist world are beginning to realize that the outcome of the competition between the two systems will be decided chiefly in the economic and not in the military sphere. Harriman, for instance, during his tour of Europe repeatedly declared that the center of the rivalry between the socialist and capitalist systems was shifting more and more to the sphere of struggle for influence in the underdeveloped countries.

In Western Europe and the United States the view is gaining ground that "aid" to the economically backward countries should be extended on an entirely different basis than hitherto. Moreover, the involuntary nature of this reappraisal is frankly admitted. Now and again one even finds admissions that the aid rendered by the socialist countries to the young national states is both effective and disinterested and that these countries are themselves an example of how economic backwardness inherited from the past can be eliminated in an historically brief space of time. Hence, some kind of joint imperialist program of "aid" to the underdeveloped countries, some new version of the Marshall Plan, is not excluded. Clearly, the imperialists will use such a plan to undermine the revolutionary struggle of the peoples breaking free from the colonial

yoke. A tendency towards increasing monopoly investments in the underdeveloped countries can be observed. This could create new stimuli for the monopolies, to some extent performing the same role for them as militarization. But in the final analysis neither militarization nor extensive "aid" programs, nor any other form of state intervention can abolish the cyclical nature of capitalist economic development. None of these can avert the inevitable crises of overproduction. At best they can help to modify the disastrous consequences of one or another crisis. But that is all.

G. MAURISCHAT: I agree with what has been said here concerning the influence of militarization on the process of reproduction. I shall therefore dwell only on some aspects of this problem.

Up till now West Germany has profited from the cold war. The peculiar position of the FRG as the outpost of the struggle against the socialist states has ensured her the economic and political support of international imperialism. This has enabled West Germany rapidly to revive her industrial might, expand her foreign trade, and fortify her political positions. At the same time, the economic development of the FRG was facilitated by the fact that she joined in the arms race later than the other imperialist countries. Her experience in the past years clearly shows that capitalist economy can develop more successfully without making armaments. After 1957-58 Federal Germany sharply increased her arms production. True, she is still behind the other imperialist states as regards the share of military expenditure in the economy. According to my estimates, the United States spends 12 per cent of the national income for military purposes; France, 10 per cent; Great Britain, nine per cent, and West Germany, 5.4 per cent. The same cannot be said about the rate of growth of military appropriations. Military expenditure in Federal Germany has been growing of late at a far more rapid rate than industrial production.

Moreover, the figure 5.4 per cent does not include the actual amount spent on arms and on the cold war. In 1961 Bonn's military appropriations exceeded 12,000 million marks. Actual military expenditure is estimated at between 25,000 and 26,000 million marks. By importing arms from other countries, the West German militarists are economizing on the construction of war-industry enterprises. Approximately one-third of the country's armaments, chiefly such expensive types as missiles, tanks and airplanes, are imported.

How does the arms race affect the economy of the Federal Republic? I believe that militarization can stimulate economic development in two ways. First, when a war industry is being built up. In

this case preparation for militarization begins with establishing or re-equipping those branches of industry which, while not directly military, constitute the base of a future war industry. Between 1950 and 1957 priority was given in West Germany to branches essential to the manufacture of armaments. At the same time, war production proper was negligible.

Secondly, the arms race can also stimulate the capitalist economy when industry is not working to capacity. The West German imperialists exploited this possibility to combat the crisis phenomena that appeared in 1958.

It seems to me that at present Bonn's military production is still stimulating industrial growth. But its stimulating effect is temporary and transient, whereas the damage it causes to the national economy is immense. This is clearly illustrated by the example of those imperialist powers which have been engaged in the arms drive for more than ten years. In the United States net investment between 1950 and 1959 amounted to \$365,000 million, while military expenditure amounted to \$430,000 million. A similar ratio is to be observed in Britain. Both countries spend larger sums for military purposes than for expanded reproduction, a fact which cannot but limit accumulation in the national economy. It might be useful, by way of experiment, not to take military production into account in analyzing industrial growth in the United States and Britain. It is quite possible that in some civilian branches we would discover that a process of simple reproduction has taken place over a number of years. If the war production with its capacity to give a temporary fillip to economic life were to be placed on one side of the scales and the destruction of productive forces associated with it on the other side, the immense harm done to the economy by militarization would be glaringly evident.

E. BERT: While stressing the objective character of the development of state-monopoly capitalism, we should have a different approach in assessing its manifestations. State-monopoly capitalism is bound to grow, of this there can be no doubt. But it would be wrong to conclude from this correct proposition that such a vital feature of it as militarization will continue to develop. Bearing in mind the unfolding struggle for peaceful coexistence and for general and complete disarmament, we can foresee appreciable changes in this respect.

For a number of years there was a tendency in the United States to stress the role of military expenditure as a priming factor in the economy. This illusion is shared also by many workers. However, recent developments have shown that neither the high rate of military expenditure nor

increased military appropriations can save the country from economic crises. This new experience is bound to facilitate the struggle against the apologists for a war economy, and the fight for peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

R. BELLAMY: The alternative to the arms race is general and complete disarmament. But, I think, in the popularization of this idea certain weaknesses and confusion in theory should be done away with. Natural scientists often say that the productive forces of capitalism used for war could be used for peacetime economy and for raising employment. This proposition is correct in principle but suffers from some primitivism.

In order to get disarmament there will have to be a substantial change in the balance of class forces. But the class forces which are strong enough to impose disarmament on the aggressive circles will hardly be able to achieve full employment.

We know leaders of capitalist states and influential capitalists who are in favor of peace. But it by no means follows that they stand for full employment. There should be absolute clarity on this question. The unemployment problem can be solved only under socialism.

Nevertheless, disarmament can be achieved in the present conditions. Despite the fierce resistance of imperialist reaction economic cooperation between the socialist and the capitalist system is paving its way and is influencing the course of the capitalist cycle. On the other hand, we know that the aggravation of economic difficulties in the capitalist countries and the appearance of an imminent crisis result in a sharpening of international antagonisms and in pressure for increased military expenditure. But is it not possible for the progressive forces to put forward a constructive program which would provide certain profits for the capitalists but would none the less be for peaceful construction beneficial for the people? Such a program, buttressed by the might and prestige of the socialist camp, would assist the mobilization of the people in the capitalist countries in order to expose and isolate the aggressive forces of imperialism as a barrier to lasting peace.

Y. BAREL: We have discussed at length aspects of the influence exerted on the course of the cycle by state-monopoly capitalism. I shall speak about technological advance. The capitalist countries are undergoing rapid technological progress which has contributed to the changes in the mechanism of capitalist reproduction. New industries are emerging, new consumer goods, new raw materials and types of fuel are appearing; factories are being mechanized and automated.

The intensity with which basic capital has been renewed since the war differs substantially from that of the prewar period. In my opinion, these factors explain in part why the cyclical crises have become less severe.

I shall dwell on some consequences of this state of affairs. First, private and state investment is now less dependent on consumer demand. Today, consumer demand plays a smaller role. That is why during economic upheavals investment is maintained rather easily. In other words, shifting the impact of the crisis from Department II to Department I has become more complicated. At present crises usually start in Department II as a result of glutting the market, whereas earlier they often began in Department I, though, of course, the onset of a crisis there is always bound up with concealed overproduction in Department II. Such, in my opinion, is the first main line of the effect of technological progress on the modern cycle.

Nowadays a substantial part of the capital is earmarked for industrial plant, for organizing labor processes for the raw material and fuel industries and for research. Long-term investment is made even today. At the same time in the leading capitalist countries an economic infrastructure has taken shape with the result that much of the investment brings quick profits.

Competition between the monopolies for lower production costs accelerates the moral depreciation of machinery with selling prices remaining high. The rate of depreciation is now the fastest in the history of capitalism. Technological progress, while quickening the circulation of capital, somewhat retards the tendency for the average rate of profit to fall. Hence the fairly stable and high rate of profit, which makes it possible to carry out investment programs even during crises. This can be observed, in particular, in France. Interestingly enough, the industries which have spurred on the general economic advance there came through the postwar difficulties rather easily, whereas in the past the key industries were the first to be hit by the crises. It was only during the 1958 crisis and in the subsequent period that some of them, i.e., the automobile and agricultural machinery industries, began to show signs of "slowing down.*"

A. MANUKYAN: Clearly the big changes in technology have called for more investment. Technological innovation lowers costs of production.

*Shortly after the conference business activity in the capitalist countries declined. The "slowing down" of production in a number of industries developed into a crisis, and the rate of economic growth fell. Crisis phenomena appeared in the automobile industry in Britain and France. In the United States automobile output did not reach the 1960 level. This confirms the correctness of the assessments of capitalist economic development made during the exchange of views.
—Ed.

stimulates the growth of profit, and hence new investment. It both intensifies and eases the inter-monopoly rivalry. For by launching new lines of output one monopoly can easily make the goods manufactured by another morally obsolete. This, too, stimulates investment in new plant. At the same time the danger grows of piling up excess capacity and of massive redundancy.

We should not forget, however, that the scientific and technological revolution fosters only a temporary expansion of capitalist production. At a certain stage much of what was a factor of growth becomes its antithesis. For instance, the expansion of the oil-refining industry, laying oil and gas pipe-lines, building oil-tankers and the industry producing chemicals from oil acted as a powerful boost to industrial production and investment. But they had an adverse effect on the coal industry and are a cause of a world crisis in raw materials.

The building of a modern agricultural-machinery industry acted as a stimulus to industrial growth and investment in Britain, Federal Germany and France. But in France this industry is already showing signs of "slowing down," as Barel put it, whereas in the USA the slowing down began back in 1952.

The automobile industry—an important branch of the modern economy—is still a factor of industrial growth in a number of countries. But in Britain there are apprehensions that the rapid growth of output will reach peak in 1965 and, thereafter, be followed by a slump. The West German press also writes about "fatigue" in the automobile industry. Hence the stimulating effect of the technological progress is being weakened.

E. ARAB-OGLY: I should like to dwell on the role played by the modern media of information about the market outlook in the evolution of the cycle. Of course, the new media in themselves cannot influence the cycle to any sizable degree. They can only affect the consequences of the operation of objective factors on the cycle, of which the comrades have spoken.

In the past the capitalist learned about the state of the economy only through price fluctuation on the market. Since the war, however, new sources of information have appeared. First, as has been noted, the "guaranteed market" repre-

sented by government orders, has expanded. It supplies the monopolies with more or less reliable information about anticipated demand. Second, the econometric and other forecasts which reveal the interdependence of the different branches of the economy enable the corporations and the government to get information about the state of the economy long before the market prices begin to fluctuate. Of course, more reliable and early information cannot prevent the anarchy of production. But, to a certain extent, it makes it possible to take partial measures for a quicker use of the favorable economic situation.

It is quite possible that the new information media can affect certain factors deforming the cycle in the following way: (1) its duration and that of its stages will be cut; (2) the decline in commodity production will be somewhat less; (3) the crisis will, increasingly, be manifested not so much in overproduction as in under-utilization of capacity. Furthermore, when the monopolies learn in advance about a possible slump they can take more effective measures to retain price levels for their goods. It may be that during crises prices will remain at the same level or even rise.

In my view, the state of the economy, say in the United States, confirms most, if not all, of these conclusions.

But the influence exerted by the new sources of information on the course of the cycle is not limited to this. The point is that the quicker circulation of information produces a sort of "bandwagon effect." In the economy the anticipated upward curve in business activity produces the same effect. But to get onto the upgoing economic bandwagon one should be sure of a seat. This means that the capitalist must ensure in good time the production capacity that could be used during an upswing. This explains why, as Comrade Barel has said, the big monopolies try to plan investment for ten years and even more.

A. RUMYANTSEV: We have had an interesting discussion on state-monopoly capitalism and technological progress and I think I will not be mistaken if, on behalf of all participants, I express our satisfaction with it. Now, to round off our work, our job is to assess from the theoretical standpoint.

THE INFLUENCE EXERTED ON THE CAPITALIST CYCLE BY WORLD SOCIALISM, BY THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM AND BY THE CLASS STRUGGLE

A. SOBOLEV: In analyzing the national economy in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, a period in which there are several forms of the socio-economic structure, Marxists always note that the leading, socialist form exerts its influence on all the other, including the capital-

ist, forms. One cannot imagine the two world economic systems existing side by side without influencing the processes developing in each. Of course, there can be no direct analogy here. But this influence is a fact, and it is very complicated and contradictory.

With the rise and growth of the socialist system the sphere of operation of the economic laws of capitalism and of exploitation shrinks. In this way the inner contradictions of capitalism are growing. At the same time the socialist system is a huge market which under certain conditions can absorb some of the goods produced in the capitalist countries. During the 1929-33 crisis, for example, over half the capacity of the machine-tool industry of Germany was working on Soviet orders.

R. BELLAMY: The machine-tool industry in Britain is particularly vulnerable to economic crises, and it should be noted that in the thirties the impact of the crisis on it was substantially diminished because of big Soviet orders.

A. SOBOLEV: I shall cite another example relating to the present period. Extensive trade between the Soviet Union and Finland exerts quite a considerable influence on the entire process of capitalist reproduction in that country and, in fact, provides the conditions for crisis-free development there. We can take, in addition, the example of Austria where trade with the socialist countries is also a vital economic factor. Of course, in such countries as Federal Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Japan and particularly the USA, this impact is not so great, and in some instances it is even negligible. But in order to discern the general tendency we must see the processes in their development. I am convinced that with the growth of the economic might of the socialist system this impact will be greater. But this is only one aspect of the question.

The socialist system, I think, can also exert an influence on the prices fixed by the big international monopolies on the world market. Look what is happening with oil. The attempt made by the oil cartels to keep prices at a high level has failed. These processes are still in their embryo but they are bound to develop. I think that in future the economic effect of these phenomena will grow.

A. PESENTI: Oil is a vital raw material and a source of fuel for Italy. Oil prices, therefore, are particularly important for the national economy. The purchase of oil on advantageous terms from the socialist countries makes inroads into the domination of American and British oil trusts in Italy and favors national economic development.

A. SOBOLEV: In my opinion, the influence of the socialist system will lead to a cheapening of international credit. To substantiate this point I shall mention the evolution of imperialist "aid" to the underdeveloped nations. This evolution is the direct result of the disinterested and effective socialist aid to these nations. Furthermore, under the impact of the socialist world system, the

capitalist governments will make greater efforts to regulate the economy.

The existence of the socialist world system favors the struggle for the vital interests of the working people. The long and short of it is that the socialist world system will exert a growing influence on capitalist reproduction by sharpening its contradictions and modifying the traditional form of their manifestation.

O. REINHOLD: Germany is of special interest from the standpoint of the problem under discussion, for it is a country in which socialism and capitalism are in close proximity. Only recently there was an open border between them.

The socialist world system and the progress made by the German Democratic Republic — the first worker-peasant state in Germany — have been of great significance for the struggle of the working people in the Federal Republic. Owing to the existence of the Democratic Republic, the West German workers have won certain gains in their struggle for better wages, better conditions and a better system of social insurance. The monopolies have had to make concessions without waiting for the working-class struggle to take on acute forms.

Here is an example. Since 1957 the coal industry in Federal Germany has been in a state of chronic crisis. In 1958 the Socialist Unity Party worked out a program of aid to the West German miners. The GDR government offered to buy several million tons of coal from Federal Germany and, jointly with the Miners' Union, proposed a number of other measures. The Bonn government, however, did not allow the realization of this program in full. Only a million tons of coal were bought. But the Bonn government was compelled to do something for the miners. About 100 million marks was allocated for the benefit of the unemployed miners and they were assisted in finding jobs in other industries. In a word, the Bonn rulers were forced to do things they never would have done in other circumstances. Proximity with the Democratic Republic representing the socialist world system in Germany, also tells favorably on the position of West German intellectuals. West German scientists, for instance, are demanding that the government use for scientific research part of the military expenditure and provide the same conditions for scientific work as those which exist in the Democratic Republic. The struggle of the West German workers for better conditions prevents the monopolies from combining big investment with the arms drive. The initiative taken by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with a view to a peaceful settlement of the German question and other outstanding issues encourages the West German people to combat militarism. And no matter how hard the Bonn rulers may

try, they cannot neutralize the power of attraction of socialism.

S. MENSHIKOV: I agree with Comrade Sobolev that given certain conditions trade with the socialist countries may mitigate or even forestall a crisis of overproduction in one or several capitalist countries, as, for instance, in Finland. But it would be wrong to make this point absolute and think that with the extension of East-West trade a period of crisis-free development could set in for capitalism. Even in Finland which relies on the stable Soviet market, we have observed signs of overproduction and crisis. For instance, in 1958 there was an actual drop in production in this country despite the fact that it had big Soviet orders.

In the course of a talk the British economist, Joan Robinson, said approximately the following: the extension of socialism and the shrinking of capitalism lead inevitably to a weakening of the economic contradictions of capitalism. The contradictions will become weaker because the sphere of capitalism is constantly narrowing. If in the past economic storms raged in the boundless ocean of capitalism, at present, with the ocean being surrounded on all sides by socialist land, the storms naturally become weaker. A storm in the ocean is always more violent than one in the sea and certainly more so than a storm in a teacup.

The point, of course, is not in the geographic narrowing of the sphere of capitalism but in the real economic interaction of the two systems. If the economic contacts between them are broken there will hardly be any interaction. In any case its direct forms will be absent. But even broad economic contacts between the two systems, though they may have a certain stabilizing effect on some branches of capitalist industry and on separate capitalist countries, cannot weaken the inner economic and political contradictions of capitalism. They merely modify their manifestation, as comrades have correctly pointed out.

Take, for example, the underdeveloped countries. Trade between them and the socialist countries has a twofold consequence for the capitalist world. On the one hand, it is a challenge to the leading imperialist exporters of capital goods. From this point of view the socialist countries in no way help capitalism by their trade. On the other hand, the socialist system exerts a favorable effect on economic activity in the capitalist countries. It affects the price and credit policy of the monopolies. As a result, monopoly prices on the world market are reduced and credit becomes cheaper.

Through the distorted mirror of imperialist propaganda all this is presented as a deliberate attempt of the socialist countries to influence capitalism

economically, and is accompanied by cries about dumping, etc. There is no need to speak about this propaganda to this audience. It is clear that the people, and even many capitalist countries, can but benefit from eroding the positions of the international exploiters—monopolies.

R. BELLAMY: We have little time to go and I want to draw your attention to problems of the class struggle. I would like to illustrate their urgency on the example of Britain. We have Communists who are simply waiting for the next economic crisis. I expect that many Marxists from capitalist countries have experienced this phenomenon. How to explain this attitude? I think, behind it lies a belief that we cannot have a socialist revolution without a major world economic crisis. The international Communist movement has destroyed the view that we cannot have a socialist revolution without a political crisis caused by a world war. I think, we should also strongly combat the attitude of people who place special hopes in economic crises and who are waiting for an automatic collapse of capitalism. And, I think, if we do this we shall be able to conduct successful class struggle even in the period of boom.

A. PESENTI: The Italian Communist Party has never looked for the outbreak of a crisis but has taken advantage of the contradictions particular to each phase of the capitalist cycle. It registered big successes even in 1960, a year of rapid growth of production and one hailed by the capitalists as "the Italian miracle." And this is understandable. Capitalist development is full of disproportions and contradictions, both old and new, and it can never satisfy the broad sections of the people. We point to these contradictions, draw public attention to them and offer our solutions, which meet the interests of the working people.

E. BERT: I think it is more important to examine the internal contradictions of present capitalist development than to engage in prophecy as to how the crisis is going to develop. For one thing, it is very difficult to be correct about prophecy and for another thing, our problem in the United States today is not so much to forecast the future, about which there are many guesses, but to explain scientifically what the present is and elaborate a proper program of working-class action with due regard to the concrete situation in the country.

I would say that the main task confronting the trade unions and the Communists in the United States is to attempt to get action on such immediate demands of the working people as the extension of unemployment compensation and additional aid to the distressed areas. The basic demand in the trade unions is to reduce the working week to 30

or 35 hours, which would make it possible to reduce unemployment.

E. POZZO: The struggle of the Italian working class to limit the consequences of crises and use state intervention for economic development began many years ago — immediately after the war. The Communist Party was then represented in the government and this policy was logical. But we think that it was also correct after the Communists were elbowed out of office. Thanks to this policy the Communist Party ensured that the working class organically combines the struggle for the socialist revolution with the struggle to solve the burning economic issues. In the course of this struggle a dialectical connection between the democratic and socialist tasks was established.

We have always said that the struggle against private monopolies corresponds with the interests of society as a whole, we have insisted on far-reaching structural reforms and we have exerted pressure on the state-capitalist institutions to ensure that they carry out anti-monopoly measures. What tangible results, if any, have we achieved? It would be wrong to give a general answer to this question. On the one hand, we have to admit that monopoly domination has grown as compared with the past years. The monopolies have outgrown the national bounds. On the other hand, the Communist Party, too, has grown stronger. Its political platform meets with the approval of growing numbers of people. Under mass pressure some state-capitalist organizations have had to carry out measures contrary to the monopoly interests.

Some government circles have adopted a peculiar attitude to state capitalism. The investment program of the two big state organizations — the Institute of Industrial Reconstruction and the National Association for the Production of Liquid Fuel — totalled \$1,000 million in 1961. Investment was made in basic industries: iron and steel, chemical, oil-refining and machine-building. Very often government measures of this kind are fiercely resisted by the big monopoly groups. Why is this so? To all appearances not all the monopolies support the tactics of some of the top people in Italy who would like to use *new forms* of struggle against communism. Fanfani once declared that he wanted economic development for the struggle against the Communist Party. This inevitably forced him to pursue, even partially, a policy contrary to the interests of some of the big monopolies. Of course, Fanfani wanted to safeguard the capitalist system. But regardless of the will of the government, the increasing state intervention in the economy engenders new contradictions, and this enables the Communists to display new initiative, launch a more vigorous attack on capitalism

and make good headway. For instance, the Communist Party won a big electoral victory in 1960 despite a more than 15 per cent rise in industrial output and growth of employment and incomes of the working people that year.

From what has been said I think that our attitude to crises is clear. Should crisis symptoms set in, the first thing to do is to discover the obstacles to economic advance. Then we should press for structural reforms which would help remove these obstacles and avert a full-blown crisis. I shall illustrate this idea by the following example. Until now the level of economic activity in Italy has been high. Yet, in recent months the danger of a partial crisis in shipbuilding has set in. But before the signs of this crisis appeared the trade unions demanded that the government draw up an emergency program to enlarge the state-owned merchant fleet. As a result, we achieved a certain success.

I want to stress in conclusion that the issues I have raised here are complicated. In pursuing our line we cannot expect the desired result immediately. But the economic and political developments showed that there was no other way for us. We, naturally, would like Italy's path of development to be simpler and easier. However, we have to reckon with reality and proceed from it in working out a program of action.

E. AMBARTSUMOV: I also incline to the view that it would be dogmatic to regard an economic crisis as being always and under all circumstances advantageous to the revolutionary movement. It is not in the communist spirit to adopt a purely negative attitude to the economic processes taking place in capitalist society. Communists seek to influence these processes in the interests of the working people, and to suggest their own, democratic way of regulating these processes. The fact that postwar crises have not assumed such sharp forms as in 1929-33 is to a large extent due to the growing strength of the working-class and Communist movement.

Working-class measures to combat crises should obviously be based on the principles laid down in the statement of the 81 parties concerning the need to fight for democracy and for nationalization of the key branches of the economy in the capitalist countries. The conclusions of the Rome meeting of the Communist parties of the European capitalist countries about establishing democratic control over investments in industry and agriculture should no doubt also be taken into account.

The question arises: how should the working class react to the anti-crisis measures of the bourgeoisie? These measures are carried out in the interests of the monopolies and, basically, are

spearheaded against the working people. We know, for example, that militarizing the economy is a favorite method of the monopoly bourgeoisie for combating crises; but this "remedy" is fraught with the terrible danger of a war of annihilation. It goes without saying that the working class must wage a stubborn struggle against such methods.

But the bourgeoisie combats crises also by means of unemployment relief and by public works. It seems to me that these measures should be classed as *non-voluntary and compulsory*, undertaken by the bourgeoisie under pressure from the working class. That pressure may be both direct and indirect. The bourgeoisie itself often carries out one or another anti-crisis measure in order to forestall working-class action. For example, the bourgeoisie has had to take certain steps to curb mass unemployment. After all, every additional unemployed worker is one more grain of explosive in the powder barrel of the capitalist system. Alvin H. Hansen, for example, in his book *Business Cycles and National Income*, considers that the purpose of anti-crisis measures should be to maintain a high level of employment, since, as he puts it, "as the labor movement grows stronger it will not and cannot tolerate any unavoidable unemployment." The working class can make use of such measures in its own interests, while criticizing the methods by which they are carried out.

Y. BAREL: To my mind no capitalist country has a consciously planned anti-crisis policy. There exist only empirical methods which are resorted to when the crisis is already upon us. True, these methods do play a certain role, but their effectiveness is limited. It is not in the power of a capitalist state to abolish crises. For this, capitalism itself must be abolished.

The inevitability of crises under capitalism should not breed a fatalistic attitude toward them. We must strive to soften the effect of the crisis eruptions and their consequences for the working people. It is for the working class to demonstrate a genuine anti-crisis policy.

A. RUMYANTSEV: We have come to the end of our list of speakers. Evidently we are ready to wind up our round-table discussion. But before we do so, allow me to say a few words. My remarks will not be a summing up in the ordinary sense of the word. As you know, our journal does not believe in summaries that might in any way be considered binding on the participants. I shall only try to review our deliberations in a general way, ascertain the results, and note the points requiring further study.

First, I would like to say that the speeches contained much valuable data and many interest-

ing ideas. Our exchange has shown that we all hold the same views on the basic problems connected with the contemporary capitalist cycle. We all agree that the Marxist definitions of the causes and character of the capitalist economic cycles and crises remain valid. As all the speakers have unanimously noted, cyclic development of production with inevitable interruptions by periodic crises is characteristic also of the postwar economy of the capitalist countries. At the same time, all speakers stressed that the modern economic cycles are not replicas of past cycles; they pointed out that the forms of cyclical development have changed, and discussed its essential features.

In the course of our discussion an agreed evaluation was worked out of the causes of the changes in capitalist reproduction. In short, it was pointed out that underlying these changes is the general crisis of capitalism and the aggravation of this crisis at its present stage. The features of this crisis, the main forms in which it is manifested—the rise and growth of world socialism, the disintegration of the colonial system, and the unprecedented scope of the working-class movement and class struggle—are also basic causes of the changes that have taken place in the capitalist economic cycle. Today not a single aspect of capitalist reproduction is governed solely by the internal laws of capitalism. The fact of the existence, side by side with the capitalist states, of a system of socialist countries where there are neither unemployment nor crises, has had a powerful impact on capitalist reproduction. It forces the capitalist governments and the monopolies to make certain concessions to the working class, to yield to the pressure of the working people and take some steps to curb unemployment. In countries with an advanced working-class movement, fear of an eruption of working-class discontent compels the bourgeoisie to exercise caution in cutting wages.

The break-up of the colonial system and the emergence of new independent states deprives the metropolitan monopolies of the free hand they had before. The markets of these states are no longer the private preserve of the monopolies. On the other hand, independent development in the young national states expands their internal markets. Some of the former colonies become major buyers of industrial plant. None of these processes have asserted themselves spontaneously. They are the inevitable result of the general crisis of capitalism, of the strengthening of the socialist world system.

We have agreed that economic cycles have been modified also by the changes that have taken place in the productive forces and production relations of modern capitalism. The comrades have drawn attention to the further concentration of

industry and capital, the high degree of development of state-monopoly capitalism, the militarization of the economy, the increasing operation of capitalist enterprises to fill definite orders rather than for an indefinite market. The gearing of industry to the requirements of a definite buyer is indeed a widespread modification of capitalist production relations in the epoch of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism. Besides the state market, state property and state investments also have a far-reaching effect on the cycle.

The speakers have stressed the effect of scientific and technological progress on capitalist reproduction. Extensive renewal of basic capital, the rapid growth of automation, the establishment of new branches of industry and the appearance of new materials and power sources are all connected with the advance of science and technology. At the same time it was correctly pointed out that technological progress, and especially automation, aggravates the contradictions of capitalism.

Our discussion also brought out a few different shades of opinion. First of all I should like to dwell on some loose interpretations of the concept "state capitalism." In our times there are three types of state-capitalist relations: state-monopoly capitalism in the imperialist countries, state capitalism in the underdeveloped countries, and the state-capitalist form of economic structure in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The differences are not terminological, but *fundamental*, differences of principle.

The essence of *state-monopoly capitalism* is the fusion of the power of the monopolies and the state, the subordination of the state machine to monopoly capital. The monopolies and the imperialist state have one aim—to perpetuate the system of exploitation and oppression, suppress the working-class and democratic movement, and combat socialism. Certain disagreements may, of course, rise between one or another private monopoly and the capitalist state, but these are not differences between heterogeneous socio-economic forces; they are contradictions within the monopoly bourgeoisie—between the class of monopolists as a whole and its individual members, the owners of private corporations who do not agree with one or another aspect of the general class policy of the monopoly capitalists. Needless to say, the working class can take advantage of these contradictions in fighting for its economic and political aims. But it is also clear that the main internal contradiction of modern capitalism from which the working class proceeds in formulating its policy is the contradiction between monopoly capital and the capitalist state subordinated to it, on the one hand, and the broad masses, on the other. The monopolies are the enemy not only of the working class, but also of

the peasantry, handicraftsmen, and the small and even middle capitalists. This makes it possible to channel all the democratic movements seeking to overthrow the yoke of the finance oligarchy into the mainstream of the anti-monopoly struggle.

State capitalism in the underdeveloped countries rests on a different economic and social foundation. It stems from the need to win political and economic independence and is aimed against imperialism. Therefore on the whole it is a progressive development.

One need hardly say that the *state-capitalist form of economic structure* in the transition from capitalism to socialism is an entirely different matter. It is an instrument used by the proletarian state gradually to abolish the exploiting classes and to build socialism.

In view of these considerations, I do not think it would be quite correct to apply the term "state capitalism" to the political and economic relationships prevailing in the countries dominated by monopoly capital. To do so might cause some of our readers to confuse socio-economic systems that have nothing in common with one another.

Nor can I fully agree with those speakers and authors of articles who draw too sharp a line between state property and the other forms of intervention by the capitalist state in economic life. State property, the state market, government control and regulation are all links in one chain, cogs in one machine — state-monopoly capitalism. True, some state-owned enterprises and even branches of industry appeared already during feudalism. Today, however, state enterprises (regardless of whether they were established under pressure from the working people or on the initiative of the bourgeoisie) in all the developed capitalist countries have been incorporated into the overall system of state-monopoly capitalism. State property, just as government orders, budgets and taxes, serves extended reproduction in the monopolized sectors of the economy; it is an instrument for rechanneling value and surplus value to the monopolies.

Does this imply that the development of state property under capitalism is no concern of the working class? Certainly not. It would be harmful for the working-class movement to take such a stand. State ownership marks the highest stage in capitalist socialization, and at the same time it is the most antagonistic and contradictory form of this socialization. While strengthening the positions of private capital, state industry undermines the principle of the sanctity of private property, objectively showing that private monopolies are unnecessary to modern production, and creates the material prerequisites of socialism. Lenin, it will be remembered, emphasized that state-mono-

poly capitalism fully prepares the material groundwork for socialism.

State-owned enterprises, even though they are dominated by the monopolies, are a potential threat to the latter, a dangerous precedent which the working people may draw on in their fight against private capital. In some developed capitalist countries the economic and social prerequisites have already matured for a mass movement for *democratic nationalization*, which would correspond to the interests of broad sections of the people and undermine the positions of the monopolies, and for public control of state industry. This movement is an integral part of the struggle of the working class against the political and economic domination of the monopolies and for the regeneration of democracy. Success in this struggle, provided the working masses exert constant revolutionary pressure on the government, could indeed make the state enterprise an anti-monopoly factor.

Considerable controversy developed around the concept of the deformation of the cycle. In our opinion it is perfectly correct to speak of deformation since the economic cycle is affected not only by constant but also by transient factors. Moreover, the term contrasts modern cyclical development with the past and puts the accent on the fact that what is in question is the economic cycle in the epoch of declining, moribund capitalism. The crux of the matter, however, is not the particular term, but the identity of our views on the nature and causes of the changes in the capitalist cycle. Life is always richer and fuller than definitions. But this does not mean that we should renounce them; on the contrary, it is imperative to enrich and deepen the meaning of concepts. The point is not to lose a sense of proportion. In this connection I should like to recall the following incident from the history of Marxist thought. Engels was greatly interested also in questions of biology. Basing himself, naturally, on the accepted biological definitions, he concluded that no mammal could be oviparous. But then a few years later he came across the duckbill, which turned out to be an oviparous mammal. We, too, should not allow ourselves to be overawed by established definitions if life provides us with new data that do not fit into the framework of accustomed concepts.

In the course of our discussion a number of theoretical problems were brought out which require further study. Above all these are problems pertaining to the *dynamics of the economic influence* which world socialism, the disintegration of the colonial system, and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries exert on the cycle, as well as problems concerning the degree of effectiveness of state-monopoly anti-crisis measures, working-class anti-crisis programs, the

prospects of capitalist reproduction in the event of disarmament, and the objective economic basis of political processes. It should be stressed that our discussion has helped us to chart the general course toward full clarity on these problems. Consequently, what is needed now is persistent, concrete investigation of these problems rather than discussion of how to formulate them. Take, for instance, the first of these questions. There can be no two opinions among us Marxists as regards the impact of the socialist world system on the course of capitalist reproduction. This impact, however, is expressed in the most complex ways. We should not limit our investigations only to the direct economic influence exerted by socialism on the capitalist cycle. The facts which several comrades cited here concerning the direct economic effect of the socialist system on the capitalist economy are exceedingly interesting, but for all that they are only an illustration of how things are going. The Soviet Union's economic plans indeed make a profound impression on the capitalist world, and even on capitalists. But it is not simply a matter of individual entrepreneurs or corporations in the USA being impelled to increase the output of steel or shoes through fear of the not-too-distant prospect of the USSR surpassing the U.S. production of these commodities.

We must pay attention to the more fundamental processes, namely, questions connected with the transformation of the political influence of socialism into economic factors affecting capitalist reproduction. And this has a bearing on another key problem — the relationship between economics and politics in the present epoch. It is common knowledge that economic processes are the objective basis of political developments. Politics is both a concentrated expression of economics and an essential instrument for the realization of the objective dictates of economic development. In our time the concentration in politics of the objective requirement of economic development has increased greatly. Hence to disregard political factors in analyzing the interaction of the economies of the two systems would be tantamount to a surrender to the vulgar, mechanical concept that economic laws directly influence one another. In our day the masses are coming to realize more and more that their present and their future depend directly on politics, on who wields governmental power. Even in the most remote corners of the world people are increasingly awakening to the fact that to solve the pressing and fundamental economic problems they must eventually take over political power. This awakening is one of the basic results of the influence exerted by the socialist world system on capitalist society, including the processes of capitalist reproduction.

I should like to mention also the significance of working-class economic programs aimed at mitigating the consequences of crises, at curbing some of the aspects of cyclical development which have the most ruinous effect on the condition of the working people. The imperialist ideologists vilify the Communists, saying that they welcome crises of overproduction and the impoverishment of the working people. In reality the Communists are the most consistent and dedicated champions of measures to lighten the burden laid by crises on the working masses. But at the same time they tell the people the truth—that crises are inevitable under capitalism.

At present it is one of the prime concerns of a number of Communist parties to elaborate working-

class economic programs that would effectively attenuate the consequences of crises for the working people. The Communists counterpose such programs to state-monopoly anti-crisis regulation, which benefits only the monopolies. Marxist economists can and should render substantial assistance to the Communist and Workers' parties in this respect.

Thus, looking back over our discussion, we see there are problems which require further research. By fully clarifying these complex and difficult problems of the modern economic cycle, we shall be doing our duty as Marxists, who never cling to outdated positions but forge ahead, generalizing the new developments in economics and politics.

Reviews

The Cold War — Product of Anti-Communism

EVERYONE agrees that a state of tension, or cold war, to use the generally accepted metaphor, exists in the world today. Nearly everyone deplores the fact, though some are not altogether sincere on this score. Where opinions differ is on the question of who is to blame for the cold war.

Who Is To Blame?

Roughly speaking, there are three points of view. One is that all the evil on earth emanates from the Communists, hence the Soviet Union is to blame for the cold war; another is that both sides are responsible, while the third claims that the tension is caused by the aggressive policy of world imperialism, first and foremost American imperialism.

Which of these judgements is correct? For many people in the West, influenced by imperialist propaganda, the first is almost axiomatic. The second view is held by a considerable number of people in those countries anxious to steer clear of the conflict between East and West. Actually, however, neither bears any relation whatever to historical truth; both are dictated by very definite tactical and political considerations.

To rescue the truth about the origin of the cold war from the morass of falsehood, invective, outright lies and half-truths (which are sometimes worse than lies) in which it has been buried is no easy task. Yet it is a worthwhile one, for once it is known who started the cold war, the fight to end it will be simplified.

This is the task which D. F. Fleming, professor of international relations at Vanderbilt University (USA) sets out to accomplish in his two-volume study entitled *The Cold War and Its Origins*.^{*} In the opinion of the British M.P. Philip Noel-Baker, the importance of this work cannot be exaggerated. "If it is read as widely as it deserves," he writes, "it should do much to prepare the way to peaceful coexistence and general disarmament under effective inspection and control."

The book was begun at a leisurely pace as far back as 1947. But of late, as stormclouds began to darken over the world, Professor Fleming hastened to finish it. For he deemed it his duty to do whatever he could to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear holocaust after which all speculation as to the possibilities that might have existed for averting it would be academic, to say the least.

The West Started It

Dr. Fleming traces world events over a long period beginning with the first Russian revolution of 1905 and ending with Kennedy's election to the presidency. "There can be no real understanding of the cold war unless chronology is kept in mind," he states. "What came first? What was the action and what reaction? The later event could not be the cause of the earlier."

The chronology of the cold war reveals that its sources reach back to October 1917. "From the

^{*}D. F. Fleming, *The Cold War and Its Origins, 1917-1960*. Alleen and Unwin, 1961. 2 volumes, 1,158 pp.

first it was the West which was on the offensive, not the Soviet," writes the American historian (p. 31), and he cites facts showing how the West openly intervened in the internal affairs of Soviet Russia with the object of preventing the victory of the revolution.

But what was the reason for the hatred of the imperialists for the first state of workers and peasants? Although the author uses the terminology customary in bourgeois historiography, he leaves no doubt on this score. "The landowners, aristocrats, industrialists, bankers, high churchmen, army leaders—magnates of every kind in Western Europe, together with many middle-class elements had never lost their fear that their own workers and peasants might demand a social revolution, perhaps one spearheaded and organized by the Communists" (p. 84). This explains the failure of all the attempts by the Soviet Union to secure Western cooperation in preventing fascist aggression before the Second World War. It explains, too, the actions of Western political leaders throughout the postwar.

Step by step Professor Fleming takes the reader along the tortuous path of recent history. It is a long path—the book has more than a thousand pages and it chronicles scores, nay hundreds, of events. But how useful it is to recall them today! The Western reader constantly encounters references in the press to one or another event in which the Soviet Union invariably figures as the villain of the piece. Lies are served up as facts. Recapitulating the sequence of events, Dr. Fleming re-establishes the truth.

"Theoretical" Base of the Cold War

"The Russians are out to communize the world." This falsehood, which President Kennedy repeated in his interview with A. Adzhubei, editor of *Izvestia*, last November, is the principal pretext used by the West to justify its cold war actions. Seeking to whitewash those who are poisoning the international atmosphere, bourgeois propagandists hypocritically rant about a "communist menace" and the need to "rebuff" it.

How are these assertions substantiated? The chief method of Western propaganda is to hint darkly at the "hand of Moscow" and the export of revolution from the USSR to Eastern Europe and Asia.

Dr. Fleming examines these arguments from various angles and shows them to be completely untenable. Citing numerous examples, he affirms that the revolutionary changes in the world today are not ordered by anyone, they are dictated by historical progress. American politicians would do well to remember that.

Speaking of the events in Asia Dr. Fleming relates how, after Japan surrendered, the United

States set itself the ambitious but unrealistic aim of turning the Pacific Ocean into an "American lake." The shortsighted American policy-makers failed to see the revolution in Asia, and when they did, they committed the "giant error" of "confusing Asiatic revolution with Russian imperialism" (p. 543). The book emphasizes the historic inevitability of the Communist victory in China. The intervention of the United States merely hastened the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek. "As in Russia after 1918, it had been proved once more that foreign troops used to suppress Communist revolution rouse the people against the invaders and aid the revolution. In both cases the position of the conservative groups whom we tried to save was made worse" (pp. 580-581).

The American professor goes on to examine another anti-Communist propaganda assertion, closely linked with the previous one, namely, that the events in Eastern Europe caused the deterioration in relations between the USSR and its Western allies. In reality, Fleming stresses, the relations were spoiled long before the events in question and through no fault of the USSR. The political war, Fleming declares, was started not by the Russians but by the United States at the insistence of the reactionaries in government circles whom the author calls the "powerful conservative-nationalist-isolationist element." Like the French royalists who refused to accept the revolution of 1789, these elements could never accept the Russian revolution. "Months before the victory over Germany," the author recalls, "I had been alarmed by the discovery that certain army officers were looking forward to war with Russia. They took it for granted, as a matter of course" (p. 284). Before long the American press began to fan the smouldering embers of anti-communism. The reader was told that the Russians were out to conquer the world. And within two years, the author writes, most Americans believed it.

Fleming considers that the final rupture in allied relations occurred when the American atomic bomb exploded over Hiroshima, proclaiming the United States' bid for world domination. On October 30, 1945, General George Paton urged America to prepare for an "inevitable" third world war (p. 323).

Professor Fleming asks the reader to put himself in the place of the Russians. They had achieved victory at a terrific cost and yearned for security in order to heal the wounds inflicted by war. And now they were being scared with the atomic bomb. They were forced to accept the challenge, and by the autumn of 1945 "the most dangerous arms race in all human history had begun" (p. 332).

And so the immediate cause of the deterioration of the international situation after the Second World War was not the Soviet Union's intention to "communize" the world, but the U.S. desire to Americanize the world, a desire strengthened by the chronic class hatred referred to above.

The Road to Defeat

Fleming demonstrates that the methods of cold war are fraught with inevitable defeat for its prosecutors.

The Truman Doctrine, for example, proclaimed on March 12, 1947, sprang from the irrational assumption that the spread of communism could be checked by subsidizing the reactionary forces. This meant that "the United States would become the world's anti-Communist . . . policeman" (pp. 446, 447). The Truman Doctrine essentially forbade every kind of revolution—and this in a world seething with revolutionary ferment! The United States, naturally, was powerless to implement the ban, and the policy proved a dismal failure.

Next came the "doctrine of containment" formulated in George Kennan's article "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" published in the July 1947 issue of *Foreign Affairs* and signed "By X." Before long this doctrine became the official American policy. Negotiation as a means of settling disputes was rejected. From now on it was no longer a matter of trying to reach an understanding with the Russians but of "containing" them.

The policy was based on the temporary atomic monopoly of the United States. When that monopoly ended, the policy lost all significance. It was forthwith replaced by the "total diplomacy" proclaimed by Dean Acheson on March 9, 1950. This time the possibility of negotiations was recognized, but only from "positions of strength."

This doctrine rested on the same transient factor as its predecessor and hence shared the latter's fate. Professor Fleming notes that the summit conference of July 1955 recognized that in the new conditions and the changed correlation of forces the Western hopes of winning the cold war were built on sand. The whole world, he stresses, wanted to see an end to the cold war. Only the United States, where "the cold war had become the breath of life to legions of our leading citizens," remained adamant (p. 769). It did not want to climb out of its cold-war trenches; it had grown accustomed to them. On January 16, 1956, Dulles enunciated a brand new doctrine. It was called "selective retaliation" but all he succeeded in doing was to scare the wits out of America's allies.

A year later, on January 5, 1957, the *Eisenhower Doctrine* was announced, marking what the author terms the beginning of the "second cold war." It, too, was destined to be a failure, and was indeed

forgotten sooner than all those that had gone before.

Nevertheless, aggressive circles in the United States persist in their refusal to learn the lessons of history. Hatred and greed are apt to cause myopia. The American manufacturers, says Fleming, are simply "men trained in the cold war who assumed that it would go on, profitably" (p. 986).

It is difficult, writes Professor Fleming, returning to his original conclusion, "to find evidence of any desire on the part of the Soviets to plunge into conflict with the West" (p. 1060). The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has every grounds for distrusting the West.

The West would prefer to forget that millions of Russians perished with its help from bullets, typhus and famine during the civil war. But the Soviet people remember. Americans would like to forget that for 16 years they refused to recognize the Soviet Union. But the Soviet people remember. The West would like to forget its shameful capitulation to Hitler. But the Soviet people cannot forget. The West would like to forget the Nazi atrocities—after all, Federal Germany is now a "bastion of freedom"! But the Soviet people cannot forget.

Not that they are vindictive. But the lessons of history give them the right to demand guarantees of their security. After the Second World War, "to the already deep fears of Russia for her own security, thrice justified since 1914, was added a new and dreadful fear of a fourth Western attack, backed by the atomic bomb" (p. 1045).

Time to Call Off the Cold War

The West started the cold war and lost it, Professor Fleming concludes. The West lost because its objectives—the conquest of the Soviet Union or China, the "liberation" of Eastern Europe, the suppression of the national-liberation movement in the colonies and the crushing of social revolutions—were unattainable. The fashionable "Communist virus theory," according to which one should look under the bed every night to make sure no Communist was lurking there, begot McCarthyism. Democratic America, the self-styled champion of freedom, became a police state, the author notes. Fraternization with reactionary regimes and colonial powers undermined United States prestige in the eyes of the people of the world.

But worse still, Fleming maintains, was "merely opposing communism" (p. 1065). Such a position was bound to be barren. Yet the West could afford to do some serious thinking, he observes.

Had the authors of "containment," for example, stopped to think, they would have seen that their policy of encircling the Soviet Union with

military bases left that country no choice but to develop intercontinental missiles. The result was that the bases lost their value, and America herself lost her original invulnerability. We forgot, says Fleming, that the earth is round and that we too can be encircled.

And if those who are still clamoring for preventive war would use their heads they might realize that such a war would not put an end to communism in any case. Aside from the inevitable immediate retaliation, a preventive attack by the West on the socialist countries, Fleming predicts, would lead to a massive flare-up of class war, "that atom bombs could not smother" (p. 399).

Or if the theoreticians of a limited nuclear war were to abandon their calculations of "mega-deaths" (one "mega-death" equals one million corpses), and return to the rational world, they would see that instead of compiling illusory rules of behavior in a future war they ought to devote their efforts to ruling out war.

One might dwell at length on the advantages the West itself could derive from a little rational thinking. But let us pass on to the crux of the matter. As Dr. Fleming points out, it is time the West rid itself of the *idée fixe* that Russia is out to conquer the world. *The Communists' confi-*

dence in the future, Fleming explains, *rests not on their military plans but on their faith in the superiority of their system over the capitalist.* The outlook here is peaceful: "If either system does the most for mankind it will ultimately spread everywhere, which is another way of saying that its rival would have to adapt itself to the methods and practices of the more successful system" (pp. 1083-1084).

Fleming's book is distinguished not only by the voluminous, well-selected material studied. Its objective exposition of the historical facts is accompanied by conclusions containing some sound advice of topical value. The author does not confine himself to naming those responsible for the cold war—the Western powers—he proves that it is in the interests of the West itself to call it off.

He shows how the anti-communism of the ruling circles in the West gave birth to the cold war, and proves that as a policy guide, anti-communism is fit only for politicians who are heading for defeat. But inasmuch as it is not only the politicians' careers but the fate of the world that is at stake, Fleming discards the role of "impartial recorder of events" and makes a **passionate plea** for abandoning the cold war in favor of peaceful coexistence.

G. GREIS

Focus on Africa

IN HIS first book *Africa: Roots of Revolt** which appeared in the autumn of 1960, Jack Woddis gave a remarkable analysis of the nature of imperialist exploitation and robbery in this vast continent. His second book, *Africa: the Lion Awakes,*** is devoted to a survey of the struggle of the African peoples against colonial rule.

The book deals briefly with the growth of the liberation struggle which culminated in the winning of political independence by most of the African states, but mainly with the rapid growth of African trade unions and their battles, and with the problems now facing independent states and the way forward.

Outstanding is the chapter on the advance of the African trade union movement. In 1930 there were only three registered trade unions in all British colonial territories. Now there are hundreds in Africa alone, with central federations (like the Ghana TUC) coordinating the activity of the separate unions in one country. No less than 45 trade union centers sent representatives to the Casablanca Conference in May 1961, when the All-African Trade Union Federation was formed.

Here set out is a vivid record of the epic struggles which paved the way to Casablanca—for higher wages, better conditions, against the poll tax, forced labor, for legal recognition and in support of the liberation struggle. From the beginning the trade unions had to wage fierce battles to secure the most elementary legal rights, and nearly always in face of brutal repressive measures.

Bourgeois journalists (who write so many books on Africa) are little concerned with trade union struggles—except to describe them as "disturbances" or "plots" engineered by "extremists." Here we have a coherent account of how the trade unions developed, the nature of their struggles, and their powerful impact on the African liberation movements.

Equally striking is the chapter entitled "Going in Order to Stay," which brings out the new forms and methods of colonialism after political independence has been won. This presents a sharp exposure of what is described as "the new scramble for Africa" in the conditions when the "non-colonial powers" like the United States and West Germany have been able to penetrate those territories where direct British or French colonial rule has been weakened or destroyed.

*For a review of that book see *World Marxist Review*, No. 5, 1961

**Jack Woddis, *Africa: the Lion Awakes*. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1961, 301 pp.

At the same time, it traces the growth of international consortiums which combine to intensify the exploitation of Africa's rich resources and to make bigger profits—though United States and West German monopoly capital strive to exercise their own particular domination within these consortiums. In the same way it throws a powerful searchlight on the efforts of the imperialist powers (and to some extent successful) in maintaining military bases in some parts of Africa, and on the devious and subtle measures to exercise their ideological influence by means of "information centers," missions, Moral Re-Armament, films, etc.

This is only one side. The other side is the rapid awakening of the African liberation movements to the danger of "neo-colonialism." This was revealed in the forthright resolution of the All-African Peoples' Conference at Cairo in March 1961 in its sharp exposure of neo-colonialism and the quickening pace towards African unity—despite the imperialist attempts to divide the African liberation movements and independent states.

The last chapter "Facing the New Day" brings into focus the problems facing the new independent states in the task of transforming their backward economies, ending all forms of imperialist domination, and advancing along the path of independent development.

The contrast between the pitfalls of imperialist "economic aid" schemes and the boon of genuine socialist economic aid is clearly brought out.

The author does not belittle the role of the national bourgeoisie who "have been drawn into the struggle for national independence by their own class interests." But what is now at stake is who is to lead the struggle forward after political independence. Jack Woddis concludes that the further advance of the struggle in Africa demands that the working class increasingly takes the leadership of the national movement into its own firm hands.

The situation in Africa today is extremely complex and varied. Needless to say, it was not within the power of the author to cover the whole range of African problems. New developments were taking place as the book was being written (and even after its completion)—some African states, for example, have become associated with the European Common Market. These new trends deserve a serious examination, together with the relationships between the public and private sectors of production in the advance towards an independent balanced economy in these states, and other problems.

However, these are possibly subjects for a new book. In his two books on Africa, Jack Woddis has already made a splendid contribution to the study of African problems. They provide a most useful background from which to consider the new problems now facing the African liberation movements.

Idris COX

Communications and Comment

The Events in Iraqi Kurdistan

(Letter from Iraq)

THE recent events in Iraqi Kurdistan which terminated in brutal reprisals against the Kurds, have alarmed public opinion in Iraq and elsewhere.

Since 1961 the situation in Kurdistan has been critical, due to the intrigues of the imperialists, on the one hand, and of the anti-democratic policy carried out by the Kassem government, on the other.

The government ignored the elementary national demands of the Iraqi Kurds, although the Provisional Constitution provides for the equality of the two nationalities in Iraq — Arabs and Kurds. Moreover, since the end of 1960 the authorities

have brutally persecuted patriots in Kurdistan, and have supported the big landowners and other reactionary Kurds in their struggle against the peasants and the patriotic forces. Moreover, the government encouraged the reactionary press in Baghdad to raise chauvinistic slogans against the Kurdish nationality, calling for the "melting" (Arabizing) of Iraqi Kurds.

The government retreated under pressure of the big Kurdish landowners, who are stooges of the CENTO bloc and the oil companies. It satisfied nearly all their demands, supplied them with money and arms and appointed reactionaries to key positions in the state apparatus in the North

(Kurdistan). Bandits were encouraged to engage in armed provocations against the Barzani tribe* — victims of persecution during the old, royal regime.

The Communist Party warned against the dangerous consequences arising from the policy of the government which aimed at large-scale aggression against the Barzani. This policy, said the Party's call, "coincides in large measure with the activities of the oil companies" which are trying might and main to undermine the unity of the Iraqi people, and to weaken the position of Iraq vis-à-vis the imperialist oil companies.

Instead of giving ear to the warnings of the patriotic forces, and instead of vigilance towards the imperialist intrigues, the government continued to incite the bandits against the Barzani and their allies. And when the latter were compelled, in self-defence, to take up arms, the Kassem government despatched troops to the North on the pretext of "maintaining law and order." Its real purpose was to strike at the Barzani and all the democratic and patriotic forces in Kurdistan.

The agents of CENTO and the oil companies took advantage of this situation and, relying on the British forces in Kuwait, fomented armed uprisings against the Iraqi state under the slogan of "defending the Barzani" and establishing a "Kurdish state." They wanted to implement the old plan of isolating the Northern regions and annexing them to Iran (that is, to CENTO). As correctly emphasized by the Communist Party, this activity, part of the general imperialist policy in the Middle East, created a serious and complicated situation in Iraq.

The Communist Party, basing itself on the firm and uncompromising Marxist-Leninist line on the Kurd question which it had elaborated earlier, resolved to carry on the struggle along three main directions:

to bring home to the Iraqi people and the government the main danger arising from the activity of the imperialists and their agents, to expose this activity and to direct the main blow against it;

to expose and combat the anti-democratic and chauvinist policy of the government. In pursuing this policy it is essential clearly to distinguish between two things: the action of the imperialists carried out on the pretext of protecting the Kurds against the government, on the one hand, and the actions of the Barzani who had no choice but to defend themselves against the armed provocations engineered by the government. The Party called on all patriots, the entire people of Iraq, to take action to prevent the government from persecuting

the Barzani, and to support the just national demands of the Kurds. In its statement issued on August 22, the Party declared that "for the Iraqi people themselves to enjoy democratic rule, for sovereignty to belong to the people, for a democratic parliamentary system to be established in the country, for the people to enjoy broad democratic liberties, it is essential that the Kurdish people, too, should enjoy their lawful national rights." The Party called upon the Kassem government to solve the crisis in the North of Iraq peacefully, without delay, and in a way that would strengthen the unity of the Iraqi people against the intrigues of imperialism and reaction, and to guarantee that the democratic demands of the people will be met;

to combat the narrow nationalistic trend among the Kurd nationalists, to explain to the Kurds that the agents of imperialism will never be their friends, and that hence it is imperative to resist the narrow nationalism, not to support it. It is essential likewise to cut short the attempts made by the imperialists to use for their own ends the Kurd democratic movement. The Kurdish people should be alerted to the need for joint struggle together with the Arabs inasmuch as the national demands of the Kurds "correspond to the interests of the Iraqi people as a whole" and cannot be achieved without joint struggle against imperialism, feudalism and the dictatorship.

The events, however, took a tragic turn. On September 11, 1961, government aircraft bombarded the Kurdish regions. And although the military actions of the Kurds ended on September 12, the bombardment of the towns and villages continued. Hundreds of unarmed people, including women and children, were killed. The brutality of these measures surpassed the brutalities of the Old regime.

The appeals issued by the Communist Party in September and October, the articles published in its paper *Tarik al-Shaab*, and the decisions of the Central Committee in November, denounced the terrorist and chauvinist measures of the government. The Party showed that Kassem had entered into a compromise with the traitors who had started the rebellion and whom he later pardoned. It stressed that the government's actions were a severe blow to Arab-Kurd unity, that as long as the government adhered to this policy the imperialists and their agents would always seize on conflicts of this kind to gain their ends. The national oppression of the Kurds should be ended at once; they should be granted self-government within the framework of the Iraqi Republic; all Kurdish patriots now in jail should be amnestied and the devastated towns and villages rebuilt; the

*A Kurdish tribe, headed by Mustafa Barzani, which was particularly active in the struggle against the royal regime, for equality for the Kurds.

Barzani must be allowed to settle on their land without discrimination.

In summing up the events in Kurdistan, the Communist Party stressed the importance of common struggle which should be based on the demand for recognition of the national rights of the Kurds, particularly their right to self-government. These events showed that the government's chauvinistic policy had endangered the independence of the Iraqi Republic; they also helped to

clarify the danger emanating from the narrow nationalism of the Kurd nationalists.

An analysis of the events in Kurdistan, wrote *Tarik al-Shaab*, shows that "the problem of the day is to build a broad united national front in order to abolish the personal rule and establish a democratic parliamentary regime which will guarantee democratic rights and liberties and satisfy the just national demands of the Kurds. . . ."

Saadi ALI

Communism and African Perspectives

(Letter from Nigeria)

WITH the achievement of self-government in one African country after another, we are faced today with the task of national reconstruction. But if the problem of self-government is already settled in principle, this at once raises a number of other questions, such as: Is the notion of self-government compatible with the alien domination of the trade, industry, mining and banking of the country? Will the present boundaries of African countries form the geographical basis for viable free states in the future? What measures are necessary to lessen the intertribal tensions that now afflict many African countries? Is the position of chieftaincy compatible with social democracy? Will the establishment of self-government be followed by the substitution of foreign bureaucracy by indigenous bureaucracy or will the leftward orientations of the nationalist movement lead to a socialist system of organization in the new countries?

These are great and portentous questions, and on the answers to them will depend the future progress of Africa. Africa must go beyond the trappings of parliamentary democracy and ensure the provision of maximum opportunities for the people — education, work and health facilities for all, and such other rights as socialism has made us familiar with today — if freedom is to be made real for the people.

This is the age of greater integration of peoples and nations and the progress and survival of African peoples in the modern world will depend to a large extent on whether or not they can break down the barriers imposed by European imperialism and fuse their small state units into greater unions comparable with the great federations of Asia and America. For while countries

like Nigeria, Sudan, United Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Congo and South Africa can reasonably be expected to maintain their independence, others like Gambia, Gabon, Fernando Po and Zanzibar will hardly be able to do so in the modern world. Many African leaders fully realize the difficulties involved in a program of integration of African states, but it is now generally believed that through common action in higher education and research, defense and customs tariffs, through the exchange of teachers and students and the popularization of international languages like English and French in each other's country, the way would be smoothened for union.

Imperialism has often made use of the existence of the national problem to postpone independence in many African countries and has sometimes overemphasized the differences in culture, language and social development to create enmity between the tribes in countries like Nigeria, Congo, Kenya and the Ivory Coast. Economic rivalry between the tribes and religious obscurantism have also helped to intensify the national problem in many places, giving opportunity to reactionary jingoists to frustrate the popular yearning for unity, while the imperialists have made use of the classic policy of "divide and rule" in order to maintain their exploitation. Fortunately, modern trade and transport, education and radio, have tended to break the barriers between tribes in most countries and this trend will continue until even language and social outlook are integrated.

Mechanical transport and cheap manufactures are not the only thing introduced into Africa by imperialism which has also brought with it social disintegration and mass unemployment where none existed before, and for long time was pitted against tribe and a false quietism was sedulously preached by the Churches in an attempt to smoothen the path of imperialism in Africa.

*The author of this letter is not a Communist. And although we cannot agree with some of his views, we nevertheless deem it expedient to publish this letter (slightly abridged) since it shows the problems agitating today the young African states and their persistent search for an answer to the question: what path should be followed by the countries that have won their political independence?

Many thousands of years ago, Africans had evolved a simple natural culture which enabled them to build their homes and dance away their sorrows amid an atmosphere of communal fellowship, in spite of what historian Toynbee calls "the soporific influence emanating from the climatic monotony of the tropics." Alongside this simple democratic culture there grew up a complex social structure eminently suited for maintaining the integrity of the group and controlling personal relations within it. It was left to imperialism to destroy the virtues of this old civilization based on cooperation and kindness only that its vices — corruption and cynicism — may flourish. All this is quite apart from the diseases—syphilis, tuberculosis, cancer, influenza, diabetes—it has brought in its train, and the mass murder, hunger and social inequality that have trailed it.

Today, on the pain of extinction, we have the uneasy choice of seeking the broken strands of the ancient customs or picking the new threads of Western civilization flung at us by Europe — a civilization, by the way, to which Africa has contributed a great deal and which has preserved some of our old customs. It has been suggested that the reason why African response to Western civilization has been favorable on the whole is that it has the power to remove the obstacles that have stood in the way of earlier civilizing influences, that is to say, that Western ideas and technology promise to be able to control the tropical diseases, increase the food and water resources, develop transport and communication and stimulate the spirit of enterprise, on which alone the future progress of Africa depends.

It looks indeed that Western *kultur*—in particular, its technology, its literature, its political organization and philosophy (some may add its religion and refinement) — has come to stay and any attempt to revert to the old ways is a pitiable and ludicrous atavism. On the heritage of ideas she has received, however, Africa has never failed to impose her own pattern and there can be no fear that in truckling to the Western bandwagon she will lose her essential character, and a new synthesis is likely to result from Africa's contact with the West. It is in this light that I see the quintessence of Western political thought — scientific socialism—which is the great reality of our time.

There is a strong prejudice against socialism (or its higher phase, communism) in the minds of many leading Africans due to ignorance of its tenets or to the travailing experience of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, and even more so to the high-powered anti-communist propaganda organized by the imperialists.

What, then, is communism? The dictionary defines communism as "a theory according to which

all property should be vested in the community, and labor organized for the common benefit." Communism, both as a way of life and as a political ideal, is a very old concept and had existed in most countries even before communist theoreticians like More, Saint-Simon and Marx wrote or Europe had her first communist leagues in the era of capitalism. The idea is to control the forces of Nature for the benefit of the people, to establish a classless society in which, as Marx put it, "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all," and to substitute wider views for ignorance and superstition. "African society is essentially socialistic," wrote Dr. Azikiwe (now Nigeria's Governor General) in 1937, and he quoted Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, the great South African nationalist leader, as saying that "In our African tradition, we used to *smell out and destroy acquisitive individuals as a danger to society*. By this method we guaranteed all men a chance to have food and shelter and clothes without prejudice."

It is only too common for imperialists and their lackeys to dismiss the related struggle by metropolitan workers against exploitation and colonials against foreign domination as communism or even to daub communism as the enemy of Africa. Yet, it is imperialism that is today stringing military bases around our continent and depressing our primary producer prices in order to reduce our chances of building up our development capital; it is imperialism that is busy fomenting civil dissensions and propping up political reaction in one country after another while in some places a white terror is unleashed (as in Kenya, Congo, Angola and Algeria) — all in the interests of the oil mills, coffee or wheat plantations of other people. As Nehru once told the imperialists ever peddling some bogey or other to overawe colonials fighting for freedom, one may say to the anti-communist prophets of doom: "Don't talk of slavery to us, we who have suffered for 15 decades or more from you. We know what is meant by slavery. It does not lie in your mouth to tell us about your urge for freedom . . . when you have treacherously denied it to us."

What is more important to an African is that none of the opponents of communism has tackled the problems of the color bar, mass unemployment, social security and national planning with the vigor and sincerity of Communists wherever they rule. The fundamental question, after all, is not what kind of rules a faith enjoins but what type of character it instils in its adherents, and all critics agree that most Communists have the necessary grit and self-devotion that the success of their cause demands; many agree too that to rout the accumulated patchwork of centuries, the dire poverty and corrosive corruption of many

new countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, something like the sweeping energy and efficiency of communism is required. Even an anti-communist Oxford don like John Plamenatz in a work on Marxism admits that "the quick transformation of old and backward societies is a stupendous undertaking. Only men who have the kind of faith that moves mountains will attempt it; and in the modern world that kind of faith is to be found among the Communists alone." Earlier, Professor Plamenatz confesses that "many Asian governments that are not communist are either corrupt or timid" and he posits that "only the Communists have courage and self-confidence enough to attempt the task that Asia cannot long defer." The same judgment is valid for Africa. No doubt some will suffer in the process of the revolution, but the conquest of the Promised Land, not the consolation of laggards and stragglers is the main thing: regimentation is bad, it is true, but vegetation is worse, and it is salutary that the collective will of the community shall prevail over the egomania of the few.

We have a saying in Nigeria that one does not consult a diviner to become a widow when one's husband dies, and the forest that abhors baskets should not grow mushrooms. Men become Communists not by choice but by necessity when their old god of feudal-capitalism has failed them. An article in the London *Daily Telegraph* of August 14, 1953, underlined the weakness of capitalism without necessarily admitting the validity of communism (at least for Western Europe). The writer, in search for the right line of attack on "the red menace," had this to say: "The success of communism in capturing the minds of some young people is both a challenge and an illustration of our failure to create a community in Western Europe which gives all sections a say in the running of an industrial society. It is towards creating a satisfying society in which initiative and hard work are rewarded, and in which every man feels himself necessary and a personality, that our efforts should be directed, and not upon leading anti-communist witchhunts which only obscure the real issue: the problem of the industrial society. Communism, it must be faced, is one answer to the problem. It is one we do not like, but it is foolish not to admit that in certain circumstances it is a method that works (in China, for instance) . . . The young people of Britain and Europe search despairingly our politicians'

speeches for some sign of a positive program — one that is more than piecemeal patching and anti-this and anti-that. When they find it communism is defeated." He should have said "realized" instead of "defeated," for communism is no more than a communal philosophy of maximum use and welfare. So at least I believe.

To an African bred in the non-violent tradition, the Marxist emphasis on violence as a means of social change is far from palatable even if he grants that the means adopted may depend not so much on men's wills as on prevailing circumstances and the reaction of the enemy. Of course, many Marxists deny that violence is a necessary part of their system and that bigotry is a mark of ideological maturity, citing the many instances of peaceful collaboration with non-Marxists to achieve common ends, and we may agree. We may also concede that despite the semblance of philosophical unity presented by Marxist parties throughout the world, there are shades of differences in organization, strategy and program which are sometimes dictated by the special needs of particular countries.

While, then, we are not obliged to copy everything that has been done in Europe in the name of socialism, it cannot be gainsaid that socialist developments in that continent have a lesson for us in Africa where there is a special urgency for reform in many spheres of life.

In African countries nothing has really changed since independence except the estates and savings of a few seigneurs and governmentarians; fear and famine stalk the land in the absence of national planning for plenty and equitable distribution of the national wealth, and behind the imperial pomp and pageantry of the upper classes there is a background of dismal and abject poverty. And in this way, the struggle for self-government which had promised bread and butter for the people has only brought bullets and blarney to them, and the vision of creative *freedom for all* has shaded into life abundant for a microscopic ruling minority alone.

Yet, all is not lost and the end of the story has not been enacted; the people of Africa (who, both culturally and geographically, are part East and part West) shall yet learn to blend the best in their traditional communalism with the refinements of scientific socialism.

Mokwugo OKOYE,
Chairman, Nigerian Youth Congress

Much Ado about Nothing . . .

OFFICIAL Washington has had a plethora of trouble in recent months. Government spokesmen have been busy explaining, excusing, soothing and reassuring . . . Even the President displayed an obvious anxiety.

What had happened? Well, this is how *U.S. News & World Report* commented on the reasons for the concern among the Administration: "Cool — and getting cooler. That's the growing attitude of business toward the Kennedy Administration." How strange. Could it be that an Administration headed by a millionaire and largely made up of business tycoons was at loggerheads with big business?

In the Limelight . . .

Let us recall the first months of Kennedy's Administration. The newly installed President sent messages to Congress in which he spoke harshly about U.S. foreign-policy failures and the difficult economic situation in the country — the chronic and steadily growing unemployment, the slums in the cities and the depressed areas throughout the country.

Nor, evidently, did the President intend to stop at that. At the first session of the 87th Congress the President secured from that body an increase in temporary unemployment benefits, a law to aid the areas of chronic depression, improvements in pensions, a slight rise in the minimum wage, and decisions to stimulate housing and public works. In the words of the columnists this program was the President's "favorite hobby." And they began to beat the drums about the new-fangled capitalism and the progressive outlook of the American way of life.

All that was in the forefront of political life. Now let's take a peep behind the scenes.

For Business' Sake

Kennedy's assumption of office coincided with a difficult period for the U.S. economy when, following the severe crisis of 1957-58, a new economic crisis started in 1960 and continued throughout the first half of 1961. The "democratic" program produced by Kennedy was, in fact, drawn up with the direct participation of Big Business with the sole object of arresting the growth of the crisis.

If we examine the measures adopted by the 87th Congress, we shall see that they hardly go beyond the boundaries of the usual "anti-crisis" measures of the capitalist state. The laws approved by Congress were to all intents and purposes an attempt to stave off a fall in consumer demand (by averting a drop in private income) and in

production demand (by expanding public works, stimulating housing, etc.).

Situation Changes . . .

But in the second half of the year things began to change: business activity took a turn for the better, promising a period of boom for some industries. This being the case, the anti-crisis measures previously adopted by Congress, ceased to be a matter of interest to Big Business. What is more, they had now become a burden. In the new conditions the social security spending and the aid to the depressed areas meant, in the view of businessmen, adding to the budget deficit, greater financial instability and, because of this, fewer opportunities for Big Business to use state finances for its mercenary interests.

As if declaring a break with the previous line, the big steel corporations, banks, pharmaceutical and railroad monopolies expressed dissatisfaction with the policy of the Administration and put forward demands which, if met, would, in essence, signify the cancellation of all previously adopted measures.

A Face-Saving Gesture

Thus Kennedy found himself besieged with difficulties. After all, to renege on widely publicized promises is never an easy matter. So something had to be done to save the prestige of the President.

On September 6, 1961, the White House addressed a letter to 12 major steel companies asking them not to raise prices since to do so would adversely affect the economy as a whole, entail higher prices for other commodities and, in view of the substantial budget deficit and growing national debt, would threaten inflation. The letter hinted that even without raising prices corporation profits were high.

The letter evoked a flood of protests. A number of the big steel corporations sent strongly-worded replies to the President, refusing to comply with his request. Simultaneously, opposition was forthcoming in Congress. The Administration was charged with wanting to regulate and control business, and reproached with "fiscal irresponsibility." The brunt of the criticism was spearheaded against the laws approved by Congress as anti-crisis measures. *U.S. News & World Report* commented: "Businessmen view with some alarm the 'socialistic' tendencies (!) of Mr. Kennedy's New Frontier in extending aid to depressed areas, public housing, retraining the unemployed, slum clearance and other programs — all at substantial expense to the government." The press discovered a

"growing rift" between business and the Administration.

The "President's Philosophy" As It Is

The rift, however, was purely imaginary. How can there be a rift between Big Business tycoons and a Big Business President? The point was that the letter was not flexible enough in the eyes of the former. The change in the line of Big Business caused by the changed economic situation, had caught the President unawares.

But Kennedy quickly "straightened the line." After some maneuvering for the sake of prestige he steered his ship along the course charted "from above." Proof of this was the interview given by brother Robert, the Attorney General, to *U.S. News & World Report*. Robert's views as set forth in the interview were, in his words, "certainly the President's philosophy also." To the question: "... there is a growing impression among businessmen that this Administration is hostile to business. Is this impression justified?", he replied: "I do not see how any government under our form and system could possibly survive if it were hostile to business," and he added: "Business, after all, is really the backbone of our whole way of life . . ."

Our business, declared Robert Kennedy, is to help business.

And help business the Administration does. The consummation of the President's activity in 1961 was his New Year State of the Union message and his 1962-63 budget. In these almost nothing remains of his cheerful promises. Increased spending on public health, education and other things is mentioned only in an undertone. The Administration, through the President, suggests that public money should not be spent for public welfare but for war preparation: military expenditure and foreign aid amount to over three-fifths of the 1962-63 budget.

This brief 1961 story is further proof that the machinery of state in the USA is simply a tool of the monopolies.

Still, the story is instructive in the sense that it throws light on some aspects of the operation of the machinery of state. On the surface it appears that the Administration runs the country and directs its development. But the moment its political declarations diverge even slightly from the needs of business, the latter makes no bones about who is the real master. And then the usual order of things is quickly restored.

V. ZAKHAROVA

Chez Madame Labin . . .

LIKE any other sphere of endeavor anti-communism has its amateurs and its professionals. The latter are practical-minded business characters who cherish the ambition of turning their occupation into a major profit-making enterprise.

An exaggeration?

Judge for yourself. At the end of last year a gathering which called itself the "international conference on the political war waged by the Soviet Union" was held in Rome. It was a motley assemblage. Among those present were Antoine Pinay, ex-Prime Minister of France; Lacerda, a Brazilian fascist and one of the initiators of the latest military plot in that country; U.S. Senator Eastland, a notorious McCarthyite; emissaries of the Congolese traitor Tshombe; a "plenipotentiary" of the South Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem; Giovanni Malagodi, general secretary of the Italian Liberal Party and Paolo Rossi, Italian Social Democrat. The "moving spirit" was the journalist Suzanne Labin, a member of the French Socialist Party.

What, one might ask, could have brought such an apparently mixed crowd under one roof? The answer is — their pathological hatred of commun-

ism. But there is more to it than that. The anti-communist zealots, naturally, want to be paid well for their pains and they were out to show their patrons that they were worthy of their hire.

According to official reports, the conference met to "analyze the offensive of communism," to draw up "effective measures" to combat it and to "win the political war." But is it only a question of a political war?

It was proposed to set up various national and international institutes "for the defense of freedom," organizations to work out "theory and political strategy" of the struggle against communism, numerous groups of "freedom missionaries" and political schools to train "activists for democracy."

The brains of the ideological subversionists never work so nimbly as when they plot actual sabotage. There is no end to the schemes they offer for organizing centers of espionage and subversion. But they are not offering ideas for nothing. Oh no, they want money. And plenty of it.

Fully aware that this is no "war of ideas" but a different kind of war altogether, they make no secret of the particular department on whose pay-

roll they would like to be. Their offer is devastatingly simple: the Western countries need only donate annually one per cent of all the money spent on military purposes to the fund of the "world league of freedom for coordinating and rallying the citizens of all countries against communism." This would amount to a mere matter of some 1,000 million-odd dollars! How the war ministries will react to the proposal is hard to

say—that depends on how much they think the anti-communists are worth. But the latter clearly have no intentions of selling themselves cheaply.

Madame Labin intends to take charge of this profitable concern. Journalists have already found an apt nickname for her—"Madame One-Per-cent." "What's a paltry one per cent compared to 100 per cent anti-communism," retorts Madame.

E. J.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

SOLIDARITY WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.

THE campaign against the persecution of Communists and other progressives in the United States is growing throughout the world.

Early in February a poster parade was held in Grosvenor Square, London. Communists, Laborites and trade unionists carried placards bearing the slogans: "Release Political Prisoners in USA," "Stop Persecution of American Communists," "Repeal McCarran and Smith Acts." Executive members of the South Wales Area of the National Union of Mineworkers came to London to take part in the protest. The deputation which called at the U.S. Embassy included Cllr. I. Harrington, chairman of the North Paddington Labor Party (London), Prof. Hyman Levy, Robert Dunbar, general council member of the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians, and others.

Australian workers, too, have protested against the persecution of the U.S. Communist Party. At the end of January a deputation from the Communist Party and trade unions delivered a protest to the U.S. Consul in Sydney. The deputation was led by T. Wright, member of the Party's Central Committee and Federal President of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union. The letter handed in on behalf of the Australian workers, said in part: "In the name of freedom, and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, we ask that the United States President instruct Attorney General Robert Kennedy to withdraw the litigation against the Communist Party, under the McCarran and Smith Acts."

The annual general meeting of the Ship Painters' and Dockers' Union unanimously protested against the reactionary laws used against the U.S. Communists.

"No laws can kill the ideas of Communism! No laws can crush the courage of Communists to fight for the right," reads a message of solidarity from the South African Communist Party. By its fight conducted in the citadel of militarism, the message goes on, the Communist Party of the

USA "has served well the cause of the American people and all mankind."

The Communist Party of New Zealand cabled a protest to President Kennedy and urged all progressive and democratic organizations of the world to raise their voice against the use of fascist methods by the U.S. reactionaries. The Party hailed the courageous fight of the U.S. Communists and expressed the conviction that the people will ultimately have the final say and that "the Smith Act will finally boomerang on its sponsors."

Repressions against the U.S. Communists have evoked indignation among Italian democrats. Reflecting the opinion of his electors—peasants of the Rome, Viterbo, Latina and Frosinone provinces—Angelo Compagnoni, Member of Parliament, wrote:

"My electors, Communists and other people, think that this attack of the U.S. reactionaries is levelled not only against the Communist Party and the working class but also against its allies—the farmers."

The worldwide solidarity has heartened the U.S. Communists in their struggle against political reaction. The U.S. rulers who believed they would make short shrift of the Communist Party have discovered that to break its will for struggle is far from being an easy matter. The trial of the Party, originally planned for February 1, has been postponed till spring.

The official explanation is that the authorities needed more time for their reply to the protest of the Communist Party. That, however, is not the point. The terrorist actions failed to bring the desired result and, to all appearances, efforts are now being made to make a stronger case. But this, too, will be difficult. The reactionaries will not be able to justify their violence and their onslaught against democratic rights and liberties for the simple reason that their actions are contrary to the vital interests of the people, the interests of peace and democracy. **J. WRIGHT**

FRANCE: FASCISM WILL NOT PASS!

THERE is alarm in France . . . Shots are heard and plastic bombs explode in broad daylight and at night, injuring and killing patriots. This is the work of the OAS fascists.

The Gaullist government turns a blind eye to these foul deeds. What is more, as reports in the press show clearly, the OAS is closely linked with West German revenge-seekers, with Franco's fascists, with the John Birch Society and with U.S. intelligence (was it not on American money that the OAS plotted the Algerian putsch last year?).

The OAS fascists, scions of the butchers who drowned in blood the French Revolution and the Paris Commune, are following in the footsteps of de la Roque and Petain, of Hitler and Mussolini. Their purpose is to unleash a civil war in France, wreck the conclusion of peace in Algeria and install an open fascist dictatorship.

But, as has always been the case at critical moments in their history, the French people are closing their ranks, creating a formidable barrier to the fascists. Democratic traditions, the traditions of the Jacobins and the Communards, are as alive as ever. The unity of the anti-fascist forces, growing daily, is being moulded in the course of demonstrations and meetings and in the active resistance to the fascists. Those taking part in it are patriots and democrats; at its cradle stands the working class and its Communist Party, the first to come out against the threatening danger.

The Parisians, in the forefront of the struggle, are answering every sally of the enemy. On February 8, some 60,000 workers marched through the streets of the capital to the Place de la Bastille to demonstrate once again against fascism.

Although only a few days before President de Gaulle, speaking over the radio, had denounced the fascist plotters, a monstrous thing happened. The demonstration was attacked just as it was about to break up. By whom? By the OAS against whom it was organized? Not at all. The demonstrators were attacked by the police. The eight people killed included three women and a boy of 15; hundreds more were wounded—such was the outcome of February 8.

How did the authorities explain this savagery? They say they had to take action against "rebel elements" who wanted to "shatter the Republic." It is significant that not one of the big capitalist newspapers could swallow this falsehood. "The attempts at justification by claiming that the rebel elements wanted to shatter the state by this demonstration, would be ludicrous were they not tragic," wrote *Le Monde*. "Yes, such elements

exist and they exist in the state apparatus itself." *Le Monde* is quite right.

The OAS took this "explanation" as encouragement. During the night of February 8 plastiquers (whom the police again failed to track) exploded another 11 bombs in Paris. . . .

The working people have drawn the correct conclusion from this, namely, that the destiny of France lies now, more than even before, in their hands. The shooting in the Place de la Bastille has opened the eyes of many.

And when on February 9 the Communist Party, the General Confederation of Labor and other organizations called on the people for a joint rebuff to the OAS outrages, a wave of anti-fascist actions swept the country. For an hour Paris came to a standstill as factories and offices ceased work and transport stopped running. Over two million people took part in the strike. Strikes were held also in many other towns.

On February 12, thousands of Parisians, ignoring the government ban on demonstrations, poured into the streets at the call of the Communist Party, the trade unions, SFIO, PSU and the big bourgeois parties. On February 13, over a million took part in a token strike and in the funeral procession for the victims of the police brutality. Not since the Liberation had Paris seen such a magnificent demonstration. There could be no clearer evidence of the desire of the people to bar the road to fascism.

The unanimous opposition of the French people to fascism is all the more impressive in that they are not alone. There is not a country in which the events in France have not given rise to grave alarm. And this is understandable: taught by experience, the people everywhere realize that a resurgence of fascism in any country would be a threat to all countries. This is realized by the working people in the socialist countries and by the workers in Italy and Britain, Japan and Cuba when they express solidarity with their French brothers, thus demonstrating their resolve to fight against fascism.

The struggle against fascism in France is entering upon the decisive phase. The battles ahead will determine the outcome of events. How to conduct these battles and what is needed for victory was shown by the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on February 10-11. The struggle against fascism is closely linked with the fight against the reactionary one-man rule which nurtures the OAS, and with the fight for peace in Algeria. Unity, the Communists stress, is the weapon of the anti-fascists. **V.-M. VANDENHOVE**

THE PEOPLES OF THE CONGO WILL WIN!

THE colonialists and their stooges have hatched a new plot against the people of the Congo who are fighting for their freedom and independence. They have decided that the time has come to remove Antoine Gizenga, colleague of Lumumba and the continuer of his cause. Gizenga was deprived of his post of Vice-Premier, unlawfully arrested and turned over to the Mobutu cutthroats. The threat of savage violence hangs over him, as was the case with Lumumba a year ago.

To discredit Gizenga and his cause, the reactionaries have let loose a flood of calumny and slander. As if at the word of command, the press has hurled charges against Gizenga, accusing him of inciting to violence and betraying the national interests, of anarchy and separatism. It is alleged that he has lost the support of his fellow citizens and even his immediate associates. "His own followers have turned against him," wrote the *New York Times*.

But the fabrications are so absurd that even those who concocted them often admit their groundlessness. Here is an example. The murder of 19 Belgian missionaries in Kongolo (North Katanga) was used as a pretext for ferocious attacks on Gizenga. It was alleged that this crime had been committed on his order. But on February 1 the newspaper *Courrier d'Afrique*, one of the fabricators of the foul accusations, admitted that the missionaries had been killed by Tshombe gendarmes, not by soldiers of the Congolese National Army.

The motive for the persecution of Gizenga lies, of course, not in mythical crimes charged to his name, but in that he personifies the resistance of the Congolese progressives to the imperialist attempts to enslave the country anew. The colonialists and their men in the Congo are well aware that as long as Gizenga and other nation-liberation leaders are free, their plans to divide and enslave the Congo are doomed to failure. Hence the desire to isolate and even liquidate progressive Congolese leaders. It was not fortuitous that immediately after Gizenga was ousted from office a fuss began behind the scenes in the U.N. about a new statute for the Congo. There was talk about the possibility of Belgian trusteeship, under the aegis of the U.N., i.e., restoration of Belgian colonial rule. It is clear that in preparing plans of this nature the colonial-

ists want to make short work of Gizenga, a staunch champion of the freedom of his country.

The danger hanging over the Congo should not be underestimated. The colonialists have regained some of their positions and without doubt they will try to exploit this temporary success for further repressions, extending them to a larger number of active members of the national movement, including people of moderate views. The situation is complicated by the attitude adopted by the U.N. which openly defends the colonialists.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the cause of the national liberation of the Congo has been lost. The people support Gizenga and, despite the brutal reprisals, express indignation at the shameful manner in which he has been treated. This was seen in particular in the speeches made in Parliament, in the numerous demonstrations near the embassies of the United States, Belgium and Portugal and the U.N. headquarters when marchers shouted: "Down with imperialism! Long live Gizenga!"

The news of Gizenga's arrest stirred the world public. Despite the attempts by the capitalist press in the United States and Western Europe to distort the facts, an angry wave of protest against the colonialist intrigues swept the world and demonstrations in support of Gizenga were held. The public meetings, the statements made by trade unions and other organizations, by political leaders, scientists, artists and letters from working people—all merged into a mighty stream and are clear evidence that people all over the world, just as in the Congo, regard Gizenga as the champion of the national interests of his country, the leader of its progressive forces.

Despite the difficulties, the intrigues of enemies, persecution and reprisals, the peoples fighting against colonialism will rally closer around their consistent and courageous leaders who are sparing no effort, and if necessary will give their lives, in the struggle for genuine national independence and well-being. The people of the Congo have matured in the course of a long and bitter struggle. They will close their ranks and find strength for a crushing retaliatory blow. It is they who will have the final say.

G. NICOLE

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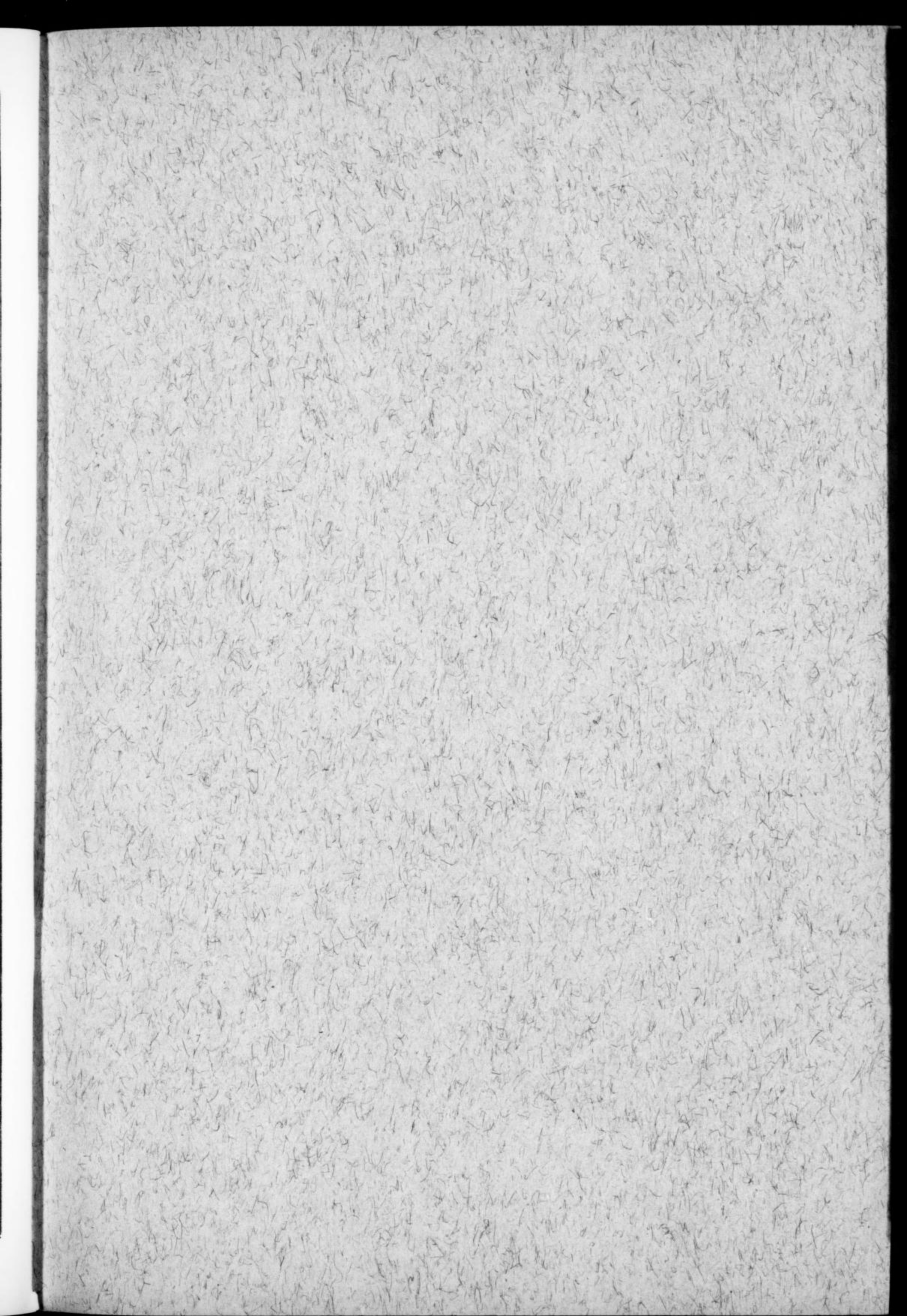
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