

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

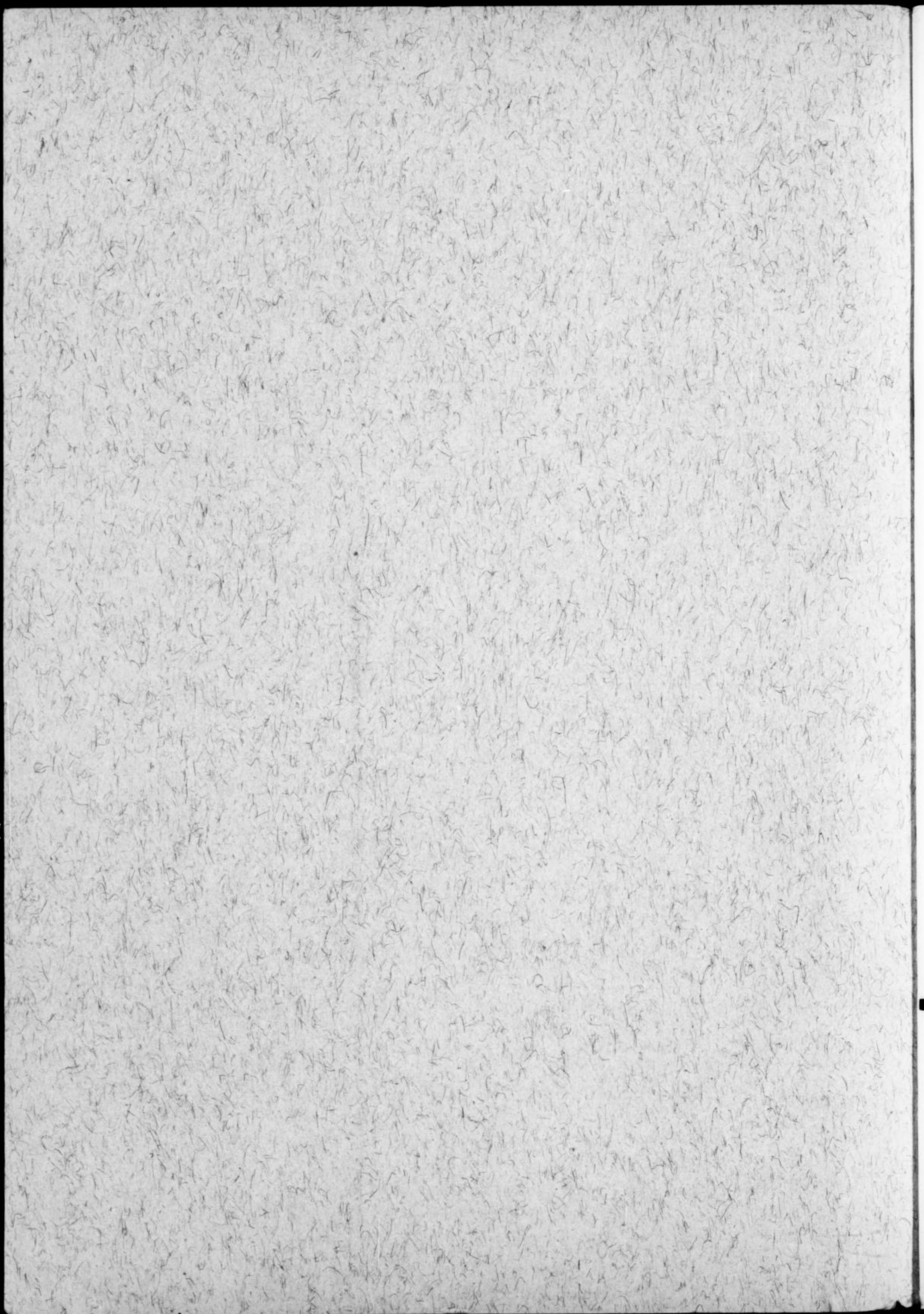
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

PROBLEMS
OF PEACE AND
SOCIALISM

**APRIL
1962**

VOL. 5, NO. 4

35 CENTS



**World Marxist Review:
Problems of Peace and Socialism**Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties**CONTENTS**

Fascism Must Be Extirpated!	3
R. PALME DUTT: Neo-Colonialism and British Imperialism	10
P. FRIEDLAENDER, H. SCHILLING: West German Imperialism — Bul- wark of Colonialism	18
Y. ARBATOV: Leninism and the Revolutionary Force of Socialist Example ..	25
K. YANAGIDA: Freedom and the Onward March of Knowledge	33
Trade Unions and the Struggle for Socialism	40

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The Parties Increase Activities in Industry	
J. BURLS: France: The Factory Party Branches	49
N. ISCARO: Argentina: Party Work in Factories in Buenos Aires	51
C. THUNBORG: Sweden: A Party Branch Forges Ahead	53
G. VITALE: The Cooperative Movement in the Countryside and the Policy of the Italian Communist Party	54
Z. WROBLEWSKI: Party Work in the Higher Schools of People's Poland ..	57
Meetings of Central Committees	60

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

Paths of Development of Newly Emergent Countries	
Contributions by A. BELAL (Morocco), J. WODDIS (Great Britain), E. O. ABDELKADER (Algeria), R. LEDDA (Italy), G. KIM (USSR), P. G. ALBERDI (Argentina)	62

REVIEWS

R. MATHIEU: The Lessons of the Popular Front	79
Y. KARYAKIN: Allen Dulles Instead of Karl Marx	82

COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMENT

A. RUMYANTSEV: Under Cover of Devotion to Principle	86
V. -M. VANDENHOVE: General Disarmament, Not "Balance of Terror"	87
A. F.: The People of Iran Fight On	89
F. PICACHO: Honduras: The People's Will Cannot Be Broken!	90

AGAINST THE PERSECUTION OF DEMOCRATS

J. WRIGHT: Latest Intrigues of U.S. Reaction	91
--	----

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: *Problems of Peace and Socialism* is the Canadian edition of the monthly journal published in Prague under the title: *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. The Canadian edition is published by

PROGRESS BOOKS, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada.

Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa, and for payment of postage in cash. PRINTED IN CANADA.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$3.50 a year. Single copies, 35 cents. Bundle of five or more, 25 cents per copy. For orders addressed to PROGRESS BOOKS from outside Canada, an additional 25 cents is required to cover bank and exchange charges.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in French, Russian, Chinese, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Polish, Rumanian, Spanish, Swedish, Vietnamese (distributors: Press Circulation Agency, Sadova 3, Prague 6, Czechoslovakia). Subscriptions to any of these editions may be obtained through Progress Books, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto. Yearly Subscription Rates for the edition in the following languages: French—\$3.50. Czech—\$6.50. Russian—\$3.50. Spanish—\$3.50. German—\$3.50.





Fascism Must Be Extirpated!

IN the recent period acts of fascist violence have become common in many capitalist countries, including those which vaunt their "traditional democracy." Fascist-type organizations have grown in number and become more brazen, in some cases frankly proclaiming their intent to seize power. This growth on a national scale and the consolidation of fascist forces internationally against the background of an increasingly reactionary capitalism have disturbed broad sections of the public. People cannot help but remember the 'twenties and 'thirties, when Mussolini came to power in Italy and Hitler in Germany.

The analogy, of course, is relative. The situation today differs vastly from that of 30 years ago. Above all, the balance of forces is different. But for all that, the fascist trend in a number of capitalist countries, especially in the USA, France and Federal Germany, reminds us of the fearful price mankind had to pay for not stopping Hitler in time, all the more so since the current fascism holds out the threat not of an "ordinary" but a nuclear war. Due account should, therefore, be taken of the tragic lesson of the past and all forces rallied to prevent any repetition.

Fascism — A Creation of the Monopolies

The reasons for the growth of the fascist danger lie in the present condition of capitalism, now in the third stage of its general crisis. Features of this stage are: the advance of socialism, embodied in the socialist world system, which has become the decisive factor of human progress; the successes of the working-class and democratic movements in the capitalist world; the upsurge in the popular struggle for peace; the disintegration of the colonial system; the shrinking of the sphere of capitalism, and the extreme exacerbation of the contradictions between the handful of monopolies and the people generally.

But the monopolies, unresigned to the objective march of history, are exerting every effort not only to regain the lost ground but also to strengthen their positions. For this they employ in their internal policies two inter-linked methods of propping up their class rule. The first is limited concessions to one or another section of the population in order to save the system as a whole, ac-

companied by lip service to democracy. The second is naked suppression of the masses and involves curtailment and abolition of democratic institutions. With the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and militarism and the general weakening of its positions, imperialism gravitates more and more towards political reaction and extinction of bourgeois-democratic freedoms. Hence the heightened activity of fascist organizations and especially the fascist trend in the state and social system.

Precisely because of this *the danger lies not only in the openly fascist organizations, such as the John Birch Society in the United States, the OAS in France, and the neo-Nazi associations in Federal Germany, but also, and primarily, in the entire policy of the ruling monopoly circles and in the anti-democratic pattern they are trying to impose on society.* Although, for reasons which we shall discuss below, the pro-fascist imperialist bourgeoisie is reluctant to scrap the traditional democratic institutions completely, it is turning them more and more into a cover for policies running counter to the interests of the people. This aspect was noted in the statement of the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. "In a number of countries," the statement says, "fascization is developing in new forms; dictatorial methods of government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices, stripped of democratic content and purely formal in character." France is a case in point. Although France is formally a parliamentary republic, the composition of the Parliament in no way reflects the will of the electorate. And even this falsified Parliament has been all but stripped of its power. Moreover, Article 16 of the Constitution gives the President unlimited powers in the event of a "threat" to the republic (clearly, the powers that he can discover such a "threat" any time they want).

The same trend is evident in the persecution of Communists and other democrats in the USA by the Kennedy Administration and indeed, in the very existence of the pro-fascist Smith and McCarran Acts and other laws. Under the McCarran Act, for instance, any progressive can be thrown into prison without investigation or trial. And notwithstanding Adenauer's protestations that he is

an anti-fascist, the banning of the Communist Party in Federal Germany is part of the same picture. Measures to which mainly fascist governments resorted before the Second World War (emergency laws, banning democratic organizations, persecuting their members, preparing military aggression, etc.), are now employed by the imperialist ruling circles within the framework of bourgeois "democracy" and "freedom." Time and again the state machine of the "democratic," capitalist countries has committed acts of fascist terror. In West Germany, for example, it is enough to speak up for peace and democracy to be sent to prison.

There is a close link — and hence also a division of labor — between the capitalist state machine and political organizations of a patently fascist type. It is common knowledge that the ultras helped to put de Gaulle in power. In turn, the policy of the Gaullist government gives an impetus to the fascist movement in France. Among the heads of government departments, and in the government itself, there are those who are connected with the OAS. Moreover, the men behind de Gaulle are using the OAS menace to intimidate the public and thereby facilitate the implementation of the government's reactionary policy. The situation in the USA, West Germany and Japan is similar in many respects. *Conditions for the spread of fascist trends are created by unbridled anti-communism, which has become not only the chief ideological weapon of the monopolies but also the cornerstone of the official policy of capitalist states.*

Although fascism has always stood for the interests of the finance oligarchy, at the initial stages of its emergence, when the fascist organizations had not yet revealed their direct contact with the monopolies, they managed for a time to pose as a popular movement (Italy, Germany and Spain). *But the fascist organizations of today have been openly associated with the most reactionary monopoly capitalists and financed by them from the very beginning.* For instance, the founders of the John Birch Society, the biggest fascist organization in the USA, include three ex-presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers, the general staff, so to speak, of U.S. monopoly capital; according to press reports, nearly half the Association's members have joined the Birch Society. Among the tycoons financing the U.S. Right extremists we find men like Alfred Sloan, former President of General

Motors, and the Texas oil king Haroldson Hunt, to mention only two.

In West Germany the monopoly interests which put Hitler in power are also backing the fascists today (above all the Flick group and the Dresdner Bank). The OAS is financed by many of the monopolies and also by the big landowners in Algeria. An illuminating sidelight is the advice given by M. Watteau, general manager of the Bank of Algeria, a subsidiary of the Bank of France, to some leading French firms with branches in Algeria — to pay the OAS blackmailers whatever they demand. And when the struggle against the "security treaty" with the USA was at its height in Japan, the Right-wing organizations in that country received from the monopolies, according to official figures, no less than 500 million yen.

Fascism has always been closely linked with the military. Today this link is stronger than ever. *What is happening now may be called a fusion of fascism and militarism.* This is an outgrowth of the fact that state-monopoly capitalism with its unprecedented militarization of the economy has accentuated the role of the military caste, who are more and more insistently laying claim to a decisive role in shaping government policy, plotting the establishment of military-fascist dictatorships.

Many of the top-ranking officers of the U.S. armed forces are closely associated with ultra-Right organizations. Well known, too, is the militarist nature of the revanchist associations in Federal Germany and of fascist organizations in Japan. In France, Portugal, Spain and Belgium, fascism is largely the product of colonialism. Well-nigh the majority of the members of the fascist organizations in these countries were schooled in wars and punitive expeditions against the people of Vietnam, Algeria, Angola and the Congo.

With the general leftward swing among the masses since the Second World War, and with the link between the fascist organizations and monopoly capital becoming more and more patent, *the chances of winning mass support for a fascist movement have diminished.* Today fascism can count only on the backing of the big capitalists, as well as on the middle and, in some cases, the small bourgeoisie directly linked with them. The American historian H. S. Commager notes that the spread of fascist ideas in the USA has affected mainly the middle and upper classes. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of some ideologically unstable

sections of the working people succumbing to fascist influences under certain circumstances. There is the fact, for instance, that a considerable part of the working people of European origin in Algeria and South Africa have been infected with racist views.

As before, the fascists rely largely on demagoguery in their efforts to build up a following — a refurbished demagoguery designed to appeal above all to those segments of society on which they pin their hopes. And since these segments are already poisoned by anti-communist propaganda, the anti-communism of the present-day fascist organizations is especially vicious. The pseudo-socialist, anti-capitalist phraseology with which their predecessors camouflaged themselves, is now often discarded though there still are instances where, in order to delude the masses, the fascists pay lip service to "struggle against the finance magnates" and "fight for the working people's demands." In many countries, however, including the USA, they openly extol private enterprise and denounce all forms of "collectivism," even state-sponsored public education.

Clerical slogans are particularly characteristic of the pro-fascist bourgeoisie of today. It is not fortuitous that the Nazis in Federal Germany have found a haven in the ruling Christian Democratic Union. In postwar Italy the Christian Democrat Right-wing tried to establish an authoritarian system. In Japan the fascists propagate the religious cult of the emperor. And in the United States many fascist organizations have taken over the religious terminology of the crusades — a fact reflected even in their names.

Fascism remains the ideology of extreme chauvinism and racism. Suffice it to mention the outrages committed by the French ultras against the Algerians, or the lynchings in the USA. But as a rule the organized fascists of today lay the emphasis not so much on the superiority of one race or nation as on defense of the "free" (meaning capitalist) world against the "world communist menace." *Blind hatred of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is a feature of fascism.* Precisely because of this the fascists support the aggressive imperialist blocs and plans for uniting the forces of the capitalist countries, in particular the idea of European "integration."

Although fascism is a creation of monopoly capital, the term is applicable not to all manifestations of imperialist reaction but to its extreme forms. The Program of the CPSU has reaffirmed the definition first given by

the Thirteenth Plenary Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in December 1933: *fascist rule is the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of finance capital.*

The aims of these elements are clearly set forth in the program of fascist organizations. Take the "political program" of the OAS. Its principal points are: no agreement with the Algerian national-liberation movement, perpetuation of French rule in Algeria; a government of "public salvation" consisting of "leaders of the French nationalist movement and sympathizers in the army"; military dictatorship; tribunals with broad powers and the right of summary trial; dissolution of political parties; expulsion of the Communists from all elective posts and administrative offices; a purge of the state apparatus and educational system of all suspected of adhering to democratic views; dissolution of Parliament and the trade unions and their replacement with corporative organizations similar to those set up by Mussolini.

The John Birch Society has put forward these demands: no disarmament; withdrawal from the United Nations; no diplomatic relations or other contacts with the USSR or the other socialist countries; not negotiation but orientation on war, immediate military intervention in Cuba; all-out struggle not only against the Communists but also against all Communist "sympathizers," who, the fascists claim, include 70 percent of all government employees; resistance to racial integration and social security benefits. *Outright suppression of every vestige of democracy, tyrannical rule, enslavement of other nations and reliance on nuclear war are the planks of the fascist platform.*

Taking into consideration the changed balance of forces on both a national and global scale, some influential monopoly groups hesitate to rely solely on naked terror. Hence their frequent professions of support for "democracy" and "peace" and opposition to "extremes" in politics. Typical of this trend is, for example, Senator Mansfield, the Democratic leader in the U.S. Senate, who, while supporting the reactionary policy of the administration, urges an end to the hysteria whipped up by the Rights on the grounds that they present a grave threat to the interests of the USA.

In his report (1935) to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov said that "fascism usually comes to power in the course of a struggle, some-

times even a bitter struggle, with the old bourgeois parties or a certain part of these parties, and even in struggle fought inside the fascist camp itself." These words are equally true today. Dimitrov also pointed out that it would be a mistake to qualify as fascism "all the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie, or to call the entire non-communist camp the fascist camp." Precisely on these grounds the Communist Party of the United States, while exposing the increasingly reactionary policy of the Kennedy Administration, holds, as Gus Hall has put it, that the Left and progressive forces in the USA should "make the proper differentiation between Kennedy and the ultra-Right."

The growing fascism now under way bears out N. S. Khrushchov's statement in his report to the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU: "Fascism may revive in new forms, and not in those which have already been discredited in the eyes of the peoples." The forms this process takes today vary far more from country to country than in the past and therefore merit close examination.

The USA, the citadel of world reaction, is emerging more and more as the international center of fascism. Even before the Second World War, U.S. imperialism gave economic support to Hitlerism and Japanese militarism. Today it is the organizer of all the aggressive military blocs, aimed not only against the socialist countries but also against popular movements, and it backs the most reactionary regimes in the world. In recent times the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has had a hand in organizing fascist uprisings in Algeria (the ultras) and in Lebanon (the so-called Syrian People's Party). U.S. fascists, and in particular the John Birch Society, have formed branches in Japan and Mexico, and are contacting their counterparts in other countries. The present upsurge of fascism in the United States can be largely traced to the setbacks suffered by the U.S. monopolies — the self-appointed "saviors" of world capitalism — and especially the failure of the intervention in Cuba. It is against this background that the extremists have come out with their promises to extricate the country from the "morass," to "save it from humiliation" and to restore its "prestige."

While fascism in France is openly colonialist in character, the West German fascists take particular pains to camouflage themselves, especially because Federal Germany is closely watched by anti-fascists all over the world as the breeding ground of "classi-

cal fascism." But for all that, in no capitalist country are there so many fascists in the administrative apparatus, the judiciary and the school system as in West Germany.

At the same time fascist regimes of the "classical" type have been preserved, though modernized, in Spain and Portugal. Specific colonial forms of fascism have emerged in South Korea, South Vietnam and elsewhere.

Concerning the circumstances in which fascism could come into power, the Program of the CPSU points out: "*The financial oligarchy resorts to the establishment of fascist regimes, banking on the army, police, and gendarmerie, as a last refuge from the people's wrath, especially when the masses try to make use of their democratic rights, albeit curtailed, to uphold their interests and to end the all-pervading power of the monopolies.*" In other words, fascism is the monopolies' last reserve. And since the growing struggle of the working people against the omnipotence of the finance oligarchy is confronting imperialism with critical situations more and more frequently, the latter is now drawn more than ever to fascist methods.

United Action Is the Guarantee of the Defeat of Fascism

Does this signify that history is bound to repeat itself and that the imperialist reactionaries will again put the fascists in power? In examining this question it should be borne in mind that the decision does not rest with the imperialists alone. *The dialectics of modern history is such that precisely those developments which impel the monopolies to extreme methods make this last recourse of theirs futile.* This futility was aptly underscored in *New York Times Magazine* by the journalist A. Bart, who characterized the U.S. fascists as being harbingers not of the future but of hopelessness and despair, a cry from the limbo of the past. Today fascism is confronted with obstacles which never existed before. It is not only a matter of the strength of the socialist camp, but also of the objective growth in the capitalist countries of an alliance of the overwhelming majority of the people, an alliance of diverse class forces which, increasingly, feel the impact of monopoly domination. These forces are the working class, the farmers, the urban middle strata, including the intelligentsia, and, to a certain extent, also the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. Their alliance, being anti-monopoly in nature, is the foundation of effective anti-fascist struggle, the guarantee of its success.

Needless to say, the nature of imperialism does not change, and so long as it exists it is bound to give rise to the danger of fascism. But, *thanks to the developing anti-monopoly movement and popular struggle, the chances are now much greater of curbing various essential aspects of imperialism, of preventing the fascization of the social system and, even more so, the victory of fascism wherever it may threaten.*

If openly fascist regimes have not been established in any of the leading imperialist countries in the postwar period, this is due precisely to the fact that the anti-monopoly alliance is taking shape. In Italy, for example, the monopolies tried in 1948, 1953, 1958 and in 1960 to instal an authoritarian regime, but each time the popular resistance compelled a return to bourgeois-democratic methods. A wave of anti-fascist demonstrations in July 1960 forced the Tambroni government to resign after its abortive attempt to engineer a reactionary coup. Now the monopolies have no choice but to set up a so-called Left-Center government.

It would be suicidal to wait, as some Social Democrats advocate, for a "critical moment" before taking action against the fascist danger. Experience has shown that it is vital to perceive in good time the danger of fascist movements and especially of swings toward undisguised reaction in the policy of the capitalist state. The very nature of fascism makes it imperative to nip it in the bud by not allowing a single reactionary act to go unpunished. It is to the everlasting credit of the Communists that they were the first to alert the peoples to the danger of fascism and to work out that strategy of democratic unity (at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935) on the basis of which fascism was eventually defeated.

The Communists have every right to say that in the postwar, too, they were the first to point to the resurgence of the fascist danger. The French Communist Party, for instance, raised the question of combating the danger immediately after the reactionary coup of May 13, 1958, and in the same year *World Marxist Review* (No. 2, 1958) published an article headed "Combating the Fascist Menace in France" which pointed out that "the regime now established in France may not yet be fascism but the fact cannot be overlooked that it opens the way to fascism." Four years ago many held that such statements were a gross exaggeration. Today we can see that the warning was fully justified.

The Communist parties of the USA, Japan, Federal Germany, Austria and other countries have long warned the public of the growing fascist danger. Our American comrades declare that the present fascist movement in the USA "holds even a greater threat than the movement led by the late Senator Joe McCarthy."

At the same time the capitalist press is doing its best to conceal the existence of the danger. Its columns contain assurances that the "great American democracy" is immune to fascism, that not a trace of Nazism remains in West Germany.

The fact that the followers of the Right-wing Socialist and other reformist leaders are being taken by surprise by the rising wave of fascism is further evidence of sheer blindness if not deliberate betrayal on the part of this type of politician. The latter, of course, dissociate themselves from Franco, Salazar and Verwoerd, but it is enough for fascism to don a new mask for them not to see it altogether. They dismiss all the warnings of the anti-fascists as exaggeration, and while they may condemn one or another fascist organization, they regard the bourgeois state as being above suspicion.

A dangerous delusion spread by the ruling circles in France and other capitalist countries is that the matter of dealing with fascism should be left to the authorities. Some liberal anti-fascists, too, have been taken in by this argument. Seeing the passivity of the government and ignoring the only force capable of defeating fascism — the people — they arrive at the pessimistic conclusion that fascism is bound to win.

The fallacy of this conclusion, however, is obvious. *Experience has shown that only popular struggle can curb the reactionaries and prevent fascism from seizing power.* The example of Italy cited above is a case in point. The failure of the extremist putsches in France in 1960-1961 and the virtual retreat of the government in February 1962 were the result of the resolute struggle of the people as expressed in anti-fascist strikes and demonstrations in which millions took part. Although the anti-monopoly and anti-fascist movement in the United States has still to say its decisive word, its reserves are great. This is evident from the wave of protests against the persecution of Communists and the response evoked by prominent members of the Communist Party who have spoken at American universities on the invitation of students' organizations. In February, for instance, several thousand students of the Uni-

versity of Oregon came to hear Gus Hall. The demonstrations for peace and disarmament held in March in Washington and New York with large numbers of young people taking part will, no doubt, give added impetus to the anti-fascist movement. Incidentally, the youth are active in the struggle against the fascist danger not only in the USA. This is a gratifying factor.

Needless to say, it is *the proletariat — the class most consistently opposed to the monopolies — and its Party that are destined to head the anti-fascist struggle of the masses.* The Communists expose the real nature of fascism and rally the people to fight it. Fully aware that a negative program is not enough to defeat it, the Communists make it clear that there can be no simple return to the past. The anti-fascist struggle is a constructive struggle; the social energy accumulated by the people in the course of the fight will continue to make itself felt after the fascist threat has been removed. *The Communist parties advance a program aimed not only at eradicating the fascist menace, but also at destroying the soil which nourishes it — the dictatorship of the monopoly bourgeoisie.* The French Communist Party, for example, is fighting for a program of the "restoration and regeneration of democracy," which presupposes not only disbanding the organizations of the ultras, purging the police apparatus, thorough democratization of governmental bodies and the guarantee of democratic freedoms, but also nationalization of industries belonging to the monopolies.

The Communists seek to prevent democratic institutions from being used by the monopolies as a camouflage for reactionary policies. They want these institutions to carry real weight, to function under public control, and develop further. An example of activity in this direction is afforded by the Italian Communist Party which is pressing for implementation of an anti-monopoly program and adherence to the Constitution.

It goes without saying that the struggle against fascism and for democracy in public life is, by virtue of its very nature, inseparably linked with the struggle for peace, disarmament and the liberation of the oppressed peoples. For fascism feeds on war preparations, stockpiling of armaments and colonial adventures.

The people can be rallied to the struggle against fascism only by ensuring unity of action among all anti-fascists, and above all among the working class. Experience has shown how invaluable a role can be played

in this by non-party unions and anti-fascist committees, as well as mass forms of struggle, such as meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc. The Communists are working tirelessly for this unity. Maurice Thorez has again emphasized that the French Communist Party stands for joint action at all levels with all who want to put an end to the fascist conspiracy, establish peace in Algeria, and ensure democracy and a foreign policy of peace.

The Communists extend the hand of solidarity to all sincere anti-fascists irrespective of their political affiliation. They attach particular importance to cooperation with the intellectuals who are alive to the fascist danger.

The main obstacle to democratic unity is anti-communism. The leaders of many bourgeois and Social Democratic organizations not only refuse to join efforts with the Communists but call for struggle on two fronts — against fascism and communism — alleging that the Communists fight fascism only to seize power themselves.

This, incidentally, is the argument used by the fascists. It stood them in good stead once before in Italy, Germany and other countries — a fact which should put public opinion on its guard against the idea of "struggle on two fronts." Further, in a country like France, where the fascist danger is real and where democratic institutions are being closed, the choice, as the French Communist Party has pointed out, is not between capitalism and communism but between fascism and democracy. In combating fascism, the Communists are upholding the interests of the nation, for fascism threatens all democrats, all right-minded people. Whose homes are the OAS *plastiqueurs* bombing? Who are the victims of their attacks? The long list of names includes men and women of diverse political affiliations and from different sections of society.

One of Guy Mollet's "arguments" against unity of action with the Communists is that such an alliance would throw the army into the camp of the OAS. Actually the contrary would happen. Joint action by the Communists and Socialists would ensure the unity of the working class and strengthen its link with other sections of the people. As for the army, the overwhelming majority of servicemen are workers and peasants who are opposed to the OAS (as was shown by the events of April 1961). And the stronger the anti-fascist front, the sooner it will be joined also by the officers who may still be wavering.

When the masses rise to fight fascism they will eventually remove the soil which breeds fascism — the domination of finance capital. But when this happens, it will be the result not of "Communist intrigues" but of the experience of the masses themselves. Perhaps it is this that the Right-wing Socialists and other splitters fear! Their anti-communism is prompted by the fear that the masses might be drawn into political activity. "*Better the OAS than the People's Front*" — such is the practical meaning of the slogan of "*struggle on two fronts*." Hence it is understandable that the Right-wing Socialist leaders, who have failed in recent months to prevent their rank and file from taking joint anti-fascist action together with the Communists, should now be involved in attempts to make a deal with the fascist and semi-fascist forces, in particular with the so-called "moderate" wing of the OAS.

Democratic unity of action is an urgent necessity which brooks no delay. The French Communists, for instance, have repeatedly warned that the wait-and-see policy in regard to united action may prove very costly. If such warnings had been heeded, the lives of the hundreds of victims of the OAS assassins could have been saved, and the systematic stifling of democracy by the Gaullist regime could have been averted. This is evident from the example of Italy, where united action by the progressive forces in July 1960 saved democracy. For the first time after the Resistance, all the Left parties — the Communist, Socialist, Social Democratic, Radical and Republican parties alike, and even members of the ruling Christian Democratic Party — took part in the anti-fascist demonstrations held at the time. The bourgeois weekly *Punto* commented that the powerful democratic bloc ranging from "the Christian Democrats to Socialists, and possibly including many Liberals, does not intend to tolerate a fascist invasion merely because this invasion is opposed by the Communists."

The anti-fascist actions in France in February this year, which were a powerful demonstration of mass unity irrespective of party or trade union affiliation, forced the fascist agents in the government to retreat. Faced with the united strength of the people, the government decided not to carry out its threat to disperse the February 12 demonstration by force. On February 13, the day of the funeral of the victims of police terror, working people of all political trends took part in the general political strike. Literally within the space of days the number of partici-

pants in the mass struggle grew tenfold, revealing the inexhaustible strength of the anti-fascist forces.

Precisely because they relied on the masses, the Communists were able to build the Spanish and French anti-fascist fronts as far back as the 'thirties. In Germany this could not be done; by their betrayal of the people's cause the Right-wing Socialists did much to help Hitler into the saddle. The creation of a broad anti-fascist front to stop the Nazis was prevented also by dogmatic and sectarian mistakes committed at the time, which resulted in assessing Social Democracy as "social fascism." On the eve of Hitler's advent to power some Communists opposed any negotiations with the Social Democrats (moreover, the Left Social Democrats were declared the most dangerous opponents) and would have nothing to do with any anti-fascist movement not sponsored by the Communists. The Communist movement subsequently subjected these mistakes to severe criticism.

A principled and genuinely democratic attitude on the part of the Communists to anti-fascist movements and organizations is a powerful factor in building an effective united front. This is evident if only from the failure of French Right Socialist leaders to create a bloc of Left organizations without the Communists. Whereas formerly attempts of this kind often succeeded, now only one of the 15 organizations invited by the Socialists to join in such an alliance gave an affirmative answer.

The logic of the struggle opens the eyes of many sincere anti-fascists to the dangers of anti-communism. In an interview granted to *Avanti*, Sartre said that there can be no victory over fascism without the participation of the Communists. A similar conclusion was drawn by the prominent journalist and sociologist Maurice Duverger who wrote in *Le Monde*: "The fascists now stake their all on completely isolating the Communists — their only irreconcilable enemy — from the rest of the Left, whom they are trying to woo, displaying at most only a mere hint of hostility . . . If the Republicans cling in face of the peril to their old tactics, it may well be that they will reach agreement too late—in the prisons and concentration camps of the dictatorship." The fascists themselves have proved in their own inimitable way—planting bombs in the homes of both—that Sartre and Duverger are right.

Fascism, which suffered a smashing defeat 17 years ago, is doomed by history. It can be stamped out in any capitalist country. The Communists repudiate the fatalistic view that fascist regimes in many countries and a new world war are equally inevitable; draw-

ing on their rich international experience, they combat underestimation of the fascist danger and exert every effort to prevent any repetition of the tragic past. The anti-monopoly struggle of the peoples can stop fascism and prevent war.

Neo-Colonialism and British Imperialism

R. Palme Dutt

DURING the recent period a new stage has been reached in the advance of the national-liberation struggle against imperialism and the counter-strategy of imperialism to endeavor to maintain the crumbling system of colonialism.

In the last edition of my book *The Crisis of Britain and the British Empire* (1957), I spoke of the development of the "New Colonialism" in contrast and alongside the "Old Colonialism": "In the more recent period of imperialist policy a new technique has been evolved and elaborated and more and more widely used, which might be termed 'the new colonialism'."

Since then this new technique has been further developed. The term "Neo-Colonialism" has become widely current. The Third All-African Peoples' Conference in March, 1961, adopted an important resolution on "neo-colonialism," and described it as "the greatest threat to African countries that have won their independence or those approaching this status." A similar characterization was adopted in the Declaration of the Belgrade Conference of non-aligned states in September, 1961.

It will therefore be useful to examine more fully these current trends of imperialist strategy which are widely described as "neo-colonialism."

1. What Is Neo-Colonialism?

The All-African Peoples' Conference resolution of 1961 has defined neo-colonialism as

This article is a preliminary contribution to an exchange of views on "The Disintegration of the Colonial System and the New Forms of Colonialism."

"the survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries which become the victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination, by political, economic, social, military or technical means."

Lenin long ago gave the warning that colonial domination could exist under a deceptive form of political independence:

"It is necessary constantly to explain and expose among the broadest masses of the toilers of all countries, and particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practised by the imperialists in creating, under the guise of politically independent states, states which are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily."*

This reference of Lenin was of course mainly to the "puppet states" whose independence was in most cases a diplomatic fiction. Such were the monarchies created by Britain in the Middle East after the First World War, in Egypt, Iraq or Jordan as a vehicle for British rule. This type of country can also be illustrated in other parts of the world. But it is no longer the main type in the present world of newly independent states.

It would be a mistake, however, to separate sharply the "old colonialism" and the "new colonialism" as if they could be placed in separate compartments.

Many of the features of "neo-colonialism" could be paralleled at least in embryo form in the old period of colonialism. Similarly, the old colonialism (direct colonial rule,

*Lenin, *Draft Thesis on the National and Colonial Question*, June, 1920.

colonial wars and repression) continues alongside the new colonialism. Nevertheless, *neo-colonialism as a whole represents a new phase in the general strategy of imperialism, and corresponds to the present period of increasing disintegration of the colonial system when the majority of former colonial peoples have established politically independent states.*

The Third All-African Peoples' Conference resolution on neo-colonialism has provided a summary of its main manifestations, alike in the political, economic and military fields. This summary suffers only from one main weakness: the failure to include among the manifestations "cold war" propaganda and anti-communist propaganda as one of the main weapons of neo-colonialism: i.e., the propaganda (often dressed up in the form "Keep out of the cold war," "Keep the cold war out of Africa," etc.) directed to divide the national-liberation movement from the socialist world, and thereby leave the newly independent states weak and isolated, as well as to spread division within the national united front.

Neo-colonialism as a technique is practised by all the present imperialist powers. At the same time there are differences in the methods of the different imperialist powers, which require concrete examination in each case. Thus, for example, there are characteristic variations between United States neo-colonialism and British neo-colonialism.

United States imperialism, as the most powerful imperialism today, is also the most prominent exponent of neo-colonialism. The United States imperialists have made it their practice in the current period to denounce the colonialism of the European colonial powers and in this way to seek to facilitate their own colonialist penetration of the empires or former empires of the European colonial powers.

A further study could be made of West German neo-colonialism, which is increasingly active, to penetrate the countries of Africa and Asia, also under the guise of "anti-colonialism."

British imperialism, on the other hand, though now second in strength to United States imperialism, still remains the largest world colonial power. At the same time, the British imperialists have shown considerable skill in their methods of adaptation to the period of transition from colonialism to the emergence of politically independent states. This has been demonstrated in the whole

process of the transformation from the old Empire to the so-called "Commonwealth."

2. Transformation of the British Empire 1945-61

The changes within the British Empire or Commonwealth since the end of the Second World War are set out in the following table:

British Empire or Commonwealth 1945-61

	Area (thousand sq. miles)	Population (nearest million)	Per cent of area	Per cent of population
United Kingdom:				
1945	94	50	0.8	8.0
1961	94	52	0.8	7.2
"White" Dominions:				
1945	6,953	24	59.9	3.6
1961	6,953	30	63.7	4.2
South Africa and South-West Africa:				
1945	790	14	6.7	2.2
1961	—	—	—	—
Colonies:				
1945	3,832	537	32.6	86.2
1961	1,018	33	10.0	4.6
Independent States:				
1945	—	—	—	—
1961	2,814	606	25.5	84.0
Totals:				
1945	11,669	625	100.0	100.0
1961	10,879	721	100.0	100.0

From this statistical table it will be seen that in 1945 the subject colonial population of the British Empire, directly ruled from Whitehall, constituted 86 per cent of the population of the Empire. In reality the proportion was higher; for this tabulation only takes account of official subject territories of the Empire, and does not include territories like Egypt and Iraq, which were in fact colonies of Britain, but were nominally separate monarchies "associated" with Britain (the monarchs having been set on their thrones by Britain).

Only Britain and the "White" Dominions constituted independent states within the Empire, with a total population of 11.6 per cent of the whole, or 12 per cent, if the ruling White minority in South Africa is added.

By 1961 the small remaining sector of the subject colonial population still directly ruled from London through Governors appointed by London has shrunk to 4.6 per cent of the population of the "Empire" or "Commonwealth."

Instead, alongside Britain and the "White" Dominions, there has appeared a large group of newly independent states since 1945, with a population of 606 millions or 84 per cent of the "Commonwealth." Thus nearly 96 per cent are now in independent states.

On the face of it, it might appear that colonialism has almost completely disappeared between 1945 and 1961, and that the old Empire has indeed vanished.

Nevertheless, alongside this transformation, there are notable features of continuity.

The *Commonwealth* is roughly the same size and extent as the old Empire, extending over a quarter of the world and including nearly one-quarter of the population of the world. It is true that Burma and Eire and more recently South Africa have withdrawn from the Commonwealth. But the total area of 11.6 million square miles of the old Empire has only shifted to 10.9 million square miles for the present-day Commonwealth. The 625 millions population of the old Empire has become the 721 millions population of the present-day Commonwealth. The cynic might be tempted to say: "Plus ça change, plus ça reste le meme." In fact the real process of change is very great; the new "Commonwealth" is only a ghost of the old Empire. But the biggest changes are still developing, and the true final ending of colonialism in all its forms has still to be completed.

The *Sterling Area* is not co-terminous with the Commonwealth, but is in many respects a familiar alias for it. Canada is not in the sterling area. But, apart from Canada, the sterling area comprises virtually all the territories of the old Empire, together with the former "associated" territories, such as Kuwait, states formally separated from the Commonwealth, such as Eire, and a few minor additional states such as Iceland. In British statistical discussion, trade with "the rest of the sterling area" or capital investment in and profits from "the rest of the sterling area" is treated as a rough measure for the old trade with or profits from the Empire, reflecting (including the effective loss of Canada to United States predominance) the present world sphere of British finance-capital. The management of sterling is in practice in the hands of Britain. The maintenance of the world position of sterling, as against the

dollar and the West German mark, is at the heart of the economics and politics of present-day Britain.

A fuller examination of the real economic and financial relations, the military and strategic relations, and also of some of the political features within the varying countries of the present British "Commonwealth" would indicate that the range of the British Empire has far from disappeared. British colonialism has by no means vanished from the scene. But it has developed increasingly the forms and the trends of neo-colonialism.

Just as the old British empire-builders led the way in winning for Britain the largest world colonial empire, so the modern British imperialists today may be said to have led the way in evolving and most completely elaborating the new technique of neo-colonialism.

For this reason it will be useful to examine a little more closely the methods of British neo-colonialism.

3. Technique of Neo-Colonialism: (1) Forms of State

Since the essence of neo-colonialism is the adoption of new methods by imperialism to maintain the maximum possible domination and exploitation *after* the advance of the national-liberation movement for political independence, the first step of neo-colonialism consists in the considerable influence which the retreating imperialist power is able to exercise with regard to the form of new state set-up. In the case of absolute military defeat and collapse of the imperialist government in the given colony such intervention would be of course impossible. But this is not the way in which the change has normally taken place. The skill of the British imperialists has above all consisted in anticipating in time the approach of the collapse and taking prompt measures to ensure that the transfer of political sovereignty takes place under their control and in forms of their choosing.

The most characteristic technique of imperialism to maim the newly formed state at birth is the method of *partition*. This was early demonstrated in the case of Ireland in 1921, when the Bloody Black and Tan War had failed to conquer the Irish Republican Army, and the alternative method was adopted to win over a compromising section of the leadership (Collins) to a bargain for independence on condition of partition. The partition of North and South Ireland, separating the industrial from the agricultural region, has bedevilled the development of both states

for the past four decades and hamstrung progressive social and political development in both. Eire, formally independent of the Commonwealth, remains a dependent and exploited and poverty-stricken hinterland of imperialist Britain, used for the supply of cattle and cheap emigrant labor; while Northern Ireland is tied to Britain in the "United Kingdom" under a regime of emergency powers and gerrymandered elections, with unemployment far heavier than in Britain.

The most prominent example of the method of partition in the post-1945 era has been the partition of India and Pakistan, when the old rule over the Indian Empire had to be finally surrendered in 1947. This partition has similarly bedevilled the relations of the two states ever since; and at one stage the armies of India and Pakistan, while still under British military commanders on both sides, conducted a war against each other. This conflict leads to the devotion of a crippling proportion of the budget in both states to arms expenditure, and facilitates imperialist (including United States) intervention to favor one or the other side alternately.

Similar methods could be surveyed in relation to Palestine and Cyprus. Outside the British sphere the French imperialists threaten a similar procedure in Algeria.

In Africa the method of division has been especially demonstrated in the process of transformation of the entirely arbitrary strips of territory annexed by different powers during the imperialist partition of Africa into new independent states with artificial boundaries.

Then there is the method of forming imperialist aggregations of newly independent states, either as regional federations developed under the auspices of the former ruling power, or larger associations to carry forward the old Empire.

4. Technique of Neo-Colonialism: (2) Forms of Government and Internal Political Structure

The influence of imperialism at the time of the formation of the new independent states has also meant that the colonialists have been able to exercise in some degree a choice as to which elements they hand over political sovereignty, as well as to influence the kind of constitution and political set-up.

The extent of this imperialist intervention in the formation of the new governments has varied according to the degree of development of the national movement, its political

maturity and unity, and the intensity of the preceding struggle.

In certain cases the new governments on whom independence has been conferred have consisted of reactionary strata, feudal elements (sheikhs, emirs or tribal chiefs) or military adventurers and gangsters in opposition to the democratic national movement. This, an old familiar technique, was practised long before any general system of neo-colonialism. Such was the establishment to which reference has already been made, of British-created "kings" in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, or later, Libya. Last year the independence of Kuwait, Britain's richest oil colony in the Middle East, under the British-supported Sheikh, was recognized at the same time as repression was exercised against the popular movement. In these cases the role of the nominally independent ruler is the role of a puppet tied to his imperialist protectors. Even here the general world advance of the anti-imperialist movement may rapidly affect the further development. Thus the establishment of the Federation of Malaya under the Headship of the Sultans was originally intended to counter the liberation movement; but even so this still reactionary independent Malaya has been compelled by the course of events to join in some anti-imperialist gestures, e.g., the fight against apartheid in South Africa.

In the case of countries with a developed national movement under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie, the method has been, once the national movement has proved too strong to suppress, to seek agreement with the upper strata of the national bourgeoisie for the establishment of the new governments, on the basis of a measure of common interest against the further revolutionary advance of the popular movement. This has been the most familiar type, with varying concrete conditions, in developed Asian countries such as India, Ceylon, Burma and Pakistan. The attempt is now being made to reproduce this method in African countries, although with greater difficulty, owing to the weaker development of the national bourgeoisie. In this type of transfer of power the leadership of the new governments has in general been the actual dominant bourgeois leadership of the broad national movement, where the working class and Left wing have been insufficiently developed to be able to take over leadership. The establishment of such new governments of the national movement, led by the national bourgeoisie, has represented a victory for national liberation, opening the way to the possibility of rapid

further advance. At the same time it has also reflected a measure of compromise between imperialism and the new governments. The national bourgeoisie, while pursuing its own conception of national interests and having contradictions with imperialism, has also many close connections with imperialism, and a recognition of common interests against a mass popular revolution. In these countries the further development is powerfully affected by the international situation (advance of socialism and anti-imperialism) and the relations of internal social forces. Under the influence of these factors the initial close cooperation with imperialism can develop into more positive assertions of independence and open conflicts with imperialism (Suez War and its reflection in all these countries).

In preparation for such a transfer of power the British imperialists have always given the most careful attention to organizing an incubation period of successive "colonial constitutions," with partial limited representation and closely controlled association with the colonial government, so as to "train" a new governing stratum in "responsibility."

A further method for maintaining influence over the newly independent state has been the principle of *continuity of administration*, with British administrative personnel and officers still in the dominant positions in the initial period and only gradual replacement.

Where conditions have been less favorable for such smooth continuity of imperialist influence through a developed national bourgeoisie, there the method has been used of taking advantage of backward development in order to play on divisions, racial, cultural, communal, religious or tribal, in the newly emerging and still weakly integrated independent state, so as to weaken the new government through various intrigues. This has been conspicuous in Nigeria, Ghana, Congo and other African states, also in British Guiana, or in Malaya and Singapore.

5. Technique of Neo-Colonialism: (3) Military and Strategic

The nerve system of the British Empire has been the system of overseas bases, garrisons and strongpoints, military, naval and air, to control world communications, hold together the scattered territories, maintain the world plunder against imperialist rivals and rapidly concentrate forces against any attempt at revolt.

Since the Second World War this was already heavily weakened by the enforced surrender of military supremacy in the imperial-

ist world to the United States. With all the more tenacity the British imperialists have always sought, when transferring political sovereignty, to maintain their military and strategic grip on their former possessions. This technique of neo-colonialism has followed three main methods:

Military treaties. The most conspicuous examples of these have been the Middle Eastern Pact, originally termed Baghdad Pact, drawing in Pakistan and the semi-colony of Iran; after the Iraqi revolution and withdrawal of Iraq, the Pact has been renamed CENTO. Similarly SEATO draws in Malaya, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines. The main role in these military blocs is played by the USA. To these pacts must be added a wide range of bilateral military treaties, such as the British-Nigerian Defense Agreement, the British-Malayan Military Agreement (including continuance of British military occupation forces), the British-Sierra Leone Defense Agreement. In all these cases acceptance of the Military Agreement was made a condition of granting independence. A similar plan is projected for Kenya.

After independence the popular movement develops against these military treaties which tie the countries to imperialism. The Iraqi revolution in 1958 broke the bonds of the military treaty. In Nigeria a wide agitation is developing against the military agreement.

Bases. Despite the concession of independence, British imperialism endeavored at the outset to maintain its worldwide system of overseas military bases also in most of the newly independent states apart from India: notably, the Canal base in Egypt; Libya; Jordan; Cyprus and Ceylon. The national movement, equally in the newly independent states and in the colonial and dependent countries has developed with increasing vigor the demand for the withdrawal of these bases. In a number of cases this has been successful. British imperialism was compelled to withdraw its bases from Egypt (to concentrate instead on Cyprus), and from Iraq and Ceylon (to build a new system through Aden, Bahrein, the Maldives Islands and Nairobi). Today, apart from Cyprus and Libya, the main British overseas bases are in the still remaining colonies and dependent areas: Hong Kong, Singapore, Bahrein, Aden, Kenya, Malta, Gibraltar and the Caribbean.

Military Training and Arms Supplies. Even in relation to those states which have maintained independence from direct military alliances or occupation through foreign bases,

close military and strategic links have in practice been maintained, since the armed forces taken over by the newly independent government would be initially under British commanding officers in all the higher positions (so also in India in the first period, or still in Nigeria), while the new officer corps would continue to be trained in Britain on British lines. The Imperial Staff College at Camberley still operates to give training to general staff officers from all the Commonwealth countries. Similarly the types and standards of arms, and supply of arms, have continued from Britain. It will be recalled what fury was aroused in British ruling circles, soon to be followed by open war, when Egypt imported arms from a socialist country. No less was the fury aroused in Britain by Ghana's recent decision to replace the British General Alexander as Commander-in-Chief by a Ghanaian.

6. Technique of Neo-Colonialism: (4) Economic and Financial

The essence of imperialist colonialism is the economic exploitation of a weaker and less developed country for the high profit of a dominant monopoly imperialist power. The political and strategic forms are directed to this basic aim. Hence imperialism is ready in case of necessity to accept even profound changes in the political structure of the under-developed countries, with the surrender of political sovereignty to the leaders of the national movement, so long as its economic stranglehold is maintained; but it invariably fights with the utmost ferocity if this is threatened, as was shown in the case of Mossadeq and the oil nationalization law in Iran, followed by the Zahedi coup, or the Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal Company, followed by the Suez war of British and French imperialism and their Israeli satellites.

Thus *the continuation and even attempted extension of economic and financial exploitation of the underdeveloped countries is the heart of neo-colonialism*. Here it is necessary to distinguish between the old and the new forms.

(1) *Continuation of old economic stranglehold*. In every colonial country the main natural resources (mineral or oil resources) have been appropriated by the imperialist monopoly interests; railways, ports, transport, power, shipping, trading and banking, have commonly been in imperialist hands; in the agrarian field the best land in some territories convenient for settlement has been

appropriated by colonialist settlers, in other cases plantations have been established under the ownership of the imperialist monopolies, while in the remaining territories, where feudal relations or peasant ownership has been left, the cultivators have been indirectly enslaved to the big monopolies, producing cash crops for them. All these imperialist assets at the time of the transfer of political power have normally been continued after the transfer of political power. Political emancipation from imperialist rule has not meant economic emancipation from imperialist exploitation. This struggle has only begun to develop after the establishment of self-governing states, and is still at an early stage. Most of the newly independent governments have begun by giving pledges against nationalization of foreign-owned enterprises (an initial ten-year pledge in the case of India), and subsequent guarantees of market value compensation — which would mean continuance of the foreign capital in alternative, more modern and, sometimes, more lucrative forms.

(2) *New capital investment*. Export of capital remains the essential feature of imperialism in the penetration and domination of the dependent countries. For many decades in the case of British imperialism this "export" of capital has been a misnomer to describe the real facts; the profits drawn on previous capital have provided the basis for reinvestment and still left a surplus for net tribute to the imperialist metropolis. This "normal" export of capital has continued to build up British capital assets in India and most of the newly independent countries.

In addition, there have been in the recent period new forms of capital investment, both private and public, and in some cases governmental grants or special credits, together with special "economic cooperation" or "technical cooperation" treaties—all loosely added together in imperialist propaganda and described as "aid" to the underdeveloped countries. This form of neo-colonialism has been especially carried on by the United States; Britain from a shaky balance of payments and with diminished resources has only been able to carry out the same process on a more limited scale. However, the Colombo Plan, the various "Development Corporations" and "Development and Welfare" schemes have illustrated this type of operation.

The term "aid" is used in imperialist language to cover very different things; and on this basis vast arithmetical totals are com-

puted to show that the volume of capitalist "aid" is greater than the volume of socialist aid. The term "aid" is used to cover: (1) military subsidies — the majority of U.S. "aid"; (2) subsidies to prop up counter-revolutionary governments, like Chiang, Ngo Diem or King Hussein of Jordan, comically called "economic aid"; (3) strategic "infrastructure" construction, strategic roads, air bases, etc., also classified as "economic aid"; (4) disposal of unsalable consumption goods surpluses on special credit terms, also called "economic aid"; (5) facilitation of private commercial penetration by undertaking at public expense initial unprofitable utility requirements, roads, transport, etc.; (6) private capital investment for profit; (7) genuine economic aid for the independent economic development of the ex-colonial country, especially industrialization. The seventh type is the type of socialist aid; only in the most recent period have the imperialists been compelled to make some very limited attempt to compete in this field with the socialist countries, as with the British and West German steel enterprises in India; but in the aggregate total of imperialist so-called "aid" this last type or real aid represents an infinitesimal proportion.

Thus in practice imperialist so-called "aid" is a form of neo-colonialism, commonly accompanied by economic, political or even military strings; designed to draw the newly independent country into the grip of imperialism; serving to facilitate capitalist commercial penetration and extension of exploitation; and providing the basis for invasion by an order of so-called "technical" missions and "advisers."

The old and new forms of colonialist economic and financial penetration are closely interlinked.

7. The National-Liberation Movement and Neo-Colonialism

The national-liberation movement has shown increasing alertness to the new problems and dangers represented by the technique of neo-colonialism. From an early stage many leaders of the national-liberation movement have recognized that political independence can only represent the first stage to the further aim of winning economic independence from imperialism. It has been further widely recognized that this fight can be even more bitter and intense than the original fight for political freedom.

The main grounds of the anti-imperialist battle have turned, first, on military bases and treaties. Here important victories have been and are being won by the newly independent states. Secondly, the battle for nationalization of the assets of the imperialist monopolies. This battle has only begun to develop and is met with the most vicious opposition by imperialism, e.g., the Suez Canal, Cuban sugar, and Middle Eastern oil.

Neo-colonialism seeks to promote division between the newly independent states and the socialist world, and for this purpose seeks to utilize fraudulent slogans such as "Keep out of the cold war," "Russian colonialism," etc. If the anti-imperialist majority in the world could thus be divided, the newly independent states would be left helpless and isolated to become victims of imperialism. It is only because of the strength of socialism in the world that these otherwise weak nations have been able to win independence from imperialism.

Similarly imperialism seeks to foment division of groupings among the newly independent states, e.g., the "Monrovia Group" against the "Casablanca Group." At the same time it is important not to form rigid judgments of the alignment of particular newly independent states, as their alignment can rapidly change and be affected by political events, e.g., Tunisia.

Social and class relations in the newly independent states become of key importance in the struggle against neo-colonialism. The national bourgeoisie tends often to play a dual or vacillating role with varying trends in different countries and at different times. The role of the working class grows in importance. In Africa this finds especially significant expression at present in the role of the trade unions. The problem of the development of Communist parties in these countries, where such parties do not yet exist, becomes an increasingly urgent problem.

8. Communist Policy

The declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties and the new Program of the CPSU have set out clearly the main features of the new colonialism.

The new Program of the CPSU defines three types in respect of the nations struggling for freedom against imperialism:

"The peoples who are throwing off the shackles of colonialism have attained different degrees of freedom.

"(1) Many of them, having established national states, are striving for economic and durable political independence.

"(2) The peoples of those formally independent countries that in reality depend on foreign monopolies politically and economically are rising to fight against imperialism and reactionary pro-imperialist regimes.

"(3) The peoples who have not yet cast off the chains of colonial slavery are conducting a heroic struggle against their foreign enslavers."

The declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties in 1960 set out the objective for the national-liberation movement in these conditions, i.e., development of states of independent national democracy. The characteristics of such states of independent national democracy would be that they:

(1) uphold political and economic independence against imperialism;

(2) fight against imperialist military blocs and bases;

(3) fight against new forms of colonialism and penetration by imperialist capital;

(4) carry forward democratic development and the extension of democratic rights;

(5) carry forward democratic social reforms, including necessary agrarian reforms.

This path of advance towards the fulfilment of independent national democracy helps to indicate the path forward for the united national-liberation movement, drawing together the national bourgeoisie, intellectuals and urban petty bourgeoisie, with the developing

key role of the working class guided by Marxism-Leninism, and the alliance of the working class and peasantry.

A special responsibility falls on the Communist parties, and on the broad working-class and democratic movement in the imperialist countries, to develop and strengthen further in the new conditions the fighting alliance with the national-liberation movement, both in the colonial and in the newly independent countries, against the old and new colonialist methods of imperialism. Neo-colonialism is the enemy, not only of the ex-colonial newly independent peoples, but also of the peoples in the imperialist countries. The consequent overseas military costs and manifold economic burdens and (in the case of Britain) chronic deficits in the balance of payments are reflected in the renewed and intensified economic offensive against the workers at home. The modern colonial program of the British Labor Party and Trades Union Congress, supported also by some of the leaders on the Left in the Labor Party as a supposed bold program breaking away from colonialism, is in fact precisely the program of neo-colonialism.

It is through the common struggle of the workers in the imperialist countries and the peoples of the colonies and newly independent nations that imperialism will be most rapidly defeated, the aims of peace and complete national liberation won, and the path opened to the great tasks of economic and social reconstruction and cooperation in the interests of the working people.

West German Imperialism — Bulwark of Colonialism

Paul Friedlaender, Hartmut Schilling

THE threat presented by Federal Germany to the economically underdeveloped countries is steadily growing. It is not fortuitous that many conferences where problems of the national-liberation struggle against colonialism have been examined have paid particular attention to the intrigues of West German imperialism and warned the peoples of the danger emanating from this quarter. This was the case, for example, at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, at the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties held in 1960, at the Third Conference of African Peoples in Cairo, at the Bandung session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, and at the international conference on neo-colonialism held in Leipzig. Each of these gatherings unanimously concluded that *West Germany has become a bulwark of modern colonialism second only to the USA and in league with it.*

At present West Germany is a party (either directly, as a NATO member, or indirectly) to every military action taken by the imperialist powers against the national-liberation movement. For years the Bonn government has backed the French colonial war in Algeria, providing a regular supply of replacements for the Foreign Legion, nearly 70 per cent of which are Germans from the Federal Republic and West Berlin, as well as credits to the French government. According to official data, these credits amounted to 1,142 million marks in the period from January 1957 to mid-1958 alone. They included expenditure on the maintenance of French troops ostensibly on occupation service in West Germany but actually employed in Algeria. Since then West German credits for this and other purposes have soared to 3,000 million marks. Through NATO and the West German concerns (primarily Degussa), Bonn participates in the nuclear bomb testing in the Sahara. In multifarious ways it has supported Belgian colonialism in the Congo, where the leading West German air transport firm Continentale

Deutsche Luftreederei has flown arms in large quantities. West German imperialism had a hand also in the invasion of Cuba through instructors which it provided for the two training centers—in Florida and Guatemala. Although these facts unmask the West German militarists and revenge-seekers and show the danger they present to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, participation in military actions is not the most typical nor the most dangerous aspect of West German colonialist policy.

Why West German Colonialism Is Especially Dangerous

West German imperialism is a serious threat to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America primarily because of its voracious expansionist appetite and, secondly, because of the cunning with which it camouflages its aggressive policy—a policy shot through and through with anti-communism—to make it look perfectly harmless, even “attractive.”

West German imperialism, of course, is subject to the same laws as any imperialism. It, too, is threatened by the disintegration of the colonial system insofar as this process restricts the sphere of operation and the opportunities of imperialism generally. But not all imperialist powers and their relations with African, Asian and Latin American countries are affected in the same way by this process.* Unlike the leading imperialist countries, which are fighting a losing battle to safeguard their spheres of influence, West German imperialism is hoping to capitalize on the process and to effect a redistribution of the shrinking imperialist markets and spheres of influence in its own favor. For some time past zealots in this latter-day colonial expansionism, Matthias Schmitt, for example, have made no secret of the fact. Schmitt, who is closely associated with the Deutsche Bank, declares with respect to the “redistribution” of colonies, that German im-

This article is a preliminary contribution to an exchange of views on “The Disintegration of the Colonial System and New Forms of Colonialism.”

*For a detailed discussion of the Federal Republic's relations with some Asian, African and Latin American countries see the article “German Neo-Colonialism in Action,” by Paul Friedlaender, in *World Marxist Review*, No. 2, 1960.

perialism now enjoys far greater advantages over its imperialist rivals.*

A feature of the disintegration of the colonial system is that while the political bonds between imperialist countries and their former possessions are severed, the old economic relations are preserved for some time or new ones are established between the former colonies and other imperialist powers. Hence the economic potential of the imperialist powers plays an increasingly important role in the redistribution of spheres of influence and markets.

West Germany, as we know, is second only to the United States for industrial production in the capitalist world (it is still roughly at the same level as Britain, but its annual increment is greater than Britain's). Its foreign exchange accumulations, much greater than the British, are exceeded only by those of the United States. Yet, despite all its efforts, West German imperialism has not been able to achieve a political and military weight equal to its economic strength. The discrepancy between "economic strength and economic-political might," as West German Economics Minister Erhard put it, has never been so manifest in the entire history of German imperialism. This is highly significant, because the fact that its conquest of colonies, markets and spheres of influence always lagged behind the growth of its economic might, has, from the very beginning, imparted to German imperialism an especially aggressive character. Today, the law of the uneven political and economic development of imperialism, felt now as never before in West Germany, is one of the prime reasons for the particular aggressiveness of West German colonialism.

But coupled with this powerful urge for expansion is West Germany's posture as an "anti-colonialist," a posture it has assumed more skilfully than has any other imperialist power.

True enough, ever since the end of the First World War, German imperialism, unlike its principal rivals, has had neither colonies nor other imperialist privileges in the spheres of customs duties and foreign exchange, such as are possessed, for instance, by the USA in Central America and in part of South America, by Britain through the Commonwealth, or by France in the franc zone. It pretends to have relinquished its imperialist privileges "voluntarily," in the "interests of the oppressed colonial peoples." Official Bonn historians have put the finishing touches to this "anti-

colonialist" myth by glorifying German colonial rule as "enlightened," as a "model of civilizing and humane endeavor."

It goes without saying that the carefully concocted "theory" of Bonn's "anti-colonialism" cannot stand examination in the light of facts. Although German imperialism was not able to join in the carving out of colonies until a comparatively late date, it tried to make up for lost time by pursuing a policy of particularly brutal oppression and exploitation, especially in its African colonies: Togo, Kamerun, South Africa and what is now Tanganyika. Many African tribes, such as the Herero and the Nama (Hottentots), were exterminated with true "German thoroughness." The genocide which became fascist policy years later in Europe took shape in those days. Defeat in the First World War deprived German imperialism of its colonies, but this did not prevent it from taking every opportunity to advance its colonial claims. Even before Hitler seized power, the most aggressive German monopolies, those which paved the way to fascism, openly worked to re-establish the colonial empire. In 1927, when Oberbuergermeister in Cologne, Konrad Adenauer, one of the most zealous monopoly spokesmen and now Federal Chancellor, declared in typical colonialist jargon that Germany "needs more space for her people" and therefore "the goal of freely possessing colonies must never be lost sight of."*

The demand for colonies became official policy under Hitler. With the participation of the former head of the Africa division of the Bonn Foreign Ministry, Hasso von Etzdorf, plans were drawn up for making fascist Germany one of the biggest colonial powers in Africa. Besides the former German possessions, what was called "German Greater Africa" was to include the former French West and Equatorial Africa, the former Belgian Congo, and also Nigeria, the former Gold Coast, Uganda, Zanzibar and part of Kenya. These aspirations played a big part in prompting German imperialism to unleash the Second World War. However, the historic victory over Hitler fascism, which humanity owes primarily to the Soviet Union, paved the way to the liberation of the African peoples from the colonial yoke.

At the moment hopes are pinned on another myth—the myth of the West German "economic miracle," as they term the rapid postwar economic growth.

*M. Schmitt. *Partnerschaft mit Entwicklungslaendern*, Stuttgart, 1960, p. 10.

**Europaeische Gespraechen*, Hamburg, No. 12, December 1927, p. 611.

Exceptional importance is attached to this catchword.

Having won political freedom, the former colonial peoples are striving for economic independence and hence are searching for ways and means of creating an up-to-date industry of their own. The path traversed by the Soviet Union and taken by the other socialist countries, first and foremost by the Chinese People's Republic, offers them an example. Imperialism has nothing to counterpose, in particular because its foremost power—the USA—is racked by recurring crises and the other imperialist countries are likewise encountering serious economic difficulties.

At first glance West Germany would seem to be the exception. And the neo-colonialists in Bonn seize on this to claim that their economic system could be a short-cut to prosperity for the underdeveloped countries as well.

Bundestag President Gerstenmaier, who is also chairman of Bonn's Africa Society, speaking about the magnetic attractions of the "economic miracle," said that "people think that we Germans have a *special recipe* (!) for getting rich quick . . . and that this recipe can be used with success anywhere, in East Africa, along the West coast and in Equatorial Africa alike."*

Gerstenmaier's statement throws light on the colonial policy of Bonn and the role of the "economic miracle" myth. It is not only evidence of the West German imperialists' awareness of the advantage they have over the rest of the West. It also shows that they hope to be able to use this bait, which none of their rivals possess, to hook the newly-independent countries and divert them from developing along the line of political and economic liberation.

West German colonialism is, naturally, anti-communist to the marrow. If contemporary colonialism generally makes a point of using anti-communism to divide the anti-imperialist front in the newly-independent countries and to prevent their objectively anti-imperialist alliance with the socialist countries, this is doubly so in the case of West Germany. The Federal Republic, bent on cancelling out the results of the Second World War, is making territorial claims on the socialist countries. Anti-communism and revanchism have been elevated to state doctrine in West Germany.

Seeing that the newly-independent countries are taking the path of peace, international cooperation, peaceful coexistence and social

progress, Bonn is exerting every effort to poison them with the venom of anti-communism. To prevent the consolidation of the forces of peace is vital to the West German imperialists since this would spell the collapse of the fundamental concept of their aggressive policy. Hence the government has subordinated its economic aid policy wholly to anti-communist aims. As Erhard declared to an approving Bundestag, West German "aid to the underdeveloped countries" is designed to serve as a major obstacle to closer relations between them and the socialist countries.

Another feature of this anti-communist policy is that it is spearheaded primarily against the German Democratic Republic. The West German colonialists become hysterical at the very thought that the cordial ties of friendship between the GDR and Afro-Asian and Latin American countries—ties which offer the only genuine alternative to the Bonn colonial policy—might find consummation in treaty arrangements conforming to the recognized practices of international law. Bonn's anti-communism is, therefore, largely aimed at obstructing the establishment of economic, cultural and political ties between these countries and the GDR or undermining already established contacts. Diplomatic recognition of the GDR would be an effective blow against West German colonialism, and hence Bonn is doing everything to prevent it. An instrument of this policy is the so-called Hallstein Doctrine providing for economic and political reprisals against countries which normalize their relations with the GDR. But despite this crude intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states, diplomatic recognition of the GDR is only a matter of time.

West German Colonialism Is a Shock Force of International Imperialism

Now that the socialist world system has become the decisive international factor which, together with all peace-loving forces, those of the national-liberation movement included, determines the pace and trend of social development, no imperialist country—not even the USA—can play a lone hand in the sphere of colonial policy. Hence the growing emphasis on "collective" colonialism. Needless to say, this does not abolish the contradictions between the imperialists; the conflict merely assumes new forms, proceeding, in particular, within supra-national state-monopoly and military organizations, such as the European Economic Community, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and

*Der Spiegel, Hamburg, October 26, 1960.

Development, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, NATO, etc.

West Germany plays a specific role in this "collective" colonialism. Since it can camouflage its aims more effectively, it can still carry on where other imperialist powers, at least for the time being, are unable to operate.

On the initiative of the USA and other imperialist powers, West Germany has undertaken important colonialist functions in many parts of the world. For instance, the USA has turned over to Bonn the financing of military and economic "aid" to Turkey and Greece, with a view to extending the operations later to other Middle Eastern countries. The West Germans have long been critical of the ineffectiveness of U.S. credits. "It was a mistake," *Handelsblatt* commented as far back as May 1958, "to tie up economic aid programs so ineptly with political demands." From this it concluded, however, that the USA "cannot but be reproached for this, all the more so since in this area its role is that of pilot for Western political and economic activity." In Africa and in the Middle East this role is now passing over more and more to German imperialism.

And German imperialism, naturally, is eager enough to be the "pilot," or, as West German economists put it, the "door-opener." This would place it in possession of powerful levers for recarving markets and spheres of influence in its own favor, and also make other imperialist powers dependent on it in one or another measure.

Generally speaking, West Germany is out to abolish the last of the restrictions placed on it as the power that started the Second World War and, above all, it is bent on getting its hands on nuclear weapons. The tie-up between German imperialism's role of the shock force of present-day colonialism and its claims to leadership in Western Europe was clearly stated by the President of the Duesseldorf Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

"We (West) Germans," he said, "having lost our colonies in the First World War, do not encounter the antipathy which colonialism evokes . . . perhaps because of this we are better equipped than others to work together with our neighbors on new solutions. As I see it, it would be wiser for a united Europe to assume the leadership of this political liberation movement of the underdeveloped countries."*

*Monatshefte der Industrie- und Handelskammer zu Duesseldorf, No. 4, April 27, 1957, pp. 90-91

The Federal Republic's leading position in the system of "collective colonialism" shows that West German imperialism has assumed — besides the role assigned to it by the United States in agreement with international imperialism of a shock force against the socialist world — an equally aggressive "function" aimed against the national-liberation movement. While going ahead with the preparations for carrying out its main task, it is directing its aggressive designs more and more against this movement. *In the system of contemporary colonialism, West Germany is now second only to the USA as one of the main enemies of the peoples, the source of the greatest danger to them.*

It is characteristic of the Bonn colonialists that in their economic expansion they rely less than do the other imperialist powers on the traditional forms of export of capital and more on the export of goods.

Their trade with the economically underdeveloped countries has grown rapidly since the war. Moreover, the monopolies have achieved a highly favorable trade balance with a number of newly-emerged national states. Cases in point are India and the United Arab Republic. West German exports to India have shown a growing preponderance over imports ever since 1951. In 1958 the difference was 981 million marks, and in 1959 the exports exceeded the imports fivefold. Imports from the UAR in 1958 amounted to one-third of the exports in terms of value; in 1959 they declined to one-quarter. The same trend continued in 1960.

As a result, a number of African and Asian countries found themselves in considerable economic difficulties. There was a heavy drain on their foreign exchange reserves, and to cover the deficit they had to cut down on imports of other goods essential for industrialization. The countries in question ended up as debtors, financially dependent on German imperialism from which they had to accept credits to cope with their balance of payments difficulties. In this way the West German neo-colonialists are turning normal relations between buyers and sellers into debtor-creditor relations, thereby seeking to enmesh the newly-liberated countries in the toils of financial dependence and to strengthen their own colonialist positions. The restrictive tariff policy pursued by the Bonn government is another accelerator of economic expansion.

The West German neo-colonialists are at the same time intensifying the exploitation

of the Afro-Asian countries by taking full advantage of the price policies of the capitalist world market, which is dominated by the monopolies of the big capitalist countries. Since 1953 the export prices of manufactures have risen by seven per cent, while the prices of raw materials have dropped by six per cent. During the years 1954-1959, the underdeveloped countries were robbed of no less than 4,000 million marks as a result of the unequal exchange with West Germany.

But from this it does not follow that the West German concerns eschew export of capital to the underdeveloped countries. On the contrary, they readily invest in raw-material concessions. An example is their participation in the plunder of the Sahara (Algeria). The Oil Company of Hamburg, a subsidiary of the Haniel concern, owns 30 per cent of the Demorhat el Akha concession. The Wintershall-Kwandt group has an interest in the Tindoufa oil concession, and Gewerkschaft Elwerath of Hanover, a subsidiary of the former, has a share in the Hassi Nekhu and Tan Emellel concessions. The Thyssen as well as the Haniel and Kwandt concerns have acquired vast oil concessions in Libya.

An instrument of the colonial expansion is the so-called technical aid, which the West Germans employ on a wider scale than any of the other imperialist powers. By mid-1961, nearly 370 million marks had been allocated to the Bonn Foreign Ministry for this purpose from a special fund set up in 1956. This money is used primarily for training students and technicians from Asian and African countries and also for financing "technical consultation bureaus," "committees of experts" and "economic projects." Bonn has had to create this illusion of "aid" in order to counteract the extensive, tangible assistance rendered to the newly-emerged states by the socialist countries. But forced though these concessions are, Bonn has lost no time in harnessing them to its colonialist aims. These funds, labelled "humane investments," are used to extend its economic and political influence far and wide under the slogan "trade follows the engineer,"* to help create a "middle class as a stabilizing element,"** i.e., to broaden its social base in Asia and Africa, and, lastly, to make the "educational establishments" centers of ideological infiltration. The thirty-odd consulting offices abroad financed by the Bonn "technical aid" fund have garnered for the

West German monopolies export orders running to 8,000 million marks through drawing up various "development projects." *Der Tag* (West Berlin) commented that "one of the most effective measures stimulating export trade is the training of students and engineers, primarily from the Asian, African and Latin American countries."*

Credits provided by the monopolies to finance the export of goods holds first place in West German export of capital to Asia, Africa and Latin America. By 1958 these credits had run up to 7,000-8,000 million marks; in 1959 alone they amounted to 1,200 million marks, and the growth continued in subsequent years. West Germany holds first place in the world for export of capital in this form. The method is effective largely because of its state-monopoly character, the credits being guaranteed by the state.

That the "aid" is actually an instrument of neo-colonialism is revealed, for instance, by the journal *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik* which makes no secret of the purpose of this "aid." According to the journal, it entitles West Germany "to participate in the economy, government and political life of the given country, to maintain contact with the population and to exercise a decisive influence on its information and propaganda media."**

Bonn also makes extensive use of the various economic organizations of "collective" colonialism. It takes part, for instance, in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; its share is 4,400 million marks in basic capital and more than 1,000 million marks in credits provided by state and private banks. Bonn is one of the biggest creditors of this international imperialist institution dominated by U.S. monopoly capital. Whereas in 1954 only 3.6 per cent of the export deliveries financed by the Bank fell to the share of the West German monopolies, by 1959 the figure had risen to 16.3 per cent.***

By virtue of its economic strength, West German imperialism rules the roost in the European Economic Community, the supranational state-monopoly organization which comprises a number of European powers and their colonies—the latter as "associate" members. The overseas territories, regardless of whether they are formally independent or not, have no representation in the EEC bodies and hence no say in deciding issues directly affecting them. In other words, the associated territories are virtually under colonial rule.

*Dr. H. Gross. *Der Handel folgt dem Ingenieur*, Cologne, 1955.

**Hilfe fuer Entwicklungslaender, Baden-Baden, No. 1, December 31, 1959.

*Der Tag, West Berlin, March 1, 1960.

**Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, No. 1, 1961, p. 1.

***Industriekurier, Duesseldorf, December 31, 1959.

Through the EEC, West German imperialism has gained access to areas in Africa from which it had previously been barred by the colonial monopoly of its European "partners." Taking full advantage of their participation in the EEC development fund in which the Federal Republic has a share equal to that of France (840 million marks out of a total of 2,440 million marks), the Bonn neo-colonialists are gradually gaining an economic foothold in the former colonial possessions of their imperialist rivals.

Another gateway to Africa is the Republic of South Africa. In the racist system prevailing there the West Germans see a guarantee of the safety of their investments as well as of colonial super-profits. They are also making use of the expansionist appetites of the South African Republic in order to penetrate into the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Mozambique and Tanganyika.

West German "Economic Aid" Retards National Industrialization

The Federal German economic and ideological offensive is strikingly evident in its attitude to national industrialization and to the state sector in the newly-emerged states of Asia and Africa.

Industrialization is an objective necessity in countries that have rid themselves of colonial status politically and are fighting for economic independence. This industrialization is accompanied by a certain growth of the state sector which at the present stage plays, as a rule, a progressive role inasmuch as it is anti-imperialist in character. Bonn colonialism, however, is out to prevent industrialization wherever it can.

The policy as outlined by Erhard is to concentrate on developing in Asia and Africa handicrafts industries or at best small and medium-sized enterprises rather than modern, highly efficient large-scale production. The aim is to prevent the creation of heavy industry in the countries in question, and to obtain, in exchange for "aid" in the construction of new enterprises, extensive rights to share both in their management and in the profits.

The new situation in the world and, above all, the help given by the socialist camp to the underdeveloped countries to promote their industrialization have compelled Federal Germany to build a few enterprises here and there in Asia and Africa. But even where they build plants, the West German imperialists do nothing to train local personnel to operate them or to create other conditions

essential for their normal functioning; in a word, they do their best to retard industrial progress in the underdeveloped countries.

Neo-Colonialism Is a Continuation of the Discredited Old Colonialism

The new balance of forces in the world, evident in the might of the socialist world system and in the triumphal march of the national-liberation movement, has led to far-reaching changes in the forms and methods employed by imperialism to achieve its colonial aims. The so-called neo-colonialism is a direct continuation of colonialism in a situation marked by the disintegration of the entire system of colonialism. The aims are fundamentally the same as before, but the forms are more flexible and, hence, more dangerous. This applies primarily to the economic sphere, which has become the principal arena of the competition between the two systems. Great though the importance of ideological methods of influencing the march of events is, it is the achievements of the socialist world system in the economic sphere that are the most powerful stimulus to the regeneration of the world in keeping with the principles of justice and social progress.

The chief political aim of the neo-colonialists is to split the anti-imperialist front by means of anti-communist demagoguery and thereby undermine and eventually crush the sovereignty of the newly-independent countries; hinder them from taking the way of national democracy and non-capitalist development; prevent them from benefiting from the aid rendered by the socialist world system, and compel them to enter into political and military blocs. The underlying purpose is to weaken the peace zone and retard to the maximum the growth of the anti-imperialist forces now rapidly gaining momentum throughout the world.

In the economic sphere, neo-colonialism aims at seizing the levers of economic control, retarding industrialization and perpetuating dependence on imperialism primarily through what is called "economic aid" and "partnership." The object is not only to retain the old positions but also to win new and still more profitable ones.

There is a close connection between the political and the economic aims. Unable to keep the newly-independent states in subjection by the old political and military means, imperialism is trying to regain lost ground by emphasizing economic means, to re-establish

lish its political supremacy through economic domination.

Needless to say, neo-colonialism does not preclude the use of the "classical" methods of suppression. It merely devises new methods which interweave and to some extent even merge with the old.

Although the new forms are the result of the weakening of imperialism, of the global process of transition from capitalism to socialism—the hallmark of our time—they are, nevertheless, extremely dangerous. Like the old forms, they make for international tension, leading to conflicts and even the danger of war. The purpose of neo-colonialism is to retard the process of the final liberation of the peoples from colonial dependence.

* * *

In their struggle against West German neo-colonialism, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the West German working class have the powerful support of the German Democratic Republic, the first workers' and peasants' state in Germany. Addressing the 11th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, Walter Ulbricht said: "In view of the growing neo-colonialist expansionism of West Germany, the significance of the support given by the GDR to the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples assumes ever greater importance. The GDR is working to build relations with the liberated countries on a foundation of equality and mutual respect for economic, cultural and political interests and is actively opposed to the neo-colonialism of Bonn."

The GDR carries forward the anti-colonial traditions of the German working class. Race hatred and colonial aspirations are alien to the GDR, for the latter has stripped of power the social forces—the monopolists, militarists and junkers—who relied on these things. Hence the interests of the GDR—a state run by the working people—fully coincide in all the principal political issues of the day with the interests of the peoples of the colonies and the newly-established national states.

Together with the other countries of the socialist world system, the GDR renders the young national states substantial economic, scientific-technological and cultural aid. Its primary aim is balanced trade with them on the basis of their currencies and long-term agreements stipulating both the amounts of deliveries and the prices. This approach helps the new countries build up their economies, mainly through agreements on licenses and installation of industrial plant, trains skilled workers, opens training centers, carries out research projects, and sends its experts to the various countries. Many examples of this type of aid could be cited. For instance, South-east Asia's biggest sugar refinery was built with GDR assistance in Jogjakarta, Indonesia. Large printing plants are being built in Guinea and Ghana. A spinning mill is going up in the UAR, for which payment can be made in the mill's products when it goes into operation. In the next few years the GDR will supply the machinery and other equipment for 15 plants in Cuba. Agreements have been concluded with India on issuing technical licenses to the engineering industry of that country. None of these forms of aid calls for investment of capital and, hence, does not involve any exploitation of the peoples concerned. Neither does this aid have political strings. Consequently, the aid given by the GDR helps these countries to strengthen their economic and political independence from imperialism.

The prestige which Democratic Germany is steadily gaining in Asia and Africa by its unconditional support of the national-liberation movement is an obstacle to the expansion of West German finance capital. The efforts of the GDR to bring about the democratic reunification of Germany and to curb the West German militarists constitute an important link in the worldwide anti-imperialist front and, for this reason they serve the immediate interests of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples threatened by West German neo-colonialism.

Leninism and the Revolutionary Force of Socialist Example

Yuri Arbatov

"... The utmost possible in one country to encourage, to support, to awaken revolution in all countries..." These words of Lenin could be a fitting epigraph to the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For building communism is that "utmost possible" that can be done in one country for the victory of the revolution, for the victory of the ideas of communism in all countries.

The building of the new society in the socialist countries, and in particular their economic achievements, have a multiform effect on the development of the socialist revolution in other countries. For instance, the economic advance of the socialist countries strengthens their defense power which is a guarantee against the export of counter-revolution — a guarantee safeguarding peoples carrying out the socialist revolution against the ordeals of imperialist intervention. At the same time this advance makes it possible to render growing economic and cultural assistance to others, which is of particular importance for the economically underdeveloped countries.

Salient among the revolutionary factors engendered by the achievements of the socialist countries is the example they have set in building a better society ensuring the rapid development of the productive forces, democracy and culture, a high standard of living and the conditions for a full, rich life for all. It is this force of socialist example that we shall examine in the present article.

1. The Leninist Concept and the Realities of Our Times

The revolutionary force of the example set by socialism was, as we know, elucidated by Lenin on the basis of the theoretical propositions put forward by Marx and Engels. In particular, the Leninist concept proceeds from the fundamental Marxist principle that in no circumstances can the socialist revolution be imposed on nations, on the working people, by force; it must be their own vital

cause. Speaking of the future attitude of the victorious working class of the developed capitalist countries toward the colonial peoples, Engels formulated this principle in the most precise terms, pointing out that the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation *without undermining its own victory by so doing*. He held that the future socialist countries would exert a revolutionary influence on the colonial peoples mainly through their example: "Once Europe is reorganized, and North America, that will furnish such colossal power and such an example that the semi-civilized countries will follow in their wake of their own accord," he said. "Economic needs alone will be responsible for this."*

Lenin developed these propositions in the light of the new conditions, when the victory of the working class became possible in a few countries or even in one country. After the successful socialist revolution in Russia the problems of the relations between countries with different social systems, including the problem of how the victorious working class should support the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in other countries, became urgent problems of practical politics. The fate of the newly emerged socialism depended time and again on the right answer to these questions.

Lenin's service was that he quickly found the answers and elaborated his concept of the development of the world socialist revolution in the new conditions, a concept which included as one of its components the revolutionary force of the example of socialist states. A sharp controversy developed around this issue at once; but before going into that, the following basic points should be noted.

First, Lenin categorically rejected any "export of revolution," the forcing of socialism upon other countries, as something running counter to the very nature of socialism and the socialist revolution. In a polemic with the "Left" Communists in 1918, he asked

*Letter to Kautsky, September 12, 1882.

whether they assumed "that it would be in the interests of the international revolution to instigate it, and that it could be instigated only by war and certainly not by peace, which might in a way 'legitimize' imperialism in the eyes of the masses?" And he answered his question thus: "Such a 'theory' would signify a complete break with Marxism, which has always rejected any 'instigation' of revolutions, since these develop as the acute class contradictions that engender revolution come to a head."*

Second. From the very outset of the revolution Lenin upheld the principle of the peaceful coexistence of the Soviet Republic and the capitalist countries, believing that such a policy, far from contradicting, corresponds to the interests of the world socialist revolution. He rejected the views of those who, pleading concern for these interests, opposed normalization of relations and economic contacts with the capitalist world. If it were unconditionally to renounce all relations with capitalism, the socialist republic, he said, "could not exist unless it moved to the moon."**

Third. Rejecting any "instigation" of revolution by means of war, Lenin never lost sight of the lofty internationalist duty of the socialist state to render aid to the working class and all other sections of the working people of other countries in their struggle for emancipation. But this aid must not take the form of "export of revolution"; other methods must be used. In this connection, Lenin arrived at the conclusion that "we (i.e., Soviet Russia — Y.A.) now exert our greatest influence on the international revolution through our economic policy . . . The struggle has shifted to this area on a world scale. If we solve this task we will win on the international scale once and for all."*** In particular, Lenin attached much importance to the revolutionizing influence of socialist example on other countries: "We have said before and say now: 'Socialism possesses the force of example'. Coercion is in place when employed against those who seek to restore their power. But the value of coercion does not go beyond this; from here on it is influence and example that are effective. The meaning of communism must be shown in practice, through example."****

*V. I. Lenin, *Strange and Monstrous*.

**Ibid.

***V. I. Lenin, *Speech at the closing session of the Tenth All-Russian Conference of the RCP(B)*, May 28, 1921.

****V. I. Lenin, *Speech at a meeting of activists of the Moscow Organization of the RCP(B)*, December 6, 1920.

Fourth. In these circumstances efficient management and keeping their "own house in order" generally are for the socialist countries not only their own domestic affair, but an historical responsibility, a revolutionary duty to the international working-class and Communist movement. This is the conclusion that follows from the letter and spirit of Lenin's writings. Time and again he emphasized the revolutionary, political nature of the economic and cultural tasks confronting Russia, linked these tasks with the perspective of world socialist development, and told the Party and the people that their workaday affairs were inseparably connected with the world revolution. He sharply criticized those who, taking refuge behind revolutionary phraseology, shunned the humdrum work of economic construction and failed to understand its revolutionary significance.

From these Leninist propositions follow definite political conclusions, viz.:

—that the truly revolutionary internationalist policy pursued by the socialist states combines the force of socialist example with the struggle for peace as the condition for the successful building of the new society;

—that the emphasis laid by the Communist parties of the socialist countries on promoting economy and culture and on perfecting democratic procedures is proof not of "isolationist" or "egoistic" tendencies but of a correct understanding of the interests of both their own people and the world socialist revolution.

The analysis given by Lenin of the world revolutionary process has lost none of its significance to this day. As a matter of fact, it can be confidently said that this analysis and the political conclusions flowing therefrom are more timely than ever.

This is so above all because of the importance which peaceful coexistence has assumed in our time. The international Communist movement regards the preservation and strengthening of peace as the principal task of the day. The crucial importance of this position — a position continuing the finest traditions of the working-class and Communist movement, which has always stood for peace — was accentuated as never before by the advent of ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons.

If the task of safeguarding the peace is now more important than ever, the possibilities of the socialist countries to influence the march of world events by their example have also grown greatly. Indeed, these possibilities

can hardly be compared with those that existed in Lenin's time.

Apart from the legacy of economic and cultural backwardness left by pre-revolutionary Russia, the capitalist world did its utmost to reduce the Soviet Republic to ruins. The imperialist powers, Lenin wrote, prevented the new system created by the revolution from "at once taking the step forward that would have justified the forecasts of Socialists, that would have enabled it to develop its productive forces with enormous speed, to develop all the potentialities which, taken together, would have produced socialism and thus vividly demonstrated to all and sundry that socialism contains within itself gigantic forces and that mankind had now entered a new stage of development which has extraordinarily brilliant prospects."*

Needless to say, even in the difficult conditions of those days, socialism offered the world in many respects an example of a better organization of society, for the new system from the very beginning made the working people the masters of their own destiny, freeing them from the yoke of the exploiters. The force of this example grew in step with the economic and cultural advance of the first socialist country. This unquestionably helped to stimulate the struggle of the working people throughout the world for socialism, and to ensure the succession of victories over capitalism which led to the formation of the socialist world system. But it took quite some time before the example of the first socialist country could display its full force; the backwardness inherited by the Soviet Union from the past, the difficulties of building socialism in a hostile capitalist environment, and the ravages of war interfered. The grave mistakes and abuses of the period of the Stalin cult were also a negative factor.

These things should be borne in mind when assessing the new opportunities for the socialist example to exert its influence now that the Soviet Union has launched out on full-scale construction of communism. The new Program of the CPSU provides for such strides in the Soviet Union in the next 20 years as will leave the USA — the leading capitalist country — far behind as regards production, productivity of labor and national income. On this basis a standard of living higher than that in any capitalist country will be achieved. Within the next ten years the 30-35-hour working week will be universal in the USSR, with further reductions to fol-

low. The housing problem will be solved, living conditions generally greatly improved, and further progress made in health protection and in social security. Parallel with economic development, the Program provides for the flowering of socialist democracy, the rapid advancement of educational and cultural standards, and further obliteration of distinctions between town and countryside, between manual and mental labor.

Fulfilment of the Program will impart to communist ideas an irresistible force. "When the Soviet people enjoy the blessings of communism, hundreds of millions all over the world will say: 'We are for communism!' It is not through war with other countries, but by the example of a better organization of society, by rapid progress in developing the productive forces, in creating the conditions for man's happiness and well-being, that the ideas of communism win the minds and hearts of the masses."*

Alongside the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, regardless of the stage they have reached in building the new society, are playing and will continue to play a big role in enhancing the revolutionary force of the example of socialism. Their example is very important indeed, for it shows that, unlike capitalism, socialism ensures the progress of all countries, not simply of the "chosen few." Moreover, since the levels of economic and social development of the non-socialist countries differ greatly, each will find the most impressive and instructive example in those socialist countries which embarked on the building of the new society in similar conditions.

The knowledge that by building the new society they are making an important contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the working people the world over redoubles the creative energies of the builders of socialism and communism. At the same time this imposes a high responsibility on them. It calls for dedication, pioneering courage, uncompromising struggle against blundering and dogmatism. These are the essential features of a genuinely Leninist style of work, so vividly exemplified by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU, a style of work which implies profound faith in the masses, the shaping of policy not behind the scenes but before the millions of working people, frankly discussing the difficulties and also the mistakes, if such there have been. This strengthens the new society.

*V. I. Lenin, *Better Fewer, But Better*.

*Program of the CPSU.

The strength of socialism, Lenin said, consists in the awareness of the masses; it is strong when the masses are fully informed, able to judge of everything for themselves, and tackle every task consciously.

It is from this that the CPSU proceeded in condemning the Stalin cult. And the entire Communist movement supported this line, seeing in it a condition for the further rapid advance of the Soviet Union and, hence, also a major contribution to the struggle for world socialism.

2. The Force of Socialist Example and the Class Struggle in the Capitalist Countries

The achievements of the socialist countries, however, do not influence the revolutionary process in the capitalist world in a purely mechanical way. Their significance is that they stimulate the class struggle of the workers and all other working people, including the struggle for their ultimate goals — the overthrow of capitalism and the building of the new, socialist society. This is the Marxist-Leninist position, a position that has nothing in common with the views of the reformists and revisionists, who are prepared to sit back and wait for socialism to come about "of itself" and triumph in every country in some mysterious way, simply by virtue of its superiority.

How does the example of the socialist countries and their achievements stimulate the struggle of the working people of the capitalist countries for socialism? Primarily by helping to *imbue the working-class movement with a socialist consciousness, to spread the socialist outlook among the masses*. And this, as experience has shown, is a factor of the utmost importance, especially when the objective conditions for the transition from capitalism to socialism have fully matured.

Lenin showed that by purely spontaneous action the working-class movement can hardly rise above the ideology of trade unionism, i.e., the ideology of defending immediate interests, the ideology of economic struggle. With such an outlook, the working class can win at best better conditions for the sale of its labor power, but it cannot abolish wage slavery as such and advance to socialism. This holds true even for those countries where the working class makes up the overwhelming majority of the population and is well organized in trade unions, no matter how bitter the hatred of the proletariat for their oppressors may be. The example of many developed capitalist countries, where a trade union men-

talismy still dominates most workers, bears this out. As we know, there have been cases in the past when mass discontent with intolerable conditions not only failed to find the right outlet but was utilized by the reactionaries for their own ends. These instances are proof that mere dissatisfaction with capitalism, mere hatred for the oppressors engendered by the yoke of capital, does not develop into struggle for socialism. It is essential besides to have a clear understanding of the place occupied by the working class in society as well as of its interests, ultimate aims and the ways and means ensuring the achievement of these aims — i.e., socialist consciousness. To infuse the working-class movement with this socialist consciousness is one of the main functions of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

There was a time when the only instrument with which this could be done was theory. But the moment socialism was translated from idea into reality, to the argument of theory was added the argument of practice, better than which there is none.

The greater the progress in the socialist countries, the more obvious to the working people become the evils of capitalism and the fact that it is forfeiting its right to continued existence. This is well expressed by the U.S. writer Gilbert Green in his book *The Enemy Forgotten*: "Before there was a Soviet Union it was possible to get large numbers of people to believe that economic crises were unavoidable and unexplainable. Hard times had to be taken as just plain hard luck. Depressions were explained by sunspot theories, as the will of God, or what have you. But these could not stand up when the Soviet Union did away with unemployment and proved its immunity to economic crisis during the 'thirties, at a time when the whole capitalist world was being ravaged by the worst economic crisis in history . . . Thus, for the first time in American history the majority of the American people began to hold the social system and the government responsible for unemployment and depression."

The example of socialism suggests to the working masses new criteria for judging social systems. If for centuries it was considered normal that the best doctors and medical aid generally were at the disposal of the rich and that the poor could not afford them, socialist practice has awakened the millions to the monstrous injustice of this state of affairs. Similarly, socialism by its example has helped to open the eyes of mil-

lions to the inhumanity of a society that abandons old people to their fate and debars the majority of the youth from higher education. The extent to which the people have realized this can be judged if only from the new demands they have advanced in recent times — such as free medical services, pensions at the expense of the employer or the state, paid holidays, low-cost modern housing, genuine nationalization, etc. This, while still not struggle for socialism, promotes the growth of class-consciousness among the workers and other sections of working people.

The example of socialism does more than drastically undermine the prestige of capitalism in the eyes of the masses. It is proof of the superiority of the socialist system, which ensures justice and a better life for the people. It shows that the socialist ideal can be realized.

This is important for the struggle for socialism both in the capitalist countries and in the countries which have newly won their independence or are still fighting for freedom from the colonial yoke. The latter can learn from the example of socialism how to accelerate their progress without experiencing the painful concomitants of the capitalist stage of development. And all the more so since many of the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union (especially its Central Asian republics), began to build the new society when they, too, lacked a developed economy and skilled personnel. As for the working people of the developed capitalist countries, they are constantly reminded by the socialist example that, contrary to reformist and revisionist "theories," socialism does not grow out of capitalism of itself but is achieved through struggle.

While facilitating the spread of socialist ideas and stimulating the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, the example of socialism unites the working masses, helps to strengthen their organization and heighten their militancy.

Some people may say that the influence of the example of socialism can be paralyzed by imperialist propaganda. Does not this propaganda slander the socialist countries? Yes, it does. And it still befuddles many. But this does not alter the basic fact that no propaganda can completely conceal what is happening in the socialist world, it cannot deceive all the people all the time. Discussing the ways in which a socialist country should influence the international revolution, Lenin

wrote in 1921: "It is no exaggeration to say that the eyes of the whole world, of all working people in all countries without exception, are turned to the Soviet Russian Republic. This much has been achieved. The capitalists can suppress, conceal nothing; hence they above all are anxious to seize upon our economic mistakes and our weakness . . . Therefore questions of economic upbuilding acquire an absolutely exceptional significance for us."*

Such was the case 40 years ago. And no less true are these words today.

That the dangers of this smear propaganda designated to discredit socialism should not be underestimated is another matter. The fight against it is one of the principal elements of the ideological struggle against imperialism waged by the socialist countries. The Communist parties of the capitalist countries, too, regard this as one of their major tasks, considering it their bounden duty to expose the anti-socialist slander and to popularize the achievements of the socialist camp. And this brings the impact of the socialist example fully to bear on the working people's struggle in the capitalist countries.

As a result, additional millions will arrive at the conclusion: "Yes, socialism is worth fighting for. I too must join this struggle, for building socialism corresponds to my own vital interests." Moreover, every worker or peasant saying this will have in mind genuine socialism, not the substitutes offered by the reformists and revisionists. In other words, guiding themselves by the experience of the socialist countries, the working people will be able to avoid mistakes in the choice of ways and means of achieving socialism.

The grand prospects of the new society in the USSR and the other socialist countries will, undoubtedly, stimulate the activity of all the Communist parties, of the entire international working-class and Communist movement, and raise it to a higher stage. This, too, highlights the correctness of the Leninist view which stresses the influence exerted on revolutionary processes by the example of the better organization of society provided by the socialist countries.

For all its seeming radicalism, the "export of revolution" advocated by the opponents of Lenin implies, on the contrary, that the working-class movement in general and the Communist parties in particular should sit

*V. I. Lenin, *Speech at the Closing Session of the Tenth All-Russian Conference of the RCP(B)*, May 28, 1921.

back and wait for the "great day" when socialism, won through the efforts and sacrifices of another people and another party, is served up to them from abroad. The doctrine of "exporting" revolution is simply the doctrine of hamstringing the international revolutionary forces.

The path elaborated by Lenin, the path on which the CPSU firmly stands, presupposes maximum aid to the working people's liberation struggle everywhere in forms that facilitate the all-round development of revolutionary activity in every country, forms that enhance, not diminish, the responsibility of the Communist parties, the vanguard of the working class, and, far from supplanting the activities of the working class and the Communist Party in each country, create better conditions for these activities.

How these conditions will be utilized depends on the Communists and the struggle of the working people in each country. And not only on their efforts and struggle 10 or 20 years hence, when the Soviet people will have achieved the targets set in the Program adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and when the other socialist countries will have won new victories, but on their activity today, for the example of socialism already carries a powerful impact. The Communists know full well that steadfast ideological work to bring the truth about socialism to the masses is essential to make this impact fully felt. The Communist parties also take due account of the fact that unless their organizational work is up to standard today, they will not be able to utilize the new opportunities, no matter how favorable, that will open tomorrow. Lastly, every Communist knows that there is also an inverse connection between the successes of socialism and the class struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries: the more steadfast this struggle and the more it ties the hands of the imperialists by creating reliable guarantees of peace, the more favorable the conditions for the creative labors of the socialist countries to carry out their magnificent plans and programs.

It is not in the nature of Communists to shirk their duty. At the root of proletarian internationalism lies the readiness of every national section of the working class, of every Communist Party, to fight selflessly for the common cause, to make the maximum contribution to it, without bickering or arguing about what it should receive in exchange.

3. The Danger of "Left" Mistakes

The Leninist concept of the international revolutionary process in the conditions of co-existence emerged in sharp struggle against the "Left" Communists, the Trotskyites, and other groups who advanced the idea of "export of revolution" through war with the international bourgeoisie.

Fortunately for the Soviet people and for the cause of world socialism, Lenin's viewpoint triumphed. Had the CPSU listened in those years to the "Leftists" and embarked on "revolutionary" adventures, Soviet power would no doubt have been strangled in its infancy and the world working-class and Communist movement would have been deprived of a powerful bulwark.

In the light of history, it may seem strange that even today there are those who advance the selfsame Left-sectarian, adventurist views which the Communists rejected already in Lenin's lifetime. Such views are zealously propounded by the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor. An attempt to spread similar opinions in the CPSU was made by the anti-Party group (in particular, Molotov) which was defeated in 1957.

The current "Left" criticism of the Leninist concept does not hesitate to invoke Lenin's name. This is done, for instance, by the Albanian leaders, who, falling over backwards to find a contradiction between Lenin's principles and the present foreign policy of the Soviet Union, depict the struggle for peace and settling of international problems by negotiation as a "departure" from Leninism dictated by "fear of imperialism." Here the "Lefts" are at one with those capitalist propagandists who also cite Lenin in an effort to "prove" that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence is alien to socialism. In recent years propaganda of this kind has become part of the imperialist ideological offensive. (Suffice it to mention the writings of the Catholic "slayer" of Marxism, Gustav A. Wetter and George F. Kennan, the U.S. "expert on Soviet affairs." In a recent lecture on this theme, reported in detail by the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, the Swiss Professor Walter Hofer repeated practically word for word many of the claims of the dogmatists.)

Trying to use Lenin's authority to combat Leninism, both the "Lefts" and the bourgeois ideologists operate with the same set of quotations from Lenin on the question of aid to the working-class struggle in other countries through a revolutionary war. Do these scant passages give grounds for say-

ing that Lenin shared the views of the present-day "Lefts" or for speaking about "contradictions" in his formulation of the question? Far from it. To dispel any doubt on this score it is sufficient to recall the situation in which these particular statements were made, statements which are now seized upon as "proof" that the CPSU has "departed" from Leninism.

The passages in question relate mostly to 1918 and partly to 1919, i.e., a period when the Civil War and foreign intervention were at their height. Could the question of peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism come to the fore in those circumstances? Obviously not. By launching the intervention, the world bourgeoisie turned the struggle of the Russian proletariat into an international military conflict. The international character of the struggle was accentuated by revolutionary outbreaks in the imperialist hinterland, leading in some countries to the establishment of socialist (Soviet) governments. Moreover, the international bourgeoisie intervened in these countries too (Finland, Hungary, etc.) All this gave grounds for believing that the socialist revolution was under way not in one but in a number of countries, with the clash of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie assuming at once an international character. It may be said, of course, that even before the revolution Lenin pointed to the possibility of socialism winning its initial victory in one country. That is true. But never did he say that the revolution could not spread at once to several countries, that revolutions in a number of countries could not thus merge into a single tidal wave.

And the events of 1918-19 gave grounds for believing that just this was taking place. Lenin spoke of this repeatedly. In 1921, for instance, he said: "We imagined (and it is perhaps not out of place to recall this now for it will be useful also in drawing practical conclusions concerning our principal economic problems) that developments would take a simpler and more direct form than was actually the case. We told ourselves, told the working class, told all the working people of Russia as well as of other countries that there was no way out of the accursed and criminal imperialist war other than the revolutionary way, and that by putting an end to the imperialist war by revolution we would be opening up the only possible exit from this criminal slaughter for all peoples. It seemed to us then — nor could it seem otherwise — that this path was clear-cut, direct

and the easiest of all . . . It turned out that other peoples were unable to take this road, at least not as soon as we expected."*

Seeing that the revolution was under way in a number of countries and had already assumed (on the initiative of world imperialism) the nature of an armed conflict between the working people of these countries and the combined bourgeoisie, Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks could not but be guided by this in posing the question of the forms of aid rendered by the victorious proletariat to proletarians who had just risen in revolutionary struggle. In such a situation — when the revolution has already got under way by virtue of internal factors at work in the countries in question — armed assistance has nothing in common with the "export of revolution." Lenin in those years constantly emphasized this, warning against any attempts whatever to carry the revolution and the socialist system to other countries at the point of the bayonet. The passage cited above, ruling out "instigation" of revolution, is from an article written by Lenin in 1918 in which he points out that given certain conditions (such as the aforementioned) it may become not only possible but imperative for Soviet Russia to give armed support to proletarian uprisings in other countries. But even in these conditions Lenin excluded any substitution of interference from without for revolutionary movements and revolutionary outbreaks made inevitable by internal development.

In this is borne in mind, if quotations are not taken out of their historical context, it will be perfectly clear that the statements by Lenin which imperialist propaganda and the Left-sectarians alike have seized upon, are being applied today to problems on which they have no bearing whatever. These statements refer to the simultaneous onset of revolution in a number of leading capitalist countries at a time when the international capitalist class had unleashed a counter-revolutionary war against the international proletariat. Unquestionably they are applicable to such a situation, for then the only alternative left to the working class is a revolutionary war by the united international proletariat against the combined forces of the international counter-revolution.

The course which the revolutionary process has actually taken — the victory of socialism first in one country followed by the breaking away of country after country from the capi-

*V. I. Lenin, *Report on the International and External Policy of the Republic*, delivered at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, December 23, 1921.

talist system, a process presupposing the comparatively prolonged coexistence of socialist and imperialist states — necessitates other forms of aid from the victorious working class to revolutions in other countries. When it became clear that the revolution would develop along these lines, Lenin thoroughly examined and substantiated these forms of aid, including the revolutionizing influence of the socialist example — and not only in his theoretical works, but in guiding the practical activities and shaping the policy of the Party. The Leninist general line of the Party, aimed at building socialism and then communism, envisages the steady growth of the force of example of the new society, of the international impact of its economic and other achievements.

We see, then, that there is nothing in Lenin's views that the opponents of peaceful coexistence and the supporters of all kinds of pseudo-revolutionary adventures could possibly use to justify their attitude.

If the "Left"-sectarian views on the foregoing questions were highly dangerous for the Communist movement in Lenin's lifetime, they are no less pernicious today.

First, they tend to heighten the war danger. If the socialist countries were to adopt the foreign policy advocated in their time by the "Left" Communists and the Trotskyites in Russia, and today by the Albanian leaders, tension would only be increased and more inflammable material added to the existing accumulation. To allow this to happen would make the situation still more explosive. There is another important aspect: if people who call themselves Communists evince the slightest doubt as to the importance of peace and peaceful competition, if, carried away by zeal, they propound adventurism as a "bold" and "resolute" policy, they add greatly to the danger, for they disorientate the peace fighters, sow confusion in their ranks on the cardinal question of the real source of the war danger, and thus undermine the united anti-imperialist peace front. Bourgeois propaganda seizes on such actions and doubts to "prove" that the danger emanates not from the imperialists but from socialism and the Communists.

Second, "Left"-sectarian views, were they to gain the upper hand as has happened in Albania, would undermine the Leninist general line aimed at building socialism and communism. They would replace it with an adventurist line which retards the building of the new society in the given country and thereby the

development of the world revolutionary process.

Third, the view that revolution can be "exported" would unquestionably have the most harmful effect on the working-class and Communist movement in the capitalist countries. It would stimulate tendencies to depend on others, to sit back and wait for socialism to be brought in from abroad, and lead to the isolation of the Communist parties from the masses.

Fourth, the "export of revolution" concept would undermine the international solidarity of the working-class movement and spread nationalistic views both in the countries seeking to "force blessings" on others and among the working people in the capitalist countries where any such attempt would only cause an outbreak of nationalism.

* * *

The force of example of socialism is in our time one of the main factors in the development of the international socialist revolution. That is how it is assessed by the world Communist movement. "The consolidation and development of the socialist system," declares the statement of the 81-party meeting held in Moscow in November 1960, "exert an ever-increasing influence on the struggle of the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example, the socialist world system is revolutionizing the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries; it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism and is greatly facilitating that fight."

Building the new society is, therefore, regarded by the Communists of the socialist countries as their supreme internationalist duty. In this light, nothing that happens in a socialist country is the internal affair of that country alone. And if one or another Party blunders, and especially if it departs from the correct line, it should not be offended if it is criticized by the Communists in other countries. For such blunders, incorrect political orientations, be they revisionist or dogmatist, harm the entire movement.

The Communist movement looks confidently to the future. The Communists know that the path charted by Lenin will lead to the triumph of their ideas on a world scale. And the working people of the socialist countries are accelerating the coming of this victory primarily by their success in building the new society. This is their inestimable contribution to the world socialist revolution.

Freedom and the Onward March of Knowledge

Kenjuro Yanagida

I WAS an adherent of philosophical idealism for years and was known as a proponent of anti-Marxism in Japan. This was not only a casual association with idealists; for a long time I was their spokesman. But some 12 years ago I took my first step toward materialism. Since then far-reaching changes have taken place not only in my own outlook, but in the world generally. For me personally these have been years of bitter struggle both in the sphere of theory and in practice. During this time my work has been accorded the recognition by my countrymen which it failed to win when I was an idealist, despite my desire to be of service to the people. Now the working people, whose esteem I have won precisely because of the path I have been following these 12 years, are displaying a growing interest in my work and in my public activity. Their support gives me new strength in my declining years and, what is most important, assurance that I am on the right road.

This feeling, the conviction that I am on the right road, impels me to share some of my thoughts with fellow Communists in other countries.

Some problems always occupy one's thoughts more than others. For myself, as for many other people active in the fight for peace and progress, such a problem is freedom, especially freedom of creative endeavor and social freedom.

Freedom Is Cognition of Necessity

The idealists have always given a metaphysical definition of freedom, relating it to the realm of the inner life of man in the abstract or regarding it as an attribute of human nature in general. Speculating on whether volition is free or not, they indulge in barren ratiocination utterly divorced from the real conditions of life and the history of human society. Actually the true meaning of freedom can be elucidated only by examining it in a concrete historical context.

For example, in primitive society man had to wage a desperate struggle for survival

against the hostile elemental forces of Nature. As an individual he was no freer than the beasts, which are completely in the power of blind natural necessity. Nature constantly jeopardized his very existence. Only by banding together, through solidarity and mutual aid, were men able to win a limited but nevertheless growing degree of freedom from the domination of the environment. There was no exploitation and subordination of some by others; social relations were simple and obvious. Man's first task on the road to freedom was to break away from the shackles of the environment, to win a measure of security against the tyranny of Nature.

This task of casting off the fetters of the elemental forces of Nature by means of social, collective labor has lost none of its urgency to this day. As a matter of fact, the battle is now being waged with unprecedented vigor, and the degree of freedom won in this respect exceeds all the cherished dreams of the past. In our time we are working to conquer not only terrestrial Nature but also outer space. *Never before has man enjoyed such a degree of freedom from the domination of Nature as at the present time.*

But freedom does not signify only emancipation from bondage to the elemental forces of Nature. Hitherto it has been the irony of history that the greater freedom enjoyed by man from the dictates of his natural environment, the more he has been caught in the grip of the elemental laws of an antagonistic society and its unjust social relations. By virtue of the objective dialectics of social development which Marx and Engels discovered, mankind in its march toward communism—the realm of freedom—has had to pass through the era of class society, class antagonisms, exploitation of man by man, and national and social oppression. However great man's power over Nature, so long as private property exists the majority — the working people — continues to suffer both from the elemental disasters of Nature, famine and epidemics, and from such social disasters as war, poverty, crises and unem-

ployment. *To be really free, man must win his freedom not from society, as some idealists say, but from all the social ills for which there is no longer any historical justification.*

Unlike the idealists, the materialists regard freedom not as something deriving from the will of the individual but as the result of mastery over the elemental forces of Nature and society. Take the animal tamer, for example. We envy his agility, skill and courage in handling a tiger. But, to overcome his fear of the beast, the tamer had to study its behavior and to train his own will power. As a result, the tiger obeys him, even though it still has the strength of ten men. The tiger's behavior has become a necessity and the tamer can freely enter its cage.

The same logic applies to the relationship between man and the elemental forces of Nature and society. If he merely defies them, the latter will destroy him, as a tiger would an inexperienced tamer. *Hence freedom is not a matter of imaginary independence of natural and social forces, but of mastering these forces and using them in our interests. Precisely because of this the materialists say that freedom is cognized necessity.* It took thousands of years for man to gain a measure of ascendancy over Nature. And he succeeded in doing this only thanks to collective effort and the collective experience of hundreds of generations embodied in science.

To break away from the fetters of a phenomenon one must above all know it. *Cognition of the objective laws of Nature and society, without knowledge of which man cannot be free, is the social function of science.* Yet knowledge of objective necessity is only a prerequisite, only the first step toward human freedom. To be really free (not only in one's thinking but also in practical activity), knowledge alone is not enough; *one must be able to apply this knowledge and act in conformity with the cognized necessity.* Here we come up against an obstacle on the way to human freedom—the selfish interests of the exploiting classes. Reactionary social forces not only hinder the development of science and especially the spread of knowledge among the common people, they resist the application of knowledge whenever it encroaches on their privileges.

Human History Is the History of Man's Fight for Freedom

We can say, with Hegel and Marx, that human progress taken as a whole, in all its broader implications, is at the same time the process of achieving freedom. The feudal

serf had more freedom than the slave. And, in turn, the worker in the capitalist factory is freer than the mediaeval peasant. When the construction of the socialist society is begun after the proletarian revolution, the liberty enjoyed by the working people is raised to a higher level and, with the realization of communist ideals, humanity attains maximum freedom.

At a certain stage, the development of the productive forces, while freeing man from the fetters of Nature, divides society into classes and gives rise to oppression of the working masses by a small ruling minority. Under these circumstances, growing productivity of labor leaders to the working people being denied their share in the boons of freedom and their life becomes more and more unbearable. The time comes when they rise to fight for their rights, for freedom for themselves. The fight, of course, does not always end in the complete victory of the exploited classes. But even when it is only partly successful, or ends in defeat, the participants in the struggle are steeled and they accumulate strength for the final, victorious encounter.

The people of Japan, for instance, have not yet won final victory in their fight against the new "security treaty"—the latest in a series of humiliating compacts with the USA. But their political awareness has grown in the struggle and, in particular, many among the intelligentsia have become politically active. The people, conscious that they can shape their own destiny, have awakened to the significance of organization and thus taken one more step toward freedom.

Hence it is hardly incorrect to say that *in a sense human history is the history of the struggle for freedom, the history of winning freedom.*

Bourgeois political writers insist that freedom and democratic rights are products of "Western civilization" as distinct from "Eastern despotism"; they would have us regard freedom as a blessing bestowed by the West along with the capitalist system. Yet the fact remains that the struggle for freedom and democracy has gone on throughout the history of all peoples and not in the Western countries alone; it is part of the progressive traditions of every nation.

The history of Japan, too, offers many examples of the masses rising against social injustice and waging a stubborn struggle for freedom. For example, the 1485 peasant rebellion in Yamashiro resulted in the establishment of popular self-government. The victorious peasants convened an assembly of

all citizens from 15 to 60 years of age and demanded that the land be turned over to the tillers, the soldiery withdrawn from the area and military posts abolished. Unable to resist the well-organized peasants, the samurai had to yield. The peasants elected 38 of their number to the central administrative body of the assembly, and for seven years the region was governed along republican lines.

In the 16th century free city-republics sprang up in Sakai, Hirano, Kuwana, Mitsuke and elsewhere, and in Kashiwazaki and Matsuyama the people took over police authority as well. Sakai, for instance, was a sort of Florence of the East, a center of handicrafts and trade. It refused to pay annual tribute to the local feudal lord and became a free city with its own self-government and defense force.

In the late 17th century major peasant uprisings took place under the leadership of the people's heroes Sogo Sakura and Mozaemon Haritsuke. The peasant movement developed as time went on, and eventually the peasant revolts of the early 19th century and the revolutionary movement in Osaka, Edo and other cities shook the feudal foundations of the Tokugawa shogunate and led to the victory of the Meiji "revolution" in 1868.

Natural Science and Freedom

How has science carried out to date its historical mission, what tasks has it solved in the process of the development of freedom?

The material basis for achieving human freedom has been created through the development of production, which in turn is associated with the subjugation of Nature. And the subjugation of Nature has always depended on progress in the natural sciences.

However, in the conditions of capitalist production neither automation nor rationalization, effected as a result of scientific and technological progress, nor the growing productivity of labor associated with them, pursue the aim of giving the workers more freedom and making their life happier. The results of scientific progress are used by the ruling classes to enrich themselves, while for the proletariat they signify intensified speed-up and growing unemployment.

The responsibility for this, of course, does not rest with the natural scientists. The contradiction is but a transient one, engendered by capitalist social relations. When private ownership of the means of production is abolished and they become public property, the natural sciences will be able

directly to serve their real purpose and become a powerful factor for extending human freedom. The steady growth of the productivity of labor will then benefit the working people themselves, man will, increasingly, extend his supremacy over Nature and its forces. Labor will be lighter, the working day will be shortened, living conditions will improve, and the distinctions between manual and mental labor and between town and countryside will be erased.

The social basis of freedom will thus be established. In this sense it may be said that *apart from social relations, there is nothing more important for man's freedom than the development of science. For without it man cannot achieve greater freedom.*

At the same time it should be borne in mind that *without a certain measure of freedom the development of science too is impossible.* The relationship between science and freedom is not merely a simple one-way cause-and-effect relation. The two constantly act on each other. Science, especially as applied to industry, was at a much lower level in the slave-owning and feudal epochs than in the subsequent periods not only because of the intellectual limitations of the time. The discoveries of Eratosthenes, Archimedes, Hero and Aristotle show that the scientists of antiquity were no less talented than the modern natural scientists. But their discoveries did not find practical application and were ignored. Because of this I believe that *where there is no freedom of action, there is no freedom of thought, and lacking this, science, in the final analysis, cannot develop successfully.*

It may indeed be said that the slow development of science in mediaeval society and the lag of the East behind Western Europe in science and technology were above all due to the stranglehold exercised by feudal and clerical reaction, which retained supremacy in the East long after its decline in Western Europe. In Japan, for instance, up to the Tokugawa period the strengthening of the feudal system was accompanied by increasing physical and ideological enslavement of the working people, who were subjected to unbridled exploitation. The ordinary man at the base of the social pyramid topped by the shogun had to prostrate himself, both figuratively and literally, before his rulers and pay obeisance to the samurai. Recalcitrants were beheaded. According to the samurai code, to cut off heads was no crime. Moreover, each class of society had its own hierarchic system of gradation according to age and sex, social antecedents and wealth.

Nowhere did people regard each other as equals.

Under this system the common people, who accounted for 90 per cent of the population, were denied the right to have surnames and were known only by their first names. (I, for example, would have been called simply Kenjuro.) They had no free choice of residence or craft. Children were permitted to take up only their parents' crafts. There was no freedom of religion, not to speak of freedom of speech and association. Each person was automatically attached to a definite Buddhist temple. The peasants had to pay a tribute of as much as 50-60 per cent of their harvest, besides diverse taxes and levies and compulsory labor service. Let the peasant neither live nor die was the guiding principle of the ruling classes on which the entire system of government rested.

To say that no scientific progress was possible under these social conditions would, of course, be wrong. This would be tantamount to denying historical progress, the onward march of society. Despite the obstacles and the feudal-clerical yoke which stifled scientific thought, the natural sciences irresistibly carved a way for themselves toward the end of the feudal period in Japan, just as they did in the West. Scientific thinking with its rationalism could not but develop into a powerful enemy of the feudal lords and shake the moribund social system to its foundations. The development of the productive forces and scientific progress came into conflict with the feudal relations of production and led to the bourgeois revolution, which greatly extended the liberties of the "third estate" and thereby ensured a leap forward in the natural sciences as well.

A similar picture is observed during the transition from capitalism to socialism. It cannot be said that scientists have no freedom of thought in contemporary capitalist society. Science therefore forges ahead under capitalism as well, in spite of its crying contradictions. But it is an incontrovertible fact that the conditions for the development of science under capitalism, especially at its imperialist stage, are far less favorable than in the new, socialist society. During imperialism the policy of the ruling classes becomes more and more reactionary; although capitalism continues to vaunt its traditions and calls itself the "free world," the people are denied genuine freedom. Hence it is not by chance that the rate of scientific progress in the USA has slowed down compared with the Soviet Union. The lag does not signify that

U.S. scientists are less talented than their Soviet opposite numbers; rather it is proof that the term "free society" is nothing but a false front.

Social Science and Freedom

The connection between the social sciences and freedom is still more obvious. The ruling coterie of any antagonistic class society tremble at the thought of the people apprehending the dynamics of exploitation. Therefore they seek to misrepresent the real social relations by propagating ideological doctrines designed to make black indistinguishable from white. Such an ideological weapon is idealism, and, in particular, its mass-consumption variant — religion.

All the philosophical systems known to the history of human thought have emerged from the constant struggle between idealism and materialism. In any society consisting of antagonistic classes, ruling groups which have outlived their time usually prefer idealism, sanctify it as the official ideology and accord it every privilege. Materialism, on the contrary, is persecuted as the opposition philosophy.

The more monstrous the class exploitation and the social oppression become and the more unendurable the suffering and poverty of the people, the greater the emphasis placed by the ruling classes on spreading ultra-idealistic views and bolstering up religion. For example, during the Tokugawa shogunate, Confucianism (especially the teaching of Chu Hsi) was made the official philosophy in feudal Japan. And when Japan unleashed her aggression in China as a prelude to the Second World War, the emphasis was laid on the cult of the emperor and on his "divine" descent. Those times are still fresh in the memory of the Japanese people.

In the dark years when Japan embarked upon imperialist war (1931-1945) it was made a criminal offence even to mention Marx or to own a book by Lenin. People were terrorized to a point where they shunned words like "society," "truth," etc. European songs, music and plays were banned. The blare of military marches and chauvinistic songs glorifying the emperor could be heard everywhere. Japanese history was falsified. Anti-scientific views were spread. The people were told that even if the forbears of the Europeans might have descended from the apes, the ancestors of the Japanese nation traced their lineage from the goddess Amaterasu and had descended from heaven. Public opinion was befuddled by lies. Anyone who searched for the truth,

spoke the truth and acted accordingly was hounded, thrown into prison or doomed to a violent death.

In my mind all this is associated with the illusions now sown by the ideologists of what bourgeois journalists have been calling the "free world" ever since the Second World War. In step with the aggravation of the contradictions of imperialism, the growing difficulty of concealing the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy, and the intensification of the struggle waged by the colonial and dependent peoples, the scribes of capitalism have been falling back more and more on terms such as "Western democracy," "the open society," "the free world," and so on. Something of the same order happened in Japan in the past as well. The more intolerable the exploitation and oppression grew, the more insistently were the illusory ideas of the "sublimity of the emperor" and the "superiority of Japan's state system" drummed into the people. In exactly the same way the U.S. imperialists, who have inflicted indescribable suffering on entire peoples through dictators like Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Ngo Din Diem, Franco and Salazar, have steadily intensified their efforts to spread the "free world" illusion ever since the Second World War.

As the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries abolished the exploiting classes, shaped their life anew and won freedom and happiness, the imperialists redoubled their propaganda, claiming that there was no freedom in these countries and that their people were doomed to slave labor. In order to safeguard the freedom of the "democratic countries" and "prevent Communist world-conquest," the imperialists say, the armaments drive must be intensified, U.S. military bases established all over the world, military alliances and blocs set up, and the production of atom and hydrogen bombs continued. The obvious conclusion is that the more patently imperialist a country is, the greater the efforts made to persuade its people that it is a "free country," and the stronger the hold this illusion has on the people, the faster they are deprived of the last vestiges of freedom.

An American journalist once aptly said that if the fascists ever take over in the United States, they will do so in the guise of "defense of democracy and freedom." The bitter irony of this was brought home to me once again when the Ikeda government in my own country tried to force through Parliament a bill prohibiting demonstrations on the pretext that they endangered democracy.

The rulers of a society where things like this can happen not only ignore the objective truth revealed by social science. They loathe it and stop at nothing to suppress it. Above all they fear the elucidation of problems concerning social development, for they realize that once the truth becomes widely known the very right of their society to exist will be questioned. The fears of the imperialists are comparable to the fears experienced by the mediaeval monks when faced with discoveries in the sphere of natural science — perhaps even greater, for the objective truth revealed by social science is that imperialism has been doomed by history; this truth is imperialism's death knell.

Regardless of how accurately our knowledge reflects objective reality, if it runs counter to the interests of the ruling capitalist class there is not the slightest doubt that the latter will do everything in its power to deny that it is the truth and to suppress it. Hence the greater the threat to their existence, the more the imperialists turn away from the truth revealed by social science, deny the people the right to search for the truth, and seek to befuddle them with falsehoods and illusions. Anyone who dares to speak the truth in the world of bourgeois journalism is barred from the press, radio and television, while those who turn their guns against Marxism are given every encouragement.

No one knows this better than I, for I have learned from my own experience how one's social standing is affected by a change of views. The moment I chose materialism, my earnings fell sharply. Gradually I was ousted from all the positions I had held. A police officer constantly prowls round my home in Omiya, and every now and then he questions the neighbors about my doings. Often I am followed to my lectures by a plainclothesman.

In a society which boasts of its illusory "freedom" the elementary democratic rights of the working people are trampled upon. For example, in the USA and West Germany the Communists are persecuted, and people are tried and sent to prison simply because they are Marxists and fight for peace. In Federal Germany, besides a large number of arrests and convictions, legal action has been taken in recent years against 12,000 persons whose only "crime" is their work for peace and against nuclear armament, for mutual understanding among all Germans and for disarmament. At the same time the Bundestag legislates pensions for SS killers. In

France, OAS thugs, with the connivance of the authorities, have unleashed a terror campaign against the Republicans who want to save the country from fascism. In Algeria French police shoot down patriots who demand freedom. Ostensibly to protect the interests of the state but actually to serve the monopolies, strikes and demonstrations against war and the armaments drive are illegal.

Despite its desperate efforts to deprive the masses of the freedom to search for the truth, imperialism is powerless to suppress the truth. One can try to persuade a person that there is no terrestrial gravitation, but gravitation as such cannot be abolished. A man who misses his step on a footbridge will fall into the water below regardless of whether he is acquainted with the theory of gravitation or not. But although capitalism fears the truth and seeks to deprive the people of the right to search for it, it is forced to yield before the truth of Marxism-Leninism, for the intrigues and obstacles raised by the U.S. and other imperialists cannot abolish the laws governing historical development. Thus, *while the aim of the natural sciences is man's liberation from the domination of the elemental forces of Nature, the aim of the social sciences is his deliverance from the injustices of antagonistic class society. Consequently, the aim of social science, perhaps to an even greater degree than that of natural science, is the winning of freedom.*

Where there is no genuine science, there can be no emancipation of man. Moreover, there is only one scientific truth. The experience of the revolutions made by the peoples of countries with a population of more than 1,000 million has proved that Marxism-Leninism is this truth. In no country can the socialist revolution be successful if the theory of Marxism-Leninism is ignored. Any deviation to Right or Left from this path, the only correct one, would doom the revolution to defeat.

With the development of Marxist-Leninist science and the realization of its ideas in practice, man achieves a steadily growing measure of freedom. In turn, the growth of freedom enriches and stimulates science, accelerating the attainment of true knowledge. The imperialists, seeing the Marxist-Leninist science of society developing and spreading throughout the world, stop at nothing to counteract it. But their efforts can lead only to one result; whatever contradicts the truth can only come to a bad end. Defying the truth leads the imperialists in the final analysis into an impasse, enmeshes them in a web

of contradictions. This is what is happening to the U.S. imperialists. The peoples of the socialist countries, on the contrary, are winning greater and greater freedom through practical efforts based on knowledge of the laws of social development. And freedom opens unlimited prospects for the advancement of science.

Freedom As the Existentialists See It and Freedom under Socialism

One of the typical forms of idealism in modern capitalist society is the existentialist concept of freedom. Let us compare this speculative conception with freedom under socialism in order to establish which of these represents true freedom. Such an examination is all the more timely since many petty-bourgeois intellectuals still believe that existentialist liberty is genuine human freedom and that there is no real freedom under socialism.

In the first place, the existentialists oppose spirit to matter and, proceeding from this false premise, argue that there can be no true freedom as long as man remains a slave to his material interests. The existentialist "I" is primarily the spirit which can be truly free only when it has broken away from bondage to material desires.

This introspective doctrine ignores objective reality and denies the dialectical link between the physical and spiritual. Like all idealistic theories it is metaphysical and anti-historical. Any worker or peasant whose daily life is a long succession of hardships knows full well that freedom of the spirit without a material basis is an illusion. The working man deprived of the means of production is dependent on the capitalist. Under these circumstances the workers can hardly feel themselves free, regardless of the efforts made to convince them of the contrary by telling them they are free to choose between the Republican and Democratic parties.

Idealism, like a camera lens, affords an inverted view of phenomena. If when buttoning up your coat you miss the first button-hole none of the buttons will fall into place. The same happens if you look at things in the order prescribed by idealist theory—you get an inverted picture in which truth appears as falsehood and injustice as justice. *Our material and cultural requirements should be satisfied, not ignored. Herein lies the realization of genuine human freedom.*

True, in the course of the social struggle people often temporarily sacrifice their material requirements for the sake of higher

goals. But who makes the heaviest sacrifice? Certainly not the existentialist idealists, or the clergy who claim they are the servants of God. Those who sacrifice most are the materialists, the Communists, who fight selflessly for peace and democracy and a better life for man. But the Communists do not equate freedom with renunciation of material desires. They give up their own personal desires and pressing needs in order to fight for the fullest possible satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the masses, in other words, for the attainment of true human freedom. Their self-sacrifice fills me with the deepest admiration.

The Japanese Communists are my country's conscience. Their shining example in the murky backwaters of capitalist society is like the white glow of the lotus-flower—the symbol of purity—burgeoning out in the spring against the dark background of the swamp. Nowhere have I met such nobility of spirit as among the Communists. Nor could it be otherwise. For in present-day Japan to be a Communist is not “profitable,” to say the least. Therefore no self-seeker is ever drawn to their ranks. Those who join the camp of communism, despite the dangers and privations involved, cannot but be warm-hearted, noble-minded men and women.

In a society divided into antagonistic classes there can be no abstract universal freedom for all. In such a society the freedom enjoyed by the exploiters and reactionaries precludes freedom for the working people. And, in turn, the freedom of the majority who live by their labor precludes the freedom of the capitalists and landlords to oppress and deceive the people. These two kinds of freedom are irreconcilable. But the reactionary bourgeoisie will not voluntarily give up its freedom to grow rich at the expense of the people. For the working people to be really free to order their lives according to their own interests, the freedom to exploit and trample on others must be abolished. This cannot be done without revolutionary struggle for social justice. The freedom of the working man presupposes the liberation of all the people. Only he whose personal interests coincide with the aspirations of the people can be truly free in our time.

In capitalist society the overwhelming majority of the people lack the material wherewithal to enjoy freedom. Fear of the morrow is their life-long scourge. The workers in the capitalist countries and the working people of the colonies and dependencies in Asia, Africa and Latin America know how little freedom there is in the vaunted “free world.”

In the socialist countries human freedom rests on a tangible material basis. Here all the means of production belong to the working people and not to the minority. A person's life is materially secure from birth. He will never know what it means to fear losing his job. People want their labor to be useful to society. And working for society they make their own life secure. It is this above all that makes the socialist countries truly free.

The existentialists hold that the essence of man is his individuality. And although they cannot deny that man is primarily a social being, they nevertheless regard society merely as a conglomerate of individuals independent of one another, each guided by an urge to win spiritual freedom from society. Such theorizing is fully in line with the traditional ideology of bourgeois individualism and liberalism with their utilitarian slogan: “That which is good for me is good for society.”

Man can never achieve absolute independence of social relations, all the more so since his wishes, interests and emotions are the product of social development. The essence of man is determined not by his individual free will, but by social and historical relationships and the place he occupies in them. Hence the whole question of freedom hinges on social relations, not on individual volition. Therefore, to win true freedom we must above all fight for genuinely human social relationships which presuppose freedom for all.

By divorcing freedom from politics, the existentialists seek to reduce it to a purely moral issue. The people may be deprived of all liberties, unemployment and poverty may be rampant, but the existentialists will turn a blind eye to the people's suffering and insist that the supreme principle of human life is “self-assertion.” Some feel that this view can be condoned as a subjective idea of a purely intellectual order which has nothing to do with politics. But the fact remains that the more people there are who are neutral and indifferent to politics, the easier it is for the ruling classes to maintain their domination.

In our time the emancipation of the individual is not a simple question each can solve for himself through introspection. On the contrary, to defend our liberties we must above all organize to resist those who suppress freedom. *Organization is that paramount condition without which history cannot be advanced further.* Hence the need to rally all the progressive forces and to cement their

solidarity through organization. To achieve this, we must coordinate our actions, even if this implies "iron discipline." True human freedom cannot be achieved without overcoming bourgeois individualism.

My dear friends, Communists the world over, I rejoice in the victories which the peoples are achieving in their struggle for freedom. I am proud of these victories. Hand in hand, let us march on!

WMR Interviews

Trade Unions and the Struggle for Socialism

In the previous issue we published the replies given by trade union leaders from 12 countries to the first of the three questions asked them at the end of the Fifth World Trade Union Congress—what are the most important gains achieved by the working class in recent times through the medium of the trade unions? We now publish the replies to questions two and three.

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?

FRANTISEK ZUPKA,

Chairman, Central Council of the Trade Unions of Czechoslovakia:

In our country the trade unions are the biggest organization of the working class. Their significance and their position are determined by the position of the working class itself, which in Czechoslovakia is the ruling class.

In our socialist conditions the trade unions, led by the Communists, are carrying out their mission of raising the standard of living of the working people. They are doing this by enrolling big sections of the people in the task of fulfilling the plans.

In their day-to-day work, the trade unions sometimes come up against difficulties, particularly in social security and industrial hygiene and safety problems and matters pertaining to the labor code and wages. But the difficulties are ironed out thanks to the fact that each collective of workers plays an active educational role and combats the survivals of bourgeois mentality met with among individual workers, including managerial personnel. The powers invested in the unions, reflected in the law governing the functions of the primary trade union organizations, are of great significance. This law obliges economic bodies to solve the vital

problems of the working people only in agreement with the unions. As socialist democracy develops, many of the functions of government bodies, including industrial hygiene and safety measures, drafting and implementation of labor legislation, are gradually being transferred to the trade unions. Greater opportunities are therefore being created for the unions to enlist the workers in the management of industry and running the state.

THAN DANG TUEN,

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

The trade unions in our country, which embrace the absolute majority of the working people, organize emulation among them and give free rein to their abilities with a view to raising labor productivity and drawing them into the management of industry. The trade unions have helped in developing a system of political, cultural and technical education by organizing spare-time and full-time courses. We have raised the average educational level of our workers, most of whom had been illiterate, to that of the third or fourth class. Many workers continue their education at schools attached to their enterprises.

Our unions, naturally, play a big part in raising the standard of living. In addition to participating in the work of the government bodies that formulate policy and draft laws and other decisions affecting the working people, the unions give practical effect to these measures. They have helped in extending the network of public catering establishments, kindergartens, and in building houses, hospitals, sanatoriums, recreation homes. The Council of Ministers recently decided to transfer all social insurance affairs to the trade unions.

In a word, the trade unions in our country are, as Lenin has said, "schools of administration, schools of management, schools of communism."

JESUS SOTO DIAZ,

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

In replying to this question let me refer you to the resolutions of our last Trade Union Congress. Not only did this Congress express its opinion on important international issues, it discussed problems of industrial expansion and labor productivity, i.e., development of emulation, of general and technical education for workers, etc. It also discussed welfare and health questions, recreation, help to workers' clubs and children's groups, and the task of defending the revolution and the country by reinforcing the national militia and the army. In short, our trade unions set and solve the basic tasks of the working class in building a socialist society.

RAGNAR ANDERSSON,

Secretary, Bricklayers' Union, Goeteborg (Sweden):

The considerable contribution made by the trade union movement in the socialist countries to their dynamic development has strengthened our conviction that this movement is something more than an instrument for safeguarding the day-to-day interests of trade unionists within the framework of the existing economic structure. In all countries and at all times the trade union movement will be an important factor in building socialism.

JEAN BRETEAU,

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

It goes without saying that the role of the trade unions in the struggle for social pro-

gress is not the same in countries with differing social systems.

The First Congress of the International Working Men's Association (First International), held in Geneva in 1866, adopted a resolution on trade unions. Drawn up by Marx, this resolution stated: "If trade unions are indispensable for the guerilla war between capital and labor, they are still more important as *an organized force for accelerating the abolition of the wages system and the power of capital.*" These words clearly define the role and the place of the trade unions in capitalist society. And indeed, Marx's idea, though worded differently, is embodied in the Statute of our General Confederation of Labor.

Seventy per cent of the working people vote for the GCL at elections to the factory committees, for they know that the Confederation does not confine itself to defending their social and economic demands. The GCL also takes a stand on political issues such as the Algerian war, the fascist danger and German imperialism — problems which the working people are most anxious to see solved.

The GCL is, needless to say, independent of political parties, as its Statute makes clear. But it is not, for example, indifferent to the threat to public liberties, or to the danger of another war.

Its stand on these issues is wholly in keeping with the interests of the working people; that is why organizations such as the Confederation of Christian Workers and Force Ouvrière, which for a number of years have refused to have anything to do with politics — though in reality they have taken definite political stands — now say they can no longer stand aloof. Moved by ambitions, more or less concealed but continually bursting forth, their leaders are above all seeking to take the place of the Communist Party. That is where their anti-Communism takes them! Ludicrous, of course, but politics again.

As the GCL is a mass organization in which there is not a complete community of views, and as it is not guided by scientific theory, the opportunities for explanatory work are somewhat limited.

Only the Communist Party can explain to the vanguard of the organized working class the law of impoverishment and its causes, the law of the uneven development of capitalism, and Marxism-Leninism as the scientific theory of the working-class movement.

The success of the workers' struggle depends on broad unity and, particularly, on the Communist and Workers' parties participating in and leading this struggle.

ANDREAS ZUARTHIDIS,

General Secretary, Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labor:

Social progress is inseparable from raising the standard of living. You cannot have social progress when millions live in poverty. When, therefore, the trade unions fight for higher wages, a shorter working day, social security, better housing and education, they are, in fact, contributing to the general political struggle for social progress.

KHACHATUR ARA,

General Secretary, General Federation of Trade Unions of Iraq:

Paramount among the tasks of the working-class movement and, hence, of the trade union movement, is the noble objective of all mankind — the defense of peace. The international proletariat should be on its guard, and fight resolutely for peaceful coexistence through general and complete disarmament, work to wipe out the remnants of the Second World War and, particularly, for a settlement of the West Berlin problem and a peace treaty with Germany.

Any underestimation of the possibilities for preserving world peace and of the principle of peaceful coexistence has its source in that the international situation and the present balance of forces have been wrongly assessed. In the same way adventurist ideas and an orientation towards military provocations are completely alien to the working class and injure its cause.

The working class is, of course, fighting to destroy the old world and create a new one; but what kind of a "new" world would there be after a nuclear holocaust? Only along the road of peaceful coexistence can a genuinely new world be created; in this new world war will be prohibited as a means of solving international disputes and imposing on the peoples alien regimes.

Reactionary trade union leaders are against the unions taking part in politics. Yet the day-to-day function of the trade unions under capitalism is to defend the rights of the working people and secure better conditions for them. And since it is a matter of rights, the trade unions are forced to wage a political struggle. Thus, by defending freedom of association, the trade unions participate in the

political struggle for democratic rights for all the people.

The Program of Action adopted by the WFTU defines trade unions' place in the community. It will be an indispensable guide for the entire international trade union movement. This program should not, however, be copied or used to substitute for national programs of trade union federations in different countries. Neither can these national programs be copied and artificially applied in other countries.

SOICHI HOSOI,

All-Japan Trade Union of State Railway Workers:

It is important that the trade unions should correctly combine political and economic tasks. Their experience in the struggle against the new Japanese-American "security treaty" has brought this fact home to the Japanese workers. But there is a view that the trade unions should not participate in the political struggle. Naturally, the functions of a party differ from the functions of a trade union. But if the trade unions — the main force and the main detachment of the working class — do not take part in the political struggle, who will? It is important that the political parties and the trade unions retain their independence and, on this basis, establish the relationship of cooperation.

It was the workers' grievances which brought the trade unions into being. It is only natural, therefore, that the unions should fight for a socialist system which will solve the basic problems facing the working class.

MICHAEL IMOUDU,

Chairman, Nigerian Congress of Trade Unionss

It is the role of the trade unions in any society to develop the theory and practice of socialism, to fight for a better life for the people, for genuine social progress. In our conditions, when we still have to win economic independence, a very important task devolves on the trade unions in the struggle against the domination of foreign capital. The unions must fight for civic freedoms, indeed for the right to existence; for progressive working-class legislation; for nationalization of the basic industries; for industrialization and, even, for a national Constitution.

SINFOROSO CABRERA ROMERO,

*Secretary, Miners' Trade Union
Catavi (Bolivia):*

The trade union is an association of the vital creative forces of the economy. It should not, therefore, merely be a medium for submitting petitions. While fighting for immediate demands, the trade unions, by virtue of their class nature, should make a point of studying the social, economic and political problems of their country and mankind generally; they should draw the correct conclusions, direct the militant actions of the working class and lead it in the fight to abolish exploitation of man by man.

ANTONIO PEREIRA DOS SANTOS,

Secretary, Spinners' and Weavers' Trade Union, Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais State (Brazil):

The trade unions should devote special attention to organizing and uniting the working people, for this is the basis of any action. They should rely on the masses, to whom it should be made clear that the struggle is not waged for economic demands alone, but that political demands should also be advanced. Only in this way will the working

people be able to take over power and establish genuine democracy.

MOSES MABHIDA,

Vice-Chairman, South African Congress of Trade Unions:

Since the working class is the backbone of every society, its role in the social progress of a country is all the more important. The struggle of the African working class does not cease when a country wins independence. It goes on. And I consider that the trade unions, as organizations of the proletariat, should be independent, that they should act on behalf of the working class and fight, particularly, for social security, which as yet is practically non-existent in Africa. The trade unions should be given the chance of assisting in moulding the future of their countries, of taking part fully in the government, in managing industrial and agricultural enterprises.

We are glad that union leaders are now at the helm in some African countries. It is most important, however, that they should place the interests of the working class and the interests of the country above all else, and keep a watchful eye on the classes which have waxed rich on the blood of the workers.

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

FRANTISEK ZUPKA

(Czechoslovakia):

Unity on a national and international scale is one of the basic conditions not only for achieving the goals to which the working class of every country aspires, but also for realizing the dream cherished by all progressives everywhere — the elimination of war from the life of society.

It was for this purpose that after the Second World War the proletariat established its own international trade union organization, the World Federation of Trade Unions. But the Right-wing reformist leaders — yes-men of the capitalist monopolies—undermined this unity by setting up the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which is today the main obstacle to unity, to ending the split in the trade union movement. The Right-wing leaders forbid the unions affiliated to the ICFTU to establish contact with the progressive unions and sabotage all the proposals of the WFTU for united action.

The Czechoslovak trade unions, in common with the other organizations affiliated

to the WFTU, support all the latter's efforts to promote unity. This aim is furthered by our friendly ties with the trade unions belonging to different international centers and also with non-affiliated organizations. Last year we were visited by trade union delegations from 52 countries.

THAN DANG TUEN

(Democratic Republic of Vietnam):

In carrying out the decisions of the Fifth World Trade Union Congress, the working people and trade unions of our country will do everything possible to cement our friendship with the working people of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries. We shall extend our friendly relations with the trade unions of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. We are glad that the solidarity and unity of the working people and the international trade union movement have grown considerably in recent years. We believe that the common struggle against the U.S. imperialists — the most dangerous enemy of the peoples upholding national independence, democracy and social progress — is the foundation on which the

militant ranks of the working people everywhere can be further consolidated.

The present situation in the world trade union movement shows that the enemies of unity and working-class solidarity are the reactionary leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. These gentlemen preach to the workers about "class harmony," and about the "generous aid" which U.S. imperialism — the latter-day colonialism — extends to the underdeveloped countries. It is necessary to expose this nonsense, show up the splitters in their true colors and clear up the ideological fog they have caused. We are convinced that, as the revolutionary struggle of the working people gains momentum, the splitters will have less and less scope for activity.

JEUSU SOTO DIAS

(Cuba):

The solidarity of the working people of other countries and their organizations like the WFTU meant a great deal to us during our struggle against the Batista tyranny. We owe our present victories, too, in large measure, to the support of the trade unions and peoples of other countries.

This heightens our conviction that when we succeed in uniting all the working people of our continent by drafting a common program of trade union action or by establishing a single trade union organization, the days of bitterness will change to days of hope and joy for the Latin American peoples.

If little Cuba can stand up against imperialism and defeat it, think of what the 200-million strong people of Latin America could accomplish if we were united in our resolve to fight for the solution of our problems! We believe that that time is not far off.

RAGNAR ANDERSSON

(Sweden):

The most gratifying thing about the WFTU Congress from our point of view was that — as we have now learned — some of the contacts that had been suspended by the split in the international trade union movement have now been resumed. Highly encouraging too is the evidence that unity is developing in countries like France and Italy, where there are several trade union centers. We believe that the idea of holding discussions on particular problems as a means of building unity, as proposed by

Comrade Novella of the Italian General Confederation of Labor, is quite correct.

An obstacle to united action is the policy pursued by the ICFTU leadership, which tells the leaders of the Central Trade Union Federation of Sweden to adopt a negative attitude as well. In spite of the differences, however, the Swedish trade union movement has preserved its unity throughout the sixty-odd years of its existence, much to the annoyance of the employers. Had it not been for trade union unity, our standard of living would be much lower than it is today.

JEAN BRETEAU

(France):

United action at the enterprises has been achieved and extended thanks to the ceaseless efforts of the General Confederation of Labor in explaining to the workers the expediency and the inevitability of unity and in exposing the maneuvers of the Right-wing leaders of the Confederation of Christian Workers, Force Ouvrière and the Federation of National Education.

Experience has shown that union leaders who oppose unity are sometimes forced, as a result of united action among the rank and file, to make common cause with the General Confederation of Labor. Numerous instances could be cited showing how the growing unity in the day-to-day struggle in the factories, on construction sites and in offices has led to joint action on a Department and even a national scale by the General Confederation of Labor, Force Ouvrière, Christian unions and FNE. These trade union centers appeal jointly to the workers in one or another industry or Department to take united action for a certain time.

In January 1960 and again in April 1961, under pressure from the workers, the Christian Unions, the FNE and the National Students' Union were obliged to call for joint action with the GCL.

Immediately after the National Day of Struggle Against the Fascist Danger, held on December 6, 1961, on the initiative of the Communist Party, the General Confederation of Labor and the Communist Youth Movement, the leaders of the Christian Trade Unions suggested to the GCL leaders that they should meet to discuss the anti-fascist struggle. The powerful demonstration of December 19 was the result of this move.

The leaders of other trade union centers are, of course, trying to stave off the inevitable unity. They may succeed for a time

but in the end they will be forced to accept it or to retire from the scene.

Not long ago the General Confederation of Labor addressed an open letter to all members of Force Ouvrière urging them to help "bar the road to the OAS and fascism, to demand peace in Algeria through negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, and jointly to fight for the workers' demands."

The decisions of the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions, and especially its Program of Action, will undoubtedly stimulate unity in the enterprises and on a national scale, which, in turn, will make it possible to advance along the road to international unity.

But, as Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the GCL, said at the Congress, "there is no highroad to unity. Unity must be fought for, and the struggle will go on so long as capitalism exists. There is no easy way, nor can there be. The struggle is part and parcel of the class struggle."

The road to unity is beset with numerous obstacles. The leaders of Force Ouvrière, the Christian unions and the FNE, fearing the mass popular movement, are indulging in a barrage of blatantly false accusations to the effect that the "GCL is a branch of the Communist Party."

The way to overcome these obstacles is to rally the masses of the working class and to level straightforward, clear-cut criticism at the leaders who resist unity, criticism based on facts. Only in this way will it be possible to put an end to anti-communism, that bogey which the capitalists always use against workers of all persuasions whenever they rise in struggle against their class enemies.

ANDREAS ZUARTHIDIS

(Cyprus):

Any manifestation of united action in the factories, however insignificant, is of the utmost importance inasmuch as it enriches the experience of the masses. This unity gives added strength to the forces fighting for peace. It helps to bring the working people nearer to the better life for which they are fighting.

Up to 1954 cooperation between our Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labor and the other three trade union centers in Cyprus was practically out of the question. Today, however, despite the efforts of the enemies of the working class, all four centers are working together in nearly all spheres. A splendid

example of united action was the strike of bank clerks in October-November 1961 which lasted six weeks and was supported by all four centers. The secretary of the bank clerks' union, which is affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, attended the Fifth WFTU Congress as an observer and spoke from its platform.

In his report to the Congress in Moscow, Comrade Louis Saillant urged his audience "to expose the enemies of unity firmly, clearly and convincingly, to explain the causes and the consequences of their attitude." We fully agree with this viewpoint. But our experience in Cyprus has taught us that in fighting for unity of action trade union leaders and activists frequently concentrate on only one aspect of this concept, i.e., on exposing the opponents of unity, and do not pay enough attention to another aspect, namely, that the exposing be conducted in a firm and convincing way. Experience has taught us that unconvincing attempts to expose the disrupters merely plays into their hands.

It should be remembered that not all the leaders of the other unions are opposed to unity. The ancient Greeks used to say that "he who is not a Greek is a barbarian." We should not make the same mistake and say that "every trade union leader who is not a supporter of the WFTU is, ipso facto, a splitter." In criticizing the opponents of unity we should be careful how we go about it and avoid name-calling.

The main obstacle to unity is the activity of some ICFTU leaders, chiefly American. The disruption which these people have caused in the labor movement, both in separate countries and at the international level, is a consequence of that unpleasant but undeniable fact that capitalist ideology is penetrating into the ranks of the working class and influencing that part of it in which class consciousness is still weak. The more we succeed in overcoming capitalist ideology, the less chance the splitters will have to carry on their subversive work.

KHACHATUR ARA

(Iraq):

During the first year of the Iraqi revolution working-class unity was strikingly manifested. The attempts made then by some bourgeois circles to split the trade unions failed. There was ample evidence too of the unity of the proletariat with other democratic forces in the country, and of its international

solidarity as well. We supported the government in its efforts to uphold and strengthen national independence, and to combat imperialism, feudalism and reaction. The unions conducted a flexible policy with regard to the anti-imperialist bourgeoisie. For example, during that period strike action as a means of safeguarding the workers' rights was avoided. But when the government began to feel itself sufficiently strong, and when its fear of the reactionary forces gave way to fear of the growing movement of the working people, it began to take action against the democratic forces in the hope of weakening, isolating and then crushing them altogether.

Although the government's anti-democratic measures scared the less class-conscious workers for a time, they heightened the fighting spirit of broad sections of the working class. Government agents and counter-revolutionaries who have latterly been appointed to leading posts in the General Federation of Trade Unions of Iraq and in many trade unions find themselves completely isolated. The Iraqi working class is no less united today than formerly. There is no labor aristocracy in our country which could breed an opportunistic reformist ideology. The proletariat knows well who is the real champion of its interests. While outraged by the police brutality and other unsavory methods employed by the authorities, the workers support their trade unions, and not only those in which the revolutionary leadership has been preserved but also those where alien elements predominate. And the workers are right in doing so, for the unions and our federation are in themselves important victories for the Iraqi proletariat.

The degree of contact maintained by the trade union movement or the federation of one or another country with the WFTU depends in large measure on the maturity of the trade union movement in the given country, on the class consciousness of its members, its gains, etc. The form and the extent of this contact are, therefore, tactical matters. However, they should in no way conflict with the general line of policy, namely, to strengthen the WFTU by every possible means. In the final analysis membership in the WFTU is the best expression of unity.

Hence when a trade union federation is established in one or another part of the world, it is necessary to weigh carefully both the negative and the positive aspects of this event and to act accordingly. The desire to establish such federations at all costs without taking into account whether they will

be a help or a hindrance to the unity of the world trade union movement, of which the WFTU is the symbol, can only play into the hands of the agents of the monopolies in the ranks of the international working class.

By isolating themselves from the trade union centers in the socialist countries, the trade union federations of the capitalist countries, both developed and underdeveloped, are causing grave injury to the trade union movement in their own countries, since that movement is cut off from the experience of the class which has been freed from all forms of exploitation and is now a living example for the masses all over the world.

The service rendered by the WFTU to the international working class cannot be overestimated. This service cannot be considered apart from the nature of the present structure of the WFTU as a forum in which the trade union federations participate on an international basis irrespective of the political system and degree of social development of the countries represented. This, however, does not mean that all the trade union organizations affiliated to the WFTU must adhere to the same ideology.

SOICHI HOSOI

(Japan):

In strengthening unity it is well to recall the principles laid down in the WFTU Program of Action:

—mutual respect and non-interference in the affairs of the national trade union centers and individual unions;

—defining the issues on which the workers can unite;

—fixing joint objectives and slogans and voluntarily eliminating points on which there is no agreement.

"Workers of all countries, unite under the banner of the WFTU!" — this is the slogan of social progress. It points the only correct way to unity. But is there an incorrect road to unity? Yes, there is — the road along which the leadership of the ICFTU is trying to lure the workers. Anyone who knows the history of the international working-class movement knows that the WFTU was created on the basis of unity, and the ICFTU, on the basis of a split. And the ICFTU leadership pursues its splitting policy to this day. What can the workers gain from the ICFTU policy of collaborating with U.S. imperialism and West German militarism? Clearly, for the workers such collaboration can only mean

war, unemployment and poverty. The struggle against the splitters is an integral part of the struggle for class unity.

The idea recently mooted by the Yugoslav and other trade unions for uniting the forces of the non-affiliated trade union centers should also be censured. After all, there can be only one kind of unity for mass working-class organizations like the trade unions — class unity. The attitude of the trade unions should not be confused with the neutrality of non-committed states. The amalgamation of non-affiliated trade unions would work only to the advantage of the capitalist West and, primarily, U.S. imperialism.

MICHAEL IMOUDU

(Nigeria):

In Nigeria, as in West Africa as a whole, unity is growing. The workers support the All-African Trade Union Federation which is not affiliated to any of the international centers. But the leaders of the ICFTU are doing all in their power to undermine the unity of the African working class, impelling some of the African union leaders onto the path of betrayal. ICFTU agents in Nigeria have gone so far as to get the government to blacklist the active members of our Congress. They are out to bar the road to the development of the African workers' movement.

MOSES MABHIDA

(South African Republic):

There are three trade union centers in our country: two European federations — the Trade Union Congress of South Africa and the Federation of Labor of South Africa which coordinates the miners' and railwaymen's unions, and also unions of workers of mixed origin — and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the only trade union center in which workers of all races are found. True, there are only a few European workers in our trade union center, but these are the best and the most class conscious.

What is the cause of the division in our movement? First and foremost the theory of white supremacy, which has wide currency among the workers of European origin. When a white man is employed his wages and status, regardless of his skill, are automatically higher, solely because of the color of his skin. Take the mines, for example: a European miner gets £60 a month while the maximum wage of an African is £5.

The reactionary government in South Africa fosters racial antagonism in every possible way. For example, it declares that if the African and European trade unions were allowed to unite, the Africans would use the unions for political ends to wrest power from the whites. This kind of talk scares the European workers and helps to keep them on the side of the government.

Anxious to perpetuate their privileged position, the European workers support the discriminatory measures of the government. Last spring, for example, when our Congress was about to declare a strike, the European workers were issued arms along with the police and the troops to fight the Africans. I believe that in this sense they share responsibility with the government.

Still, our South African T.U. Congress constantly appeals to the European unions to join in the struggle against the common enemy — the capitalists. But so far all our offers have been rejected. True, as recent events showed, the European workers request T.U. Congress assistance when unemployment affects the whites. The recently organized unemployed workers' union (white) is working together with the T.U. Congress, although the other organizations show no interest in cooperating with us.

Workers in other countries, however, including workers of European origin, render us very substantial assistance. I remember how in 1958 when the government used prisoners to load vessels in Port Elizabeth during a dockers' strike, the Australian dockers refused to unload South African ships. This splendid demonstration of proletarian solidarity forced the authorities to take the prisoners off the job.

In connection with your question, I should like to cite the following example of the attitude taken by the leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. During the Port Elizabeth strike they put on a show of support for the boycott. Two years later they sent their representatives to us with the object of inducing our Congress to withdraw from the liberation movement. At the same time they tried — happily, in vain — to set up nationalist trade unions, playing on the hatred of the Africans for their white oppressors. These facts show that the leaders of the ICFTU are out to disrupt working-class unity.

The establishment of the All-African Federation of Trade Unions last year in Casablanca was a big event for the African workers since it put an end to the division in the

African unions which played into the hands of the imperialists. But here, too, the ICFTU continued its intrigues. In January this year it convened a conference in Dakar of several African unions and established a second African trade union center. Resorting to all kinds of manipulations and raising the bogey of a doctrine which, they alleged, threatens Africa, the Dakar splitters declared that they would fight both capitalism and communism. I consider the Dakar conference to be an imperialist maneuver aimed at perpetuating the division of the African trade unions in order to continue to plunder the continent unhindered. It seems to me that the important thing today is to make some effort to unite the African trade union movement.

ANTONIO PEREIRA DOS SANTOS

(Brazil):

On the national plane, trade union unity in our country is affected through regional and national trade union congresses, conferences and congresses of the individual unions. We have no single national trade union center. We are forbidden by law to have such a center.

As for the obstacles to unity, the chief one is presented by the corrupt leaders who hold

the top positions in some of the unions; the second obstacle is the propaganda of the imperialists who benefit from division among the workers and, third, the non-political attitude of some sections of the working class.

But these barriers are being overcome. The recent victory of the opposition in the elections for the leadership of the National Confederation of Industrial Workers showed that the corrupt leaders are on the way out. The workers' indifference toward political problems is also gradually disappearing.

During the military-political crisis of August 25, 1961, the Brazilian workers demonstrated their political consciousness and solidarity. They came out onto the streets, insisting that Joao Goulart be made President. This action stayed the hand of the reactionaries who were about to strike at the people.

SINFOROSO CABRERA ROMERO

(Bolivia):

The experience of the daily struggle teaches trade unionists that unity can be achieved only on the basis of a program containing objectives common for the whole world or the continent, and taking account of the specific features of each country.

Among Our Contributors

R. PALME DUTT: Vice-Chairman, Communist Party of Great Britain.

PAUL FRIEDLAENDER: Economist, German Democratic Republic.

HARTMUT SCHILLING: Economist, German Democratic Republic.

KENJURO YANAGIDA: Philosopher, Japan.

YURI ARBATOV: Journalist, USSR.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

The Parties Increase Activities in Industry

Factory branches play a big role in the work of the Communist parties. This is understandable because the working class, the driving force of history, is the heart of things in our days. The degree of its organization and unity and of its political consciousness determines the scale and intensity of the revolutionary struggle of all working people. Factory branches are important to the Party, Lenin wrote, because "the main strength of the movement lies in the organization of the workers in the big enterprises." It was Lenin who coined the slogan: "Every factory must be our fortress." Guided by Marxist-Leninist principles of Party organization, the Communist parties devote special attention to the factory branches. Below we print letters illustrative of the work of the Communists in industry in capitalist countries.

FRANCE: THE FACTORY BRANCHES

AFTER its Sixteenth Congress the French Communist Party arranged a series of national conferences on Party work in the factories and in rural areas, on secular education, the role of the engineers, technicians and managerial personnel, handicraftsmen and shopkeepers, and work among women.

The conference on Party work in the factories was attended by 734 delegates most of whom were young workers from the big enterprises. In preparation for the conference the Party federations arranged seminars at federation and district levels, and also according to industries. Preliminary discussions took place also in the federal committees and bureaus, in district committees and in factory branches. The federation committees and Central Committee members took part in preparing the discussions and attended many of them.

Important issues of the work in the factories were discussed in the Party press. These included propaganda, the role of the Party papers, women workers, Party functionaries, participation in the peace committees, the Communist Youth Movement and youth education, and the status of immigrant workers.

Emphasis was laid on the need to combat the bourgeois propaganda line that workers should have nothing to do with politics, an argument designed to keep the working class out of political life. Waldeck Rochet wrote in *l'Humanite*: "It should be said that there are still not a few workers and peasants who, while protesting against the economic consequences of the policy of the Gaullist government, give their votes to de Gaulle during referendums. This is explained by their lack of a clear understanding that they can win better condi-

tions only by taking part in the political struggle for a change in policy and in the social system."

More Attention to Factory Branches

Addressing the conference, Georges Marchais, Central Committee secretary, pointed to the need for a proper understanding of the role of a Marxist-Leninist party in the revolutionary movement. "The Party," he said, "cannot substitute its struggle for the struggle of the working class and other groups of the population.

"But the Party, and only the Party, can give effective guidance to the economic, political and ideological struggle of the working class both for immediate aims—social progress, peace and democracy—and for socialism."

Success in the great battles for peace, freedom, democracy and economic demands is closely linked with the existence of the Communist Party as a strong, militant organization with a solid base, above all in the factories, and steadily extending ranks. In this respect the factory branches are indispensable. The conference expressed wholehearted approval of the Sixteenth Congress decision which rejected the opportunist concept of Marcel Servin who, in underestimating the role of the working class, underestimated the organizational role of the Communist Party, the role of its branches in the factories, that is, in the places where the working class is concentrated and where diametrically opposed class interests clash every day.

The existence of the Gaullist regime, which is the concentrated expression of monopoly rule, urgently requires from the Communists greater efforts in building strong, militant branches at the

point of production, particularly in the big plants, whereas the Servin concept led to counterposing proper Party work to work in the mass organizations. This, in the end, did harm both to the Party and to the mass organizations.

After this line was corrected, the very first results achieved in organizing mass action, in strengthening many trade unions and setting up more peace committees and Communist Youth groups showed the importance of efficient Party work precisely from the standpoint of developing mass action and strengthening the mass organizations.

The conference closely examined ways and means of overcoming the difficulties caused by shift work, the frequent switching of workers from one job to another, by the speed-up and by the loss of time in travelling to and from work.

But the main difficulties in the past were the outcome of a wrong understanding of the role and significance of Party work. For instance, although 30 members worked in a factory employing 2,300 workers none of the 30 had thought of forming a branch. One comrade explained that "this would mean extra work for us, and we are busy with union matters." "In any case," he said, "we can raise any issue we like at union meetings!"

The conference rejected this viewpoint and emphasized that the Party members should be guided by the principle: the factory branch is the basic element of the Party.

The district and federation committees give every help in organizing new branches. The Central Committee aid is effected directly through its members who visit the federations. Federation organizers—experienced and devoted comrades who are temporarily relieved of their duties in the federations—are sent to the more important industrial areas.

The Task of the Party Branch and Cadres

Speaking at the conference, Maurice Thorez noted the variety of the tasks which confront a Party branch. It must be thoroughly acquainted with Party policy and should help in formulating it; it should submit the problems of the day for discussion by the members, help to organize economic and political struggles, conduct propaganda, making full use of the materials put out by the Central Committee, and by the federation and district committees, circulate its own leaflets and factory bulletins which take up the economic demands of the workers and, lastly, it should constantly extend its ranks by recruiting fresh forces, chiefly from among the young workers.

To cope with these tasks, the branch needs an active committee, that is, an elected leading body

responsible for its work to the membership. In this connection the Political Bureau has recommended to the branches that their annual meetings should be timed to fit in with the annual renewal of membership cards, to reinvigorate and reinforce their committees by advancing younger members who have distinguished themselves as good organizers.

The training and allocation of cadres was thoroughly discussed at the conference as a matter of decisive significance for carrying out Party policy. The Party, of course, has tens of thousands of members steeled in action, but, as its role grows, the need for cadres grows too.

Cadres are trained in the branches, in the crucible of the struggle, and in the Party schools at various levels (district, federation or national) which are attended by many industrial workers. This year the enrolment in these schools will be increased by 50 per cent.

The wrong concept on the role of the Party in the factories, condemned by the Sixteenth Congress, had resulted in some comrades, even good ones, concentrating on work in the mass organizations and movements, whereas the Party urgently needed cadres for fulfilling its vanguard role.

Many of the delegates cited examples showing how as a result of this line inexperienced comrades instead of the best had been elected to the branch committees. We should elect to the branch committees, said Leon Feix, Political Bureau member, "comrades who are known to their fellow workers in the factory, on the construction site and in the office, comrades who are known as champions of the interests of the workers and who respond to all issues that crop up in the factory and who are able to act in any circumstances, assume responsibility, find the right solution and rouse the workers to action. . . ."

The conference pointed to the role of the branch bulletins in the ideological and political struggle. For instance, for some years now the Party committee in the Peugeot works has been putting out its bulletin *Lion Rouge*. Following this and other examples, the newly formed branches began to issue their own bulletins, e.g., *l'Acier* in the Creusot factory, *l'Ampli* at the Bull electronic equipment plant. The bulletin put out by the Party committee in the Lorraine-Escaut factory has a readership of 10,000 metal-workers in this enterprise.

The conference made the suggestion, to which the Central Committee has agreed, that a national campaign be launched to collect 100 million francs for the Party fund. The money will enable the Party to counter the reactionary press, radio and the host of newspapers published by the employers. At the time this article was being written, the 100 million francs figure had been exceeded.

The First Results

Party organizations at all levels are now discussing the documents adopted by the conference and are examining in each case the possibilities of forming new factory branches and strengthening the existing ones, and also the matter of promoting and allocating cadres.

The first results are proof of the profound sense of responsibility with which the district and federation committees are eliminating the shortcomings in their work. Many examples of this could be cited. In Dijon, for instance, three members decided to form a branch in the electro-technical plant in which they are employed. They invited to the founding meeting 10 sympathizers nine of whom joined the Party. The new branch now has 12 members.

A member employed in one of the shops of the USINOR plant, Oise Department, enlisted 11 workers to take part in the anti-OAS demonstration on December 6; four of these workers applied for membership, enabling a branch to be formed immediately; the new branch collected 80 signatures

to a call for a lightning strike which ended in success. Nineteen new branches have been formed in the mines of the Meurthe-et-Moselle Department, and 10 in the Lorraine-Escaut plant in the iron-ore basin in the Longwy area.

The possibilities for recruitment are great. This was illustrated recently during the exchange of membership cards. In the Seine-Sud federation, for instance, 401 new members were recruited, of whom 37 are Italian immigrant workers. Another 400 were recruited in the Paris federation, and 114 in Bouches-du-Rhône. Five new branches have been formed and 20 new members recruited in the Sud-Aviation plant, Marignan.

By February 1, some 15,000 new members had been recruited and 629 branches formed—433 of them in the factories. This success shows that, important though it is, we have made only the first step in strengthening the Party; the task is to form hundreds of factory branches, recruit tens of thousands of new members and step up the fight for peace, and to restore and regenerate democracy.

Jean BURLES

ARGENTINA: PARTY WORK IN FACTORIES IN BUENOS AIRES

Difficulties in Work

THE Communist Party of Argentina devotes special attention to the Party branches in the factories, especially in the bigger enterprises. In this work we encounter not a few difficulties.

Most of the workers, particularly in Buenos Aires, live in the suburbs, often miles away from the factory. Moreover, because of the low wages, many are forced to seek extra earnings. After the working day of eight or more hours, they work on another job, and those who are Party members have little time left for Party assignments.

Our Party, banned by the authorities, meets with police repressions and victimization by the employers. Police agents sometimes masquerade as workers and spy on the Communists. We have constantly to combat the Right-wing union leaders who help the employers and seize on every opportunity to expel our active members from the trade union.

Because of victimization in the last couple of years we have had to re-establish some of the factory branches for the second and even third time. Still, our Party staunchly upholds the vital interests of the workers, and for this reason it enjoys profound respect and prestige. More than once the workers have rallied to the defense of our members who had been victimized by the employers.

The Main Trends of Work

In Buenos Aires we have branches in most of the big enterprises—iron and steel plants and textile mills, in transport, at building sites and in printing-plants. The same can be said about the provinces of Buenos Aires, Sante Fe, and others.

At present there are 341 factory branches in the capital, with five to 200 members in each. When the membership exceeds 200, we form, wherever possible, a branch committee attached to the Buenos Aires regional committee. So far such committees function in only two enterprises. District committee members are assigned to aid the branches in their daily work.

As a rule, our members take the initiative in the day-to-day struggle for the demands of their fellow-workers. The main line of the Party is to strengthen and extend the unity of the working people and to fight for their demands in the particular enterprise or industry as well as for the demands of the working class as a whole. Efforts are being made to organize in the factories unity committees for peace, solidarity with Cuba committees, as well as campaigns of solidarity with political prisoners, etc.

The factory branches also work in the unions and conduct propaganda among the people generally. Bulletins put out by the branches or by the trade union unity movement occupy an important place in the ideological work of the Party.

We attach much importance to circulating our illegal weekly *Nuestra Palabra*, the Party's theoretical journal *Nueva Era*, and *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, which is reprinted in our country and distributed illegally. The Party organizations display originality and initiative in distributing Party literature.

Organizational work occupies a prominent place in our activity, with Party bodies at all levels devoting attention to recruiting members and setting up new factory branches. Here, too, we have progress to report. The membership has increased more than fivefold since 1953.

We are paying more attention to the new members, helping them to appreciate the need for strict observance of Party discipline and regular payment of dues, as well as the importance of regularly reading *Nuestra Palabra* and other Party publications. The abilities of each are taken into account in giving assignments.

Political education of the membership is an important aspect of our work. The branches sponsor lectures and talks, and study courses are arranged, using a syllabus drawn up by the Education Department of the Buenos Aires Committee of the Party. Many branches have considerable achievements to their credit in this sphere.

Two Branches at Work

First of all I should like to describe the work of a Party branch in an enterprise owned by a foreign concern and employing some 8,000 workers. The trade union here is headed by stooges of the employers and the government whose job is to prevent the workers from taking any action for their demands. Many of the Communists at the plant have been in prison, some several times and for long terms, for fighting on behalf of the workers. They are warmly supported by their fellow workers, who backed them when they were victimized, collected money for their families and fought for their reinstatement. The prestige they enjoy has on repeated occasions enabled them to carry the majority at trade union meetings attended by thousands of workers.

The Party branch in this enterprise has a membership of 160. It sells 460 copies of *Nuestra Palabra*, 170 of *Nueva Era*, 130 of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* as well as Party pamphlets and other publications.

The branch is influential in 12 democratically-elected shop and shift trade union committees, and of the 400 shop delegates 50 are Communists. On the initiative of the branch a unity committee has been formed in the plant consisting of about a thousand workers of different political views. This committee, which works in the union in opposition to its reactionary leadership, seeks to rally the entire

personnel for joint struggle against the employers and in defense of the workers' rights. It puts out a monthly bulletin, all 6,000 copies of which are eagerly bought. Each committee member contributes ten pesos a month to support it financially. The Party branch also initiated the establishment of a joint peace committee and committees of solidarity with Cuba and with political prisoners.

The branch, headed by a nine-member committee, is divided into 13 sections which keep it in touch with the key sectors of production and extend its influence to a large number of workers.

Other factory branches, too, are doing good work. One of these is the branch at a big Buenos Aires plant employing about 3,000 workers. It has a membership of 167, most of whom joined a comparatively short time ago. All have renewed their membership cards and regularly pay their dues. Despite hounding by the police, this branch sells 130 copies of *Nuestra Palabra* and other literature. It also puts out a bulletin in an edition of 500-600 copies.

For years reactionary leaders dominated the factory trade union committee, and each time the workers rose to fight for their demands, these gentlemen nullified the results of the struggle. The Communists exposed the unsavory role of the union bosses and showed that with different leadership much more could have been achieved. The results were gratifying. Under pressure from the rank and file, the union leaders were compelled to agree to the re-election of the committee. As has happened so often at other enterprises, the reactionaries resorted to all sorts of manipulations in order to falsify the elections. But thanks to the work conducted by our members, the workers were forewarned and the majority of them voted with the Communists for the joint progressive ticket. Workers picketed the voting places to supervise the polling and, if necessary, to prevent tampering with the ballot boxes. This foiled the designs of the union chiefs and employers and resulted in victory for the progressive ticket.

The Party branch now carries much weight in the new trade union committee and has its delegates in all the main shops of the enterprise.

The branch committee consists of seven comrades, most of whom are young members. The branch is divided into 12 sections. Devoting attention to educational work, it arranges talks for the workers and conducts political classes for members and sympathizers.

The Organizers of Mass Action

A feature of the activity of the factory branches is that most of them efficiently combine explanatory political work with day-to-day effort to rally the workers in defense of their vital interests. Our

comrades have come to the fore as genuine mass leaders during general strikes and other strike actions in various industries.

An example in this respect was the 48-hour strike of 40,000 transport workers in Buenos Aires. The leadership of the Transport Workers' Union did everything it could to prevent the workers from taking united action. But under pressure from below, organized by our comrades, a meeting of union delegates decided to call the strike.

Although the strike was not authorized by the union leadership and was banned by the government, the workers came out unanimously. Twelve union activists, all popular with the workers and known to be Communists, were arrested and sent to prison; some of them were arrested while at work and this set off immediate protest strikes in the bus and trolley-bus services. A transport workers' solidarity committee was organized at once, and on the next pay-day more than 200,000 pesos were collected for the families of the imprisoned comrades.

There are, of course, shortcomings in the organizational work of the branches. Not all members are sufficiently active. There are branches where some members fail to carry out their assignments and others where all the work is done by a handful of activists.

The discrepancy between the tardy growth of the Party's ranks in industry and its influence is a serious problem. Considering the scale of the educational work conducted and the importance of the struggle led by the branches, the influx of new members is patently inadequate.

To remedy this, the Party seeks to stimulate the activity of all members and ensure that every member carries out definite assignments, reads Party literature and regularly pays his dues. We want all Party organizations to take part in the day-to-day struggles of the workers, actively to recruit new members and to pay constant attention to the political education of all members.

N. ISCARO

SWEDEN: A PARTY BRANCH FORGES AHEAD

WHEN the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden, held in January 1961, launched a drive to recruit 5,000 new members during 1961 and the first quarter of 1962, its main purpose was the all-round strengthening of the factory branches. An idea of how the Party organizations have been working to carry out the Congress decisions is afforded by the unskilled workers' Party club in Stockholm.

Ever since its establishment in 1919 this club has been considered one of our best local organizations. Time and again it has taken the initiative in fighting for the workers, winning their deep respect by its principled stand.

The club works in somewhat unusual conditions. Its activities embrace an area of some 2,000 square kilometers with hundreds of construction sites and some 30,000 building workers, half of whom are members of the unskilled workers' union. Most of the club's work is done in the union, the leading positions in which have been held by Communists for the past 27 years. Throughout this time nothing has been able to shake the trust of the rank and file in our comrades who have been re-elected year after year.

Despite these positive aspects, there were comparatively few Party members in the union. Moreover, only one-third of the Party members employed in the building industry in the area belonged to this particular club. The other two-thirds were in neighborhood Party organizations.

After the Nineteenth Congress the club decided to increase its membership by 30 per cent. Measures

were outlined to carry out this decision. Political and educational work among non-Party people was strengthened, and all members were enlisted in the recruiting drive.

This was something new. Previously it had been considered enough for the rank-and-file members to sell Party literature and carry out other assignments, leaving the recruitment of new members exclusively to the bureau members. This erroneous view was so deep-seated that at first many members doubted whether they could cope with this new task.

Members of the Party bureau discussed the question personally with every Communist, giving them concrete pointers on how to conduct mass work and bring class-conscious workers into the Party. Recruiting became the central task of the entire organization.

Within two weeks each member had brought in two new members. This inspired everybody. In March 1961, 10 new members were admitted and 10 more joined a month later. It is important to note that they were recruited mainly by rank-and-file members.

In October 1961, after the usual summer slack, nine more members were admitted at two successive Party meetings. The decision to increase the membership by 30 per cent was now fulfilled. In the course of the recruiting, the activity of all members increased greatly.

Together with the growth of the Party organization there has been an all-round improvement in its work. Party meetings are now held regularly

and circulation drives for the Party newspaper, *Ny Dag*, are well organized. Contact between the leadership of the Party club and its members, and also the members of the neighborhood branches, has improved. All questions of Party work are settled jointly, with the active participation of all members.

For a long time the Party club has been working for united action with the Social Democratic workers. With the growth of the Party branch the conditions are now more favorable for broadening this unity on all basic issues confronting the trade union.

All the comrades who took part in the recruiting campaign agree that the majority of the sympathizers are ready to join the Party, for they hold it in high esteem, appreciate the activity of the Communists in the *Riksdag*, in the trade unions and other mass organizations, and can see how the Party members dedicate themselves to the cause of the working people. And if they have not joined yet, it is mostly because they feel they do not measure up to the demands made on a member of the Communist Party.

As for the leaders of the Party club, they too have drawn a number of practical conclusions. They have seen for themselves that general slogans urging the strengthening of the Party are of little value if they are not backed by concrete measures, practical work among the masses by all members. Every member should have a definite assignment and know how to carry it out. Individuals should of course be given credit for good work, but above all the stress should be laid on successes achieved by the *entire membership*. No one will then be afraid of failing as an individual or doubt his abilities. On the contrary, the achievements of the entire membership will encourage each member. On the basis of this initial experience, we can say that there are excellent opportunities for increasing the membership of our Party. Our practice shows that the Swedish workers, like the workers of other countries, want to have a still stronger Marxist-Leninist party capable of leading the working people to socialism.

Carsten THUNBORG

The Cooperative Movement in the Countryside and the Policy of the Italian Communist Party

TWO factors in recent years have added to the importance of cooperation in the countryside and enhanced the role of the Communists in the struggle to develop a broad and multiform cooperative movement. The first of these is the growing penetration of the monopolies into the rural areas, a fact which has added new contradictions to the old, caused an exodus of peasants from the villages and which at the same time has acted as a spur to the development of many forms of peasant association with the aim of protecting their interests. The second factor is the Communists' struggle to implement the Party's tasks and policy with the object of achieving democratic economic and political development along the path to socialism, with due regard to the concrete conditions in the country.

The Italian cooperative movement has long traditions. A National League of Cooperatives and Mutual Aid Funds was established as far back as 1886. Dissolved in 1925 by the fascist authorities, it was re-established immediately after the liberation in 1945 as a united organization including Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Republicans and representatives of other trends in the

cooperative movement with the exception of those under the influence of the Catholic Church. In the 16 years since then the League has developed into a united mass movement with an anti-monopoly bias and closely allied with the other democratic forces (parties, trade unions, etc.) working for social reforms, a new economic policy and consolidation of peace.

The National League, with nearly 11,000 cooperatives and mutual aid funds, has a membership of 3,123,000 and consists of three associations: consumer cooperatives, producer cooperatives (building workers and fishermen) and agricultural cooperatives.

The cooperative movement is developing in an extremely complex situation. The past four years, described as an "economic miracle," have, in reality, been a period of monopoly industrial expansion, with output up by close on 25 per cent — an expansion at the expense of agriculture, the production of which has hardly increased of late. In fact it has relatively declined: from 52 per cent of the total production in 1957, to 41.7 per cent in 1960. The gap between the standard of living in the industrial North and in the predominantly agricultural Center and South has

widened considerably during these "miracle" years.

The following figures attest to the crisis in traditional farming: while agricultural output has risen by a mere 2.6 per cent in the past four years, costs have gone up nearly 11 per cent, exceeding the production growth almost fourfold.

And whereas prices for machinery remain unchanged, less is paid for farm produce. Another aspect of the increasing subordination of agriculture to capitalist industry is the growing monopoly intervention in the processing and distribution of agricultural produce.

The results are eloquent: in 1957 the farmers received a total of 3,475,000 million lire for their produce, while consumers paid 6,246,000 million lire for it, i.e., 2,771,000 million more than its actual cost. In 1958 the difference added up to 2,906,000 million lire, to 3,007,000 million in 1959, and continued to grow throughout 1960 and 1961. The cost of processing (1953=100) rose to 134.7 per cent and middle-men's profits increased to 158.6 per cent.

There is one myth — a very advantageous one to the big landowners — which should be exploded at once: it is certainly not true that everyone engaged in agriculture — ranking from the big landowner to the small proprietor, the sharecropper and the farm hand — suffer equally under the crisis of traditional farming. Operating in Italy today is comprehensive and intricate legislation covering loans, credits and other types of aid to agriculture. Almost without exception it is the big landowners, primarily the big capitalist farms, who profit from this aid. The present policy encourages "direct productive investments" and is intended to apply to farms which, subsidized by the state, are in a position to compete immediately with the economies of the Common Market countries. This means that capital investments are concentrated in small but highly profitable "oases" and in certain types of enterprises, in those, briefly, that yield maximum profit. Meanwhile, the basic problems of traditional farming — land reclamation, irrigation, water supply and public works — are neglected, with the result that most of the small landowners, peasants from the mountainous and hill districts and poor peasants in the South are left to the mercy of fate.

The government's investment policy, therefore, not only protects the big landed proprietors from the effects of the current agricultural crisis, but fuses together the interests of the industrial monopolies and bank capital with the interests of the big proprietors. And this is done at the expense of the peasants, sharecroppers and the people of the South as a whole.

On the basis of the general principles laid down by the Eighth Congress of the Italian Communist Party and an analysis of the situation in agriculture, Party members in the peasant and cooperative movement have been working for an agrarian reform which would transfer the land to those who till it, and for control over the activities of the monopoly groups holding sway in agriculture.

The objective is clear — it is to unite the democratic forces and establish a new order in agriculture. This order should be founded on the principle of enlarging the small peasant holdings to a size that would enable them to be worked profitably by the family; state capital investments with a view to developing the small farms and the new ones that will follow the transfer of the land to the tillers; development of all forms of association, first and foremost cooperatives.

An agrarian reform of this nature cannot, however, be realized simply by struggle against the big landlords and their government. First, an end must be put to the monopolies' plunder of the countryside; parliamentary control established over the big industrial enterprises producing for agriculture (fertilizers, agricultural machinery, etc.), and some of these enterprises nationalized, in first place those vital to the expansion of agriculture (sugar refineries, power generation).

The processes under way in the rural areas and the program of action lead to the same conclusion: that the cooperative should play the principal role in the village. In the conditions of Italy cooperation is a powerful weapon in the anti-monopoly struggle. If, on the one hand, the monopoly groups are forcing millions of peasants to leave their villages, on the other, the peasants are keener to enter those forms of economic association which would enable them jointly to acquire and utilize machinery, sell their produce and process it for sale, and thus withstand the monopoly pressure.

The erroneous view that agricultural cooperation is merely an auxiliary, a transient thing in the over-all plan of struggle for a new society in Italy (views of this kind have persisted in the Italian working-class movement until quite recently), must be eradicated. To do this objectives must be clearly defined, effective action taken for agrarian reform in favor of small peasant farms.

As the resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the Party clearly state, the peasants — the small proprietors — can run their farms on the technical, economic and organizational level of big enterprises only if the small peasant farms are organized in cooperatives, from the simplest to the highest types.

It should be borne in mind that fewer than 30,000 farms of 50 hectares and upwards occupy nearly one-third of the total cultivated land. At the other pole more than half of the 21 million hectares of arable land are split up into small plots of less than half a hectare. Eighty per cent of all holdings are under two hectares in size. Hence the struggle for cooperation is but one aspect of the struggle for the agrarian reform we desire, i.e., for a reform based on replacing large-scale landownership by cooperative property.

Hence the Communists in the cooperative movement aim at linking the cooperative movement pure and simple with the demand for agrarian reform — transferring the land to the tiller, amalgamating the small peasant holdings into cooperatives and establishing control over the monopolies.

It should be borne in mind that the "cooperatives" organized by the monopoly groups, primarily by the big Federconsorzi monopoly association, are developing rapidly. Subsidized by the state, the Federconsorzi is fulfilling for the monopolies the highly important function of buying up vast quantities of farm produce at prices advantageous to the monopolies through a network of grape, olive and fruit processing enterprises, which are often set up in the form of cooperatives. Through agrarian consortiums, this association also brings to the rural areas and distributes fertilizers, seeds, machinery, etc., at prices and on terms and conditions dictated by the industrial monopolists.

This has been possible because the state, through numerous laws (the latest is the so-called "green plan"), is helping to strengthen the Federconsorzi on the pretext of expanding "cooperation." "Cooperation" here implies a broad complex of monopoly-established auxiliary enterprises which enslave millions of peasants and serve as a base for the implementation in the countryside of monopoly and government policy.

The Communist- and Socialist-led democratic, voluntary cooperative movement regards the Federconsorzi as one of its chief adversaries. The day-to-day struggle of the cooperative movement aims at preventing the Federconsorzi from grabbing all the government aid, from alone benefiting from the advantages of the various laws, including the "green plan," and from becoming the sole distributor of fertilizers, electricity and fuel in the rural economy. This struggle also seeks to stop the monopolies from appropriating the product of peasant labor as the Federconsorzi, with bank and state aid, is now doing. The cooperative movement is opposed to the big industrial monopolies and is fighting for lower prices

for fertilizers; to protect the sugar-beet growers from the arbitrary actions of sugar monopolies; to defend peasants growing wine, olive oil and fruit; against monopoly domination on the big consumer markets (marketing cooperatives are acting jointly with the consumer cooperatives in this struggle).

The developments have placed on the agenda problems of a structural order, such as nationalization of the sugar monopolies; control of enterprises manufacturing fertilizers and machinery; control over important markets now in the grip of the big financial groups.

Parallel with this anti-monopoly struggle and in close contact with it, action is developing against big landownership and for enlargement of the small peasant holdings organized in cooperatives. Many cooperatives have facilitated transfer of the land of the big landlords to the working people through the Association of Small Proprietors. In regions where sharecropping is widespread, sharecroppers are forming cooperatives with the object of obtaining more freedom in investment matters. The most important aspect of the struggle for land is, as we have noted, the fight for the technical, economic and organizational improvement of the small peasant farms which enjoy the benefits of cooperation (such as collective purchase and use of agricultural machinery, collective marketing of produce, mechanization, etc.) both in the shape of traditional cooperative services as well as through new, elementary forms of cooperation, the agrarian associations for land reclamation, for example, which give the peasants technical aid in organizing land exploitation and introducing new crops, vocational schools, etc.

The foregoing shows that the task of Communists in the cooperative movement is to fight more resolutely for the consolidation and growth of the cooperatives and to link this struggle with the fight for far-reaching structural reforms. The struggle should differ in character from the efforts of other democratic parties and trade unions in this field, yet should be closely linked with them. These aims and tasks are quite feasible, thanks to the democratic traditions of the Italian cooperative movement.

The first agricultural cooperatives in Italy were formed 80 years ago, not, it should be said, among the more well-to-do peasants as a "stage along the road to capitalism," or as an intermediary between the peasants and the big landlords; they were established among the farm laborers in the Po Valley to whom the cooperative signified land and a just distribution of work on the basis of the cooperative statute.

Mention should also be made of the cooperatives which the poor peasants in the South and other underdeveloped areas began to join after the First and the Second World Wars. These cooperatives were formed to implement the laws on abandoned and waste land under which this land is allotted to peasants organized in cooperatives. The social base of the agricultural cooperatives consists of farm laborers, poor peasants and sharecroppers (especially in Emilia). These groups were joined after the Second World War by considerable numbers of small peasant-proprietors whom government policy, monopoly pressure and Federconsorzi domination have forced to look to the anti-monopoly struggle in their search for protection and a way out of the situation.

It thus becomes clear why the cooperatives have joined the struggle for an agriculture that would ensure development in the spirit of democracy and socialism. It is precisely because of the intensified monopoly domination that the cooperative movement finds it essential to expand its social and territorial base.

The crisis of traditional Italian farming has affected nearly all the small and medium proprietors as well as sections of wealthy peasants.

The present trend in agricultural cooperation reflects the needs of all these sections. On the other hand, the cooperative movement aims at breaking new ground, at emerging beyond its present territorial confines, for over 60 per cent of the agricultural cooperatives are at present concentrated in Emilia. What is needed is a policy that would resolutely oppose the government's investments policy of economic development by way of "islets" and would deal a blow at the monopolies in places where they have not yet encountered any opposition. Only by extending the cooperative movement in the South can such a policy be implemented.

Working along these lines — winning over new social sections and new territories — the cooperative movement, headed by the Communists and the Socialists, counts on the active support of all cooperatives which (although they may not be affiliated to the National League) have a peasant basis and, hence, support the demands of the anti-monopoly struggle. First among these are the cooperatives set up by the Land Reform Associations and including peasants allotted land expropriated during the glorious peasant movement immediately after the war.

Giuseppe VITALE.

Party Work in the Higher Schools of People's Poland

PEOPLE'S Poland has made great progress in higher education. The number of higher institutes of learning has increased from 27 in 1937-38 to 72 in 1960-61, the number of departments in these schools has increased fourfold in the same period, and they have six times as many professors and lecturers as before the war. Today 157,000 students attend Poland's higher schools as compared with 48,000 in 1937-38. Most of the people with a higher education employed in the national economy completed their education in People's Poland.

But the growth in numbers is not the only index to the advance of higher education. The opening of higher schools in provincial centers, free tuition, the elaborate system of state grants and students' hostels, the introduction shortly after the war of special preparatory courses for young workers and peasants, the numerous privileges for those who wish to receive a higher education without leaving their job — these measures have helped to democratize higher education and have radically changed the social composition of the student body. Whereas in 1937-38

only about 17 per cent of all the students came from workers' and peasants' families, by the beginning of the 'fifties the latter comprised more than half of the total.

The nature of the study programs and the character of the training given young specialists have also changed. Today's college graduates are specialists who have a good professional grounding, as well as a sound knowledge of the social and economic sciences. The higher school prepares them for work as executives and instructors in the socialist enterprises and in this way builds up a new, people's intelligentsia. Researchers in the colleges and higher school participate in solving important national economic problems, applying Marxist criteria and Marxist methods in their work.

Training Specialists

The rapid growth of the national economy and culture, the advancement of science and technology create a constantly growing demand for highly-qualified specialists. Under the present five-year plan, our economy will need 420,000

specialists with a higher education in 1965, and up to 510,000 under the long-range plan to 1970.

This necessitates a steady expansion of our higher educational institutions. In 1961-1965 the number of students enrolling in the first year of colleges is expected to increase from 26,000 to 30,000.

Young people who wish to receive a higher education without leaving their job do so by attending evening schools or by correspondence courses. To date, however, only 33 per cent of our students make use of these facilities.

Evening schools and correspondence courses are new in our country. For the higher schools they represent an added and rather onerous organizational burden, which sometimes takes up time needed for scientific research. Hence the task of the Party organizations is to help create an atmosphere among the faculty members conducive to promoting this new undertaking.

Nearly half of our young men and women enter college direct from secondary school. However priority is given to those who have worked for a time in industry. This section of the youth has acquired a certain amount of experience, they are more mature, their interests have had time to crystallize and they are able to make a surer choice in the matter of study. Courses are organized at the place of work for young workers to prepare them for the higher school entrance examinations.

The Party organizations regularly verify the results of the examinations and make suggestions for improving and coordinating study programs and curricula. These suggestions are then submitted to the councils of the higher schools.

The Party organizations imbue the young people with a high sense of responsibility toward study as their prime duty, and recommend Party scientists to act as counsellors of the courses and student groups. These counsellors organize additional studies for those who, owing to the varying levels of secondary school tuition, are inadequately prepared.

An obstacle to the work of the higher schools is the system whereby members of teaching staffs hold more than one job. Sixty per cent of college professors and lecturers teach simultaneously at two colleges or work both at a college and a research institute. In the past this situation was unavoidable, since there were major scientific problems awaiting solution and a shortage of qualified researchers. Now, however, the situation has changed. We have enough scientific workers to make it unnecessary in most cases for college and higher school lecturers to teach in more than one place. This will undoubtedly serve

to improve both the pedagogical and research work in the higher educational institutions.

An important element of the education is practical work in industry. According to the new rules introduced last year, two-thirds of all the technical departments of higher schools give a course of practical training in production from the first year on.

More radical changes are necessary in the curricula of higher schools. Greater attention must be given to the branches of science which are advancing most rapidly and which find wide practical application; students (in technical departments chiefly) must be given the opportunity to make a serious study of production; more attention should be devoted (especially in the humanities) to current problems; there must be a more thorough theoretical and practical training for students in teacher-training colleges, and more effective methods for the study of foreign languages.

On the initiative of the Party organizations, the study programs of higher schools are widely discussed by scientific workers and lecturers who make many valuable suggestions. If these suggestions are carried out the quality of instruction is bound to improve. The accent here is on bringing the higher schools into closer contact with practical problems, on the struggle against conservatism, inertia and resistance to anything new, and on the need for scientific workers to keep up with the latest developments in science.

Training Scientific Personnel

The five-year plan provides for a 50 per cent increase in the number of scientific workers. Hence the importance of training young scientists, and of perfecting the system of education.

The Party organizations in the higher schools make a careful study of the work of the tutorial staff who are members of the Party or of the youth organization, in order to help them to improve their qualifications. For Party members the timely and accurate fulfilment of a scientific task is considered a Party assignment. Party researchers help the student societies and are able to select the most capable and promising students for post-graduate research or teaching.

In discussing research programs at higher schools, the Party organizations approach the question from the standpoint of whether the proposed subjects will be of benefit to socialist construction and serve to cement the ties between science and practice and stimulate the growth of scientific cadres.

The efforts of the Party organizations are directed mainly at strengthening and extending the influence of the Party among tutors and at

improving educational work. Ideological purposefulness in teaching and scientific work is the principal criterion of the extent to which a higher education institution serves the cause of socialism. The main task is to win more and more people over to the side of the Party by demonstrating the correctness of its policy, by spreading the Marxist-Leninist outlook among scientific workers, and by improving the ideological education of the student youth.

As a rule the Party organizations are sufficiently active and consistent in combating flagrantly reactionary political views. Their ability to rally around themselves large numbers of non-Party people is growing. However they still evince a certain helplessness in combating non-Marxist tendencies. Party members among the researchers often avoid discussing from the standpoint of principle ideas and views that have no direct bearing on current political issues, and in their researches and published works they tend to ignore the ideological struggle. And yet this struggle is of tremendous importance for the victory of the Marxist outlook in science.

From what has been said, however, it should not be thought that theories and views alien to Marxism do not encounter resistance. We must stress that the Marxist cadres in the higher schools have been steadily growing both in number and in quality, the number of Marxist scientific works has increased, especially since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

It is noteworthy that in the period 1956-60 almost three times as many works on philosophy were published as in 1950-1955, and in economics, more than four times as many. Not a few of these by our leading Marxist scholars have been translated into foreign languages. The first volumes of a comprehensive Marxist history of Poland, published by the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences, have appeared, as have many works dealing with the modern history of Poland and the history of the Polish revolutionary working-class movement. One could cite numerous facts demonstrating the effectiveness of polemics with non-Marxists (for example, in the sphere of history, political economy, philosophy, the natural sciences, and law). In speaking of the certain degree of helplessness to be observed on the part of the Party organizations in the higher schools, we merely wished to stress that not all Party members are as yet sufficiently active and consistent in the ideological struggle and that not all Party organizations in the higher schools show enough resolution in this respect.

The situation, however, has notably improved. The Party organizations now discuss ideological problems and questions of Party policy more often and more broadly than hitherto, and engage

in polemics with regard to non-Marxist theories or erroneous concepts in the sphere of methodology.

The Central and regional committees of the Party have commissions, consisting of activist scientists, which prepare materials, make assessments, draw conclusions and submit proposals on key problems associated with higher education and science. The Science Commission of the Central Committee has a number of sections (philosophy and sociology, economics, history, philology, technical sciences, jurisprudence, medicine, biology, agriculture, etc.). Achievements in the various branches, scientific publications and publishers' plans are discussed in these sections. Their members maintain contact with the Party organizations in the corresponding higher schools, keep them informed of their discussions and thereby help them in their organizational, political and ideological work.

At the moment the philosophy, economics and law sections of the C.C. Science Commission are discussing to what extent the questions of theory posed at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU should be reflected in the theoretical journals and in the research plans in the various branches. Their proposals offer excellent material for the meetings now being held in the Party organizations in the higher schools, the cycles of lectures and talks, seminars and conferences devoted to the basic problems posed by the Twenty-Second Congress and the Program of the CPSU.

The work with the young scientific personnel is important for heightening the ideological and political influence of the Party in the higher educational institutions.

In the higher school structure, the Chair, which unites the scientific workers in one or another branch of science, is the natural group. Lacking sufficient active members, the Party organizations are not always able to conduct regular ideological work with each of these groups. Hence discussions on political, ideological and methodological questions are arranged for them on the scale of the college. These discussions help to mould the materialistic views of the younger personnel, to broaden their outlook and create favorable conditions for educating the future scientists and lecturers in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The tone of these discussions is set by the leading scientific workers and the Party activists. Many Party organizations hold seminars on theory during the winter vacation.

The Party organizations in the higher schools devote particular attention to acquainting the students with the philosophical foundations of Marxism, with the economic and social laws of the development of society, clarifying contem-

porary issues and the ideological and political line of the Party, and stimulating a desire for public activity, thus helping them to acquire the correct scientific outlook.

Two years ago the number of lectures on the basic social sciences was increased in all higher schools. Depending on the department, the youth study either Marxist philosophy and the theory of social development, or political economy, and in most cases, both. The Party organizations help the teachers of these subjects to ascertain the effectiveness of the study and find out which questions arouse the keenest interest, stimulate

discussion, evoke doubt, and what kind of arguments are the most convincing. The regional committees and the science and education department of the Central Committee also help with this work.

The Party organizations in the higher schools are mainly concerned with making the education of the youth, the moulding of their political and ethical outlook the common task of all professors, lecturers, Party and youth organizations, of everyone involved in the educational process.

Zenon WROBLEWSKI

Meetings of Central Committees

AUSTRIA

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria has unanimously adopted a resolution "On Peaceful Coexistence, the Discussion in the International Communist Movement, Improvement of Ideological Work and Observance of the Leninist Standards of Party Life," in which stress is laid on the Party's attitude to questions of war and peace. "The Central Committee holds that it is the task of all Communist parties to work for peace and peaceful coexistence," the resolution declares. "Moreover, this work is based on the conviction that in the present conditions war is not something decreed by fate and hence inevitable."

Welcoming the resolutions of the Stockholm session of the World Peace Council, the Central Committee declares that the Party will do its utmost to carry them out. The situation calls for the maximum effort for general disarmament and against the threat of nuclear war. For this reason, the Party cannot condone views that tend to weaken the struggle of the peace forces for general disarmament, narrow the peace front and obstruct the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Summing up the discussion in the Party, the meeting noted that an important task of the Austrian Communists was to popularize the Program of the CPSU among the people. It added that the Party's struggle against the European Economic Community, neo-Nazism and reaction generally, for democratic regeneration, to protect the nationalized industries and extend nationalization, and to build a united front was closely linked with the peaceful transition to socialism in Austria.

To carry out its tasks, the meeting pointed out, the Party should rid itself of the narrow practical approach which still finds expression in the fact that organizational questions are often

divorced from political tasks. Extension of inner-Party democracy, all-round development and activation of Party life and the need to improve ideological work were also stressed.

The meeting discussed a report on the elections to the factory councils and railwaymen's representative bodies. In 353 enterprises trade union unity candidates polled 24.5 per cent of the votes. Compared with 1959, the number of railway workers who voted for the trade union unity ticket increased by 40 per cent.

FRANCE

ON February 10 the Central Committee of the French Communist Party discussed the anti-fascist struggle and the united front.

The meeting declared in the most emphatic terms that connivance at and even complicity in the intrigues of the OAS fascists on the part of de Gaulle and his government "is the logical result of the rule of monopoly capital and the big banks . . . The mounting resistance to the reactionary policy of the Gaullist government and the difficulties it is encountering in connection with the Algerian problem — all impel it onto the path leading to fascism, the path of complicity and collusion with the fascist elements in order to use them in its interests. In Algeria fascist activity is regarded as an instrument of political pressure to be used to find a solution which would be the least painful to the imperialists. In France the big capitalists back the plotters since they are above all concerned with breaking the growing resistance of the democratic and national forces."

Alarmed by the growing difficulties encountered by the monopolies in carrying out their reactionary, anti-national policy, the Right-wing Socialist leaders — again taking cover behind the slogan of the so-called "third force" — have allied them-

selves with some leaders of the bourgeois parties in order to save this policy. "Far from encroaching on one-man rule," the meeting noted, "they propose, allegedly for the purpose of 'appeasement,' to give in to some of the demands of the OAS plotters." Despite the efforts of the big bourgeoisie and of all kinds of splitters, the feature of the situation in France is the growth of the mass anti-fascist struggle. Powerful demonstrations are being held in reply to the actions of the OAS fascists which the authorities have allowed to go unpunished. There is growing co-operation among the trade unions, political parties and the public generally. The unity of all the democratic forces, mainly in the industrial enterprises, is gaining strength.

The meeting stressed that the Party had played the principal role in the successes achieved by the mass anti-fascist movement. It also noted that in the present complicated situation it is imperative for the Communists to explain to the people the real nature of the Gaullist regime, which protects the fascists and upholds the interests of the monopolies in every possible way, and to expose the disruptive policy of class collaboration pursued by the Right-wing Socialist leaders.

The Communists must exert every effort to achieve unity of action of all anti-fascists. The program discussed at the meeting advances the following demands:

- curb the OAS assassins, their sponsors and accomplices;
- purge the army, police and the state apparatus; remove from office the Minister of Interior and the Paris police prefect who are directly responsible for the murderous assault on the demonstration of February 8 when eight anti-fascists were killed and hundreds injured;
- grant democratic organizations the right to hold demonstrations and provide them with the means to protect their premises and functionaries;
- an immediate peace treaty with Algeria giving the Algerian people the right to self-determination;
- regenerated democracy instead of one-man dictatorship.

The Central Committee pointed to the significance of the organization in the factories, towns and villages of thousands of anti-fascist committees — mass organizations uniting men and women of all political trends — which make it their aim publicly to expose the fascists and isolate them, safeguard the democratic organizations and give expression to the popular will to unity. Such committees have also been formed

in the army where they are playing an effective role.

On the basis of a profound analysis of the situation the Central Committee voiced its confidence that the fascist danger can be stamped out and democracy restored.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party recently reviewed the campaign to popularize the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. The Congress documents had been discussed in 42,756 Party branches. The Central Committee noted in its resolution that "special attention was devoted to questions of the unity of the international Communist movement and the socialist world system."

Discussing agriculture in Czechoslovakia, the meeting pointed out that it is imperative to increase this year the overall farm production by 5.1 per cent and production for the market by 9.1 per cent as against the 1961 level. In this connection measures were outlined to ensure an increase in the output of grain and livestock produce.

Wider application of the most efficient farming methods was stressed.

The meeting also emphasized the need for adequate material incentives. A new development in this respect is the introduction of social security benefits for cooperative members, such as family allowances, sick benefits, pensions, lump-sum grants, and free medical service.

These benefits, however, will vary and will not be introduced everywhere simultaneously. The members of those cooperatives which have achieved a high standard of efficiency (those which regularly fulfil their production plans and sell the state the quantities of produce they have undertaken to provide, and whose members are paid only in cash and do not cultivate individual plots) are provided with the same benefits as industrial workers. Members of less efficient cooperatives will be entitled to smaller pensions, and the sick allowances due them will be paid by the cooperative. During the current year the state will spend about 310 million crowns on social security benefits for cooperative members. In coming years the state allocations for this purpose will increase, and will exceed 2,000 million crowns in the 1962-1965 period.

The Central Committee issued an appeal to the working people urging them to join in a socialist emulation movement in honor of the Twelfth Congress of the Party, and gave a high appraisal of the initiative of the young miners in Ostrava with whom the idea originated.

Exchange of Views

Paths of Development of Newly Emergent Countries

This was the subject of an exchange of views organized in September 1961 under the auspices of the Editorial Board of World Marxist Review in Prague. Marxists from 21 countries discussed the problem of winning genuine independence, the paths of development of the former colonial countries and the diverse political, social and economic questions which have arisen in the course of this development. The speakers expressed the view that the struggle for national liberation does not end with the establishment of national statehood and is bound to continue until full economic independence is won. It was from this angle that the specific conditions of the national-liberation struggle in the different continents and countries were discussed.

Present at the seminar were: Abdelkader el Ouahrani (Algeria), Paulino Gonzalez Alberdi (Argentina), Krysto Dobrev (Bulgaria), Pedro Motta Lima (Brazil), Jose Cademartori (Chile), Blas Roca (Cuba), Jiri Sobotka, Miroslav Novotny, Jaroslav Patek (Czechoslovakia), Gustav Herzfeld, Georg Hansen (German Democratic Republic), Jack Woddiss (Great Britain), C. Campos (Guatemala), Ajoy Ghosh (India), Ardeshir Avanesyan, Aman Mayzar (Iran), Aziz Al-Hajj (Iraq), Romano Ledda (Italy), S. Nader (Lebanon), Belal Abdel Aziz (Morocco), Balta (Mongolia), Barbu Zaharescu, Ervin Hutira, Stoian Ion (Rumania), P. Tlale (South African Republic), Y. Faycal, Safi Adnan (Syria), Y. Bochkaryov, G. Kim, G. Mirsky, P. Tretyakov (USSR). Speakers from 18 countries took part in the discussion, and a written contribution was received from Indonesia.

Commencing with this issue, we are publishing the materials (abridged) of the meeting.

Belal Abdel Aziz (Morocco)

MOROCCO won political independence in 1956. Yet, five years later, the imprint of colonial rule is still there. The sovereignty of the nation is restricted by the presence of occupation troops and foreign military bases. A considerable part of the territory is still in the hands of the French and the Spanish colonialists. The colonialist war against the fraternal Algerian people has been a constant threat to Morocco, whose full independence will only be assured with the liberation of Algeria.

The economic and social crisis is sharpening. Gross output per capita has declined in the past few years. Although between 1953 and 1960 the population grew by more than two million, total output in 1960 barely reached the 1953 figure. No preparations have been made for an agrarian reform, and semi-feudal production relations continue to obtain in agriculture. The economy is still semi-colonial, dependent on foreign capital.

The severe crisis has had an adverse effect on the standard of living. In consequence of the small number of jobs available and the closing down of factories, unemployment is growing. There are now some 300,000 jobless in the towns, i.e., over

20 per cent of the urban labor force. It is officially estimated, furthermore, that despite the continuing exodus of the rural population to the towns, over 50 per cent of the peasants are not fully employed in agriculture. At the most Moroccan agricultural laborers work only 100 to 150 days in the year.

When political independence was gained the government announced its intention of securing economic independence for the country through industrialization, and that to accelerate this the state would take part in it. But state participation was conceived as being complementary to the activity of private capital. For private capital was regarded, and is still regarded, as playing the decisive role in all fields (save for a few basic industries "in which private capital investment is inadequate").

The first economic measure taken by the government of independent Morocco was the introduction of new customs tariffs in 1957. This was designed to promote industrialization, but eventually proved insufficient to protect even small local industry, to say nothing of industrialization.

In July 1957 the government took over the exclusive right to issue money and established state control over currency transfers. The importance of these measures becomes apparent if one takes into account that between 1955 and 1959 alone some 300,000 million francs (approximately \$600 million, the equivalent of treble the average annual capital investment since independence) was transferred abroad.

Control over capital transfers could have been made the starting point of an economic policy conforming to the national interests had it been followed by other anti-imperialist measures against foreign monopoly domination. This would have made it possible to retain capital in the country and to use it where it was most needed. For this, however, it was necessary to march boldly forward along the path of nationalization of the key branches of the economy (power, transport, mines, banks, foreign trade, big industrial enterprises).

To implement the industrialization a government body known as the Bureau for Industrial Expansion was set up in January 1958. The Bureau is "charged with promoting studies likely to further the development of the country and its industrialization." The bureau has participated in different joint-stock companies (in nine, as of January 1, 1960, with a total capital of 3,400 million francs). Its share in the capital of these companies averages 40.5 per cent.

Under the industrialization policy an Investments Charter was promulgated in September 1958. It established the extent of benefits to capitalists who agreed to invest their money in vital industries. In view of the weakness of national private capital, foreign capital was the principal beneficiary. The benefits cover custom duties on imported equipment, certain tax exemptions and the right freely to transfer profits, dividends and interest abroad. In some cases transfer of capital was also authorized.

With a view to extending industrial credits a National Development bank was established in 1959. The state owns 50 per cent of its capital and exercises a certain control. A substantial part of the capital is owned by foreign financial groups.

Between 1958 and early 1960 the government's industrialization policy evolved in the direction of heightening the role of the state. At the same time this trend reflected the insoluble contradictions in the attitude of the national bourgeoisie, which restricted industrialization.

There was, on the one hand, the desire to enhance the role of state capital. The Bureau demanded a bigger share in financing new enterprises. It demanded more shares for the state, although interested private individuals and companies were opposed to this.

On the other hand, collaboration with foreign monopolies was maintained and to some extent even increased. Not only was there a marked tendency to neglect the possibilities of private national capital, the Bureau's more important projects envisaged extremely favorable conditions for foreign capital. The outcome of this collaboration was a refusal to nationalize the key branches of the economy, and participation by foreign capital in exercising control over the state sector.

By trying to build up the state sector without doing away with foreign capital control over the key branches and its domination in the principal sources of accumulation, the government deprived itself of the essential means for developing the state sector which could have played a decisive role in the national economy. What it did in effect was to offer foreign capital opportunities to strengthen its positions by utilizing the state sector. Nor did the government make use of the possibilities deriving from economic cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, although their cooperation and aid would have helped to make the country less dependent.

The economic policy pursued by successive governments since 1956 has not shaken the foundations of foreign capital or its grip on vital sectors of the economy; nor has it shaken the strong survivals of feudalism in the countryside. Since 1960 more and more concessions have been made to foreign capital whose hold on important sectors of the economy is tightening.

These factors attest to the profoundly contradictory nature of the government's policy in the sphere of industrialization and its attitude to foreign capital. The government pursues a policy of both combating foreign capital and collaborating with it, with first place going to collaboration.

In agriculture the national bourgeoisie also tends to compromise, to make concessions and to retreat under imperialist and feudal pressure.

Morocco remains an agricultural country. Over 70 per cent of the people earn their living in the rural areas, while agriculture accounts for 40 per cent of the gross national product.

The capitalist sector in agriculture is almost wholly the creation of the French Protectorate and today, after five years of independence, four-fifths of it are still in the hands of foreign settlers, chiefly French. In the main it produces for France. The capitalist sector accounts for 90 per cent of the agricultural exports.

Moroccan capitalist farmers own about 400,000 hectares. Their number has grown since independence but is still relatively low. Fear that their land may be confiscated has caused most European settlers to cease all investment in farming, even

for normal upkeep of the land and replacement of worn-out machines and implements.

The remaining section of agriculture, which feeds most of the people, is marked by mediaeval survivals. In most cases farming methods are primitive in the extreme. The semi-feudal land relations block all economic or technical advance. Over 50 per cent of the peasants have no land at all or not enough to ensure even a subsistence minimum for their families.

Development here will depend on building up and enlarging the home market. At present this market is small. An imperative condition for the enlargement of this market and for agricultural development is the abolition of unemployment by effecting radical agrarian reform at the expense of the settlers and the feudal landlords and in the interests of the poor and landless peasants, through industrialization and building roads and railways.

The standstill in economic development since independence is due to the fact that most of the surpluses, which could have been invested in the economy, are not being used. These surpluses are owned by both foreign capitalists and the indigenous bourgeoisie, who can find no opportunity for sufficiently profitable investments because the home market is restricted by the semi-feudal production relations in the countryside, relations which preclude rapid economic development.

The abolition of the old system of relationships deriving from colonialism should help the state to concentrate all economic levers in its hands, and to build up an economic structure which would promote the country's development.

For this it is essential to nationalize the basic branches of the economy—power, transport, mines and industries belonging to the monopolies, credit institutions, foreign banks—and to establish a state monopoly of foreign trade. A state sector independent of foreign monopolies, which could be developed on the basis of nationalization, should have at its disposal all the means needed to play the dominant role in overall economic development.

Transformation of the old structure inherited from colonialism, and concentration of the economic levers in the hands of the state would enable the latter to centralize resources and ensure their utilization for a planned economic development. Private national investments should be encouraged wherever these would further economic independence.

It is our view, too, that economic growth could be achieved by providing jobs for the masses of unemployed who make up 50 per cent of the able-bodied rural population. For this a radical agrarian reform and cooperative labor (mutual

aid groups, cooperatives organized on a democratic basis) are essential.

The state sector and the cooperatives should develop in conditions of genuine democracy so that any possibility of privileged groups appropriating the surpluses accumulated by the labor of the nation as a whole would be ruled out.

Internal efforts are the essential factor of development. But as is the case with all underdeveloped countries, Morocco needs foreign financial and technical aid. The "aid" received from the imperialist countries, chiefly the USA, shows no respect for national independence. In most cases it is a means of influencing the country's policy. It is not very effective on the purely economic plane for it is used in the way the American imperialists want it to be used—most frequently on unproductive work such as road-building, etc.

That is why our country should utilize the possibilities deriving from economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, cooperation which conforms fully to our needs and interests. To achieve economic independence the "neo-colonial" aid of the American type should be rejected and mutually advantageous contacts with the socialist countries established.

Neither foreign capital nor the national bourgeoisie can be the principal factor in Morocco's economic development. This does not, however, imply that the national bourgeoisie cannot, under certain conditions, contribute in some measure and up to a certain point to independent development. Only the state can be the basic factor of economic development. And not any state can take over the economic levers and organize economic development.

The state can play this role only if it fulfils certain conditions:

it should represent the interests of the masses, not those of the feudal or bourgeois minority;

it should combat economic pressure by the imperialists and the survivals of feudalism;

it should rely on the people under a genuine, political, economic and social democracy;

it should resolve to overcome the social obstacles in the way of economic development.

Only a national-democratic state can steer the country towards independent economic development, in other words, along a non-capitalist path.

At the present stage of the national-democratic revolution in our country, a stage characterized by the struggle against the political and military aftermath of imperialist domination, and by the fight for complete political and economic independence and for genuine democracy, the working class plays the decisive role.

The Moroccan working class is directly exploited by the foreign monopolies supported by the reactionary sections of Moroccan society. Its struggle against capitalist exploitation is at the same time a struggle against the foreign monopolies. The working class, through its Party, should head the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement, and unite all the forces interested in rooting out the effects of imperialist and feudal domination on the basis of a consistent program for economic independence, democratic and social progress.

All classes and social sections whose vital interests are affected by the economic and social crisis are allies of the working class. First and foremost, these are the poor and middle peasants, whose revolutionary perspective is becoming clearer in the face of the resistance of feudal and other reactionary forces to agrarian reform. These allies are the handicraftsmen, small shop-keepers, office workers and lower officials who cannot improve their conditions in the present situation and whose standard of living is falling, while the parasitic sections are enriching themselves.

As for the national bourgeoisie, which sought a compromise with the imperialists and the feudalists the moment the antagonism between it and the people became sharper than the antagonism between it and imperialism and feudalism, it is essential to denounce and combat the compromise. At the same time the national bourgeoisie should be encouraged to participate in the struggle for economic independence.

The reformist illusions which set in among the intellectuals, arising from the attempts to create a state-capitalist sector on the basis of collaboration with foreign monopolies, must be dispelled. The five years of independence have clearly demonstrated the failure of these attempts.

The establishment of a broad anti-imperialist, anti-feudal front, of which the alliance between the working class and the poor peasantry should be the backbone, is, then, the factor that will enable our country to take the path of independent and democratic development. Experience has taught our people that it is impossible to advance under a capitalist system.

Jack Woddis (Great Britain)

IN CHARACTERIZING the new African states one should note the two main groups—namely, those states which can be described, broadly speaking, as being tied to imperialist alliances and policies, and, on the other hand, those which are carrying out genuine policies of peace and independence.

It seems to me that the key thing here is to realize that all these states are in a process of rapid change under the influence of world development, of the growth of anti-imperialist understanding throughout Africa, of the anti-colonial victories being won in Africa, and of the internal changes in class relations and the political consciousness of the masses.

In most of East Africa (apart from Uganda), in Central and Southern Africa—which are not yet independent—the national bourgeoisie is only just emerging. But even in West Africa, where political independence has been won, the national bourgeoisie is weaker than it was in pre-independent India, for example. An African factory-owning bourgeoisie—apart from some small light-industry enterprises, for example, cotton ginning in Uganda—scarcely exists.

The African bourgeoisie lacks industrial experience. This explains its preference to continue to make its profits in its familiar fields of trade and farming, rather than to tie up its capital in factory development, which also requires the training of African skilled workers, with the

provision of all the social and cultural services and conditions which are a necessary corollary to creating a skilled working class. One consequence of this is a tendency to leave industrial development to foreign monopolies. On the other hand, the lack of willingness of private African capital to develop industry compels the new African states to intervene and take steps to develop state industry.

The extreme weakness of the national bourgeoisie in Africa is one of the factors which makes it possible for Africa to take a non-capitalist path of development. And the fact that this very weakness compels the new African states to take the initiative in building industry and stimulating economic growth, is a further factor which can facilitate the taking of a non-capitalist path in Africa *providing that the workers and peasants increasingly exercise their influence and advance towards the guidance of these new states.*

Africa, too, has its own specific problems as regards land and agriculture. One can say that at this stage for most of Africa south of the Sahara, the struggle against feudalism, against feudal rent, high interest rates and indebtedness is *not the main content of the land question*, although these problems exist in part, as, for example, in Northern Nigeria and in Ghana. The main robber of the African land is not, as has been the case in Asia, the feudal landlord, but rather the foreign monopolies which have established large-scale planta-

tions for cash crops, and the white settlers who have seized the best land for capitalist farming. And the main exploiters of the African peasant are the plantation companies and the big foreign trading firms, such as the United Africa Company, which buy up, at low prices, African crops for export. A lesser role in exploiting the African peasants is played by the African capitalist farmers.

Thus, for most of Africa south of the Sahara, the question of agriculture and land reform poses a number of problems different from those applying to India. The fact that in most of Africa communally-owned land is still the rule has its obvious significance, especially when considering the possibility of a non-capitalist path of development for Africa. Interestingly enough, in those territories still under British rule, such as Kenya and the Rhodesias, imperialism has taken steps to break up the former communal land-holdings, to introduce individual titles to land, and to foster a small stratum of African capitalist farmers, thus dispossessing thousands of peasants. The consequences are to be seen in the mass unemployment which is now a feature of towns like Nairobi in Kenya and Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia.

The question of land reform is still under discussion in Africa. Experience in Guinea and Ghana serves to emphasize the importance of *cooperative production, based on the already existing communal lands, as one form of tackling the problem. State farms are also being tried in these territories. But it is clear that in the Rhodesias and Kenya and in Portuguese-held territories in South Africa, once the African people win political independence, the foreign ownership of large holdings will have to be tackled, and a redistribution of land carried out.*

A further factor to be taken into account in Africa is the extremes to which monoculture has been pushed, Uganda relying on her cotton and coffee, Zanzibar on her cloves, Gambia on her ground nuts, and Ghana only now beginning to overcome her dependence on cocoa. Thus, for Africa, in addition to the task of raising agricultural production there is the task of diversifying agriculture, above all growing sufficient food crops to raise the standard of living and, at the same time, stop the wastage of resources in importing foodstuffs which could be grown locally.

In most of independent Africa there is scarcely any modern industry—or at least very little was inherited from colonialism. So even the first steps have to be taken to build light industry, to manufacture goods from local raw materials beyond the initial processing stage.

Secondly, it is important to stress the necessity for basic industrialization in the newly-independent African states. It is because they recognize the

key importance of industrialization for Africa that Western economists and propagandists seek to influence African governments and organizations away from industrialization, arguing that Africa has not the resources, that the climate is unsuitable, and that Africa is better suited to producing food and industrial crops and minerals in exchange for manufactured goods from the West. These theories of the Western powers are backed up in practice by restricting, where possible, loans for basic industrial development.

There is the need to oust foreign capital from the economy of the countries emerging from colonialism. This, in fact, is the key task. In Africa, where the economy is so completely dominated by foreign monopolies, no real headway can be made without tackling foreign capital.

The Western powers always react most strongly against every threat at nationalizing their properties and strive to tie the new African states to specific "no-nationalization" pledges. At the same time, since a move against such companies is essential if complete independence is to be won, the newly established governments in Africa find it necessary to take certain measures in the direction of bringing the foreign concerns more closely under their control. Thus the Ghana government is to take over the Cable and Wireless Company's interests on the expiry of the 1962 license, is taking over the BOAC shares in the Ghana Airways, buying out the Zim Navigation Company's shares in the Black Star Shipping Line, and is buying out five of the seven British gold-mining companies in Ghana. The Nigerian government is to nationalize the Nigerian Shipping Lines and the Nigerian Airways.

Similarly, Guinea has been obliged, step by step, to bring the French enterprises on its soil more under its control. In August, 1960, a number of French banks in Guinea were ordered by the government to cease operations. At the end of January 1961 two further French firms, the water supply company and the electricity company, were nationalized on the grounds that they had become "imperialist tools to undermine the Development Plan of the Guinean Republic." Diamond mining has also been nationalized, foreign trade brought under control, and in August, last year, the French-owned Jules Burki Transport Company was nationalized.

Whatever the specific step taken to curb the foreign monopolies, there is no slogan or procedure valid for every country and under all circumstances. The only valid standpoint is that the foreign economic strongholds must be attacked, weakened, and eventually turned into national property.

The creation of a state sector of the economy is extremely important for the newly independent

African countries where little industry exists and where the commanding heights of the economy are in the hands of foreign monopolies. In Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria it is precisely the foreign undertakings, nationalized or bought out, which create the basis for the state sector. But merely to take over the existing enterprises in an economy which has been deliberately distorted by colonialism is insufficient; new enterprises, too, have to be built.

The building of these new enterprises, together with the further development of those taken over from the foreign monopolies, creates the necessity for a degree of economic planning by the state. Thus, a special feature of these newly developing countries is the initiation of economic plans. Often the plans are extremely limited in conception and in no sense directed towards overcoming colonialism. In, for example, Togo, the Ivory Coast, and the Malagasy Republic, main emphasis is on agriculture, and furthermore overwhelmingly directed towards export crops. Even the sums devoted to industry are related often to transport or mining—in both cases merely serving to intensify the export of the natural resources for overseas interests. Similarly, in the Sudan plans for 1959-61, about two-fifths of government expenditure went on agriculture and nearly two-fifths on transport.

A number of African states, however, are taking important steps to build up their economies.

In Ghana, the most important project at the moment is the Volta River scheme. As originally conceived, this is to be a comprehensive scheme, providing cheap and abundant electric power for a wide variety of industry, establishing local aluminium production, creating new urban areas, irrigating large areas of land, and so on. Decisive headway with this scheme is scheduled to take place under the 1959-64 Second Development Plan.

In Ghana, in addition to the Volta scheme, the 1959-64 Plan allows for the establishment of 600 new factories, producing a range of 100 products. These factories were to be built largely by private enterprise, both foreign and Ghanaian, and steps have been taken to encourage such development. In practice, however, the government's Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) has found it necessary to initiate much of the factory development itself. Its report for 1960 gave a total of 54 industrial plants operating in 42 different industries, with a further 22 under construction or already approved, and a further 31 awaiting examination or approval. A number of these new factories are owned 100 per cent by the IDC, and in many others the IDC has shares. The factories cover the production of nails, furniture and timber products, matches, boats, bricks, soap, cigars, biscuits, and other light industry. A truck and bicycle assembly

plant has been opened, and agreements have been made for the establishment of a large modern oil refinery, a sugar factory, a flour mill, a textile factory, and a cement factory. Further state intervention may be necessary before the end of the planning period if the target of 600 factories is to be reached.

One of the arguments spread in the West and accepted in some government circles in the new African states, is that African economy cannot be developed without Western capital and Western advice.

Accordingly, some African states conclude that they must make concessions and offer inducements in order to attract Western investment. In fact, the idea of investment is often given priority over loans. Of course, it would be ridiculous for the new African states to sever all economic connections with the West. But for many of the small African states it is very easy for the Western monopolies and financial institutions to dominate the economy. For this reason, it seems to me, the new African states have to be particularly vigilant as regards the character and scope of their economic relations with the imperialist countries.

For African states there are other ways in which the capital required for economic development can be found.

First, capital can be accumulated from internal sources. Capital is being accumulated in Africa all the time, but it is largely being pumped out of Africa to the West. One way of stopping this drain is by the various measures directed against the foreign monopolies in Africa.

Secondly, socialist aid can be of great assistance, not only in its direct sense, but also indirectly by compelling Western powers to make loans for genuine African development which they otherwise would be less ready to make.

Further, the African states also lose valuable sources of accumulation through the unequal exchange of trade that takes place between them and the Western powers. The more these states become independent, the more they build up their economies, the more they extend their economic relations with the socialist world, the better will they be able to challenge the unequal trading relationships between themselves and the imperialist countries. The fact that the USSR is becoming the main purchaser of Ghana's cocoa will greatly help in this respect.

One cannot talk about the economic development of the African states emerging from colonialism without dealing with the question of all-African unity. There are about 55 separately administered states and islands in Africa, some of them populated by only a few hundred thousand people. The boundaries between them are almost entirely the

artificial frontiers created by the Western powers during the scramble for Africa. It is understandable, therefore, that the African peoples should feel impelled to come together, to pool their resources and their efforts, in order to meet the new neo-colonialist threat, to safeguard their newly-won independence, to develop their economies and to assist those African peoples still under colonial rule to win their freedom.

Both the Second All-African People's Conference at Tunis in January 1960, and the Third Conference in Cairo, March 1961, in their economic resolutions, drew special attention to the need to create an African common market, to set up joint inter-African companies, to remove customs barriers between the African countries, coordinate transport, establish an African Investment Bank, prepare for the formation of an African Monetary Zone and take other measures which will make possible mutual assistance between the different African states.

In Africa, where in most states there are no working class political parties and where the trend

is towards the formation of a single mass national organization, the struggle for democracy has some important differences to Asian conditions. A special responsibility in this respect falls on the African trade unions which are playing a key political role in a number of the new African states. Their strength and activity are decisive for raising living standards.

In Africa the economy is still dominated by imperialism and it is in the course of struggle against this domination that democracy can be extended and living standards raised. For many African countries, in fact, there is a real possibility that they will never enter a stage of local monopoly capital, that, because of their internal class structure and relation of class forces and the favorable world alignment of forces, they will be able to bypass the full capitalist stage of development and take a non-capitalist path. *This, of course, is only possible if the working class becomes the leading force in the national democratic revolution and the people are mobilized to struggle for this objective.*

Abdelkader El Ouahrani (Algeria)

THE whole world knows of the heroic struggle which the Algerian people have been waging for over seven years against French imperialism and its allies. The goal of this struggle was set forth in the very first days of the national revolution. Algerian patriots, united around their Provisional Government and National-Liberation Army, have been shedding their blood for a democratic republic on a broad social foundation. They want to be a sovereign nation, to be able, like other peoples, to build a new and free life independent in every respect. The aspirations of the Algerians are in harmony with the general trend of the times. Their battle is being fought within the framework of the movement for national liberation and the general anti-imperialist struggle. There is no doubt that despite the obstacles, the Algerian people will win their freedom in full conformity with the analysis made at the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties.

* * *

The Algerian people are not as yet able to build up their own economy. In these circumstances it would be difficult to predict in every detail the exact course economic development will take when freedom has been won. Nevertheless, an analysis of the economy even today can be of interest.

The French imperialists always regarded Algeria as a colony to be settled. Their policy was one of brutal exploitation aimed at ensuring the profits of the French monopolies and colonialists who

seized the best land and used the natural resources as cheap raw materials for French industry. Hence it may be said that the Algerian economy as a whole does not belong to the Algerians. This explains the weakness of the national bourgeoisie, the poverty of the peasantry left with the poorest land, the absence of a heavy industry, the large number of unemployed and the numerically small working class.

The economy is run by the French colonialists in such a way as to satisfy the requirements of the exploiters, not the needs and interests of the Algerians who comprise nine-tenths of the population.

Here is an example: in taking possession of the land, the colonialists concentrated primarily on wine-growing as the most profitable item, while production of grain to feed the Algerians was almost completely neglected. That is why vineyards occupy a vast area of 378,000 hectares (of which 340,000 belong to Europeans) while the grain crop in 1957 (1,200,000 tons) was less, despite the growth of population, than it was in 1885. The best land is used not for food crops, but for profitable export crops. For example, Algeria produces annually 15-19 million hectolitres of wine of which only 1.5 million are consumed locally (and mainly by Europeans).

In short, the Algerian economy under French colonial domination differs but little from that of any other colonial dependency. The Algerian people

took due note of this state of affairs when they began their national revolution. Ever since the beginning of the armed uprising, i.e., from November 1, 1954, the people have been conscious of the link between political liberation and economic emancipation. Thus Algerian unity is, understandably, based not only on national political objectives, but also on urgent social problems such as agrarian reform and a certain degree of nationalization. Nor have the Algerians changed their views on this, despite the diverse economic maneuvers of the colonialists.

Algeria's independence will be the common victory of all her people. Workers, peasants, bourgeoisie, artisans and intellectuals—all have fought the foreign invaders under the slogan: "For an independent democratic republic on a broad social foundation." Here more than in any other part of Africa, this common victory must be made to serve the national interests which cannot be divorced from the interests of each of the social classes that participated in the revolution. In the course of the struggle the workers and peasants have learned to fight shoulder to shoulder, and they insist on radical changes.

The bulk of the people cannot agree to the simple replacement of the French colonialists by the national bourgeoisie, as was the case in some other African and Asian countries; they do not want to preserve the old order established by the French in which the minority profited at the expense of the majority. If any progress is to be made, the foundations of colonialism must first be destroyed and the survivals of feudalism in the countryside abolished.

Of course, to build up a national economy is not an easy matter. And when we bear in mind the imperialists will stop at nothing to defend their privileges, even after independence, we can visualize the difficulties. The Communist Party, aware of the significance of this problem, has worked out a program which takes into account both the possibilities and the objective situation in the country. For the Communists, who are fighting alongside the other patriotic forces, it is obvious that complete liberation can be achieved only under socialism.

The Communist Party wants to establish a socialist Algeria by peaceful means, under the leadership of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the forward-looking intellectuals, i.e., with the majority of the people. The Party wants to establish a socialist Algeria, with due regard to the national features, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, which has proved its effectiveness before the whole world.

But the most pressing and vital issue that will arise immediately after political independence will

be the establishment of a fully independent country within the framework of the national-democratic revolution.

The first blow at the colonial structure will be a radical agrarian reform. At this stage, as the Algerian Communist Party visualizes it, the land law should take the following form:

1. Expropriation, without compensation, of land (with all implements) belonging to the colonialists, colonial societies and Algerian feudal landlords who have betrayed the national cause.

2. Free distribution of these lands to the agricultural laborers, the poor and middle fellahs.

3. Transfer to those who come within the scope of the agrarian reform of all agricultural organizations, i.e., credit organizations, growers' cooperatives and the cooperatives engaged in marketing and processing agricultural output.

4. Resale of land thus distributed to be strictly forbidden for a definite period of time.

At the same time it will be necessary patiently to explain to the peasants the benefits of cooperative farming and to awaken their interest in it, bearing in mind that:

- 1) the long war has exhausted the villages;

- 2) some of the big estates, for example the vineyards and areas planted to early vegetables, should be preserved for export production in order to obtain the foreign currency needed to promote the national economy, and should be run on a cooperative basis by agricultural laborers and technicians;

- 3) an atmosphere of mass participation and enthusiasm should be created and the meagre funds available used to supply the farm implements to peasant cooperatives rather than to individual peasants.

The experience of other countries shows that an agrarian reform of this kind can quickly raise the material and cultural level of the peasant masses, release considerable productive forces in the countryside and create favorable conditions for industrializing the country by expanding the domestic market.

However, in carrying out the agrarian reform two things should be avoided. First, it would be a mistake to effect a limited agrarian reform after the Egyptian or Tunisian pattern, for genuine independence in the given instance will be measured by the scope of the agrarian reform, which is called upon to uproot the survivals of the social, economic and political power of the colonialists, the big feudal landlords and others who worked for the enemy. Second, it would be a mistake to nationalize all the land and set up cooperative farms by command. If the peasants' land hunger

is not satisfied, nothing will release their energy and enthusiasm.

And while it is true that for Algeria, as for other countries that have suffered under colonial rule, the land question is most urgent, there are other aspects of the national economy to be considered. The Communist Party's program on this point is as follows:

1. Effective revision of all the agreements concerning oil and gas in the Algerian part of the Sahara which the French government concluded with foreign oil companies.

2. Nationalization of the basic natural wealth, viz., esparto grass, cork oak, and also the minerals (coal, iron ore, phosphates, gas, oil, etc.); the banks, public utilities and transport, etc.

3. Modernization of the economy and supply system with the object of creating a heavy industry—the economic basis of independence.

4. Control over foreign investments in order to avoid any foreign economic and political pressure prejudicial to the national sovereignty and social progress.

5. Abolition of unemployment and raising the standard of living.

This in general outline is the program proposed by the Communist Party for the solution of the national economic problems. The Algerian Communists proceed from the real possibilities and conditions. Their point of view, formulated long ago, has, in a measure, been adopted by the masses.

In August 1961 the meeting of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution adopted some decisions of first-rate importance. The newspaper *El-Moudjahid* commented on this in its issue of August 29:

"Up till now we have been guided in our actions by the image of the Algeria we intend to create.

"That image continues in growing measure to determine our line of conduct, as was confirmed by the National Council which devoted more attention to the social content of our struggle and the establishment of a regime based on the principle of 'revolution by the people for the people'."

If this formula is not to remain merely a wish, the masses of the people, and particularly the working class and the poor peasantry, should participate in solving national economic problems.

But one cannot speak of the participation of the masses in building the new society without raising the question of democracy and without taking the interests of the masses fully into account. "After winning political independence," says the Statement of the 81 parties, "the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and to the problems of reinforcing national independence. Different classes and parties offer different solutions. Which

course of development to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves. As social contradictions grow, the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and raise the standard of living is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger." This analysis is being put to the test on Algeria's borders, in Tunisia, in Morocco and other African countries. The Algerian people who for more than seven years have paid dearly for the right to independence and happiness, cannot but draw lessons from their neighbors' experience of capitalist development. The Algerian peasants and workers know what lies in store for the working people of the many newly-liberated countries that have taken the capitalist road. They know, too, how their Cuban brothers who have chosen the non-capitalist way are building up their economy. When the time comes the working masses of Algeria will choose the course that will best help to place the national economy on a solid foundation. They know that in this they can rely on the support of the socialist countries, whose effective and generous economic and technical aid is a reliable guarantee safeguarding Algerian independence from any attempt on the part of the imperialists to fetter it economically.

Already today, before political liberation has been achieved, the people, with the working class and peasantry in the forefront, want the Algerian government to take a firm stand in relation to the colonialists who are out to preserve their privileges in the Algerian national economy. It is this mass pressure which partly explains the recent changes in the Algerian government. This can be seen from the statement of the National Council. The Council, it reads, "has defined the democratic and social content of the struggle of the Algerian people whose strivings are expressed by the Front of National Liberation. . . . These strivings are aimed at establishing a modern nation with an economy serving the interests of the people and cultural regeneration."

Although the situation calls for a careful assessment, it can be assumed that Algeria's future economic development will differ from that, say, of her neighbors, Morocco and Tunisia. The present capitalist organization of the Algerian economy was built up by French imperialism in the course of 130 years of colonial occupation and not by the national bourgeoisie, which has virtually been squeezed out of the national economy.

On the other hand, the alignment of forces in Algeria may favor the masses, with the working class and peasants at their head. Should that be

the case, then, in contrast to Egypt, Morocco or Tunisia, for example, where capital is concentrated in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, the state will be able to direct the Algerian economy onto the path that reflects the interests of the masses. The Communist Party is sparing no effort to bring

this about. The Algerian people, keenly interested in socialism and watching the economic experiments in the newly-independent countries, are familiar with the idea of a state of national democracy, and there is every reason to suppose that this idea will triumph.

Romano Ledda (Italy)

I SHOULD like, comrades, to dwell briefly on a few controversial questions, on which indeed there is some confusion. I presume that we all agree with the principles proclaimed in that part of the Statement of the 81 parties dealing with the break-up of colonialism and that we all fully subscribe to the political assessments contained therein.

Hence I do not think there is any need to repeat everything recorded in that document. What is needed is a thorough study of these problems in order precisely, on the basis of these formulations, to define the principal subject of this symposium.

I say this because, as some of the comrades, especially those representing Morocco, the South African Republic and others, have correctly pointed out, the national-liberation movement presents an extremely complex, diversified, and often contradictory picture. There are undoubtedly some problems which the economically underdeveloped countries have in common. But there are problems which are not common to all of them. And these must be clearly defined and thoroughly grasped if a correct policy is to be pursued. A few examples.

The slogan of agrarian reform, which is decisive for most of the former colonies and essential to their democratic development, is not the cardinal issue for countries like Guinea and the Congo, for example, where the predominant relations in the countryside are tribal.

When Sékou Touré insists on the term *social strata*, maintaining that one cannot speak of classes, he is stressing, it seems to me, that this fact makes it possible to wage a resolute fight against the old and new colonialism by building a movement that would advance the whole of African society and rejecting (as was the case in Guinea) the pseudo-bourgeois administrative upper stratum. In effect he is saying that some African countries need not go through the stage of antagonistic classes, that by bypassing it they can strike out all the sooner on the non-capitalist path of development. This, of course, does not mean that these countries have no land problem. They have, and a very difficult one. But I have used this example merely to show that in Guinea the problem is to overcome tribal, not feudal relations.

Guinea and the Congo give us food for thought in other respects as well. The Congo, for instance, has quite a high percentage of workers, whereas in Guinea the working class is practically non-existent. Yet the specific features of Guinea's national-liberation struggle and the first steps toward building the new state are progressive, whereas the national movement in the Congo is one of the weakest in Africa, with the workers playing no part in it whatsoever. I happened to be in Leopoldville and Elizabethville at the height of the Congolese crisis; I had talks with the workers in the big breweries in Leopoldville and with industrial workers in Elizabethville. And I saw that they took no part in what was happening and voiced no protest against the tragedy hanging over the Congo.

I mention this in order to stress the need for a deeper and more concrete analysis, inasmuch as the actual struggle against colonial domination cannot always be reduced simply to one and the same elements of equivalent significance for all concerned.

It seems to me, for instance, that the comrade from Morocco was right when he pointed to the difference between the position of India and Morocco on the question of the role state capitalism can play in these countries. Differences exist even in countries similar to one another. For instance, in some countries of Equatorial Africa belonging to the French Community, especially Gabon, the social structure is purely tribal, although the French are endeavoring to create some sort of upper class which could subsequently develop into a bourgeoisie. The social structure on the Ivory Coast, on the other hand, is quite different: there you have a rather substantial bourgeois stratum, something like the bourgeoisie of Ghana and of some parts of Nigeria. The picture, therefore, is extremely variegated. In the light of what has been said the important thing is to have the maximum clarity on the problem of economic development and, consequently, on the question of the choice which the young states must make in determining their future.

We must have a proper understanding of certain questions which are being widely discussed in Africa but which have not yet been fully clarified.

The first is the question of neo-colonialism, a generally accepted term used to define some of the typical features of contemporary colonialism.

Some experts on the colonial problem whose position might be defined as radical-left believe that, with the decline of the traditional colonial rule, colonialism itself is dying out. The many problems arising after political independence have been won are thus either totally ignored or else approached solely from the standpoint of the new relations between imperialism and the former colonies, relations which, allegedly, have altered the very nature of imperialism.

I do not think there is any need for this conference to prove the fallacy of such a thesis. We all agree that *neo-colonialism is but a specific form, a new and different expression of the same old phenomenon—colonialism*, and consequently, continuation of colonial domination. We have grounds for saying—and in this we are joined by big sections of the national-liberation movement (in Africa, for example) — that neo-colonialism is an attempt on the part of the imperialists to deprive the movement of its democratic, socio-political essence, of its principles, and to preserve the economic privileges enjoyed by the old ruling caste of colonialists.

This formula is correct, but it must be analyzed more thoroughly. If we content ourselves with it, we risk overlooking the serious danger of a colonialist restoration.

I shall try briefly to explain this. When we affirm that imperialism is forced to tolerate the independence of the new countries and is doing its best to emasculate that independence by preserving the old economic relations, we do not sufficiently emphasize the basic, new element of colonial domination. This is the policy which the United States has been pursuing for years with regard to the Latin American countries.

In what way does indirect and non-violent colonial domination differ from what is known as neo-colonialism? Neo-colonialism is distinguished by the methods the imperialists use in their efforts to preserve their economic privileges unchanged. A number of serious questions arise in this connection. Firstly, is neo-colonialism merely a tactic, an attempt to adapt imperialism to the changed conditions and to the crisis of the colonial system? Or is it also a definite policy springing from the peculiarities of the objective development of capitalism?

There is, of course, a dialectical link between these two questions, inasmuch as the whole process of capitalist development today is obviously determined and influenced by the crisis of the colonial system. On the other hand, we know that it is not so easy to force imperialism to relinquish its

privileges. Suffice it to point to the example of the Congo, where the Americans resorted to direct armed force. *The political independence of the former colonies is, after all, a defeat for imperialism*, a reality which it is forced to accept. Nevertheless the reply to the second question also calls for special examination. One Marxist economist in an article on neo-colonialism published in the magazine *Problemi del Socialismo* outlined some avenues of research to which I would like to draw your attention.

The article speaks of the new elements in the economic relations between the dominant and the subordinate country which, of course, do not alter the fact that capitalist development is based on the drive for profit. The first new element is the transition (in some cases already accomplished) from direct plunder, the extraction of wealth from the colonies for the industrial development of the metropolitan countries, to the export to the colony of capital in diverse forms. Whereas formerly economic relations with the dependent country consisted simply of laying hands on its natural resources and markets in order to develop the industry of the metropolitan country in competition with the industries of other countries, today one observes a tendency to invest capital with the aim of obtaining profit *on the spot* and not only on a national basis, but often with the participation of international capital, i.e., a new type of competition between the different capitalist countries.

One has only to look at Federal Germany's export of capital to many African countries, the participation of West German capital in exploiting the Sahara oil, the European Common Market policy in Africa, the so-called "aid" rendered by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, to realize how far this line has advanced.

It is necessary to study the method of neo-colonialist penetration which is employed more and more by international capital (the European Common Market policy in Africa is a typical example). A deeper analysis of the problem raises a number of further points which require examination: if indiscriminate plunder of the resources of a colony no longer proves to be the only or the best means of obtaining profit, it is quite clear that the traditional forms of colonial domination will lose all their former "attraction." On the other hand, independence can even have advantages for the imperialists: formal political independence can relieve them of the expense of maintaining a military machine, and, what is most important, can shift to the shoulders of the new state the burden of the additional expenditure needed to achieve the economic aims of the imperialists. For example, the cost of building and maintaining

roads leading to mines, formerly covered by the monopolies, will now have to be borne by the new state.

But these are not the most important elements. It would be very interesting to study the problems showing how formal political independence makes it possible (where direct rule either excludes or limits such a possibility) to achieve the two main objectives of the neo-colonialist relations: 1) the formation of a political and economic (i.e., a class) élite, a national bourgeoisie where none as yet exists; and 2) a course of economic development in which all the basic sectors of the economy would be in the hands of private capital.

It would be interesting also to make a study of the whole vast range of investments in what are destined to become key enterprises in the economy of the various countries. Along this line of research there are several other problems that might be examined. First, the problem of capital investments. Does the acceptance of capital investments and aid from the West in all cases signify a return to colonial or neo-colonial domination? Does the non-capitalist path necessarily imply rejection of capitalist investments, including private investments? The answer cannot be an abstract one.

Moreover, another question arises: is the resolute and irreconcilable struggle against any form of colonial domination a socialist struggle or is it so far only the first step towards socialism, one of a number of phases? In other words, can the non-capitalist path with its organized planning and control of the key branches of industry and foreign trade, permit a "mixed economy" which contains both private and state elements? In this sense, it seems to me, the Guinean experiment deserves the most careful study.

However that may be, it is a most interesting experiment, inasmuch as it constitutes the boldest of all the attempts so far undertaken in Africa to advance directly from tribal community along the non-capitalist road, although that road cannot be called socialist.

The second problem I wish to mention is that of the aid rendered by the socialist camp. It is a fact that in the revolutionary anti-colonialist process the aid of the socialist countries is designed to create an independent economy, to protect the foreign trade of the country concerned from the cutthroat competition prevailing on the imperialist market, etc.

However, this question should not be over-simplified; it would be wrong to think that the aid of the socialist countries automatically solves the problem of the economic and political choice within the various countries.

The economic aid of the socialist countries can stimulate one or another economic undertaking

or facilitate one or another reform, but it cannot predetermine the choice. This is the task of the working-class movement in the newly-liberated countries, the task of the trade unions and the parties that are fighting to prevent independence from serving the interests of only privileged groups.

A highly important discussion is taking place at the present time among economists concerning the type of planning which should be adopted in the underdeveloped countries. This discussion has been going on for some time (the question came up in India as far back as 1953), and it is decisive for any political and economic choice in the underdeveloped countries.

After all, planning alone is not enough to determine the choice, capitalist or non-capitalist. The example of planning in Ghana and many other former colonies shows that the plan itself is not the determining factor. It is the type of plan that matters. We all know that American and British economists, the U.N. and numerous other international organizations advocate the theory that the underdeveloped countries should develop industry with a low organic composition of capital and should not use specialized technical equipment.

You have very little capital and very many unemployed, the bourgeois economists say to the underdeveloped countries, your per capita income is low; hence you have too small a margin between income and consumption. In these circumstances, your problem is to raise the national income per capita and expand production so as to absorb your unemployed. For this you must manufacture as many cheap instruments of labor as possible, in other words, it is better to produce a thousand cheap hoes than one expensive tractor. In short, the development of handicraft and cottage industry should take precedence in your planning over modern industry. You should rely on growing or on processing agricultural products, not on a program of industrialization involving large capital investments.

While this advice, which, combined with the "theory of marginal production," has made no small inroads into the economy of many of the underdeveloped countries, is obviously prompted by self-interest, it has done American policy in Africa a good service.

The British economist Maurice Dobb, in an article published in *Politica ed economia*, quite correctly attacked these theories, pointing out that the policy of accelerated development, aimed at increasing the potential of capital investment as quickly as possible would rapidly raise both the rate of development and the absolute level of employment and consumption to a point higher than would be possible by pursuing a more cautious line.

I will not go into detail, but it seems to me that insofar as we are examining the question of the possibility of choice, and have touched upon diverse questions — albeit of a theoretical nature — this problem merits special discussion.

So vast is the scope of the national-liberation movement, and so variegated are the problems

it presents to the international working-class movement, to Marxists, both theoretical and practical, that a much more exhaustive, comprehensive and definitive effort is essential. This conference can, and I trust will, be the beginning of this fruitful work.

G. Kim (USSR)

THE winning of political independence by a large group of Afro-Asian countries is a big step forward both for them and the world. It signifies a retreat on the part of imperialism, a shrinking of its sphere of domination, and the drawing of the new states into active participation in international life. Most of the newly-independent states have not yet broken away from the capitalist world economy, although their place in it now is a special one. They represent a section of the world still exploited by capitalist monopolies, and until such time as they end their economic dependence on imperialism they will continue to play the role of a "hinterland" subjected to semi-colonial exploitation.

With the winning of political independence by the majority of the former colonies the center of gravity in the national-liberation movement has shifted to the economic sphere. Political independence is an essential but first step along the road to liberation. Given this condition the struggle can proceed for complete emancipation from foreign rule. Winning economic independence, ending the grip of foreign capital and of the system of predatory relations between the imperialist powers and the underdeveloped nations, and building an independent national economy — these are the present tasks of the national-liberation movement.

A few words should be said about the concept "economic independence."

In the case of Russia, for example, a country which inherited an extremely backward economy from tsarism but which had immense natural resources and a big population, the achieving of economic independence after the October Revolution, when she was still the only socialist country, proved possible by developing the productive forces in a way which, in effect, signified complete autarchy.

Will it be necessary for the underdeveloped countries to do the same thing in the conditions of today when there are two world systems? We have a clear idea about the basic trends of economic development of the socialist countries. But how are we to define the economic sovereignty of the young states of Asia and Africa which have

won political independence? There are, as you know, different views on this score.

I am not going to suggest any formulation of my own, all the more so since I am posing this question solely for the purpose of raising other, contiguous problems. But one thing is clear, namely, that economic sovereignty presupposes a developed and diversified economy with a definite industrial base, and the elimination of the unequal economic relations with the imperialist countries which find expression today, alongside the direct forms of colonial exploitation, in non-equivalent exchange.

Economic independence poses a whole number of questions. Here we deliberately accentuate one of the more vital aspects of the problem—building a diversified economy in the underdeveloped countries.

It will not be out of place here to trace the basic economic trends in these countries in recent years. One of these is *industrialization*. The national bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries stands for capitalist industrialization with a view to reinforcing its own political and economic positions and lessening its economic dependence on imperialism. This is expressed in a desire to extend and enlarge the older industries (mining, fuel and textile) and to build new branches (iron and steel, chemical, engineering and others).

In India, for example, the index of industrial production (1951 = 100) was in 1948—78, in 1960—167.5; in the United Arab Republic (1954 = 100) this index had risen to 170 by 1960*. This relative growth of industrial output has resulted in a certain increase in the share of industry in the national income (in India, for instance, from seven per cent in 1948-49 to 9.1 per cent in 1958-59**); another result was the slight increase in the share of these countries in the overall capitalist world production.

It should be noted, however, that the highest rates of growth are to be found in the new branches (chemical, cement, engineering, etc.) whose share in the industrial structure of these countries is still small. In India, for instance, the

*Bank for International Settlements Press Reviews, February 2, 1961. Monthly Abstract of Statistics, January 1961, page 14.

**Monthly Abstract of Statistics, December 1960, page 82.

general index of industrial production (1951=100) was 151 in 1959, that of engineering 282, and the chemical industry—214.

In 1960 the output of machine-tools surpassed the 1951 level 11-fold.*

It follows, then, that although some branches forge ahead at a relatively rapid pace, the overall rate of capitalist industrialization in the underdeveloped countries is slow. While the rate is somewhat higher than on the world scale (we have in mind the capitalist world), it is nevertheless impossible to envisage the time when the underdeveloped countries will have substantially closed the gap in per capita output that separates them from the industrial countries.

The industrialization trend is directly associated with the growth of the state sector which, in view of the smallness of internal accumulation, persistence of feudal survivals and the scarcity of private national capital, plays an important role in the economic life of the underdeveloped countries. The national and patriotic forces in these countries are all in favor of a state sector.

While noting the progressive significance of the state sector in building an independent national economy, it is imperative at the same time not to lose sight of the trend that has already set in among the top circles of the national bourgeoisie, namely, their reluctance to take effective steps to safeguard the state sector against monopoly encroachments. India offers an example of how the big bourgeoisie is inclined, as it gains in strength, to "whittle down" the state sector.

Expansion of the state sector is accompanied by consolidation of private national capital and by increased private foreign investments; the imperialist monopolies, notably American, West German and Japanese, are becoming increasingly more active. It should be pointed out that in prosecuting its present colonial policy imperialism tends more and more to stress the economic sphere. And this can be very dangerous.

In agriculture the trend is towards *changing the structure of production* (diversified farming), *better farming* (more tractors, more organic and mineral fertilizers, irrigation development), and generally towards solving the food problem. But the situation in agriculture is still unsatisfactory. Compared with the rapid population growth the increase in farm production is slow. Between 1949/50 and 1959/60 the increase in the output of food crops was a mere 24.3 per cent, and of industrial crops 33.1 per cent; overall farm production in this period increased by 27.2 per cent.

Postwar developments have shown that the national bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries

has little liking for any more or less radical change in agriculture even of a capitalist nature, although objectively it has a stake in abolishing the feudal survivals that act as a brake on the growth of the productive forces. To my mind, some of the recent economic writing somewhat overstates the significance of the agrarian reforms in the underdeveloped countries, conveying the impression that these reforms have radically changed the character of the production relations.

It is common knowledge that despite the promulgation of agrarian-reform laws (the recent laws in Indonesia and the UAR appear to be very progressive) no great progress has been made in the non-socialist Eastern countries in extirpating the feudal survivals. Struggle against these survivals is one of the pressing tasks of the national democratic revolution in the East.

Due to the active support of the democratic forces, some progress has been made in important branches of the economy of the underdeveloped countries. The state, relying on its sector, actively intervenes in economic development; large-scale landownership has been reduced. Experience has shown, however, that bourgeois politicians are in no hurry to effect general democratic changes, or, if changes are introduced, they are not on the scale called for by the requirements of economic growth. Industrialization brings with it a steady influx of capital from abroad and an increase of its share in the total sum of both state and private capital investments.

Whereas foreign capital accounted for seven per cent of all investments under India's first five-year plan, under its third plan the figure has risen to 30 per cent.

In Burma the influx from abroad accounted for four per cent of the 1955/56 budget, and for 20 per cent of the 1959/60 budget. This state of affairs is typical of most underdeveloped countries.

Growing dependence of these countries on foreign finance in carrying out their economic programs is explained above all by the fact that the basic issues of democratic reconstruction have not been solved.

Indirect taxes, raised mainly from the working people, continue to be the principal source of financing the plans. This cannot but affect in the most adverse way the position of the masses. Millions of the peasants see for themselves that the national bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the basic issue—that of the land. Discontent is growing among the village poor, since only the rich peasants have benefited from the insignificant agrarian changes. The working class is in a bad plight, too. In Egypt, for instance, out of a labor force of 13 million, three million have no permanent work. According to the latest figures for India, the num-

*Monthly Abstract of Statistics, July 1960, page 12.

ber of people totally unemployed or working less than two hours a day, i.e., practically jobless, amounts to 42 million.

What general conclusions should be drawn from this? One is that the winning of political freedom and depriving the colonialists of such a vital lever of exploitation as state power substantially narrows the sphere of foreign influence in the economy and, to a certain extent, lays the foundation of economic independence.

With the disinterested aid of the socialist countries—the main support for the underdeveloped nations in their fight for economic independence—the new states of Asia have made some progress in building their national economies.

Industrial growth and the partial reconstruction of agriculture have resulted in a certain change in the overall pattern of the economy and in definite progress. But these trends invariably come up against such obstacles as the retarding influence of imperialism and the narrow social boundaries within which these trends manifest themselves. This explains the slow progress in tackling the tasks of economic independence. In all probability it will take dozens of years even for the more developed Asian countries now taking the capitalist path to attain the economic level needed for economic independence.

We say nothing about the suffering and privation which await the masses along this road. Proof of this is the growing class antagonisms. The most likely thing is that history will not give capitalism such long years of life.

The main reason why the building of an independent national economy is retarded should be sought in the policy of the national bourgeoisie, its reluctance to resolve the tasks of the national democratic revolution in a radical way.

The experience of the non-socialist countries of Asia shows that as things are today economic inde-

pendence cannot be attained without far-reaching democratic changes, and that independence can be largely lost as a result of making political and economic concessions to the foreign monopolies. The situation in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Thailand and some other countries is proof of this.

The vital interests of national regeneration call for uprooting all vestiges of imperialist rule, ousting the foreign monopolies and building a national industry; they also make it imperative that feudalism and its survivals be abolished, deep-going agrarian reform carried out in the interests of the peasants, democracy introduced into public life and political independence consolidated.

The desire of the peoples of the East, upon winning national liberation, to begin to build a society founded on non-capitalist lines, is of paramount significance for mankind as a whole. Forty years ago Lenin defined the epoch-making importance of this stage of the liberation movement in the following way: "It is perfectly clear that in the coming decisive battles of the world revolution the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, aimed originally at attaining national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and, possibly, play a much bigger revolutionary role than we anticipate. . . . The masses of working people, the peasants in the colonial countries, despite their present backwardness, will play a very big revolutionary role in the subsequent phases of the world revolution."*

The logic of the class struggle and of the cleavage of political forces will, of necessity, impel the masses in the East to revise the path of social development, and to an appreciation of the truth that only the non-capitalist path will bring them full and complete independence.

*V. I. Lenin, *Report on the Tactics of the RCP. Delivered at the Third Congress of the Communist International*, July 5, 1921.

Paulino G. Alberdi (Argentina)

ARGINA is a Latin American country with pronounced capitalist development. But this development should be seen against a background of latifundist agriculture and imperialist monopolies. In other words, industry is developing on a feeble and shaky basis because the tasks of the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution have not been solved, a far-reaching agrarian reform has not been carried out, the home market has not been extended, nor has the domination of imperialist monopolies in the national economy been abolished.

In 1959 agriculture accounted for 97.5 per cent of the export trade. The money obtained from this trade is used to pay for imported industrial equip-

ment, engines and spare parts, fuel and certain raw materials, to pay the profits of foreign monopolies and cover the external state debt.

It is clear that Argentina cannot be lifted out of the economic doldrums without steps being taken to build new branches of industry and to expand the home market, without a far-reaching agrarian reform, without nationalizing the imperialist-owned enterprises and developing the various parts of the country, without extending and improving transport facilities, without the state taking over foreign trade, and without industrialization.

The national bourgeoisie which has ruled the country at different times, tried to solve the eco-

conomic problems through reforms; it did not proclaim the aim of ending for all time the rule of the imperialist monopolies and big landowners. These futile attempts resulted in a loss of state leadership. Practice has shown that the national bourgeoisie, incapable of leading the people to the fulfilment of these tasks, tends to compromise.

What should be the way out?

In the statement issued by the meeting of the 81 Parties we read:

"In the present situation, favorable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organizations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy. The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and play an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the complete abolition of colonial oppression."

The countries which have won political independence are subjected to a dual influence: on the one hand they are influenced by the forces striving to perpetuate their role of *countries economically dependent on imperialism*, and on the other, by those forces which, insisting on the complete implementation of the tasks of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, are leading them toward socialism.

There is no "third force." But the need to clear the way for socialism calls for an alliance with definite sections of the national bourgeoisie, a task which can be implemented by the state of national democracy. However, within the framework of this alliance and this state the struggle for hegemony is continued between the proletariat and sections of the bourgeoisie. This is in line with the traditional propositions of Marxist-Leninist theory and is confirmed by experience.

The Latin American countries and those countries similarly placed are faced with the task of achieving the aims of the agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution by building a national-liberation front as

a stepping-stone to socialism (as, for example, in Cuba). But only under the hegemony of the working class, won under the leadership of its party, will the tasks of the revolution be implemented in full. Lenin's teaching on the link between the bourgeois-democratic revolution (in this case, the agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution) and the socialist revolution, and the growing over of the one into the other, is fully valid today.

For countries in which a national bourgeoisie is non-existent, genuine and complete independence can be ensured only by following a *non-capitalist path* of development. Mongolia is a case in point. The advantage enjoyed by Mongolia as a neighbor of the USSR has now been extended to countries remote from the socialist world owing to the enhanced international prestige of the Soviet Union and its technological advance which, as the Cuban experience shows, makes distances shorter.

The Communist Party of Argentina is fighting for working-class unity, for a worker-peasant alliance, for a broad democratic front of struggle for peace, against imperialism and the oligarchy, and against the enforcement of the fascist law cynically described as the "Defense of Democracy Act." The task of this democratic front is to rally the working class, the peasants, intellectuals, students and the small and national bourgeoisie for the democratic election of a government composed of representatives of this front, a government which will implement a program of democratic reconstruction and deep-going economic measures. Realization of this program will depend on the degree of working-class unity, on the leading role of the working class, on Communist Party guidance and on the solidity of the worker-peasant alliance.

The Cuban experience is decisive for the Latin American countries, demonstrating as it does that thanks to the generous aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries all attempts by the imperialists to strangle economically the countries that have freed themselves from their grip are bound to fail. This experience has demonstrated that a united people backed by the solidarity of all the Latin American peoples, of the worldwide anti-imperialist and working-class movement and, especially, the solidarity of the socialist camp, is in a position to repel armed imperialist aggression.

At the Inter-American Economic and Social Conference at Punta del Este last year the U.S. government found itself compelled to promise more government credits to the Latin American countries. The motivating force here was, first, the desire to neutralize the impression made upon the countries battling for economic independence by the aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and, second, to persuade the other governments to

adopt a policy of aggression against Cuba. But the credits would be forthcoming only on the condition that the manner of their use would be determined by experts from certain organizations which, to all intents and purposes, are opposed to any independent economic development in the Latin American countries. As was the case with the credits granted by the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the new credits would be granted only if the receiving country accepted conditions signifying a further deterioration of the conditions of the masses and pursued a policy to the liking of the U.S. monopolies.

The sponsors of the resolution adopted by the session had to give lip service, in general terms it is true, to agrarian reform and to stabilizing the raw materials situation in Latin America. But the real political and economic purport of the session came to light when the United States declared that credits would not be available to Cuba, or, in other words, that subordination to the U.S. monopolies and government was an obligatory political condition.

Among the resolutions imposed by Washington one called for the setting up of common regional markets. An agreement was signed in Montevideo between Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay, and another in Managua between the four Central American governments. Acting in this way the U.S. imperialists are trying to foster illusions among the Latin American peoples, to divert them from fighting for a genuine solution of the pressing economic problems and to prevent them from forming an anti-imperialist coalition. Simultaneously, they are trying to enlarge the market for U.S.-owned enterprises in Latin America which produce automobiles and industrial equipment, using parts and sub-assemblies imported from the United States.

For the people of Argentina there is but one way—that of uniting in a national-liberation front which will clear the road for a democratic government of the people, by the people, and for the people. This government will carry out a program which, while compatible with the existence of capitalism, will be aimed at abolishing the latifundia and the imperialist monopolies.

Price protection with regard to national-industry products, by way of expanding the markets and particularly through trade with the socialist countries, will bring the Latin American countries the finances needed for economic and cultural progress. We are losing heavily as a result of the non-equivalent trade. Owing to the fall in prices of exports compared with those of imports, Argentina in 1958, with the same volume of exports as in

1951, was able to import only 75 per cent of her 1951 figure.

Nationalization of the imperialist enterprises would stop the flow of profits abroad and make vast sums available for use in the country's interests. A state monopoly of foreign trade will make it possible to invest in particular branches in a more rational way. With the abolition of land rent as a result of agrarian reform, most of the money previously appropriated by the landowners will be utilized for direct aid to the peasants, while the remainder will be used in the interests of the people as a whole, i.e., for building enterprises, schools and other services. Nationalization of the banks will result in the credit policy being placed on a more planned and rational basis. U.S.-imposed military appropriations as well as the money spent for the upkeep of the machinery of political coercion will be used for purposes of national advancement. Capitalist profits will be taxed, thus providing additional sources for financing economic development.

By ensuring democratic liberties, giving free rein to the people's initiative and implementing the tasks of the anti-imperialist, agrarian revolution, the national-liberation front government will open up the way for building a socialist economy in Argentina. This does not mean that capitalist enterprises will be abolished right from the start. On the contrary, the new government will be interested in cooperating with those capitalists who show readiness to fit in with the new state of affairs and place their production capacities in the service of the state.

Speaking at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina held in May 1961, Victorio Codovilla pointed to the decisive significance of the Cuban revolution for all countries of Latin America and the need for the utmost solidarity with it.

"Some people who call themselves democrats," Codovilla said, "say that they are in favor of the Cuban revolution but only in the shape 'in which it was born and not in the way in which it is developing towards socialism' which, in their views, signifies 'betrayal' of the revolution.

"It should be made clear from the very beginning that the present path of the Cuban revolution is exactly the path along which a popular revolution should develop. Having fulfilled its democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist tasks, the popular revolution embarks upon the building of socialism. And this, far from being 'betrayal' of the revolution, is the normal development of its popular character.

"The revolution would have been betrayed if after the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship there

had taken place merely a change of government with everything else remaining as it was, i.e., if the material base of the counter-revolution—the

U.S. monopolies, the landowners' estates and the political system which upheld their interests—had not been destroyed."

Reviews

Lessons of the Popular Front

THE reappearance of fascist groups, a government offensive against democratic freedoms and brutal police action against democratic demonstrations—such are the results of the nearly four years' existence of the Fifth Republic. The way to fascism can be barred and democracy regenerated only, as the French Communists have proposed, by uniting the working class and all the popular forces, by mass struggle.

Despite the growing fascist menace, some leaders of Left organizations, including the two Socialist parties, persistently oppose joint action with the Communists. The notorious "Better Hitler than the Popular Front" has been replaced by "Better Salan than the Popular Front." These leaders have no desire to fight fascism and are dead set against unity and joint action by democrats. In 1936, they say, a strong and resolute Socialist Party was the soul of the coalition. "No one doubts today that the Communist Party, with more members, and stronger than its partners, would play the paramount role; not only in the internal equilibrium, but also the whole European and international situation would be upset."*

It is only natural to ask: why were the Communists not afraid to support the Popular Front in 1936? Theirs was not the strongest Party, and the political situation in Europe was quite different. A reply to this question can hardly be expected from the Socialist leaders. A recent book, *A Popular Front for Bread, Freedom and Peace* by Jacques Chambaz,** is dedicated to those years. The book is one of the "History of the French Communist Party" series, published in keeping with a resolution of the Fifteenth Party Congress.

Orientation on the Masses

The burden of the crisis experienced by France in the early 'thirties was shifted by monopoly capital onto the working people. To overcome the popular discontent, the rulers resorted to chauvinism and anti-communism, curtailed civic

rights and resorted more openly to fascist methods.

The nature of fascism in its classical form, as the naked dictatorship of the most reactionary and terroristic section of finance capital, is well known today. But things were different in the early 'thirties when the demagogy of the fascists about big capital misled many people. In Germany fascism found fertile soil among the middle sections and even among the politically backward workers. In France the real nature of fascism was to no small extent confused by the Socialist and Radical leaders who argued that fascism was a purely German phenomenon. "To combat fascism effectively," Chambaz writes, "it was necessary to refute the arguments of those who underestimated the fascist danger in France" (p. 21).

This task could be undertaken only by the Marxist-Leninist party of a new type. In this period the Communist Party for the first time in the history of the French labor movement had overcome sectarianism and set about *rousing the masses to action*, explaining the class nature of fascism.

The experience of those years showed that a sound policy based on a correct assessment of the situation could enable even a numerically small party to rally the masses and win success.

An analysis of the situation that had taken shape in France and of the grievous consequences of the split in the German working-class movement brought out the need for a broad movement based on working-class unity.

The abortive fascist putsch in February 1934 alerted the people to the seriousness of the fascist menace. On February 6 Maurice Thorez, on behalf of the Party, called upon the Socialist workers to "go into the streets and disperse the fascist gangs." Responding to the call of the Communist Party, the class-conscious workers of Paris held a powerful anti-fascist demonstration. The vanguard battles of the Paris workers spurred on the activity of the masses, leading to the general strike of February 12 and were a factor in its success.

*Article by P. Vianson-Ponté entitled "The Left, the Regime and the OAS" in *Le Monde*, January 11, 1962.

**Jacques Chambaz, *Le Front populaire pour le pain, la liberté et la paix*. Preface by Jacques Duclos. Paris, Editions Sociales, 1961, 223 pp.

In those days the unity of the anti-fascist struggle developed in close connection with the unity in the struggle against war. In 1933 a World United Committee for Peace and Against Fascism was set up. Through this movement, the first organizations of a Communist-Socialist united front were formed in France.

In the joint action the wall of prejudice dividing the workers began to crumble. The people became more conscious of the identity of their interests and the possibility and necessity of strengthening unity in the struggle against fascism and capitalist exploitation. The Party called upon its organizations to overcome passivity and to give guidance to the class-conscious workers. "In point of fact," Chambaz writes, "the French Communist Party applied to the new correlation of political and social forces the 'class against class' tactic which signified not isolation of the revolutionary proletariat but its firm orientation on the masses, preserving at the same time the independence of the movement and the ability to uphold both its immediate and its future interests" (p. 52).

United Front Means Joint Action

The Communist Party worked among the masses under the slogan: "*United Front Means Action, Mainly from Below*," while combating the sectarian and opportunist deviations. This policy promoted the desire for unity among the people under the influence of the Socialist Party. In principle, the Communists were not against a united front at the top. But it was the pressure from below, as they had anticipated, that forced the Socialist leadership to sign the unity agreement; in this way it admitted the bankruptcy of its policy of class collaboration.

The two parties pledged, "in the interests of the common struggle against fascism," to rally the working people against the fascist organizations, for their disarming and dissolution, in defense of democratic freedoms and for proportional representation in Parliament, against the war preparations, the emergency laws and against the fascist terror in Germany and Austria. The agreement also envisaged the forms of struggle: joint meetings in neighborhoods and factories, mass demonstrations and counter-demonstrations, defense of workers' meetings, organizations and activists from possible attack. The agreement opened up vast possibilities of working-class initiative and guaranteed the independence of the two parties.

Fascism cannot be combated effectively without a militant alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the other middle sections. The course of events brought to the fore the question

of drawing all people of town and country into a united front.

This point was discussed by the Party conference held in 1934 in Ivry.

The conference proceeded from the dual position of these social strata which, apart from sporadic outbursts of activity, had never played an independent role in history. On the one hand, they were strongly influenced, both politically and ideologically, by big capital. On the other hand, the monopoly attack on their economic independence, the drastic fall in incomes and the inroads on democratic freedoms aroused profound discontent among them which could be used by the fascists for their own purposes. However, these strata could contribute to social progress by joining in an alliance with the working class.

The conference pointed to the need to overcome the wrong views of some Communists who were against upholding the interests of the non-proletarian sections on the grounds that the organizations of these sections were dominated by reactionaries and even fascists. A special report was delivered on the struggle against sectarianism. The conference stressed that it was necessary to distinguish the leaders from the rank and file of these organizations and urged all Communists to conduct activity among their fellow workers.

The Communist Party held that there was "a choice in France other than clinging to the traditional policy of the bourgeois National Alliance, or the establishment of Soviet power." As a counter to the fascist threat the Party advanced the policy "of rehabilitating democracy by transforming it." This idea was subsequently developed and summed up by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International which pointed out that the choice was not between fascism and communism but between fascism and democracy. And that is how the question stands in France today.

The Popular Front, the aim of which was to safeguard and extend democracy, was not conceived as merely a parliamentary coalition or agreement at the top. The Communist Party regarded it as an organization of the masses and proposed to form, in the factories and neighborhoods, Popular Front committees open to all working people. The idea of a Popular Front as an independent organization of the masses signified a complete departure from the traditional concept of the "Left bloc" in which the working class was led by the liberal bourgeoisie. "In the new conditions of the crisis and the anti-fascist struggle," Chambaz writes, "this was creative application of the Marxist-Leninist principle of an indispensable alliance of the proletariat with the working peasantry and small bourgeoisie" (p. 78).

It was not fortuitous that in that period the Party posed and solved a number of vital theoretical questions. It put forward the thesis that the internationalism of the Communists, which is alien to national nihilism, in no way contradicted the desire to safeguard the vital interests of the French people from the class which was taking the nation to catastrophe. This enabled the Communists to conduct more effective work among the middle sections with due regard for their traditions and ideology, characterized by their attachment to democratic freedoms and by profound national feeling.

The extension of Communist-Socialist action against the reactionary policy of the government and against the fascist rallies, the growth of unity among the rank-and-file trade unionists, the victory of the candidates who denounced anti-communism in the May 1935 municipal elections and the split in the Republican ranks forced the Radical leaders also to agree to unity. After much discussion the representatives of the Communist, Socialist and Radical parties agreed on a joint program for the general election.

The Popular Front in Action

The Popular Front program included the basic demands of the people: disarmament and dissolution of the fascist organizations, a general amnesty, repeal of reactionary laws and respect for trade union rights, raising purchasing power, a shorter working week without any cut in wages, old-age pensions and unemployment benefits, a revision of agricultural prices and the debt of the small shopkeepers, a democratic tax policy, nationalization of the war industry, a ban on private trade with arms, international cooperation within the bounds of the League of Nations, collective security in Europe and sanctions against the fascist aggressor.

The people fully supported this program and voted for the Popular Front candidates. The government formed by the Socialist Party undertook to carry out the program. To go ahead, the unity of the working class as the decisive force of the Popular Front had to be further strengthened and the trade union movement consolidated.

Under pressure from below, the then reformist leadership of the General Confederation of Labor reluctantly agreed to unity with the progressive unitarian trade union. In March 1936 a unity congress of trade unions was held in Toulouse. The charter adopted by it pointed to "the absolute antithesis of the interests of the wage-workers — protection of which is the aim of trade unions — to the capitalist interest against which these unions are fighting."

The merger added to the strength of the working class. As a result of the numerous strikes,

demonstrations and the election victory of the Popular Front, the big capitalists were forced to retreat and, for the first time in France's history, sat round the table with the workers to discuss the demands of the working class. The latter succeeded in introducing the principle of collective bargaining and the institution of elected workers' delegates, and secured an appreciable wage rise (up to 15 per cent). The government submitted bills on a 40-hour week, on paid holidays and on abolition of the tax on pensions received by war veterans. *The credit for this belonged to the broad mass movement.*

But the success of the Popular Front was only temporary. The reactionaries at home, supported by a foreign fascist power, ultimately thwarted the popular movement. In June 1936 the ultra-reactionary groups of big capital joined forces and began to seek revenge. They sought to sabotage the Popular Front government, to disorganize the economy, hired fascist gangs and supported the splitting activity. They openly called for surrender to the fascist countries. These groups wielded real power in France, they dominated in industry and enjoyed the active support of the Catholic church. The big bourgeoisie was able to influence part of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. In the end, the Socialist- and Radical-led governments turned away from the Popular Front. Their double-faced policy, in turn, confused and demoralized the people.

But the basic reason for the demise of the Popular Front was the fear of the Socialist and Radical leaders that the people would become aware of their strength and begin to play a decisive role in public affairs. The Socialist leaders bear a particular responsibility. Already in the early 'thirties they came out as "faithful stewards of the capitalists" and pursued the defeatist policy of "the lesser evil"; already at that time anti-communism became their main doctrine.

The Right Socialist and Radical leaders fiercely opposed the formation of widely-representative Popular Front committees, categorically demanding that they consist only of official representatives of the three parties. Since the Communist Party was not able to convince the people of the importance of setting up Popular Front committees and there were all too few of them in the localities, it could not overcome the resistance of these leaders. Its partners declined also the proposal to hold a national congress of the Popular Front the delegates to which would be elected in the localities and which would be a supreme body in matters of amending the program and supervising its implementation. "This refusal," Chambaz writes, "had the gravest consequences. It paved the way to transforming the Popular Front merely into an agreement at the

top, subject to the pressure of the financial oligarchy and vulnerable to the splitting maneuvers" (p. 119).

The Socialist and Radical leaders, refusing to honor their pledges, yielded to the monopoly and fascist pressure and paved the way for a policy which subsequently led France to defeat and occupation and brought incalculable suffering to the entire nation.

* * *

Big changes have taken place in France and elsewhere since the days of the Popular Front. In France, as in the other highly-developed capitalist countries, the monopolies predominate in the whole life of the nation, counterposing their interests to those of the vast majority of the people. The monopolies and the Gaullist rule have become the main enemy not only of the working class but also of the peasantry, handicraftsmen and other urban middle sections, the bulk of the office workers and intellectuals and even part of the middle capitalists. The conditions are now favorable for the emergence of a broad anti-imperialist front. The working class, with the support of the majority of the people, has unprecedented possibilities for launching a mass

struggle, for breaking the resistance of the reactionary forces and clearing the way for the restoration and regeneration of democracy. And if at the time of the Popular Front the Communist Party could say there was no Chinese wall between the democratic and socialist reconstruction, at present the gap between them is narrower than ever before.

The Sixteenth Party Congress advanced a clear-cut program of anti-monopoly struggle with due regard both to the immediate and the future interests of the working class and its allies. Concretizing the congress decisions, the Central Committee urged all democrats to unite "before it is too late." And if the Right Socialist leaders continue to raise obstacles to unity "this should not discourage us," stresses J. Duclos in his preface, "on the contrary, we must realize the importance of stepping up the struggle for unity which is more essential than ever. And the more obdurate our enemies become the more persistent we should be in our fight for unity." That is why the lessons of the Popular Front, its successes and its failures are of great interest even today.

Roald MATHIEU.

Allen Dulles Instead of Karl Marx

(The Evolution of a Social Democrat)

THIS book* by Fritz Sternberg, German Social Democrat, enables us to add somewhat to the characterization of Right-wing Social Democracy. And, being typical of Social Democratic thinking, it, in a way, can be regarded as a summing up of the well-nigh 40 years' work of a leading Social Democratic ideologist.

The author dilates on the destiny of Western Europe, the economic and military potential of the USSR and the USA, and the rise of formerly backward countries, mainly China and India.

If the Chaff Is Removed

But throughout the book, irrespective of the points under discussion, we see a contradiction between recognition of facts and prejudiced conclusions. The facts get buried in mountains of anti-communist chaff. When we shovel away the chaff we come upon some sober thinking on, say, the Soviet Union.

Backward Russia, Sternberg writes, was completely transformed by the October Revolution. Thanks to her five-year plans Russia achieved

remarkable successes in building up a heavy industry. And this newly-gained economic might enabled her to emerge the victor in the war with Hitler Germany, although most of the German divisions in 1941-1945 were concentrated on the Eastern front, and although she had lost more men than Germany, Britain, France, the United States and Japan taken together. The war devastated European Russia. Yet a brief three years later her industry had attained its prewar level and the Soviet Union firmly took second place in the world (pp. 30-35).

Meanwhile, Sternberg continues, a new war-industry revolution had commenced, initially in the United States. But soon the Russians, too, became "creative and independent vehicles of this revolution," advancing at a "breath-taking pace" (p. 58). The United States lost its A-bomb monopoly not, as it had calculated, in a matter of ten or 20 years but in a mere four years. After the H-bomb (1953), Russia took the lead in missile production. "America — the first industrial power in the world. America is no longer the first military power in the world . . ." (p. 62). In the 'sixties Russia can achieve military super-

*Fritz Sternberg, *Wer Beherrscht die zweite Haelfte des 20. Jahrhunderts? Who Will Rule in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century?* Koeln-Berlin, 1961, 368 pp.

iority not on individual sectors, but all along the line (pp. 143-144).

The No. 1 question now, Sternberg notes, is whether the Russians can maintain their indisputable superiority in rate of industrial expansion. All the suppositions that it will slow down are both "false and dangerous" (p. 109). First, because "Russia is carrying out automation on a vast scale" (and she has not to contend with what is a tragedy in the West, an army of unemployed). Second, "a considerable advance has been made under Khrushchov in the overall planning of the Russian economy" (p. 110).

And, Sternberg emphasizes, for peoples fighting colonialism and imperialism Russia exerts an "enormous power of attraction" (p. 135). The Russians are convincing these peoples that the Soviet Union is their "natural ally" (p. 137).

One would imagine that these achievements of the new socialist world would be a matter of rejoicing. After all, their steady growth is rooted not in fortuitous and transient phenomena, but in constant and deep-going advantages. But Sternberg, contrary to all logic, thinks otherwise. The anti-Communist chaff is palpable.

Effect Without Cause

It turns out that Russia's achievements, which Sternberg admits, have "nothing at all to do with the superiority of socialism over capitalism" (p. 102). Whence, then, do they derive? Our "Socialist" finds that the best answer to this question has been provided by Allen Dulles, until recently chief of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, who assures us that the secret of the Soviet advance is exceedingly simple, it is "totalitarianism" (pp. 102, 105).

Yes, everything is "exceedingly simple"! Why should Sternberg bother about some complex theory of historical materialism requiring study of the aggregate of production relations? He reasons thus: if it comes to that, we'll grant some of the Soviet achievements, simply because we cannot afford to ignore them. But let them be effect without cause, a result from nothing. Better still, let us describe them as the achievements of "totalitarianism," then instead of being attracted by them people will be repelled.

This puerile explanation (which, by the way, has been a feature of all anti-communist literature over the past 30 years) is supplemented by attempts to capitalize on the errors and distortions of the Stalin personality cult. These distortions, according to Sternberg, have their source in the new socialist system. What absurdity! For, if the Communists have to thank the personality cult for their economic progress, how is it that the rate of progress has quickened greatly since the re-

jection of the cult? Is it not rather that the force behind Soviet social progress is the creative activity of the people who carried through the socialist revolution which infused new life into them? Would it not be truer to say that the advance has been made not because of the personality cult but in spite of it? What strange "totalitarians" these Russians are! Far from perpetuating all the things associated with the violations of democratic principles, they are ruthlessly uprooting them. They have adopted a new Program, a Program proclaiming Peace, Labor, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all peoples; a Program envisaging not only great economic advance, but also a big advance in democracy; they are planning and working to get all their citizens to participate in running the country.

Under the pressure of facts, Sternberg admits both the stupendous *achievements* of the new system, and the more weighty *reasons* for them. The Soviet Union arose, he says, "as a result of revolutionary processes which in Russia abolished feudalism and private ownership of the means of production" (p. 31). The Americans, he says, have become the prisoners of their own propaganda: "For a long time it was believed that there was no such thing as freedom in the Soviet Union, including freedom of scientific research" (p. 64). The result was that Russia's scientific and technological achievements came like a bolt from the blue for the West. The "secret" of these achievements, Sternberg believes, lies in the system of education and planning (pp. 84-98, 105). Well, and what keeps this system going? Is it not its public ownership of the means of production and socialist democracy? The anti-communists, naturally, cannot admit this. So out comes the "totalitarianism" bogey again. Deception of the people is supplemented by the self-deception of the anti-communists.

What Is Behind "Pluralism"

Who will hold first place in the second half of the Twentieth Century? Sternberg makes a "discovery": "No one country will predominate" (p. 331), he says. The era of pluralism has set in. The "pluralism of our time" implies that all states and nations "are influencing one another in growing measure" (p. 339, 342).

One point about this generalization is of value — the anti-communist is not bold enough to say: "The future belongs to capitalism," or "the West will win." Sophist that he is, he prefers to confuse the issue.

It is quite clear that no single state will predominate in the world. But Sternberg's sociology masks the reactionary political substance of his conclusions. Indulging in generalities, he diverts

attention from the facts, from the plans nurtured by the Western, particularly American, monopolies, for domination in many South American, Asian and African countries.

No one denies the growing objective interdependence of countries. But when did this first appear and, above all, what is its purpose? We will recall the words of the *Communist Manifesto* written 100 years ago: "National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie . . . The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster." And 50 years ago Lenin wrote about the growing "international unity of capital, economic life generally, politics and science." This trend "characterizes a mature capitalism on the way to its transformation into a socialist society."* Capitalist production relations are chains which fetter the productive forces on the scale of a factory, a country and the whole capitalist world. These chains cannot be smashed either by the United States of Europe (a capitalist Europe, of course), which Sternberg advocates, or by more Western "aid" to the emergent nations. The growing interdependence of states — in other words, the intensification of the social character of international production — objectively calls for socialism and accelerates its arrival.

Sternberg dilates on Russia and America, Europe and Asia, the West and the East, on ancient Rome, on anything you like — but not on socioeconomic formations. Yet the nub of the matter is not what country will dominate, but what system will triumph. It is true that there is in the world of today a considerable diversity (or, if you will, plurality) of economic and political forms. Yet Sternberg is silent on the main thing — under what system can all countries and nations really prosper. He ignores, too, the fact that a single, *monistic* tendency, a tendency expressed in the scientific definition of our time as that of the transition from capitalism to socialism, is steadily forcing its way through these multifarious forms.

A "Socialist's" Dream of Dreams

If at one time the Liberals dreamed of becoming counsellors to the monarch, the "Socialist" Sternberg's dream of dreams, it would appear, is to become counsellor to the Western rulers. And the dream is coming true.

His book cannot be classified as being uncommitted. The author makes no secret of his intention: its keynote is anti-communism. The unsuspecting reader, unaware that Sternberg styles himself a "Socialist," would immediately come

to the conclusion that he was a typical run-of-the-mill bourgeois. And the reader would not be far wrong . . . It was hardly fortuitous that some of the chapters were so readily reprinted both by Social Democratic (*Die Neue Gesellschaft*, No. 6, 1961), and bourgeois journals (*Der Monat*, No. 1, 1962). The things he does not say are, perhaps, more significant than what he does say. We will take just one example. Is it conceivable, for instance, that any question concerning the future can be answered without a preliminary study of, say, the data on the growth of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries? But for "details" of this nature Sternberg, judging by his book, couldn't care less.

In his view, Marx's predictions have not materialized (pp. 14-21). On the other hand, Allen Dulles, the policeman, is accepted as an almost infallible authority; and this fact is no less symbolical than another — the fact of Dulles' incredible blunders and subsequent retirement. Sternberg, of course, was not directly affected by this event. Here he has the advantage, for discredited ideologists usually leave the stage later than discredited politicians. The advantage, however, is only one of time . . .

That Sternberg is a worshipper of Dulles is his own affair. After all, there is no accounting for taste, and we can only hope that the feeling is mutual. But what has this to do with socialism? Here is a typical point. In an article in the Social Democratic newspaper *Die Arbeiterzeitung* (June 9, 1961), published at about the same time as his book, Sternberg could still say: "We, Socialists . . ." But not in the book, which was designed for a different public. There is nothing Socialist about the book, neither in form nor in substance. For a Rightwing Social Democrat, "socialism" has become the threadbare suit (with a red rosette in the buttonhole) he wears when talking to workers. But when he pays his respects to a bourgeois Minister, he dons a smart morning coat . . .

What does Sternberg prescribe? The West should speed up the rate of industrial growth, go in for planning and change the educational system — all on the Soviet scale. Sternberg would like best of all to see capitalism remain capitalism while taking over all the advantages of socialism — that is an illusion reminiscent of that spread by his countryman, the historian and revanchist Eugen Lemberg. This gentleman, who ultimately discovered that the Communists owe their achievements to the dialectics of Marx and Lenin, has suggested that the capitalists should study dialectics — as if it were a list of technical regulations, not a specific social world outlook.

*V. I. Lenin, *Critical Observations on the National Question*.

While Sternberg tries to make his forecasts sound cheerful, his book is permeated with pessimism. Its epigraph could well be the rhetorical questions posed by Adlai Stevenson, quoted, but unanswered, by Sternberg: What has become of our initiative? Why is our will paralyzed?

When He Was Younger . . .

There was a time when Sternberg was not afraid at least to call himself a Socialist. We will cite a few of his many previous pronouncements on this score.

Today Sternberg claims to see a rapprochement between the antagonistic classes in the capitalist countries, and he now no longer dreams of socialism, but of saving capitalism. At one time he combated the "dangerous illusion" that capitalism would evolve into socialism ("the principal error of all revisionists"). "To speak of peaceful evolution into socialism," he wrote, "would signify elevating the passivity of the working class to the level of a program . . . The socialist revolution is the decisive question for all Socialist parties . . . The 20th century is the century of struggle for the socialist revolution against imperialism." He hailed the Bolsheviks for abolishing capitalism in Russia and paving the way for the triumph of world socialism (F. Sternberg, *Der Imperialismus*, 1926). Yes, 36 years ago Sternberg had the answer to the question: "Who will predominate in the second half of the 20th century?"

And even in 1947, that is, after he had parted company with socialism, Sternberg foresaw that "the only way which remains open to the American reactionaries is fraught with utmost peril to the peace of the world: the development of an American 'Wehrwirtschaft' (war economy) as the basis for a new American imperialism . . ." The entire military, industrial and financial might of the USA will be used to bolster reaction in all the countries of the world and, first and foremost, to save moribund capitalism in Europe (F. Sternberg, *The Coming Crisis*, 1947). Ten years later he regarded this same militarism as a guarantee of peace: "There is not, in the near future, any factor for the preservation of peace more important than the military superiority of the USA." (*Die militaerische und die industrielle Revolution*, 1957).

How is this evolution to be characterized if not as complete betrayal of the principles of peace and socialism, betrayal of the working class?

How They Try to Justify Themselves

To justify their attitude, the Right-wing Socialists speculate on the realities of life. We would like to mention a few of them.

State-monopoly capitalism with its attempts at economic "planning" has developed in quite a big way after the war. The standard of living, too, rose in a number of the big capitalist countries. The influence of this development was such that the reformists again began to speak about "capitalism evolving into socialism." They ignored the fact that the capitalists remained capitalists, that militarism is a concomitant of state-monopoly capitalism, that the rise in the standard of living was the result of working-class struggle, that the standard is neither stable nor general, that there are millions of unemployed in the world and that the class struggle has become sharper.

Big changes, furthermore, have taken place in the past 10 or 15 years in industry, technology and science, changes which make it possible for the first time to raise living standards sharply and quickly. From this the reformists conclude that what is needed is not a socialist revolution, but a new technological revolution, a thesis which ignores the question of the social conditions needed to give the green light to technology, i.e., the question of a socialist revolution, which is now on the agenda.

Social Democrats often invoke the Stalin personality cult — the consequences of which have gladdened the Right and depressed the Left. Have we not always said, the Rights shout, that communism signifies violence and nothing but violence! But not always did the Left assess the situation properly, with the result that the essential was confused with the superficial, the true with the false. One of the dangers of the personality cult was that its lawlessness, dogmatism and sectarianism nurtured reformism and revisionism. The Communists have done much to convince people that the personality cult is utterly alien to communism, as the Twentieth and, especially, the Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU demonstrated.

There has arisen, for the first time in history, the danger of entire nations being destroyed in a nuclear holocaust. Nowadays people ask not only *what* will the future be like, but *will* there be a future? In fear of war themselves, and sowing their fear among the masses, the Right Socialists declaim: What do we want class struggle for? Why bother about capitalism or socialism when we're all doomed to perish? There is no point, if we are to believe the Sternbergs, in combating imperialism, the source of war.

In this way points of view which are debatable develop into betrayal of working-class interests, and this betrayal should be exposed. The evolution of the Sternbergs shows that the objective logic of reality will force the choice between consistent struggle on behalf of the people and adap-

tation to the ruling class, between the true and the false, and, in the final analysis, between socialism and capitalism.

A Button Without a Loop

Generally speaking, the question of the future includes also the prospects of Social Democracy. For it would be a grave mistake to lump the rank and file with a handful of renegade leaders. The millions of Socialists cannot be equated with the gentlemen who lead the Socialist International. The fact that the leaders are reactionary by no means implies that the masses are reactionary. There are, in addition to the Sternbergs, people like Cousins in the British Labor Party, Hindels (Austrian Left Socialist) and many others. It is not, furthermore, a question of individuals who can change their opinions, but of the objective Left trends they personify, and to which the future belongs. Antagonisms are growing between

the Right leaders and the membership, and between the corrupt leaders and those leaders who loyally stand by the workers; the antagonisms are growing also among the Socialist International parties, and between the International and those Socialist parties which do not subscribe to its policy.

Reformism is disintegrating. And the fate of the Sternbergs will be not unlike that of Ibsen's Peer Gynt. These gentlemen have a horror of struggle and, like Peer Gynt, prefer to "go round-about." Lacking the strength of mind and character to stand by their professed ideals, they are, as Ibsen says of Peer Gynt, "neither one thing nor the other." And so the result is that: designed for a shining button on the vest of the world, the loop gave way, so onto the scrap-heap they must go to be re-cast along with the rest.

Y. KARYAKIN.

Communications and Comment

Under Cover of Devotion to Principle

CAPITALIST politicians and their reformist camp-followers like to hold political masquerades. Needless to say these are not the usual jolly affairs, at which a good time is had by all, they are rather a mask of respectability for unsavory deeds.

The Yugoslav revisionists, too, resort to this ruse and, in the guise of devotion to principle, twist the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory and engage in splitting activity. This approach was forcefully apparent in connection with the criticism levelled at the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor by the international Communist movement.

*Contemporary Albania**, a pamphlet recently published in Belgrade, was obviously meant as a piece of trenchant criticism. M. Milic, its author, has collected no small number of facts concerning the unsavory actions of Enver Hoxha, M. Shehu and others. And although the international Communist movement already knows most of these facts, no objection can be raised to recalling them. But, as is the case with other similar material published in Yugoslavia, this pamphlet contains principles with which no Marxist-Leninist could possibly agree.

First, from what positions do the Yugoslav authors level their criticism?

They avail themselves of the criticisms of the Albanian leaders to denigrate other parties and project the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as a body that has been right all along, that is not only a model of devotion to Marxist-Leninist principles, but the most forward-looking force in the international working-class movement. These claims should, of course, be treated with irony; the Yugoslav revisionists have long been distinguished for overrating their role and place in the world. But in the given case an ironical attitude is not enough. To claim that their views represent the apex of Marxist thought is, to all intents and purposes, a way of imposing their positions and viewpoints on all Communist parties. And to impose any viewpoint on anyone is inadmissible. It is especially intolerable when, as in the present case, the views are erroneous.

While criticizing the Albanian leaders, the Yugoslav authors seize on every opportunity to reaffirm lines which the Communist movement has rejected and condemned as revisionist. And whereas the Albanian leaders are criticized by the Communist parties from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism and of consolidating the unity of the international Communist move-

*M. Milic, *Contemporary Albania*, Belgrade, Sedma Sila Publishing House, 1962.

ment, the criticism of the Yugoslav revisionists is full of concepts which would detract from this unity. The revisionists continue to propagate views aimed at weakening the unity of the socialist camp, slanderously likening it to imperialist blocs. The Yugoslav press upholds old revisionist positions on many other issues as well. The Milic pamphlet, in which an obvious attempt is made to uphold revisionist views and cast aspersions on all who oppose these views, is additional evidence of this.

Why, in these circumstances, should the advocates of revisionism resent the fact that the Communist parties adhere to their critical attitude towards the erroneous Yugoslav views?

Yet Belgrade not only takes umbrage, it distorts the reasons for the Marxist-Leninists' negative attitude to the Yugoslav revisionists. Thus, apropos of Comrade Gomulka's criticism of the Yugoslav leaders at the 11th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, *Borba* declares that Yugoslavia is charged with revisionism "because of its workers' councils, because its producers, linked with labor and life, run their affairs themselves, because the most progressive social relations, permeated with socialist humanism, are developing there." Is *Borba* trying to say that revisionism is criticized by the international Communist movement because the latter is opposed to socialist humanism and progressive social relations? This attempt to calumniate the Communist parties will convince no one. It is untrue, furthermore, that Yugoslavia is criticized for seeking new forms of participation by the working people in economic management (that each party may have its own opinion on these forms is another matter).

Borba is offended with Comrade Gomulka for "well-nigh drawing a parallel between the Albanian leaders and Yugoslavia." But are there really no grounds for such comparison?

After all, it is a fact that the position of the Albanian dogmatists and that of the Yugoslav revisionists are moving closer on, say, the fundamental issue of what their attitude to the socialist camp and the international Communist movement should be. Both adhere to nationalistic posi-

tions, and it is mainly nationalism that breeds their incorrect, anti-Leninist views. It is from a nationalistic standpoint that the Yugoslav revisionists criticize the Albanian nationalistic dogmatists, seeking at the same time to counterpose some socialist countries to others, continuing to oppose the principles of the socialist world system, and equating the socialist camp and imperialist blocs. This is the standpoint of a disrupter. And that is what it is vis-à-vis the international Communist movement. For the Communist parties the criticism of the Albanian leaders is designed to consolidate the unity of the world Communist movement; for the Yugoslav revisionists it is an opportunity to defame the Communist parties, to set one party against another; an opportunity to level the charge of hypocrisy, to say that deeds do not square with words. The Milic pamphlet is plainly designed to foment strife among the socialist countries and in the Communist movement as a whole. It tries to discredit the international Communist movement, charging it with being "unprincipled," and with making "rotten compromises" (mainly "at the expense," the author hypocritically writes, "of socialist Yugoslavia and the LCY"); Milic even tries to fix responsibility on the international Communist movement for the crimes committed by the Hoxha and Shehu clique in Albania. In the guise of criticizing the Albanian leaders, Milic slanders the Communist parties, including the CPSU, and vainly endeavors to prove that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is the most consistent opponent of doctrinaire-sectarian opportunism.

Let the Yugoslav revisionists not cherish the hope of deceiving anyone by their false mask of criticism of dogmatism, or of obtaining indulgence for their revisionist fall.

Neither the dogmatists nor the revisionists should bank on the Marxist-Leninist Communist parties forming a bloc with either of them with the objective of waging struggle against others. For the struggle, being a fight for principles, naturally presupposes a principled stand on all issues including the matter of choosing allies.

A. RUMYANTSEV

General Disarmament, Not "Balance of Terror"

THE hands of the clock point to a few minutes before twelve. The meaning of this symbolic drawing on the cover of the U.S. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* is all too clear. "Come to your senses," it seems to be saying. "You can-

not delay interminably. Make your decision today. Tomorrow may be too late. . . ."

"Tomorrow may be too late." Therein lies the dilemma of our time, the significance of which is being brought home more and more forcibly

to mankind. The power to accomplish great things is within man's grasp, *provided universal peace is preserved*. But should the armaments race be allowed to continue and war break out, the result would be catastrophe, progress would be retarded and mankind would be plunged into fearful suffering and misery.

Last December the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* carried a semi-fictional feature by the U.S. physicist Leo Szilard entitled "The Mined Cities." Its general theme is how to keep the peace, and its publication indicates that the conviction is growing among some sections of the American public that it is time serious thought were given to the problem of war and peace.

"The Mined Cities" is in the form of a dialogue between A and B, the latter being a Dr. Jones who went to sleep in 1962 and woke up 18 years later, in 1980. Jones learns on awakening that peace has been preserved. Moreover, men have at last succeeded in discarding the onerous burden of the arms race.

The doctor is given a detailed account of the long and tortuous road traversed by man before disarmament was finally achieved. The arms drive had spiralled from year to year, and with it the danger of a world catastrophe. But not until things had become utterly intolerable, until the world was threatened with annihilation, did society finally come around to the idea of disarmament.

In painting a picture of the senseless and hazardous arms drive the scientist seems to be asking the reader: is it not better to end this organized insanity now, without waiting for a crisis that might indeed be fatal? Would it not be better to reach an understanding now on disarmament?

This would be the simplest and best way out. This is the solution which the Communists have been urging for a long time. The same proposal has been made also by socialist countries. It has the support of the millions of men and women who are sending their representatives to Moscow this summer to attend the World Congress for Peace and Disarmament, in order to reaffirm their determination to work for peace.

But the path of reason, the path of peace and disarmament is blocked by forces whose influence and significance must not be underestimated — the aggressor elements in the West, the war-industry monopolies for whom the arms drive means huge profits and who believe that war is the only means of "saving" capitalism. To fight for peace and disarmament means first of all to smash the barriers to peace raised by the aggressive forces.

In "The Mined Cities" Leo Szilard avoids this issue. In his opinion peace will come almost automatically — everyone, even the most hardened enemies of peace, will finally realize that war would spell their own doom. But how is this miracle to come about? Szilard believes that this conviction will arise out of the "balance of terror," from recognition of the fact that both the USSR and the USA possess equal possibilities of wiping each other off the face of the earth.

On the one hand, the American physicist argues against the view that the arms race is the only guarantee of peace, and on the other, his own arguments do not venture beyond the same fallacious theory that universal fear alone can save mankind from universal destruction. Hence the naive remedy he offers for preserving peace and ending the arms race: destroy all weapons with the exception of 30 powerful hydrogen bombs and use them to mine 15 Soviet and 15 American cities; a Russian crew could man the bomb installations under the American cities, and an American crew, those under Russian cities. In the event of attack by either side, the other would blow up one, two or all the 15 mined cities belonging to the enemy.

The proposition, while highly original, could hardly become the basis for negotiations, not to speak of providing a final solution to the problem, which can be reached only through a broad, mass struggle for disarmament. And if we mention his article at all, it is only because Szilard in his way has shown how utterly unsound and dangerous is the "balance of terror" theory so widely used at the present time by the enemies of peace to justify the cold war and the arms drive, both of which the imperialists need for their reactionary purposes in domestic and foreign policy.

The fallacy of the "balance of terror" idea and the danger with which it is fraught are obvious. Peace cannot be founded on fear. Peace under such conditions would not be peace, but a constant teetering on the edge of the precipice into which mankind can be instantly hurled by mistake, by carelessness, or by the action of some lunatic, or by sheer accident. The old saying that a loaded gun is apt to go off by itself acquires a new and sinister meaning when what is in question is not guns but "mined cities," nuclear bombers on round-the-clock patrol and nuclear missiles ready for launching at a moment's notice.

Peace based on a "balance of terror" is unacceptable also because it is a continuation of the arms race which is bleeding mankind white and poisoning the lives of people, because it means perpetual cold war with all its consequences.

And lastly, the "balance of terror" theory is dangerous because it can mislead people. For if peace will come by itself, why bother to campaign for it?

Nuclear weapons have indeed changed the pattern of international politics. The senselessness of war as a means of settling disputes is more clearly evident today than ever before. Recognition of this fact restrains some of the 'hotheads' in the West. On the other hand, the threat to use nuclear weapons has alerted people to the deadly danger and has helped to extend the front of peace. Lenin's prediction, as related by Krupskaya in her memoirs, that "there will come a time when war will become so destructive that it will be altogether out of the question," is being borne out.

But what conclusion do the Communists draw from this? First and foremost that it is now more important than ever to avert war, to halt the aggressors before they raise their hand to wipe out millions, to nip in the bud the danger of a nuclear holocaust. How can this be done?

There is only one way to stable peace, and that way does not lie through a "balance of terror" or through "mined cities." Only the people can make peace secure by waging a mass struggle against the aggressor elements. The aggressors will not turn into innocent lambs by themselves. They can be compelled to abandon their evil designs, but only by mass pressure, by the fight for peace, for disarmament, for truly complete and truly universal disarmament.

V.-M. VANDENHOVE.

The People of Iran Fight On

ON January 21, 6,000 students of Teheran University came out onto the street to demand the resignation of the Amini government and the holding of free elections. Meetings and demonstrations went on for four days with the senior pupils of many schools joining in. On the first day of the demonstrations the Shah ordered the troops to open fire on the marchers. The latter fought back with stones and sticks. Several people were killed and about 800 injured, 200 seriously. Many died later in hospital. Over 300 students and school pupils were arrested. The police, acting on orders from the Shah and Amini, beat up students, especially girl students, inside the university building. The dean and the heads of all the departments resigned in protest and the government closed the university.

Students in Shiraz and in other universities in the provinces held solidarity demonstrations. There, too, bloody clashes occurred.

The student movement has been supported by big sections of the population, including followers of the bourgeois-nationalist groups.

One hundred and sixty Moslem leaders staged a protest against the persecution and arrest of the students.

In an appeal addressed to "citizens, students and workers," the National Front (the political organization of the national bourgeoisie) called for the "overthrow of the illegal Amini government, for action against the base and corrupt ruling clique."

A group of National Front leaders have been arrested as have some leaders of the Society of Friends and the Society for the Defense of the Constitution, who are opposed to the illegal ac-

tions of the government and demand parliamentary elections.

According to press reports, the government has ordered the authorities to stamp out "all disorders" by force.

Prime Minister Amini, an American stooge who only yesterday was loudly proclaiming his intention to carry out "revolutionary" reforms, is now quoted as saying: "I shall crush the movement by every possible means. We shall send everyone to prison. And if the existing prisons are not enough we shall build new ones."

The events in Iran have had repercussions abroad. The International Students' League sent a telegram to the Iranian government protesting against the brutal measures taken by the authorities against the student demonstrators. Similar telegrams were dispatched by the All-China Students' Federation and by the National Students' League of France. Protests have also been registered by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. Writers, students and school pupils in Iraq have protested as well. At the end of January and beginning of February Iranian students abroad held meetings and demonstrations in more than 30 cities demanding the resignation of the Amini government, the liberation of the arrested, release of ex-Premier Mossadeq from house arrest, reopening of the University, the establishment of a national government and free elections.

For eight years the Shah has ruled the country by dictatorial methods earning for himself the reputation of "butcher of the people." He has sold the country to the American imperialists, with the result that it is now in the grip of

serious economic crisis. Work on the construction of many enterprises has been stopped. Bankruptcies are increasing; in Teheran alone they reached the huge figure of 4,000 million reals in one year. The lion's share of the budget goes to maintain the huge army (200,000 men). The number of unemployed and part-time employed (workers, craftsmen and peasants) exceeds one million.

The high cost of living is a heavy burden. In Teheran 45 people were driven to suicide by hunger and unemployment in one week. Instances of the sale of children have been reported from Isfahan and other cities in the south. In some places peasants have been reduced to eating grass and locusts.

The year 1961 was an eventful one for the national-liberation movement of Iran. On two occasions the people forced the Shah to dissolve his rubber-stamp Parliament. Two of the puppet premiers, Eghbal and Emami, were forced by popular pressure to resign. The people want freedom, a Parliament — they want the rights which they won in 1907-1911 restored to them. The Shah, who rides roughshod over these rights, recently ordered Amini to draft laws in violation of the Constitution, without waiting for Parliament to open.

With their demagogic slogans of reform, the Shah and Amini are trying to split the national and patriotic forces, not stopping at the most

flagrant provocations and fabrications to achieve their purpose. They began by arresting 90 patriots in Isfahan, members of the Tudeh Party, and have started a propaganda campaign aimed at discrediting this party, at stampeding the national bourgeoisie away from it and thus preventing the formation of a broad anti-imperialist, anti-Shah front.

Notwithstanding the terror, the people's resistance is becoming increasingly massive and better organized. The movement will achieve its purpose if it succeeds in rallying and uniting all the patriotic and nationalist forces in the country, if it conducts a resolute and relentless struggle for the overthrow of the Shah and Amini, and for an end to the intrigues of the U.S. and British imperialists.

The Central Committee of the Tudeh Party, in an appeal to the Iranian people, calls for popular support for the movement started by the students. It calls upon the people to join in a united patriotic front to end the regime of the Shah, drive the imperialists out of the country, and establish a national government with Dr. Mossadeq at its head. The Central Committee appeals to world public opinion to give its support to the Iranian people in their struggle against the reactionary regime of the Shah, for freedom and independence.

A.F.

Honduras: The People's Will Cannot Be Broken!

DAY by day the Honduras government, prompted by the United States, is intensifying repressions against the working people and especially the Communist Party.

Last December Dionisio Ramos Bejarano, the workers' leader, was arrested along with several other democrats. Ramos Bejarano was arrested several times during the past two years but each time public pressure forced the authorities to release him. Bejarano was one of the editors of the newspapers *Tribuna revolucionaria* and the *Futuro* both of which were closed by the pro-U.S. government for campaigning for national liberation and support for the Cuban revolution.

The Central Committee of the Honduras Communist Party has issued a statement exposing U.S. imperialist preparations for another act of aggression against Cuba. "Military aggression against Cuba," says the statement, "is being prepared also on the territory of Honduras. In order to set the stage for aggression, imperialism and its allies in the country — the ruling classes, the fascists, the traitors and insurrectionists — have

stepped up their campaign against the Communists, calling for violence against the anti-imperialist patriots who are upholding the right of the Cuban people to self-determination and who adhere unswervingly to the principle of solidarity of the democratic forces of Latin America."

Instances are known of torture being used by the police in San Pedro Sula. Torture by electricity was used to force the workers' leader Juan Canales to name the members of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

These revelations have evoked a storm of protest against the Morales regime and its subservience to the U.S. imperialists.

The reprisals are aimed at smashing the movement for national liberation which is led by the Communists. But nothing the government can do — neither persecution, torture, nor murder — can halt the liberation struggle which the peoples of Honduras, in common with the peoples of the other Latin American countries, are waging today.

Fausto PICACHO.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

LATEST INTRIGUES OF U.S. REACTION

THE American reactionaries are mounting a new offensive against the Communist Party of the United States. The failure of the previous plan to discredit the U.S. Communist Party, and through it the international Communist movement as a whole, is now quite obvious. Despite the threat of long terms of imprisonment and monstrous fines, the American Communists have refused to register as foreign agents, thus demonstrating once again their staunchness in the fight for democratic rights and freedoms.

Working under arduous conditions, the Communist Party of the United States is carrying on new forms of activity among the workers, intellectuals and students, as can be seen from the speaking tour undertaken in February by Gus Hall in the North-West during which he outlined the Party's views to thousands of Americans.

The tour was a victory for the Communist Party and the progressives over the far Rights who did their utmost to wreck it. In Washington State the college trustees and the state legislature threatened the colleges that had invited Gus Hall to speak with a \$30 million cut in subsidies. Nevertheless the lectures took place as scheduled and evoked great interest. As Gus Hall remarked at the meeting in Berkeley, the fascist campaign launched by the ultras against him personally and his right to speak had aroused keen interest in the Communist movement in many parts of the United States.

The reactionary forces are stepping up the repressions in the hope of shaking the resolution of the Communists. Knowing of the difficult financial position of the Communist Party, the courts have been imposing heavier fines on Communists.

The veteran Communist Philip Bart was sentenced to six months imprisonment for "contempt of court" when he invoked his Constitutional right and declined to answer questions in court.

The Worker, the American workers' paper, has likewise been subjected to attacks. Senator Thurmond, a notorious racist and open supporter of the fascist John Birch Society, has demanded that the paper be banned as punishment for its ex-

posure of the activities of the Birch Society; Attorney General Robert Kennedy responded to this demand by summoning three of the *Worker's* staff, Erik Bert, James Lustig and Dorothy Robinson, before a Federal Grand Jury. James Jackson, editor of the paper, is already serving a six month's sentence for refusing to answer provocative questions put by a Grand Jury.

The Communist Party has warned that the reactionaries, bent on stifling freedom in the United States, will not stop at persecuting the Communist Party, but will take action against other progressive and democratic organizations. Recent events have borne this out: 35 people, many of whom have never belonged to the Communist Party, have already been subpoenaed.

At the beginning of February the U.S. Department of Justice started an investigation of the "subversive activities" of several New York social clubs. A top official of the Department announced that the activities of several press organs were also being investigated on the basis of the "Internal Security" Act.

The capitalist press frankly describes the latest measures as evidence of the Administration's intention to "wage a struggle . . . on a broader front than was anticipated at the end of last year."

The American Communists have repeatedly declared that the fate of the Communist movement in the United States lies in the hands of the people and not with the courts. The Communist Party's proposals for congressional action, sent to Congress in January 1962, urged all progressive and democratic forces to take united action in the fight against reaction and pledged that Communists will exert every effort to achieve unity.

Greater activity in the fight for peace, against fascism and racism, in the working-class struggle for a shorter week, higher wages and better conditions — this is the people's answer to the reactionaries' attempt to crush democracy in the United States.

J. WRIGHT.

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication; the titles are given in English)

- A. Barjonet. *Capitalist Exploitation (Surplus Value and Wages)*. Paris, Editions Sociales, 1961, 174 pp.
- V. I. Lenin. *Complete Works*. 5th Ed., Vol. 26, July 1914 to August 1915. Moscow Gospolitizdat, 1961.
- A. Haasz. *Contemporary Capitalism*. In two volumes—Vol. 1, 440 pp; Vol. 2, 864 pp. Budapest, Kozgazdasagi es jogi konyvkiado, 1961.
- C. Amort. *The CPSU and our Liberation Struggle*. Prague, Nakladatelstvi CSAV, 1961, 207 pp.
- Great Power in a Small Country*. Monopoly capitalism and its influence in the Netherlands. Edited by F. Baruch. In two parts—Part I, 183 pp; Part 2, 168 pp. Amsterdam, Pegasus, 1961.
- Growth of Socialist Consciousness in the Rumanian People's Republic*. Bucharest, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romine, 1961, 517 pp.
- M. Voslensky. *Foreign Policy and the Political Parties in the Federal Republic of Germany*. Moscow, IMO Publishing House, 1961, 343 pp.
- O. Kuusinen and others. *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*. Buenos Aires, Editorial fundamentos, 1961, 698 pp.
- G. Toti. *Leisure Time*. Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1961, 309 pp.
- S. Nogradi. *Memoirs*. Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1961, 295 pp.
- L. Ivanek. *Prague, Nationalized Concerns in West Germany*. Prague, Statni nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1962, 223 pp.
- L. Gordon. *Outline History of the Indian Working Class*. Working-class conditions in Bombay. Moscow, Oriental Literature Publishing House, 1961, 251 pp.
- R. Arismendi. *Problems of the Continental Revolution*. Montevideo, Ediciones Pueblos Unidos, 1962, 556 pp.
- Socialist Economics*. Bucharest, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romine, 1961, 330 pp.
- S. Kucera. *The Socialist Revolution*. Prague, Statni nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1962, 267 pp.
- Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. Stenographic Report. In three volumes. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1962.
- Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and Problems of Ideological Work*. Materials of the National Conference on Ideological Work held in Moscow on December 25-28, 1961. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1962.
- S. Strumilin. *The USSR—from Feudalism to Communism*. Paris, 1961, 202 pp. ("Recherches internationales," No. 27, 1961).

PROGRESS BOOKS

is pleased to announce the appearance of the first issue of its new magazine

THE MARXIST QUARTERLY

SPRING 1962

THE TROUBLE
WITH
TROUBLED CANADA

PAGES
FROM THE LIVES
OF WORKERS

PHILOSOPHY
AND THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES

PROGRESS BOOKS

No. 1

50 CENTS

You are invited to subscribe

Yearly subscription \$2.00

Single copy (quarterly) 50c

12000 12100 12200 12300

12400 12500 12600 12700

12800 12900 13000 13100

13200 13300 13400 13500

13600 13700 13800 13900

14000 14100 14200 14300

14400 14500 14600 14700

14800 14900 15000 15100

15200 15300 15400 15500

15600 15700 15800 15900

16000 16100 16200 16300

16400 16500 16600 16700

16800 16900 17000 17100

17200 17300 17400 17500

17600 17700 17800 17900

18000 18100 18200 18300

18400 18500 18600 18700

18800 18900 19000 19100

19200 19300 19400 19500

19600 19700 19800 19900

20000 20100 20200 20300

20400 20500 20600 20700

20800 20900 21000 21100

21200 21300 21400 21500

21600 21700 21800 21900

22000 22100 22200 22300

22400 22500 22600 22700

22800 22900 23000 23100

23200 23300 23400 23500

23600 23700 23800 23900

24000 24100 24200 24300

24400 24500 24600 24700

24800 24900 25000 25100

25200 25300 25400 25500

FREE SAMPLE COPY

We would like to send a sample copy of

World Marxist Review

to interested people. Will you

fill out the coupon below and mail to us.

• • •

**PROGRESS BOOKS
42-48 STAFFORD ST.
TORONTO 3, CANADA**

Please send a sample copy of **WORLD
MARXIST REVIEW** to the following:

NAME

ADDRESS

.....

NAME

ADDRESS

.....

Sender

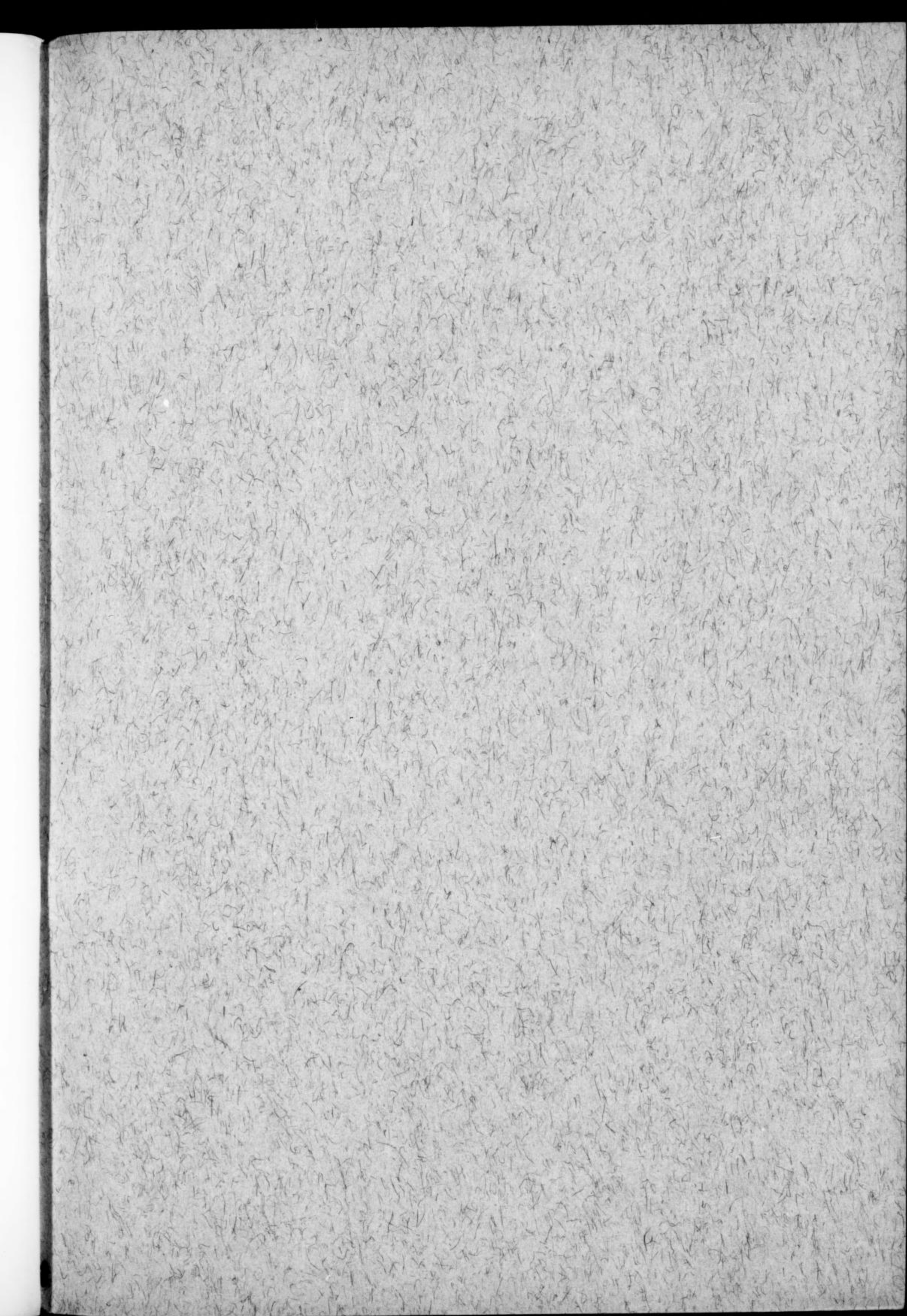
Address

.....

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
500 5th Avenue New York 17, N.Y.

LIBRARY OF THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY



Editions of the Journal

"PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"



EDITIONS IN ENGLISH
(World Marxist Review):
Central Books Ltd.,
37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England

Progress Books,
42-48 Stafford St.
Toronto 3, Ontario,
Canada

FRENCH EDITION:
(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale)
Société d'Édition et
d'Information 9, Boulevard des Italiens
Paris (2e) France

Librairie Du Monde Entier,
5, Place St-Jean,
Bruxelles

Librairie Rousseau,
36, rue J.-J. Rousseau,
Geneve

RUSSIAN EDITION:
Stredisko pro rozširovani tisku,
Praha 6, Sadova 3
Czechoslovakia

CHINESE EDITION:
Guozi Shudian,
38 Suchouhutung,
Peking, China

BRAZILIAN EDITION
(in Portuguese):
Rua da Assembléia, 34
3.º andar, sala 304,
Rio de Janeiro, Estado da Guanabara
Brazil

BULGARIAN EDITION:
Raznoiznos,
1, Rue Tzar Assen
Sofia

CYPRUS EDITION
(in Greek):
Laikon Praktorion,
Tricoupi Street, 53 T, Nicosia

CZECH EDITION:
Artia, Praha 2,
Nove Mesto, Ve smeckach 30

DUTCH EDITION:
Progressief Algemeen Vertaalbureau,
Chr. Snouck Hurgronjehof 22",
Amsterdam W

GERMAN EDITION:
Deutscher Buch-Export und -Import
GmbH,
Leipzig C 1, Leninstrasse 16

HUNGARIAN EDITION:
Kossuth Kiado, Budapest, V,
Arpad-U.6

ITALIAN EDITION:
Libreria Rinascita, Via delle Botteghe
Oscure 2, Roma

JAPANESE EDITION:
Nauka Ltd.,
2, Kanda-Zinbocho
2-chome, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo

KOREAN EDITION:
Chulpanmul
Korea Publications Export
and Import Corporation, Pyongyang

MONGOLIAN EDITION:
Mongolgosknigotorg,
ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator

POLISH EDITION:
P. K. W. Z. "RUCH", Warszawa,
Wilcza 46

RUMANIAN EDITION:
Directia Difuzarii Presei,
Palatul administrativ C.F.R.,
Bd. Dinicu Golescu, Intrarea G,
Bucuresti

EDITIONS IN SPANISH:
Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
Praha 6, Sadova 3

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Nacional 1253,
Bogota, Colombia

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos,
Casilla Correo 589, Montevideo

SWEDISH EDITION:
Arbetarkultur, Söderarmsvägen 36,
Johanneshov 6, Stockholm

VIETNAMESE EDITION:
So'o' xuất nhập khẩu sách báo 32,
Hai Ba trung, Hà-nội

