

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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PROBLEMS
OF PEACE AND
SOCIALISM

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To Our Readers

In No. 12 (1961) of **World Marxist Review** we enclosed a questionnaire for our readers. To the large number who responded to our questions the Editorial Board expresses thanks. We shall do our best to carry out the many useful suggestions contained in the answers, and their implementation will, we think, benefit all readers.

Editorial Board

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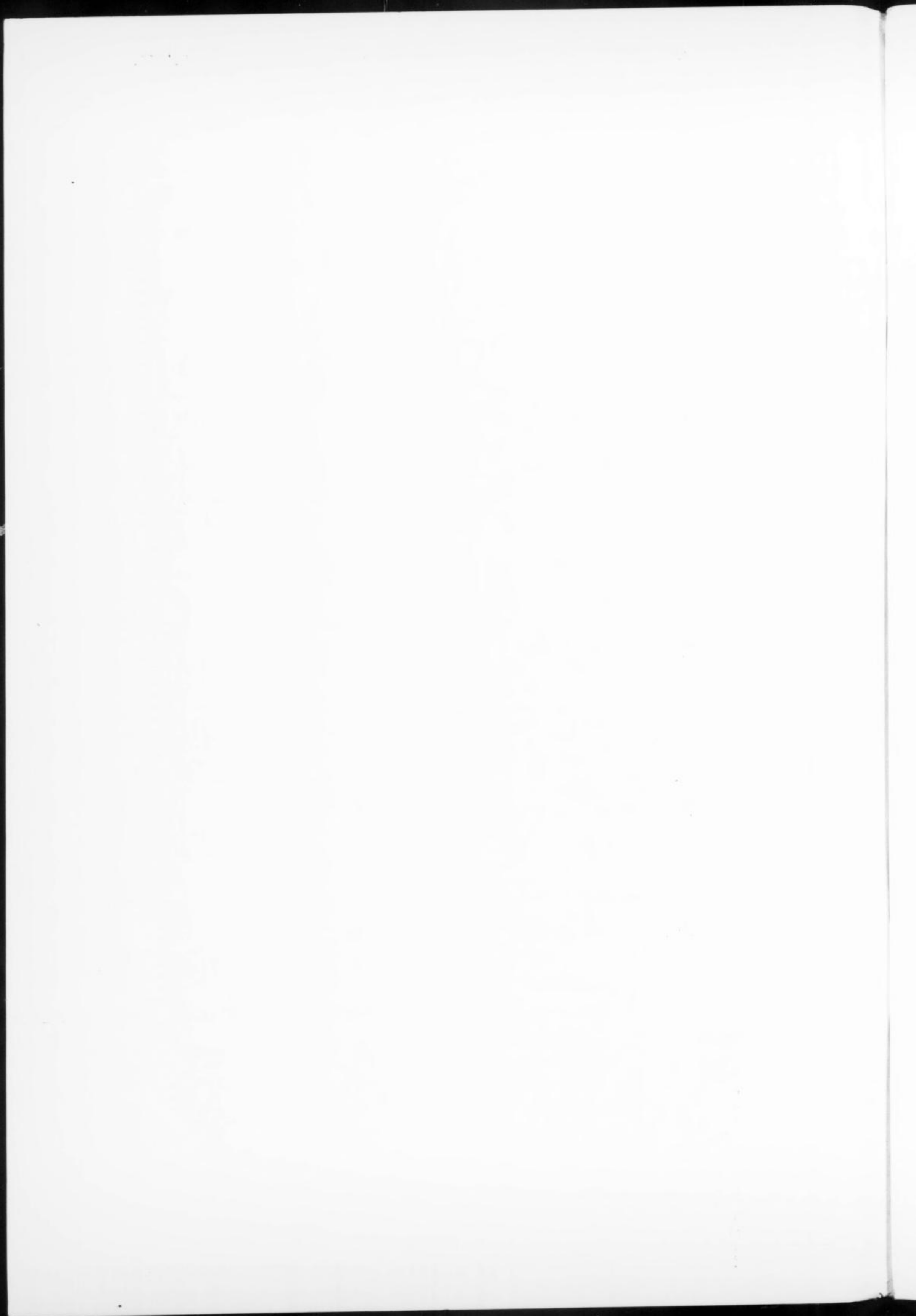
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CPSU — the Party of the Entire People

F. R. Kozlov

THE Soviet people are now engaged in the practical task of building communist society. This grand undertaking, unprecedented in history, is guided by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party founded by Lenin. On its leadership, its ability to organize the forces of a nation 220 million strong, depends the success of the communist construction.

"Everything in the name of man, for man's benefit" — this is the guiding principle of the CPSU in all its activity, the keynote of the new Program adopted by the Party's Twenty-Second Congress.

The CPSU has dedicated all its energies to the struggle for the well-being of the working people. And it has achieved signal success in its difficult but glorious labors. Within the life span of one generation the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Party, transformed Russia into an advanced country whose achievements in the economy, in education, science and technology have astounded the world. Thanks to the Party's efforts, the standard of living has risen substantially. Every citizen is guaranteed the right to work and leisure, to education and security in old age. Universal free education is the law of the land, as is the free health service, and rents are the lowest in the world. And this was accomplished in circumstances when it was essential to ensure a far higher rate of growth for investment in economic development and primarily industry, than for the consumption fund.

Today the picture is rapidly changing. The Seven-Year Economic Plan calls for a 60-63 per cent increase in the consumption fund, which practically equals the increase in national income (62-65 per cent). Thus the past labors of the people under the leadership of the Party are bearing fruit in the shape of a rising standard of living, fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the masses.

In its new Program, the Party sets the aim of surpassing the highest living standard attained in the most developed capitalist countries. The expenditure of labor required

to create the material and technical basis of communism is not only an investment in the future, but also a lever for improving the well-being of the people today.

How the USSR has tackled the task of raising living standards may be judged from the scale of housing construction. No other country in the world is building so much and so fast. In 1961 more than 80 million square meters of dwelling space was made ready for occupancy in urban areas alone; this is roughly the equivalent of building ten new cities each with a population of one million. Besides, more than 500,000 houses were built in rural localities. As for the future, the Program of the CPSU envisages completely free housing and municipal services by 1980.

The Party has also worked out a grand blueprint for education, from elementary to higher, as well as for all other spheres of cultural development, literature and art, physical culture and sports. At present the Soviet Union's system of public education is unequalled anywhere, and its schools graduate more specialists in the many areas of knowledge, and above all in engineering, than any other country. And in the near future everyone who so wishes will be able to acquire a specialized secondary or higher education.

The ultimate goal of the Party is communism—a society ensuring full satisfaction of all human requirements, material and spiritual, where social and economic equality, genuine freedom and happiness will reign supreme. The Program of the CPSU sets forth the aims not only of the Party but of the entire people.

The Party's unremitting labors on behalf of the people have won it the undivided support of all Soviet men and women. As the party of the working class, it has championed the fundamental interests of all working people from the moment of its birth. But it could not become the party of the whole people until such time as not only the working class but all other sections of the working people accepted its policy and ideology as

their own. And before this could take place big economic and social changes were needed.

The development of the CPSU into the party of the entire people is marked by three stages. First there was the period preceding the Great October Socialist Revolution when it won over to its side *the majority of the working class* and substantial segments of the other sections of the working population. During the socialist revolution and the Civil War, and as a result of social changes in subsequent years, the bulk of the peasantry and the intelligentsia who, together with the working class, formed *the majority of the people*, gave their support to the Party. Finally, with the building of socialism in the USSR, with the abolition of the exploiting classes and the consolidation of the unity of Soviet society—now consisting of two friendly classes, the workers and the peasants, and of an intelligentsia springing from both of these classes—and also as a result of the consolidation of the bonds of friendship between the Soviet nations, the Party won over *the entire people*. Its ideology and aims became the ideology and aims of all sections of society.

Having entered the period of the full-scale building of communism, the Party had every reason to say that "the Communist Party of the working class has become the vanguard of the Soviet people, a party of the entire people, and has extended its guiding influence to all spheres of social life." These words from the new Program of the CPSU reflect the far-reaching changes which have taken place in the Soviet Union as a result of the complete and final victory of socialism, changes which have broadened the social base of the Party and enhanced its role in Soviet society.

The Party Unites the Most Advanced Sections of the People

The composition of the Party shows that it is deeply rooted in the people and corresponds to the social structure that crystallized in the Soviet Union with the complete and final victory of socialism.

At the time of its Twenty-Second Congress, the Party had nearly 10 million members, including probationers. Its power of attraction reflects its prestige and its contact with the masses. But the Party does not make numbers an end in itself; it wants no one in its ranks who is not worthy of the name of Communist. "If we were to say that anyone who wants to can join the Communist Party,"

Khrushchov once said, "our Party would probably now have scores of millions of members. As it is, however, we have no need for this. To become a Communist, one must not only understand communism, but also be an active champion of its cause. And this is not given to all who support the ideas of the Communist Party."

Although it has become the Party of the entire people, the CPSU is interested as before in its ranks being augmented chiefly by men and women engaged in production, and especially workers—members of the class which remains the leading class of socialist society also in the period of the full-scale building of communism.

Of the new members who joined in 1961 workers and collective farmers accounted for 63.3 per cent. The percentage of worker-members engaged directly in production is now considerably higher than the percentage of the working class in the total population.

The number of intellectuals in the Party has also grown considerably, due to the fact that the make-up of the intelligentsia and its role in society have changed. The Soviet intelligentsia springs from the midst of the people and its interests are inseparable from the people's interests. At present nearly 70 per cent of the salaried workers admitted into the Party are engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors and other specialists. The number of members with a specialized secondary or higher education is steadily increasing and now exceeds three million. In other words, one out of three Party members has a specialized secondary or higher education.

The Party's forces are concentrated on the decisive sectors of Communist construction. More than 70 per cent of the members are engaged in production. Whereas the number engaged in industry generally increased approximately by 32 per cent between the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses (1956-1961), the increase was 50-80 per cent in such leading branches as the engineering, precision instruments, electrical, radio-technical and chemical industries. Since 1953 the number of Party members working in agriculture has grown by about 600,000.

If one were to believe the insinuations of the anti-communist press concerning the role of Party members in the Soviet Union, one might think that they all are managerial personnel of some sort or another, big or small. Actually, however, the majority are rank-and-file workers, with a steady growth

in the proportion of those engaged in production. Whereas on January 1, 1956, 130 out of every 1,000 Communists working in industry, building or transport held administrative jobs, by January 1, 1961, the figure had dropped to 46. The remainder were employed directly in production.

In a multi-national country like the Soviet Union the national composition of the Party is a useful criterion of its popular character, an indication of its bonds with all the peoples of the country. The CPSU numbers more than 100 nationalities and national groups in its ranks, thereby symbolizing the unity and fraternal friendship of equal peoples.

A breakdown of the membership according to age groups shows that all generations of Soviet people are represented, and that the Party's ranks are being constantly replenished by young people. Ten years ago people who had grown up since the revolution constituted approximately 45 per cent of the total membership, whereas today they account for about 70 per cent. More than half of all new members enrolled during the past five years came from the Young Communist League.

Democratic Methods of Leadership

The popular nature of the Party is manifested also in its activities and in its methods of leadership, which are becoming increasingly democratic, conforming to the new stage in the development of Soviet society. "The building of communism," Khrushchov has said, "is effected by the most democratic methods, through the perfection and development of social relations, the dying away of the old forms of life and the rise of new forms, in their interlacement and mutual influence."

Perfecting methods of leadership, evident in big things and small, affects all aspects of Party life. Without going into detail, the most important thing is developing the activity and initiative of the masses, encouraging independent action, everything that constitutes the essence of the process of building communism. In this respect an important role was played by the denunciation of the Stalin cult and the eradication of its harmful consequences.

It has become the practice to submit the most important projects advanced in political, economic and cultural development for nationwide discussion before final formulation and adoption. The participation of tens of millions of people in these matters not only

makes it possible to collect many valuable opinions and suggestions, to draw on the experience of the people, but to develop in them a sense of responsibility for the success of the given undertaking. In recent years such nationwide discussions were held on the theses of Khrushchov's report to the Twenty-First Congress on the targets of the Seven-Year Plan, and also on the reorganization of management of industry and building, reorganization of the machine and tractor stations, and strengthening the link between the school and life. Practically the entire adult population took part in the discussion of the draft of the new Program of the CPSU.

Our nationwide discussions have nothing in common with the referendums conducted in the capitalist countries which bourgeois propaganda hold up as well-nigh the acme of freedom and democracy. Such referendums merely offer the choice of voting either yes or no. Moreover, the issues are often presented so as to leave the voter with no alternative but to approve of a measure with which he is only partly in agreement. Our nationwide discussions, on the contrary, imply criticism, constructive thinking on the part of the people, who are vitally interested in improving the work.

Public discussion is conducted also on a local scale. Many regional committees of the Party, before adopting important decisions, submit the drafts to the Party district committees, to factory workers and to the members of collective farms. No production plan of a factory or of a state or collective farm is adopted without preliminary discussion by the respective collectives. Municipal improvement and housing programs drawn up by the city Soviets are also, as a rule, discussed in the press and by the general public.

Party committee meetings too are different from what they were a few years ago. They are now often attended by activists — both Party members as well as non-members. For instance, the meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU held last March was attended not only by C.C. members but also by many leading officials from various republics, territories and regions, heads of research institutes, press workers and people prominent in agriculture. The extensive enlistment of the Party rank and file as well as non-members in framing decisions so as to draw on the experience and opinions of a wide range of people is the antithesis of arm-chair leadership.

Symptomatic changes are taking place in what until recently were considered purely Party spheres of activity. For instance, whereas formerly it was mainly members who took advantage of the Party education facilities — classes, seminars and universities of Marxism-Leninism — this year twice as many non-members as members of the Party are enrolled in them. This change indicates that the term "Party education" is no longer quite accurate. Spare-time, volunteer work for the Party press is also becoming more and more common, with many non-Party people helping both in reporting and in editorial work.

The CPSU is steadily extending its links with the people generally. This is one of the basic principles set forth in the Program. "The Party," it states, "considers it its duty always to consult the working people on the basic questions of home and foreign policy, to submit these questions to nationwide discussion and, increasingly, to enlist non-members in all its work."

The Party is working to enhance the role of elective bodies and their responsibility to the people, and to ensure strict observance of law. The new Constitution of the Soviet Union, which is to be drawn up by the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, will advance socialist democracy to a still higher stage, provide still stronger guarantees of democratic rights and freedoms, of socialist legality, and pave the way to the transition to communist public self-administration.

Highly important, both in principle and in practice, for further improving the methods of leadership is the perfecting of the system of Party and government control by enlisting the public for this work. We are reviving and developing the ideas concerning worker-peasant inspection advanced by Lenin in the last years of his life. Lenin held that there should be mass control both at the top and at lower levels, that the control functions should be entrusted to people "for whom we can vouch that they will not take the word for the deed, and will not utter a single word that goes against their conscience," people who will "not flinch before any difficulties" or "shrink from any struggle in order to achieve the object they have seriously set themselves." During the period of the personality cult this counsel was distorted or ignored. Now the Party is considering how to apply this counsel on a new and broader basis, with a view to drawing

the people into this activity, into combating negative phenomena, as an important means of ensuring mass participation in government and public life.

The cultural advance registered in recent decades has created new opportunities for improving the entire system of administration with an enlightened public playing an active part.

There is no doubt that in the process of building communism new forms of mass participation in administration and in Party work will arise, and public initiative will manifest itself in a variety of ways. The Party will encourage everything tending to stimulate the activity and initiative of the masses, everything that makes for genuinely democratic Party guidance.

The Party regards the development of democratic procedures as the most important means for releasing the initiative of the masses in all fields of endeavor. The spread of the socialist emulation movement for realizing the program outlined by the Party, for reaching and exceeding the targets for the fourth year of the Seven-Year Plan, as well as the recent elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Young Communist League Congress, the Composers' Congress, and other events have shown that the Twenty-Second Congress gave a new and powerful impetus to the development of democracy, encouraging the initiative of the masses and heightening the sense of responsibility for the destiny of the country, for fulfilling the Program of the CPSU.

New Cadres Come to the Fore

The democratic line consistently followed by the Party is welcomed by both Party members and non-members. Each new step in developing the Leninist standards of Party life finds active support from below, evoking a flood of helpful suggestions. Yet it would be naive to think that the new in the life of the Party and the country comes into its own smoothly, without encountering difficulties. Old views die hard.

The personality cult discouraged people from displaying independence and initiative and ossified their thinking. And although much has been done to overcome all this, habits formed in the course of decades do not disappear overnight. To this day there are people who pay little attention to suggestions from below, who are incapable of teamwork and who prefer the method of issuing commands. There have also been cases

when the provisions of the Party Program concerning systematic renewal of elective bodies were taken in the wrong spirit.

Strict supervision on the part of the Party organizations, democratic procedures involving publicity and obligatory reporting back to electors, and the entire tenor of Soviet life are helping the cadres to learn to work in a new way. Those who are unable to keep in step with the times and who persist in the old habits will have to give way to capable, forward-looking people.

Recent years have seen big changes in the Party cadres.

Of the first secretaries of regional and territorial Party committees and Central Committees of the Communist parties in the Union Republics, 70.5 per cent have occupied their posts less than three years, while 12.8 per cent have been in office for more than five years. Of the secretaries of district and city committees, 78.8 per cent have held their posts less than three years. The principal posts in the Party are filled by people who have come to the fore thanks to a profound knowledge of life and ability correctly to implement the policies of the Party in the period of the full-scale building of communism.

These changes are partly due to the superannuation of old and experienced leaders who are entitled to a well-earned rest after long years of devoted work.

Highly important are the changes in the standards of general and specialized education. In 1956, 25.7 per cent of the district and city committee secretaries had a higher education. Since then the picture has sharply changed. Today 76.9 per cent of this category of functionaries are college graduates. Thus most of the cadres are now highly educated, people with a broad general and good specialized grounding. This is an earnest of qualified leadership.

The present secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Union Republics and territorial and regional committees are mostly from 35 to 50 years of age. The majority of the secretaries of city and district committees are between 30 and 40. Young, energetic people are entering the leadership. But while giving the young cadres every opportunity to advance, the Party cherishes its old cadres and values their experience, knowledge and organizational abilities.

Many women have become functionaries in recent years. Women account for 21.4 per

cent of the members of the district committees, and for 18 per cent in the regional and territorial committees and the Central Committees of the parties in the Union Republics. Of district and city committee secretaries 16.1 per cent, and of secretaries of primary organizations 22.4 per cent are women.

All our cadres have gone through the school of Party work in primary organizations and, being the sons and daughters of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, are closely linked with the people not only through their work but also by their background.

While attaching much importance to cadres, their selection, training and education, the Party does not regard them as a closed, unchanging circle. On the contrary, it believes that cadres should be systematically renewed. "The 'natural selection' by full publicity, election and universal control," Lenin said, "provides the guarantee that, in the last analysis, every political figure will be 'in his proper place', will do the work for which he is best fitted by his capacity and abilities, will feel the effects of his mistakes on himself, and will prove before the world his ability to recognize mistakes and to avoid them."

The new Program and Rules of the CPSU provide for the systematic renewal of all Party bodies while securing the continuity of leadership. These provisions were included to ensure a greater influx of fresh forces into leading Party bodies and properly to combine the old and young cadres, and also to preclude excessive concentration of power in the hands of individuals and the possibility of the collective losing control over them. The principle of systematic renewal of Party cadres and continuity of leadership has met with general approval and is now a law of the Party.

That full-time functionaries play an important role in the life of the Party is common knowledge. As we approach communism, however, Party work, becoming less and less of a profession, will assume the nature of a voluntary social obligation.

The personnel of regional and territorial committees and the Central Committees of the Communist parties in the Union Republics has been reduced by more than one-third in the last ten years. Since membership has grown substantially in this period, the number of full-time Party workers per thousand members has gone down by almost half.

As the number of paid functionaries declines the number of spare-time workers increases. There now are more than 1,800,000 members of Party committees and bureaus, secretaries, assistant secretaries and group organizers at the local level who are not paid functionaries. More than 320,000 members are unpaid instructors, lecturers and members of various Party commissions. And millions of others are carrying out diverse public and Party assignments.

All this greatly stimulates Party life, enhances the members' sense of responsibility, and promotes inner-Party democracy. In fact, the Party regards the development of democratic procedures in its inner life as a prerequisite for activating all its forces and strengthening its links with the masses. Moreover, the tenor of inner-Party life has a significance reaching far beyond the bounds of the Party itself. As the vanguard of the people building communism, it is obliged to organize its own life in the best possible fashion, to set an example in elaborating more perfected forms of Communist public self-government.

The Growing Role of the Party in the Life of Society

The Program of the CPSU says: "The period of full-scale Communist construction is characterized by a further *enhancement of the role and importance of the Communist Party* as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society." This thesis is a further development of the Marxist-Leninist view on the role of the Party as the leader and organizer of the masses.

Although the forms and methods of work employed by the Party change with the historical situation, its guiding and leading role becomes greater.

Marxism-Leninism resolutely rejects the revisionist view that the Party should trail behind the masses instead of leading them, and that after the socialist revolution it should be reduced to a sort of cultural and educational club bringing enlightenment to the masses but not leading or organizing them. Such concepts are alien to the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

The victory of the socialist revolution is but the beginning of an epoch of great changes in the life of society and in people themselves. These changes require a high degree of organization and purposeful direction of the actions of the masses. Lenin saw the whole purpose of the Party in its guid-

ing the struggle for the victory of the new system. "... Only the political party of the working class, i.e., the Communist Party," he said, "is capable of uniting, training and organizing a vanguard of the proletariat and of the whole mass of the working people that alone will be capable of withstanding the inevitable petty-bourgeois vacillations of this mass and the inevitable traditions and relapses of narrow craft unionism or craft prejudices among the proletariat, and of guiding all the united activities of the whole of the proletariat, i.e., of leading it politically, and through it the whole mass of the working people. Without this the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible."

The state of the entire people, too, is impossible without the guidance of the Party. Ever since the inception of Soviet rule, capitalist propaganda has harped on the dictatorship of the Party supplanting the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR. Now, after the publication of the new Party Program, which records the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has fulfilled its historical mission and that the Soviet state has become a state of the whole people, the thesis concerning the growing role of the Communist Party in the period of building communism is subjected to particularly heavy fire. Attempts are being made to find a contradiction between this thesis and the propositions set forth in the Program concerning the further development of socialist democracy and the evolution of the socialist state into communist public self-government.

The contradiction, needless to say, exists only in the imagination. The capitalist and reformist ideologists assert that the role of the Party, as a segment of the people, can grow only if the role of other segments, or of the people as a whole, is infringed or minimized. In capitalist society, where domination by some and subordination of others is basic in all social relationships, it could not be otherwise.

The growing role of the CPSU by no means signifies that its rights in relation to other organizations of the working people increase. On the contrary, it is the *responsibilities* of the Party, the scale of its activities and the significance of its ideological and political leadership that increase.

The growth of the Party's role does not take place at the expense of the role of other public organizations or a decline in the activity of the people. On the contrary,

the more successfully the Party fulfils its leading role, the greater the initiative and activity of the people and the more profound the democratic processes in all spheres of public life. In other words, the growth of the leading role of the Party and the further growth of democracy in public life are mutually conditioned and harmoniously interlinked. That this is so is confirmed by Soviet reality.

Take, for instance, the trade unions, which unite over 60 million workers and other employees. Their activities have become richer and more varied, and their rights have been considerably expanded. Some functions formerly performed by the state have passed over to the unions, which are truly a school of government, a school of economic management, a school of communism for tens of millions. In such an important link in industrial management as the permanent production conferences more than 4,500,000 workers take part. Six million active trade unionists participate in the control exercised by the workers over fulfilment of housing plans, allocation of housing and the functioning of trade and public catering establishments.

The Soviets, which combine features of both state and public organizations, enlist the masses in the direct administration of public affairs. The total of elected members in the Soviets of all levels is in the neighborhood of two million. Besides, more than two million citizens take part in the subcommittees of the local Soviets, while the total number of volunteer assistants who help the Soviets in their work is close to 20 million.

The significance of the Young Communist League, associations of intellectuals and other public organizations has grown greatly. The Party resolutely combats all attempts to exercise administrative control over these bodies, showing particular solicitude for creative workers and insisting that the specific nature of their work and their artistic individuality be taken into account.

The Party, naturally, guides the activities of public organizations and groups of creative workers, but this guidance is based on persuasion, on ideological influence, on the moral prestige of the Party, on the confidence which the working people repose in its policy, and on the fact that the people recognize the Party as their leader and organizer.

"Party organizations," the Rules of the CPSU state, "must not act in place of govern-

ment, trade-union, cooperative or other public organizations of the working people; they must not allow either the merging of the functions of Party and other bodies or undue parallelism in work." The inclusion, for the first time, of this principle in the Party Rules reflects the growing independent initiative of the public organizations. The broader the democracy and the more varied the forms of public initiative, the greater the role of the Communist Party, the force capable of combining all these initiatives and directing them to the good of society as a whole.

It is sometimes asked whether the acceptance by the people of the Program of the Party as their guide in life and the heightened political consciousness of the masses do not presuppose a gradual diminution of the leading role of the Party. The answer, provided by Marxist-Leninist theory and by the practice of building communism, is no. Building communism is a matter not of spontaneous development but of the conscious and purposeful activity of the masses. And only the Party, with its knowledge of the laws of social development, comprising the most advanced section of the people, closely linked with the people and enjoying their full confidence, can give proper leadership in this grand undertaking and organize it according to a scientifically grounded plan.

The party thoughtfully examines everything new created by the masses, assesses the viability of these new elements with a view to sifting out that which might lead astray from the general path to communism from that which is communist in essence and therefore ensured a future.

How is the growing role of the Party expressed in the period of the full-scale building of communism?

Primarily in carrying out the steadily expanding economic tasks. The creation in the next 20 years of the material and technological base of communism — and this means a sixfold increase in industrial production and a more than threefold increase in agricultural output — requires an immeasurably higher level of Party leadership in all spheres of economic life. Abundance of consumer goods can be achieved and the communist principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," implemented only on a material foundation embodying the latest achievements of science and technology and ensuring a sharp rise in labor productivity. The work of all Party

organizations taken separately and of the Party as a whole is directed above all at ensuring fulfilment and overfulfilment of state plans, revealing and utilizing new reserves in industry, agriculture, construction and transport, and accelerating technological progress in every way.

Take the reorganization of the system of management in agriculture. Until recently there were no state bodies with sufficient powers to take charge of the management of this particularly complex and vitally important sphere of production. This made proper guidance of the collective and state farms difficult and was one of the reasons why the agricultural targets of the first three years of the seven-year plan were not attained. Although farm production has risen sharply in recent years, the rate of advance is, nevertheless, inadequate.

At its meeting in March, the Central Committee of the CPSU examined the causes for the lag in agriculture and elaborated measures to ensure the fulfilment of plans for production and state purchases of agricultural produce. One of the most important measures outlined is the establishment of operative bodies to give government guidance to farm production. The new territorial production directorates organize production on both state and cooperative farms. Operating on a broad democratic footing, they have councils which include chairmen of collective farms, directors of the state farms and representatives of Party and Young Communist League organizations. This departure is indicative of the interweaving of state administration, Party guidance and public participation in economic management.

The serious problems arising in the process of changing the socialist state into communist public self-government, the importance of educating the new man in the spirit of a moral code worthy of the builders of communism, the shrinking of the sphere of administrative and judicial regulation of social relations, and the greater emphasis on persuasion and education—all tend to enhance the role of the Communist Party as a *public organization of the highest type*.

Perfecting socialist democracy, enhancing the role of the public organizations and extending the rights of the Union Republics and local organizations help to release local initiative and to reveal additional reserves for accelerating the economic and cultural advance. At the same time, this requires centralized, planned leadership to prevent nar-

row, local considerations from eclipsing the common interests, and to ensure that the activities of various public organizations do not become bureaucratic, to make sure that all the efforts of the people and their organizations are directed towards the common goal. The cementing and guiding force in all this is the Party, which is not bound by local or other narrow interests.

The need for correct theoretical elucidation of social processes and for an intensified offensive against the survivals of the past which tend to retard progress becomes greater in the period of building communism. Throughout its history, the CPSU has waged an irreconcilable struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, against all attempts to revise and distort it. At the same time it strictly adheres to the Leninist traditions of combating dogmatic ossification of theory, against mere repetition of formulas learned by rote instead of study of the living reality. It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninist Party creatively to develop the theory of scientific communism. All the more does this apply to our Party, which is leading in the practical building of communism.

“A specific feature of the epoch of the full-scale construction of communist society,” Khrushchov has said, “is that it confronts us with more and more theoretical questions, the answers to which are to be sought not only in books, but first and foremost in the living, everyday practice of communist construction. We would be betraying the spirit of our theory if, under these new conditions, we were unable to apply and develop Marxism-Leninism in a creative spirit, if we did not enrich it with new theoretical propositions and conclusions, if we had not courage enough to bring up to date those formulas and propositions that had ceased to conform to new historical experience.”

The Program of the CPSU is a model of the creative development of theory. Both its spirit and its content reflect the unity and indivisibility of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of communist construction. Life, practical experience, of course, will still pose many theoretical problems. To solve them is the duty of the Party, a duty implicit in its leading role in the development of society.

* * *

Building communism inspires the Soviet people both by the grandeur of the goals and the immediate benefits which they reap

in the process of creating the new society. At the same time the Soviet people regard the building of communism as their internationalist duty.

Soviet economic and political achievements exert a powerful international impact. Lenin was a hundred times right when he said that socialism will influence the course of history chiefly by the force of its example, by its economic policy, and that if we win in this sphere, we shall win on the world scale once and for all.

Our success in building communism, and the success of the fraternal parties and peoples of other socialist countries in building socialism, show the working people of the capitalist countries, all peoples battling for their independence, that only socialism and communism can ensure material well-being and genuine freedom. "The example of victorious socialism," the Party Program states, "has a revolutionizing effect on the minds of the working people of the capitalist world; it inspires them to fight against imperialism and greatly facilitates their struggle."

The stronger and richer Soviet society becomes, the stronger becomes the socialist world system, the more powerful the magnetic force of communist ideas, and the greater the moral and material aid which peoples fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress will be able to receive from the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole.

At the same time, the CPSU and the Soviet people derive inspiration from the powerful support they are rendered by the international Communist movement and by the emancipation movement generally.

Marxist-Leninists regard fruitful cooperation, study of the experience of fraternal parties, and mutual support as one of the most important manifestations of the proletarian internationalism which unites them. The principles of proletarian internationalism conforming to the present stage of the world Communist movement were formulated in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist parties. Our Party is guided in all its activity by the ideas and principles of these jointly elaborated documents and on the basis of these principles it is working to strengthen the world Communist front.

The international Communist movement consists of parties working in a great diversity of conditions. Many of them still have a long road of struggle to traverse before the exploiting classes will be overthrown and people's rule, the dictatorship of the proletariat, established. Others—the fraternal parties of the socialist countries—have made considerable progress in building socialism, with the completion of which they too will enter the period of communist construction. The Communists of the Soviet Union, to whose lot has fallen the great honor of being the first to build communism, hope that the experience of their Party will be of help to the entire international Communist movement.

Socialist Diplomacy of Peace in the World Arena

Adam Rapacki

THE foreign policy of one or another state is determined both by its class character and by the balance of forces in the world arena.

The socialist countries, by virtue of the nature of socialism and the laws of its development, pursue a policy of peace. It is in the nature of imperialism to engender policies fraught with the danger of war. Imperialism is the carrier of war. Whether the international situation swings toward war or toward peace depends on the balance of forces between the two—imperialism and socialism.

From the moment of its birth the first socialist state—the Soviet Union—whose initial act was to promulgate the Decree on Peace, has unremittingly worked for peace and a collective-security system capable of preventing war.

The forces of socialism and the other peace forces of the world were not strong enough to prevent the Second World War. Only with the emergence of the socialist world system, the growth of its might, and the spread of the national-liberation and peace movements were the scales tipped in favor of socialism and peace, creating a new situation in which the consistent peace policy of the socialist countries is exerting a decisive and ever-growing influence on the destinies of the world.

For the first time in history it has become possible to direct human development along peaceful lines and to exclude world war from the life of man. Some attribute this to the existence of nuclear weapons. This is an erroneous view. Had there been no radical shift in the balance of forces in favor of socialism and peace, nuclear weapons, far from preventing war, would actually hasten its outbreak.

In fact, it was when the USA had a monopoly of atomic weapons that there emerged the dangerous imperialist “positions of strength” policy, the policy of military pacts, of encircling the socialist states with military bases and of “rolling back communism,” the policy which brought the world to the brink of war.

Only as the world balance changed in favor of socialism did fear of a war of annihilation gradually develop into resolve on the part of the peoples to take action to avert disaster.

The new correlation of forces is making it increasingly patent that, objectively, a world war fought with nuclear and missile weapons no longer accords with the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie. For there is not the slightest doubt that imperialism as such would perish in the holocaust.

It may be said, of course, that the First World War, too, did not serve the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie as a whole inasmuch as it resulted in an historical defeat for capitalism, hastening the coming of the first socialist revolution and the birth of the Soviet Union; yet the imperialists unleashed that war. Or that the Second World War was not in the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie as a whole since it ended in another defeat by accelerating the rise of the socialist world and the disintegration of the old colonial system, and yet the imperialists started this war too.

All that is true. But when they unloosed the First World War, the imperialists could not foresee the October Revolution. And in the days before the Second World War they not only failed to anticipate the emergence of the socialist world system, but actually expected the Soviet Union to collapse.

Today, however, in the light of the new balance of forces and the modern armaments, influential circles in the West are awakening to the fact that a third world war would inevitably lead to a fearful disaster from which not a single imperialist state, international concern, nor capitalist could derive any profit.

This does not mean that the laws of imperialism have changed. We see how the same influential Western circles which are fairly well aware of what a third world war would mean for them, their countries, the capitalist system and the entire world, are, nevertheless, continuing the cold-war policy and the armaments drive, thereby paving the way to another war.

This policy stems from the economic interests of the various capitalist groupings, their colonial interests, the struggle between the capitalists of the various countries for markets, and also from their blind anti-communism. Motivated by these considerations, the various imperialist groupings are, more so than ever before, coming into sharp conflict with the interests of the working masses of their own countries and of the world, with the interests of the new states that have risen from the ruins of the colonial system and, lastly, with the over-all long-range interests of the bourgeoisie, for whom another war would spell disaster. The prospects offered by peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism are quite different, even if, as some capitalist circles realize, this competition will ultimately end in the victory of socialism.

A new and profound contradiction is developing in the imperialist world. Within the imperialist bourgeoisie a new division is taking place; on the one hand there are alignments and elements guided by common sense who, aware of the absurdity and futility of any attempt to resolve controversial issues through war, are searching for solutions most advantageous to the bourgeoisie along lines of peaceful development leading to peaceful coexistence and, on the other hand, the more aggressive and short-sighted forces which, if not prepared to plunge headlong into war, are seeking to pursue a "positions of strength" and "brinkmanship" policy in the illusory hope of being able to alter the world balance in their own favor and to impose imperialist solutions on the nations.

In these circumstances the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is the only policy capable of gradually reducing the war danger, preventing war and leading to its final abolition. The possibility of abolishing war is closely connected with the continued growth of the forces of socialism and peace and the further consolidation of their preponderance over the forces of imperialism.

To this end it is above all imperative to build up the strength and cement the unity of the socialist camp in every way, closely to link the struggle for peace with the fight for complete freedom of the peoples from colonial and neo-colonialist dependence and their economic and social progress, and to strengthen and extend the working people's struggle for peace and social emancipation. At the same time the policy of peaceful

coexistence is aimed at reaching agreement on urgent international problems with sober-minded Western bourgeois circles, while resolutely repulsing those who obstruct solutions essential for peace, who seek to aggravate the situation and to continue the armaments drive. Peaceful coexistence therefore is far from being simply a matter of politeness and compromise, but neither does it regard the entire Western bourgeoisie as a homogeneous aggressive force with which no agreement should be sought.

The peaceful coexistence of states which Lenin envisaged has become possible in our time. But its realization is not a smooth process free of difficulties, snags and zigzags. On the contrary, it is realized through struggle. Even though peaceful coexistence is the only alternative to universal annihilation, it will not come about of itself. The recent past has shown—and the future may well show again—that precisely when world tensions tend to diminish and the peoples are demanding specific action to ensure peace, the more aggressive imperialist circles mount counter-offensives, joining forces to prevent possible agreement. When this happens, it must be brought home to the aggressor quarters that any attempt to return to a "positions of strength" policy, the policy of provocations, will be bound to fail; they must be forced to retreat, and isolated, thereby creating the conditions for another upsurge in the struggle for peaceful coexistence on a new and higher plane.

Peaceful coexistence accords with the vital interests of both the socialist countries and the socialist cause throughout the world. At the same time it is in the best interest of all peoples, of all humanity. Hence socialist foreign policy, the diplomacy of the socialist countries, serves not only the socialist nations or the socialist system generally, but all mankind. It differs qualitatively, as regards both character and aims, from the policy of the capitalist countries.

Unity among the countries of the socialist system is basic to the successful fulfilment of its historical mission. Hence their unity of action in the world arena, a unity stemming from the very essence of the socialist system, identity of interests and aspirations, dedication to a common ideal, and common foreign policy objectives corresponding to the interests of humanity.

The socialist states jointly examine and coordinate their positions on the main international issues from the standpoint of the

Leninist principles of internationalism, which were creatively elaborated in the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU and in the statement of the Moscow meeting of the 81 parties.

Adherence to common foreign-policy principles and aims does not imply that the socialist countries follow some stereotyped pattern in the world arena. Each of these countries also has its own specific interests, its own historically and economically conditioned ties with other countries, its own *modus operandi*. These features are reflected in the foreign policy of all the socialist countries to the benefit of the peoples concerned, the overall policy of the entire socialist camp and the cause of peaceful coexistence generally.

The Soviet Union occupies first place among the socialist countries for the number and significance of the proposals it has submitted with a view to strengthening peace. And no wonder, for, as the first socialist state, it carried the full burden of the struggle for peace and socialism alone and in the most trying conditions for nearly 30 years. Today, as a leading world power bearing a special responsibility for the future of mankind, the Soviet Union is in every respect making the biggest contribution to the peace policy of the socialist camp, which is shaped by the joint efforts of the entire community on the basis of the equality of all its members, big and small.

The existence of the socialist world system has enabled the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries to enter the decisive stage of their struggle for national liberation and to make it one of the cardinal factors of our time. The old colonial system has broken down. The former colonies and semi-colonies are emerging as sovereign states and facing new tasks posed by the need to end economic dependence on the former metropolitan countries, to foil the attempts to impose neo-colonialist regimes, to abolish the inhuman conditions of life inherited from colonialism, and to overcome economic backwardness.

Durable peace throughout the world is basic for the realization of these aspirations. Ending the armaments drive and channelling at least part of the funds now spent on armaments to economic aid to the economically underdeveloped countries would correspond to the vital interests of their peoples. General and complete disarmament, i.e., the exclusion of force from the sphere of international

relations, would provide a permanent guarantee of their genuine sovereignty. Because of this the peoples of these countries are a powerful force in the struggle for peaceful coexistence.

The socialist countries have always rendered moral, political and material assistance to peoples who are fighting for freedom from the colonial yoke, for complete independence and progress. There has always been a connection between the national-liberation struggle and the revolutionary struggle of the working class. The principle of national liberation is interlinked with that of social emancipation. Moreover, the struggle against colonialism in all its forms is closely connected with the struggle for peace.

The socialist policy of peace and national independence is winning—and cannot but win—growing support among peoples fighting for freedom.

The policy pursued by the socialist countries reflects the vital interests of the working people everywhere. Its basic objectives in the sphere of foreign relations—durable peace, universal and complete disarmament, abolition of the seedbeds of war, and peaceful coexistence, which are the substance of the constructive proposals submitted by the socialist countries for the solution of urgent international problems—coincide with the hopes and aspirations of the masses. Clear and understandable to all, these aims rally the working people of the world to join forces with the socialist countries and with the working class in order to compel imperialism to accept peace, even though peace is alien to its very nature.

The principal aim of socialist foreign policy is general and complete disarmament. Realization of this aim would carry the world forward from the present situation when war, though no longer inevitable, is still possible, to a situation in which it would be ruled out completely. Hence the wide support accorded by the peoples to the program of general and complete disarmament advanced by N. S. Khrushchov, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, at the Fourteenth General Assembly of the United Nations.

The idea of general and complete disarmament has become a powerful material force. Indeed, the need for disarmament is now too obvious for anyone to oppose it directly and openly. Yet the resistance to practical steps in this direction continues.

Despite a few changes in general formulations, the U.S. proposals would still limit the

initial stage of disarmament to measures of a symbolic rather than practical nature which, moreover, would give the military advantage to the West by providing for practically complete control and inspection before disarmament gets properly under way.

As a matter of fact the object of the so-called "new" American proposals is not to guarantee general and complete disarmament. They are fraught with the danger of disarmament being discontinued at any moment and the armaments drive resumed. Moreover, they actually increase the danger of war by substituting control of missile and nuclear weapons for the abolition of these weapons already at the initial stage of disarmament. So long as there is a danger of surprise nuclear attack, fear and mutual suspicion will remain, and the danger of so-called pre-emptive war being started with aggressive intent, through error of judgment or by accident, will increase. Control which would provide exact information on nuclear armaments and pinpoint their location would add to the danger. Therefore the draft treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control proposed by the Soviet Union in agreement with other socialist countries calls for the abolition of military bases and means of delivery of nuclear weapons at the first stage of disarmament. This would at once rule out the possibility of surprise nuclear attack, substantially strengthen the feeling of security and mutual confidence, and make it impossible to deliver nuclear weapons to targets, while work to perfect these weapons would lose all significance and ultimately it would become senseless to have them at all. All the problems which today bristle with difficulties could then be resolved much more easily; general and complete disarmament could then be carried to completion without any danger of reversal. Herein lies the fundamental difference between the plan advanced by the Soviet Union and the proposals of the USA.

The Soviet Union has presented in Geneva a draft treaty setting forth a step-by-step disarmament program with corresponding control measures covering the entire process from beginning to end. The socialist countries have announced their readiness to discuss in detail both this and all other proposals submitted in the course of the Geneva talks. They are ready to accept, in deed and not in words, any measures which would provide, without endangering the security of either side, a real possibility of carrying out general

and complete disarmament. In a word, they are prepared to sign a corresponding treaty and to implement it. This is our aim in taking part in the Geneva and other talks on general and complete disarmament.

If, however, the Western powers intend to negotiate only to delay or avoid taking concrete decisions, they will only show world public opinion who it is that sincerely wants disarmament and who is trying to evade it. And this will open the eyes of the people to the need to intensify the struggle for general and complete disarmament.

The socialist states are anxious to prevent the steady deterioration of the international situation and to put an end to the tensions, intensified armaments drive, the increased danger of war and the growing obstacles barring the way to general and complete disarmament. Therefore they advance proposals aimed at a détente and cessation of the armaments drive also whenever possibilities arise for finding partial solutions to the problem of disarmament.

An extensive program of this order is contained in the memorandum submitted by the Soviet Union to the Sixteenth U.N. General Assembly on measures aimed at lessening international tension, strengthening confidence among states and facilitating general and complete disarmament.

This memorandum takes due account not only of the proposals made by the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries but also of the recent initiative of other states.

Wladyslaw Gomulko, who headed the Polish delegation to the Fifteenth General Assembly, submitted a number of proposals aimed at alerting people everywhere to the danger of a missile and nuclear war, at achieving an immediate treaty terminating nuclear tests, terminating the building of missile sites and military bases in general on foreign territory, and banning the transfer of nuclear weapons to other countries.

The opposition of the Western powers notwithstanding, the idea of halting the armaments, and especially the nuclear weapons drive and of creating conditions making for greater security and mutual confidence between countries is steadily winning support. This is evident from the adoption by the Sixteenth General Assembly, despite the negative vote of the Western powers, of the joint Irish-Indian resolution on stopping the spread of nuclear weapons. This idea, it should be noted, is obdurately opposed by

Federal Germany, for Bonn sees in it an obstacle to West German nuclear armament which it regards as a trump in its bid for influence in the Western world and an essential element of the revenge and expansion plans of West German imperialism.

The Soviet proposal for a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty and Atlantic Pact countries is, as we see, evoking an increasing response everywhere. The West has long opposed this idea, with the Federal German government again spearheading the resistance.

The idea of nuclear-free zones is likewise winning more support on the part of public opinion throughout the world, the West included.

In 1957 the Polish government proposed such a zone for Central Europe to take in the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, and Federal Germany. The initiative was supported in the United Nations by Czechoslovakia. The German Democratic Republic also backed it.

But although the plan found support all over the world, Federal Germany and the USA turned it down in 1958.

Nevertheless, the issue has not been removed from the order of the day. On the contrary, the idea of nuclear-free zones is steadily gaining ground. Rumania and Bulgaria have declared for one in the Balkans. The Chinese People's Republic advocates such a zone in Asia and the Pacific area. Following a proposal submitted by Ghana at the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly, the Sixteenth General Assembly adopted a resolution urging that Africa be declared a zone free from atomic weapons. Similar views are being voiced in Latin America. The initiative of Foreign Minister Uden of Sweden has shown that the idea is finding growing support in the non-aligned as well as in many Western countries.

Poland continues to attach special importance to a nuclear-free Central Europe inasmuch as it is in this area that the danger of an armed conflict is greatest. The main forces of the two military alignments are concentrated here. Here, too, is the Federal German Republic, which refuses to recognize the political and territorial changes resulting from the Second World War and openly rejects the principle of peaceful coexistence, arming intensively and insisting on atomic weapons. Moreover, NATO policy on Germany is intensifying the danger which it has engendered in Central Europe. A nuclear-free zone in this

area would lessen the danger of a conflict which, if allowed to break out, would inevitably develop into a world war fought with nuclear and missile weapons. In view of this, taking into account the suggestions made in the course of the preceding broad discussion of the Polish plan, our government submitted a memorandum to the disarmament conference in Geneva proposing that zones free of nuclear weapons and with limited armaments be set up in Central Europe. The memorandum envisages two stages for the realization of this plan.

In the first stage a nuclear and missile armament "freeze" would be announced and the establishment of new bases prohibited.

In the second stage missiles and nuclear weapons would be abolished in the nuclear-free zone and armed forces and conventional armaments reduced in the countries included in the zone as well as in other countries.

Although the government and even the President of the United States at first publicly declared that they were prepared (true, with certain reservations) to discuss the Polish proposals, the U.S. State Department and the Federal German government have turned them down, thus facing the Geneva Conference with a *fait accompli*.

In 1958 the Federal German and U.S. governments similarly refused to discuss the Polish proposals. This, it will be remembered, far from making for a détente in Europe, aggravated the situation.

Now, four years later, the State Department is repeating the same maneuver, resorting to the astounding argument that it is not the stockpiling of nuclear weapons in Central Europe but their elimination that would increase the danger of war. Although only a short while ago the leading U.S. circles said that the Polish proposal was of no military significance and hence did not particularly interest them, they now say the reverse: that a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe would seriously upset the existing balance of forces between the major alignments of states. The most careful examination of the Polish memorandum of last March, however, will reveal nothing that would make it possible to violate the existing balance of forces either in the first or in the second stage of the implementation of our plan.

The real reasons behind the unexpected turnabout on the part of the U.S. State Department are altogether different. The idea of nuclear-free zones has gained too much support to suit the Pentagon. Not only is the

Pentagon unwilling to give up its existing bases, it wants to have a free hand to establish new ones. Nor is there any doubt that the stand of the Bonn government, whose invariably negative attitude to the Polish and other proposals for disarmament in Europe throws clear light on the true aims of West German imperialism, also plays a part in this.

The socialist countries, then, are consistently working to put a brake on the nuclear armaments drive, which, pending disarmament, is the biggest threat to peace, and to halt it altogether already at the initial stage of disarmament while ensuring the security of both sides under all circumstances. Regrettably, however, the Western circles and primarily the U.S. military, are clinging to their strategy of nuclear blackmail. In fact, build-up of strength and nuclear blackmail are the substance of the "balance of terror" theory propounded in diverse forms by the Pentagon.

Because of this no agreement has yet been reached on a nuclear test ban. And now, with the Geneva Conference still in session and with the compromise proposals of a group of uncommitted countries providing a basis for fruitful discussion and giving rise to the hope that at last agreement will be reached, the whole world has been shocked and angered by U.S. resumption of nuclear tests in the atmosphere. A policy of this kind will not strengthen the hand of the aggressive imperialist circles. If the imperialist powers fear that peaceful coexistence would undermine their positions in the world arena, they will find — as has happened so many times before — that any attempt to return to the "positions of strength" policy will but damage them still more politically.

The socialist states will continue steadfastly to adhere to their general line of policy—peaceful coexistence, cementing the unity of its supporters, isolating its opponents and forcing them to retreat.

Working to stop the armaments drive and for general and complete disarmament, the socialist countries seek a peaceful solution of urgent international problems. First place among these is held by the German question.

The stand taken by NATO and especially by the Federal German government on this question took shape several years ago as part of the "positions of strength" policy. Basic to it is the drive to revive and arm West German imperialism, denial of the existence of the German Democratic Republic and refusal to recognize Germany's eastern frontiers as final. In brief, it is a position of support to the

West German imperialists and encouragement for their aggression eastward.

And although in the present changed situation this policy and its various components are being increasingly questioned in the more or less sober-minded circles of Western Europe and even in the United States, it is, nevertheless, being continued.

The vital interests and security of the peoples of Europe and of the world demand that an end be put to this policy. It must give way to a policy ensuring security in Europe and opening the way to a peaceful settlement of the German problem.

The policy of NATO and the Federal German government on West Berlin is fraught with the greatest threat to peace. It must be borne in mind, however, that this is only part of the NATO and Bonn policy on Germany. The precautionary measures taken in Berlin by the GDR authorities on August 13 last year restricted to a considerable extent the provocative activities of the aggressive forces, but the problem of West Berlin nevertheless remains on the order of the day. It is imperative to solve it, and a solution can be found only within the framework of a general German settlement on the basis of the following principles: recognition of the existence of the GDR, acceptance of its frontiers and respect for its sovereignty; no nuclear weapons on German territory or, still better, abolition of these weapons and reduction of all other types of armaments and armed forces in this part of Europe. At the same time it is essential to end the occupation regime and regulate the status of West Berlin without infringing the rights of its population or the sovereignty of the GDR in the matter of access to the city through GDR territory. These considerations underlie the draft peace treaty with both German states as well as the proposal to make West Berlin a free city put forward by the Soviet Union in agreement with the GDR, Poland and the other socialist countries.

This would be the best solution. If the Western powers reject it, the socialist countries, and all other countries which realize its importance, will conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic — a treaty which will not be a pure formality. It would be preferable, however, to settle the question of Germany and West Berlin in conformity with the above principles through agreement with the Western countries, so as to make the Berlin crisis the last crisis en-

countered in the German question and to abolish the threat to peace in Europe.

The possibility of agreement exists. We feel that the Western powers should be every bit as interested in an agreed settlement as we are.

Peaceful coexistence implies struggle — struggle to make war impossible despite the laws of imperialism and despite the aggressive forces engendered by these laws, and to create new conditions for peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism.

The struggle for peaceful coexistence — just as struggle in the conditions of peaceful coexistence — is a class struggle. Our aim in this struggle is the victory of peace and socialism. The realization in the Soviet Union of the new Program of the Communist Party will mark a decisive step in this direction.

At the same time peaceful competition does not exclude, but on the contrary presupposes, cooperation — the search for mutually ac-

ceptable solutions to international problems, establishing, expanding and consolidating mutually advantageous economic, scientific and cultural contacts between the capitalist and the socialist states. Hence the emphasis laid in the policy pursued by the socialist countries on paving the way to agreement on these questions, on efforts to eliminate the restrictions, discrimination and other obstacles by means of which the more aggressive forces of imperialism aim at preventing the development of trade and cultural contacts with the socialist countries.

This, too, is class struggle. And in this new, higher stage of class struggle the people everywhere are coming to see more clearly that socialist policy, while upholding the cause of the working class, of the working people generally, at the same time champions the interests of all humanity. This has always been the case. And therein lies the guarantee of our victory.

The Struggle for National Independence and Disarmament

Abdelkader el Ouahrani

PRESERVING peace and consolidating it is the job of jobs in our time. And although the overwhelming majority of people in the world appreciate this, not all of them realize that peace can only be preserved by *displaying vigilance, by working for it, for peace must be won.*

Is there, ask some people in the newly independent countries or those still fighting for independence, any connection between preserving peace and winning national independence and disarmament? Is disarmament wanted by all countries? These people reason thus: the colonial peoples are compelled to resort to arms in fighting for their independence because imperialism, which has not changed its aggressive nature, will not leave the colonies of its own accord and has forced armed struggle upon them. In these circumstances can the peoples of Algeria, Angola and other countries fighting for their independence hope for general and complete disarmament? Surely, the argument goes, they are in need of armaments rather than dis-

armament? Some are dubious: will not disarmament weaken the national-liberation movement? Is it not a matter solely for those countries possessing modern and ultra-modern weapons, since it depends on them whether or not there will be another war? Others, citing Lenin's criticism in "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," written in 1916, of naive dreamers who proposed replacing the old point in the minimum program on "militia" or "the armed people" by "disarmament" ask: should we work for general and complete disarmament? Would it not be more correct to work for disarmament of the imperialist nations? These matters require careful study.

Make the Imperialists Quit

That the colonial peoples frequently have to resort to arms in their struggle for national independence has probably been appreciated by none so fully as by the Algerian people. Imperialism, as aggressive as ever, is doing all in its power to retain its colonies. But the

imperialists no longer can dictate things as they did in the past. Aligned against imperialism today are powerful united forces who, knowing its nature, are resolved to fight it indefatigably so that peace shall rule on earth. As the declaration of the 1957 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries stated:

"The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard, the Communist parties; the liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples; the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality; the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries who are also putting up increasing resistance to the plans for a new war."

These forces are now in a position to thwart the imperialists' designs, to make them retreat.

This was the case in Algeria. After seven and a half years of unsuccessful attempts to break the resistance of the Algerian people, the French colonialists were forced to start negotiations. Why did the Algerians have to battle for more than seven years? Primarily of course because France possessed modern means of warfare: planes, tanks, artillery and warships. The Algerian patriots lacked these weapons. Secondly, because France was supported by the aggressive NATO bloc. And although politically and morally this support stands in no comparison with that enjoyed by the Algerian independence fighters (progressives throughout the world were on Algeria's side) the NATO countries supplied the French colonialists with the weapons they needed. There can be no doubt that if the French colonialists had not had these weapons, the Algerian people would have won national independence long ago and would have saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of their sons.

Although the imperialists know that the balance of forces is changing steadily — and not in their favor — they are not giving up. They are striving, if not to retrieve their old privileges, at least to cling on to those they still have. In an attempt to break the resistance of peoples who want to live in freedom,

progress and peace, they are arming at a feverish pace.

To deprive the American, British, French and other imperialists of their arms today would signify depriving them of their whip-hand. It would mean depriving them of the possibility of resorting to violence, by means of which they have held peoples in bondage. This would destroy the chief instrument of unjust wars—both world wars and local conflicts. The international disarmament campaign directly concerns the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who are still fighting, often with arms in hand, for their independence, and thereby making a contribution to the common struggle to abolish colonialism. This struggle will undoubtedly be facilitated if the peoples succeed in wresting arms from the imperialists. The struggle for general disarmament, therefore, does not run counter to the interests of the national-liberation movement; on the contrary, it brings the oppressed peoples closer to achieving their just aims. As Fidel Castro said on March 1 last: "To fight for peace, i.e., against war and for disarmament, means to be active in the interests of the independence and liberation of the peoples."

The Supporters of Disarmament Are Not Pacifist Dreamers

As we know, the supporters of disarmament as a means of securing peace on earth have never ceased actively to support the peoples who are fighting imperialism. Does this mean they are contradicting themselves? It does not. The advocates of disarmament are not naive pacifist dreamers who, in conformity with the "non-resistance" or "peace at any price" theories make no distinction between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, between the oppressor and the oppressed. In their striving for peace they have never relaxed their vigilance, nor have they lost sight of the aggressiveness of imperialism. We would recall the speech made by N. S. Khrushchov when he submitted the Soviet disarmament plan to the United Nations. "I deem it necessary to say here," he said, "from the rostrum of the United Nations, that the Soviet Union has the sincerest sympathy and the profoundest understanding for all peoples who, on different continents, are upholding their freedom and national independence. It is my opinion that this attitude of ours fully accords with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the cornerstone of which is recognition of the right of the

peoples to a free and independent existence and development."

"Words, nothing but words," some sceptics may say. "Where are the deeds, what about being firm towards imperialism?" The history of the peoples who have suffered under imperialism provides the answer.

Let these sceptics ask President Nasser of the UAR how he assessed the Soviet government's support when his country was the victim of Anglo-French aggression in 1956. Let them ask the Lebanese or Iraqi patriots about the aid rendered them by the Soviet Union when they were under threat of attack by U.S. and British destroyers and aircraft. Let them ask Sékou Touré, President of the Guinea Republic, about the aid of the socialist countries which enabled him to reject the French imperialists' claims. Let us take some of the more recent facts. Who was it that right from the outset supported India and Indonesia in their struggle for the liberation of Goa and West Irian from the Portuguese and Dutch imperialists enjoying U.S. patronage? Who was it that resolutely came to the aid of the Algerian people in their struggle for national liberation? Who was it that at Tunisia's first appeal raised a voice in its defense at the time of the French imperialists' aggression in Bizerte? Was it not the socialist countries and the world progressive movement, including the supporters of peace and disarmament?

The champions of peace and disarmament had already been waging a persistent struggle for peace and national independence before the World Peace Council in Stockholm adopted on December 19, 1961, a relevant resolution stating in part: "The World Peace Council, which met in New Delhi last March declared that 'the struggle for national sovereignty and independence is a task not only of the colonial peoples but of all peoples throughout the world who desire to see stable peace established, disarmament carried out and friendly cooperation for mutual benefit achieved among the nations'. The development of the struggle for national independence aids and strengthens the struggle for disarmament, the two are inseparable."

If it is true that the struggle for national independence facilitates the struggle for disarmament, it is equally true that the struggle for disarmament strengthens the struggle for national independence.

World developments are convincing the people that with the balance of forces favoring the supporters of progress, the time has

come to strike another blow at imperialism, to take away its most important weapon—armaments.

Consign Weapons to the Scrap Heap

In the above-mentioned article, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," Lenin even then spoke of the possibility of consigning arms to the scrap heap. Analyzing the concrete objective conditions, however, he emphasized that "only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie can it, without changing its world historical task, consign all arms to the scrap heap, and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only then *and by no means before*." Leninism demands that all social problems be examined with due consideration to the time, place, character and conditions of the class struggle. In other words, an historical approach is necessary to the questions posed by life. Lenin wrote the above-mentioned article shortly before the October Socialist Revolution. It was clear to him that a revolutionary situation had matured, that things were heading towards a revolutionary crisis, towards revolution, that there would be a mortal combat between the old imperialist system and the coming new, socialist system. At that time imperialism held complete sway over the destinies of man. Socialism had not yet triumphed in any country, and the national-liberation movement was in its infancy. It was impossible at that time to advance "disarmament" as a practical slogan, as proposed by Social Democrats in Holland, Scandinavia and Switzerland, to replace in the minimum program the demand for "the armed people" by the demand for "disarmament."

Lenin was against this proposal. Any posing of the question of disarmament in those conditions would have immobilized the masses on the eve of the revolution; it was tantamount to demanding that the bourgeoisie should *disarm itself*, inasmuch as there was no force at that time capable of compelling it to do so. Socialists are not pacifists, i.e., not against war irrespective of its nature. As Lenin wrote, "Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be Socialists, be opposed to all war."

"In the first place, Socialists have never been, nor can they ever be opposed to revolutionary wars. . . ." He cited wars waged by "colonial peoples, for their liberation"*** as examples of just wars.

*V. I. Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution."

**Ibid.

The international Communist and workers' movement has always, in accordance with Lenin's counsel, firmly supported the just cause of the oppressed peoples, has helped them in manifold ways in their struggle against imperialism and for their independence. The rise of socialism, as the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union correctly points out, "*marks the advent of the era of emancipation of the oppressed peoples.*"

Acting on Lenin's counsel, the international Communist and workers' movement, with the CPSU in its van, together with other forces of peace and progress throughout the world, has fought resolutely to *make it impossible for the imperialists to dictate* their will to the peoples, to deprive the American, British, French, West German and other imperialists of the possibility of constantly *resorting to force with the aim of settling conflicts in their own interests.*

Experience has time and again borne out what Lenin said, namely, that imperialism has made it a rule to resolve international issues, especially where they concern weak countries, by violence. And it is precisely for this reason that the socialist countries have built up their strength so as to be able not only to give blow for blow but, should they be forced, to inflict a crushing defeat on imperialism.

On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the Soviet Army, Marshal Malinovsky said: "Don't touch us, gentlemen imperialists, don't threaten us, for you yourselves will fall into the abyss which you are so diligently preparing for us and burn to cinders in a nuclear inferno!" These words should not be underrated.

The imperialists realize that the times of the "capitalist encirclement" or the "cordon sanitaire" have gone never to return. They know that if they trigger off another world war there will be a retaliatory blow that will strike also the USA, which in the past gained its knowledge of "modern" wars and their aftermath only from the newspapers. The imperialists understand too that they can no longer intervene with impunity in the internal affairs of the countries which have embarked on the path of freedom and progress. It is becoming so difficult to export "counter-revolution" that even at their own back-door the imperialists were unable to prevent the heroic people of Cuba from taking the socialist road, just as they failed to prevent the

people of Iraq from accomplishing their revolution of July 14, 1958.

After the October Revolution, and especially after the Second World War and the rise of the socialist camp, big changes took place in the world, changes which have had their impact on the oppressed peoples. World imperialism, headed by the USA, did everything in its power to stop the peoples from winning independence. In most cases it failed. We know of few instances nowadays of national-liberation movements being crushed.

It is primarily to their own efforts that the oppressed peoples owe their victories. Yet we should not lose sight of the fact that their victories are in large measure the result of the changed balance of world forces. For all its military and economic strength, imperialism is obliged today to reckon with the forces guarding the interests of freedom, progress and peace—the powerful socialist camp and the broad anti-imperialist movement. Since 1945 about 1,500 million people have thrown off the imperialist yoke and taken the path of independent development. This was not just a matter of chance. It did not come about because the imperialists had undergone a change of heart, but because they can no longer hold on to their former positions. The colonial system of the classical imperialist type has not been abolished entirely. Over 70 million people are still under direct colonial oppression. But its end is already in sight and will probably come much more rapidly than the imperialists think. The guarantees of this are the sweep of the national-liberation movement and the growth of the forces of peace and socialism.

That is why we can say that *a stage has been reached in the anti-imperialist struggle when united efforts can compel the imperialists to consign their weapons to the scrap heap*—the weapons they are using every day against peoples who are fighting for independence. Since they do not aspire to seize foreign lands or to enslave other countries the socialist countries do not need arms and are working indefatigably for general and complete disarmament under strict international control; they have never engaged in military gambles. Time and again they have declared their readiness to be a party to a disarmament agreement provided other countries agree to do the same. The supporters of disarmament can, and must, utilize the present situation to pave the way to genuine peace, not the peace of slaves or the silence of the graveyard.

The Peoples Fighting for Independence Want Disarmament

With big military complexes at their disposal, the imperialists are stepping up the pace of the arms race in the hope of striking a mortal blow at the socialist camp as the principal force that has deprived them of their world domination. They would do this without hesitation but for fear of receiving a crushing rebuff.

They are not giving up their plans to hold on forcibly to their positions in Africa, Asia and Latin America, though they have already had to clear out of some countries in these continents. According to figures cited in the U.S. Senate in June 1958, the USA has about 275 "major bases" abroad. If to this we add all the points where American troops are stationed and those to be occupied "in an emergency," the total—over 1,400 bases—is quite impressive.

In Africa, where most of the peoples who have not yet won independence live, the imperialists have airfields in Morocco, Libya, Liberia and Sierra Leone, and have at their disposal, among others, the ports of Dakar, Monrovia, Abidjan, Lagos, Bizerte, Capetown, Durban, Lorenzo Marques, Beira, Dar es Salaam, Mombasa and Djibouti. U.S. military forces occupy entire areas in Asia—South Korea, South Vietnam, Taiwan, etc. In some countries in the Middle East and Latin America the U.S. aggressive forces, abetted by reactionary governments, have virtually been given a free hand.

The British imperialists are trying to keep up with their American "colleagues." Having come up against the powerful tide of the national-liberation movement in Kenya, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, they have worked out the "new colonial strategy" set forth in the War Office's White Papers for 1957 and 1959. They envisage setting up a central strategic reserve to be used throughout the empire—from Britain to the Far East. According to the *Daily Express*, the War Ministry considers that "any local military action (that is, action to suppress the national-liberation movement—A.O.) must be completed quickly, preferably within 48 hours." Kenya was chosen as their military base and springboard in Africa. The Kenya base was twice used in 1961—at the time of the Zanzibar and Kuwait events.

As concerns the Portuguese imperialists, the world has seen what they do. They have gone in for mass air-raids, used naval and ground forces and napalm bombs against the

people of Angola in an attempt to exterminate them. This is exactly what the French colonialists did until recently in Algeria. Supported by their American, British and West German accomplices, moreover, the French imperialists are reconstructing the atomic proving-ground in Reggan, which has been placed at the disposal of NATO and its associate organizations, CENTO, SEATO and ANZUS. It can thus serve as a base for aggression against the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and others.

World imperialism, headed by American imperialism, has huge stockpiles of weapons and means of waging war at its disposal, and uses them against the national-liberation movement. The countries fighting for independence, on the other hand, more often than not are poorly armed, and even the weapons they have are acquired only with great difficulty. The imperialists undoubtedly have a great superiority in armaments compared with the peoples struggling for emancipation. This, for example, is what the French Lieutenant-Colonel Merglen had to say in this connection in *Revue de Défense Nationale* (April 1959): "Swiftiness is of still greater importance in subversive (read: liberation—A.O.) wars and localized conflicts than in classical wars. There are greater chances of stopping a military action at the beginning, in a swift, well-conducted operation that paralyzes the will of the enemy, confuses him, prevents him from receiving outside reinforcements and extending the struggle in time and space. So that one should not again be caught unawares, it is essential to have the means for dealing a swift retaliatory blow, i.e., airborne troops."

The Algerian people know from bitter experience what it means when the enemy has the advantage of superiority in arms, especially aircraft. They lost a million men, mostly civilians, in the war forced on them. Naval forces, too, play no small part in the imperialists' attempts to crush national-liberation movements; hardly any of the peoples fighting for liberation have a navy. This is what Rear-Admiral Lepotier of the French Naval Academy, wrote in *Revue de Défense Nationale* in October 1958: "Some visits (of warships)—or movements on the high seas—open or skilfully camouflaged, can have an even more immediate influence on political events." The author cites as examples: "The demonstratively hurried departure of the U.S. Sixth Fleet from the shores of Provence to the East Mediterranean in 1957, when

Syria was threatening Jordan. (Actually the opposite was true: through Jordan the imperialists were threatening Syria—A.O.). The dispatch of the U.S. Seventh Fleet to the Strait of Taiwan when that Island and the nearby areas were threatened with invasion, etc. . . ."

The imperialist powers are continuing the arms race. Even after the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament had commenced its proceedings in Geneva, U.S. Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara called for more arms, in particular for the struggle against the oppressed peoples. As missiles and Polaris submarines grew more numerous in the United States armory, he said last March, the need for aircraft carriers would become less important in an all-out war. But carriers "will still maintain a significant nuclear strike capability which could augment our strategic retaliatory forces."

In *brush-fire conflicts* and in the cold war, he added, carriers "will continue to be the only practical means."

There are a number of places in the world, according to McNamara, where disturbances can flare up and where aircraft carriers are and will be the only practical and accessible means of augmenting the might of the U.S. air force.

This statement shows that the imperialists' arms race is spearheaded against the oppressed peoples.

The peoples fighting for freedom are now more convinced than ever that the arms race is helping to build up the strength of their enemies—the imperialists. That is why, as they continue to fight for freedom, these peoples cannot but regard the struggle for disarmament at the present time as an important and essential contribution to the struggle for their future. For to deprive the imperialists of their main means of aggression—aircraft, warships, tanks, artillery, napalm and atomic bombs—would mean depriving the wolf of its fangs, depriving the imperialists of the main source of the might through which they still maintain their domination.

It is indicative that already now, when disarmament has yet to be achieved, the imperialists are finding it beyond their power to deal with even relatively weak countries, largely because the balance of world forces has changed in favor of progress and peace. Were the British able to silence the patriots of Cyprus and Iraq? Could the French intimidate the people of Algeria, Tunisia and

Guinea? Or the Americans impose their will on the valiant people of Cuba? No! Despite all their weapons they could not.

And if these weapons were to be taken away from them, what then? The supporters of disarmament, and with them all the peoples, reply: then the imperialists will be forced to reckon with the popular will still more. It is precisely with the aim that "powerful nations" should no longer be able to dictate to "weak nations," that the champions of freedom are combining their efforts with the supporters of peace and disarmament.

The Newly Independent Peoples Are Not Interested in the Arms Race

The newly independent peoples have entered upon a decisive phase of their history. Having won political independence, they are now working to re-establish and develop their economy, disrupted and plundered by the imperialists. For this they need peace. They need to concentrate on abolishing the poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and other evils inherited from colonialism. They need technicians and engineers, teachers, doctors and scientists. They would find it much easier to cope with these tasks if, because of the arms race, they did not at the same time have to spend big sums on maintaining considerable armed forces so as to be able to stand up to the imperialists who (and this should not be forgotten for a second), banking on their military might, are dreaming of taking revenge on the peoples who have won independence. Let us glance at the situation in the Middle East as a result of the presence there of the imperialists' armed forces. It is no secret that the leaders of Israel are imperialist agents. Armed to the teeth by their masters, they continue their provocations against neighboring Arab countries.

In 1956 Israel, counting on getting military aid, chiefly from the British and French imperialists, attacked Egypt. Later Iraq, Syria and other Middle-Eastern countries were forced on more than one occasion to repel aggressive attacks by Israel. Quite recently Israel again engaged in military provocations on the Syrian border. In any event the fact that the imperialists have turned Israel, located in the very heart of the Middle East, into a base for aggression, compels the neighboring Arab countries to maintain numerous armed forces and this, needless to say, adversely affects their economic and cultural development.

This is but one of the negative consequences of the arms drive for the newly-independent countries in the Middle East. Similar problems face other African, Asian and Latin American countries.

There can be no doubt that if the disarmament plan submitted by the Soviet Union and supported by all champions of peace had been adopted, Tunisia would not have had a Bizerte problem, Cuba a Guantanamo, India a Goan, and Indonesia a West Irian problem, just as there would have been no civil war in the Congo. It is just as obvious that disarmament would not benefit aggressors seeking to impose their will on the peoples by violence. For this reason the imperialist countries are opposed to disarmament and doing their utmost to torpedo the work of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. That is why the spokesmen of the countries which have won political independence should support the proposals for speedy general and complete disarmament. Otherwise they would clearly be acting against the national interests of their people.

Complete and General Disarmament Would Strengthen the National-Liberation Movement

One has only to study the Soviet disarmament proposals to see that complete and general disarmament under strict international control would considerably strengthen the national-liberation movement. How can the disbanding of all ground forces, the navy, the air force, and liquidation of all military bases on foreign territory, A- and H-bombs and missiles of all ranges prevent or hold back the emancipation of the oppressed peoples?

If there were not an 800,000-strong French army equipped with the latest weapons on Algerian soil, if dozens of destroyers and cruisers were not constantly patrolling the coasts of Vietnam and Korea and threatening their people, if Taiwan were not the U.S. munitions dump that it is, if U.S. military "experts" were not "poking their noses" into the affairs of Laos, would there have been the imperialist-created hotbeds of war?

Had British, Belgian and other "bayonets" not been placed in the service of puppets like the Shah of Iran, Tshombe or King Hussein of Jordan, could these have withstood the anger of peoples yearning for freedom and progress?

Were it up to them, the representatives of the peoples fighting for freedom would

prefer to discuss the question of general and complete disarmament with the imperialist representatives rather than carry on negotiations for a cease-fire, in the course of which they are compelled to make concessions.

The march of events has shown that it is only the imperialist aggressors who stand to lose from disarmament, for neither the socialist countries nor the national-liberation movement have ever resorted to force except in retaliation to violence on the part of the capitalist exploiters, their common enemy. The struggle for disarmament inevitably merges with the struggle waged by the oppressed peoples and broadens its sweep.

People who, like the South Rhodesian representative at the Conference of Asian and African Writers recently held in Cairo, reiterate "we want guns, not disarmament," are not serving the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle. These people fail to appreciate that by combating imperialism in every way it is possible to deprive it of the means used by it to stave off its inevitable end. In the present conditions, of course, the Rhodesians, like the peoples of Cameroon, Angola and other colonies, need guns. But it is a fact that for every gun in the possession of the peoples of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Roy Welensky has ten. And in addition to guns, British imperialism—Roy Welensky's paymaster—has planes, napalm and atom bombs, tank units and other modern means of warfare. Politically conscious patriots understand that by depriving Welensky's British masters of the means of prosecuting war, favorable conditions would be created for the victory of the peoples of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

It is when imperialism feels the end is approaching that it resorts to extreme means. See with what cynicism de Gaulle supports the OAS fascist thugs in Algeria in an attempt to exert political pressure on the Algerians. With what feverish haste the Kennedy government is preparing for a nuclear war by nuclear testing in the atmosphere—an action that has shocked people all over the world. The oppressed peoples, on whose territories the imperialists, despite the popular will, have set up bases and missile launching pads, would undoubtedly also suffer in a nuclear war. In a definite situation bases and launching sites will, magnet-like, attract a nuclear strike. Would it not be more logical not to wait for crushing blows at these bases, but to fight for their liquidation, as envisaged by general disarmament? Is not the abolition

of imperialist bases in the dependent countries linked with the rapid achievement of genuine independence?

Who is resisting the growing support for general and complete disarmament? It is the imperialists who have systematically rejected all the disarmament proposals put forward, in particular, by the Soviet Union. This does not surprise the oppressed peoples. They understand that the imperialists dread disarmament, which will bring about another change in the correlation of forces, and not in favor of the imperialists.

General disarmament would create favorable conditions for a still more rapid growth of the national-liberation movement. The oppressed peoples always have to fight imperialism with *unequal weapons*. As a rule their weapons are primitive, while their enemies have an armory of the latest means of warfare. The peoples fighting for their independence, however, have a weapon that is more powerful than planes, napalm and bombs. Their strength is rooted in their readiness to make any sacrifice to break away from oppression, it lies in the unity and support of other peoples, especially the peoples of the socialist countries. And this strength is one of the decisive factors in the victory of the national-liberation movement. But what would be left to the imperialists if they were deprived of their arms?

It is clear that when we speak of general and complete disarmament we primarily have in view the disarmament of the Big Powers, the powers possessing modern arms, not the

peoples fighting for freedom. This is not because general and complete disarmament does not concern them, but because the weapons possessed by the national-liberation armies would at a stretch suffice merely for the "strictly limited contingents, agreed for every country, of police (militia), equipped with small arms, designed solely to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens" as envisaged in the Soviet disarmament plan. That is why there are no grounds for saying that complete disarmament would weaken the oppressed peoples. People who argue along these lines approach the disarmament problem too narrowly and their attitude, favoring the arms race, is not only mistaken, in a way it even plays into the hands of the imperialists.

* * *

The oppressed peoples are waging a heavy battle against world imperialism. The obstacle to their liberation is, in most cases, the arms of the imperialists. If in the conditions of today, under the pressure of peoples of all continents, the imperialists were forced to agree to disarmament, the oppressed peoples would undoubtedly be the first to gain. It would accelerate their victory and add to its significance. And that is why, thinking in terms of their vital interests—and these interests merge with those of all mankind—the peoples of the oppressed countries add their voice to the voices of the champions of disarmament, so that freedom and peace may triumph everywhere and for all time.

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The Canadian Communist Party and the National Interests of the Country

(Seventeenth Convention of the Communist Party of Canada)

Leslie Morris

THE Communist Party of Canada, which recently celebrated its fortieth anniversary, has made a notable contribution to the Canadian working-class struggle and to Canadian democracy. Twice during these 40 years it has been subjected to attack by the government of the day, declared illegal; not a few of its members were thrown into prison or detained in concentration camp.

Party unity has been forged by a membership which has staunchly defended the national interests in the difficult circumstances of the cold war, and in the specific economic conditions that have taken shape in Canada in the postwar.

Events in Canada in the past two years—notably the rise of a many-sided peace movement and the growing sentiment for Canadian independence—have contributed to the challenge which many are making to the official cold war line.

The impact on public opinion of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and of the program for building communism in the USSR, coupled with the economic, scientific and technological advance of the socialist states and their fight for peaceful coexistence, are compelling many Canadians to sit up and take notice.

We do not exaggerate and say that the Canadian working class is moving rapidly to the Left. That is not the case. But there are signs of a shift away from support to the Conservative and Liberal parties of the capitalists.

This is election year. At this writing it is too early to venture a forecast of the result. There is, however, a questioning, a search for alternative policies to the cold war line, a shifting and a movement among the people, particularly on the matter of peace or war, and on Canadian-U.S. trends, a striving for a genuine working-class policy and a working-

class united front around these major questions; there are signs of a growing popular challenge to monopoly and for the democratic alternatives of peace, independence and sweeping social reforms — all at a time of growing crisis in national policy and in the camp of imperialism.

Independence Must Be Upheld. Where Is the Main Enemy?

As a result of the discussions initiated in the 1940's, the Communist Party of Canada has developed a more precise viewpoint on Canada which, later, was embodied in its Program. Whereas, prior to the discussion, the question of the road to socialism was expressed in somewhat general and abstract terms, in the draft program published in 1952 the issue of an independent Canada was placed in the forefront. This was made necessary by the changes in Canadian-British-U.S. relationships which followed the Second World War, when U.S. capital, which as early as 1919 had surpassed British capital, became fused with Canadian monopoly capital to form a new dominant grouping in the economic life of the country.

Canada has become increasingly a source of raw materials for the USA, an importer of manufactured articles from the USA and, as one result of this, suffers from a standard of living lower than in the USA. The Draft Program pointed to the economic domination of the country by a foreign power, the USA, and pointed to a Canada whose diplomatic, military and international policies were increasingly coming under U.S. control. The Party has, within the body of the struggle for national independence, developed its concept of the specifics of the road to socialism in Canada.

The working out of the correct tactics was complicated by the fact that Canada is

not a colony, but an imperialist country of second rank. There has been a questioning of the effect of the independence program on the struggle against the ruling monopolist bourgeoisie. Would the struggle against U.S. domination weaken the struggle against the Canadian bourgeoisie? Contrariwise, would a struggle which saw only the Canadian bourgeoisie as the adversary, tend to bypass the struggle against U.S. domination?

The Seventeenth Convention, held in mid-January 1962, resolved this problem, and it should be said that the statement adopted by the meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties in November 1960 helped a good deal in this respect. In the Policy Resolution, and in amendments to the Program, the anatomy of the main enemy of the Canadian people, and the nature of the struggle against the main enemy, are more definitively described.

A change was made in the Program as follows: a definition which read: "The main enemy of the Canadian people and chief obstacle to Canadian independence are the Canadian monopoly capitalists," was changed to read: "The main enemy of the Canadian people is the U.S.-Canadian monopolist oligarchy, in which U.S. capital is dominant. This oligarchy, by subordinating the national interests to those of U.S. imperialism, is betraying Canada. Until its stranglehold is broken, this country cannot regain its independence."

The Program, as reworded, then goes on to pinpoint more precisely the political consequences of the domination of Canada by this U.S.-Canadian monopolist oligarchy:

"The old-line parties and their governments are the upholders of U.S.-Canadian monopoly rule, and the people's struggle against this rule is *directed primarily* (my emphasis—L.M.) against the government and the state which uphold it. The breaking of the U.S.-Canadian monopolist grip on Canada would free our economy from foreign control and would be at the same time a *massive blow to the rule of Canadian monopoly capital* (my emphasis—L.M.). It would constitute both a national and a democratic radical transformation, an upsurge of popular democratic action which would open the way to a sweeping advance along the road to socialism."

The betrayal of Canada to the USA, a betrayal deliberately engineered by Liberal and Tory governments, has brought about a situation in which the forms of government

are in the hands of representatives of monopoly capitalism in Canada, but the deciding influence in shaping her policies is in the hands of U.S. monopoly interests — their masters.

Fifteen years ago the Communist Party placed this question before the people and warned that they would be confronted with a struggle for the very survival of Canada as an independent state. As we approach the 100th Anniversary of Confederation, this struggle lies at the heart of Canadian policies.

The events of the two past years have not only confirmed this forecast, but taken together make up a new stage in the crisis of Canada in the sense that the need for great decisions is now upon us, and can be postponed only at the price of Canada's sovereignty.

The Communist Party declares that only the combined effort of the people can secure our independence and sovereignty, and extricate the country from the coils of the U.S. military. The broad alliance of the people against U.S. domination is placed in the Resolution as follows:

"A progressive alliance of all Canadians who want to see our country free and independent, and at peace, and her resources and industries used for the good of Canadians, not only is possible but is the only road forward. All others lead to deeper enslavement to U.S. imperialism and to the dictates of the U.S.-Canadian oligarchy."

All classes in Canada are inescapably confronted by the fact that the betrayal of our country to the USA is the dominant characteristic of present-day Canada. Inexorably it puts its stamp on foreign policy, foreign trade and the economic lives of the workers, farmers, small businessmen and non-monopoly capitalists. It polarizes Canadian society into the U.S.-Canadian monopolist oligarchy on the one hand, and the vast majority of Canadians on the other, whose vital interests are those of peace and the progressive independent development of their country.

The great majority of Canadians want Canada to develop as a free and independent country. This includes the workers and farmers, the majority of the intelligentsia, and groups of capitalists outside the oligarchy, less directly linked to U.S. capital, who to a certain extent advocate policies of national development. This sentiment among "nationalist" capitalists is an important fact which should be taken into account in developing

a national democratic movement for independence.

A feature of present public debate in Canada is discussion of the effects of the probable entry of Britain into the European Common Market. The Convention adopted a special resolution on this question. Canada's trade is overwhelmingly with the USA. Exports to Commonwealth countries are, however, an important part (about 20 per cent) of Canadian exports, facilitated as they are by the Commonwealth preferential tariff system. The capitalist parties claim that the temporary upturn of business would be endangered by Britain entering the ECM and that the responsibility would be Britain's.

The real cause of the growing crisis of national policy is the subordination of Canada to the USA, not the decline of the Commonwealth market; added to this is the addiction of the monopoly bourgeoisie to cold-war trade policies—the rejection of the socialist markets, and, while maintaining trade with Cuba and rejecting (at least for the time being) the demands of the USA to break off diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba, keeping this trade within paltry limits.

The Communist Party advocates new national policies which can be the only realistic answer to the entry of Britain into the ECM and the Kennedy plan of an "Atlantic Trading Community," both of which can lead only to the deeper entanglement of Canada in the clutches of the USA, the further decline of manufacturing, more unemployment and greater hardships for the farmers. These policies are the only reply to the policy of "integration" with the USA, which was launched in 1947 by the Liberal government and continued by the present Conservative government.

New national policies for Canada are, essentially, policies that will break with the cold war on all fronts, develop world trade, especially with the socialist, Latin American and newly independent countries; Canadian neutrality; nationalization of the U.S.-owned monopolies (which control all the key industries) and nation-building projects which will consolidate the sovereignty of Canada, make her truly prosperous, break the back of the chronic unemployment and stop the decline of the relative weight of manufacturing in the national economy.

The Struggle for Peace Is the Struggle for Independence

The specifics of the fight for peace, for Canadians, in a country which is a member

of NATO, and which has direct military agreements with the USA, are linked with the general world struggle for disarmament and peaceful coexistence, as well as with the struggle for Canadian independence.

Membership in NATO, participating in the arms race, an increase in armed forces and plans to equip them with U.S. atomic bombs, the command of our armed forces by the U.S. military and its outright occupation of areas of our country, a drive to force nuclear war on Canada—these are the consequences of the surrender of Canadian sovereignty to the USA.

The interests of the country's safety demand that Canada should declare its neutrality, which would mean extricating our country from the aggressive U.S. military system by withdrawal from NATO and NORAD (the North American Air Defense System), removing U.S. bases from Canadian territory, refusing to join in preparations for nuclear war.

The Convention fully reaffirmed the Party's stand on questions of peaceful coexistence and condemned any attempts to deviate from this policy.

The report of the National Committee pointed out that it was necessary to introduce greater clarity in the struggle for peace: "... Communists must emphasize tirelessly the warning in the statement of the 81 Parties that 'the struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now, and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain strength from day to day. The important thing is to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war, and not to let it break out.'"

It must be said that there are comrades who still have reservations concerning the unequivocal emphasis on the struggle for peace which is the essence of that statement. Some difference of emphasis in application is not surprising, especially when it finds expression solely in immediate tasks. But sometimes difference of emphasis is pressed to the degree that it challenges the basic political line that is being discussed.

This is the essential effect of the type of discussion which pays tribute to the correctness of the 81-Party Statement in general and then proceeds to question—by interpretation—the correctness of the general theses upon which it is based. The propositions that are questioned in such discussions are those adopted first by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU: namely, that war is not inevitable;

that the policy of peaceful coexistence is the only correct basis for the foreign policies of socialist countries; and that in some countries a peaceful transition to socialism will be possible provided the workers' parties fulfil certain essential tasks of mobilizing and uniting overwhelming revolutionary political support for the change among the masses of the people.

The theses listed above, which were endorsed by the conferences of parties in 1957 and 1960 provide an example of creative application of Marxism to the present situation, and therefore the upholding of these theses is the struggle for the purity and the fighting spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Those who place the *main* emphasis on the fact that a nuclear war would certainly mark the end of imperialism, tend to divert attention away from the crucial role of the struggle for peace, and thereby, objectively, weaken it. Those who argue that the imperialists are bound to plunge the world into war, no matter what we do, tend to weaken the struggle for peaceful coexistence and undermine the struggle for complete and general world disarmament.

To underestimate the worldwide peace movement by counterposing to it the great national-liberation struggle, is to fail to see reality and, objectively, to weaken both.

To minimize the role of the great powers and the necessity for constantly searching out the possibilities for useful negotiations, is also to deny the reality of today.

Comrades who mistakenly place their main emphasis in the manner indicated here may use very revolutionary terms and be very sincere in their use, but their mistaken use of emphasis reduces the effectiveness of the struggle for peace, and, therefore, for socialism.

In the report to the Convention, Tim Buck declared that he was against the use of such emphasis by anybody. "What I want to emphasize," he said, "is that our Party Program and the 81-Party statement both deal with the struggle for peaceful coexistence as part of the struggle for socialism. Peaceful coexistence does not involve relaxation of effort in the class struggle; on the contrary, the key to victory in this is a continually broadening and strengthening struggle to bring about complete and general world disarmament.

"As long as imperialist governments have weapons of mass destruction capable of annihilating whole populations, there will be

danger of war. . . . The possibility of excluding war from the world even before the worldwide triumph of socialism depends on the effectiveness of the efforts of the combined forces of peace to compel the imperialists to accept complete and general world disarmament, under strict international inspection and control."

The Convention also discussed the stand taken by the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor who showed themselves to be dogmatic in the extreme by rejecting the practical struggle for world peace in favor of an ill-defined, adventurist policy. It is self-evident that this is not a difference between the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor and the CPSU alone. The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor have, in effect, repudiated their signature to the 81-Party statement, i.e., they are against the line of the international Communist movement as a whole.

The Convention resolution also criticized the policy of bourgeois parties and the Right-wing Social Democrats. It emphatically stated that the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence does not mean reconciliation with the bourgeois ideology.

Unity of Action Must Be Secured

The federal election scheduled for June will take place on the background of a growing crisis of national policy.

In 1961, a new political party, the New Democratic Party, was formed by the combined efforts of the trade unions and the former Social Democratic Party, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). This could well be a major step towards the coming to life of what the Communist Party has advocated since its very first convention—an all-inclusive, mass labor-farmer party, based on the trade unions and farm organizations. With the appearance of the New Democratic Party, the Communist Party has developed its united front tactic. The C.P. places no conditions on its support for united front action with democratic aims. Following from this, the Communist Party in the election campaign will work tirelessly to help elect candidates of the New Democratic Party.

The Communist Party will nominate candidates of its own in a number of selected constituencies where the Party has for years spoken for large numbers of voters; in all constituencies, whether or not there are C.P. candidates, the Party will distribute its election appeal, giving its own point of view and advancing its own proposals.

This flexible but firm tactic will enable the Party to play a strong independent role in the election campaign—to combine the maximum of independent Party work with participation in the united front.

The Right-wing leaders of the NDP, however, have not yet broken with the cold war and with anti-communism as a central feature of their political work. The Party will be called on to make it abundantly clear that such policies play into the hands of the bourgeois parties, and weaken the forces of labor and the people.

The working-class united front in the plants and unions is a primary need. It is the way to organize the great unorganized majority of the workers, to win higher wages and a shorter working week, to call upon all strata of the population to fight for a new political system. It is the key to an effective battle for real working-class policies and the defeat of the Right wing.

The aim of the Party is to defeat the parties of the capitalist monopolies, to elect a Labor-Farmer government of people's welfare, peace, disarmament, Canadian independence and neutrality.

The Canadian Communists believe that this is the political basis on which the New Democratic Party could be the rallying center for the broad masses of patriotic Canadians who want such policies in one way or another.

In the work of the Party around this policy, two errors are possible, against which the Convention warned the members: first, the Right-opportunist inclination to see in the NDP *all* the answers to the needs of the Canadian people, and following from this, to play down or negate the role of the Communist Party; second, the "leftist" sectarian inclination to counterpose the Party to the NDP in such a way as to reject the united front, to fail to see that the NDP is a *real* movement of masses at their present stage of political development, and offers a great opportunity to move the Canadian working class and its allies into political motion against the bourgeois parties.

A new factor in Canadian life is a powerful popular movement in French Canada since the defeat of the neo-fascist government of the province of Quebec in 1960. This movement has transformed French Canada into a lively political arena in which democratic discussions of basic questions have reached very high levels.

In the resolution on "Confederation and French Canada," the Party further developed its position on the right of the French Canadian nation to self-determination. It says: "Today, when the defense of Canada's sovereign independence calls for the strongest democratic unity, the peoples of both French and English Canada have a vital common interest in resisting subjugation at the hands of U.S. imperialism. The forces trampling on Canadian independence operate in full in French Canada — pillaging its natural resources, blocking its all-round industrialization, disfiguring its culture. The struggle against U.S. domination and monopoly rule embraces both nations in Canada. It calls for support by the democratic forces in English Canada—the labor movement first and foremost—for the national equality of French Canada as well as for the solidarity of labor and democracy in French Canada in the struggle for peace and independence."

The Convention reaffirmed its basic position on French Canadian rights by saying: "This Seventeenth National Convention of the C.P. of Canada pledges wholehearted support to the struggle of the French Canadian people for the full democratic right of national self-determination, including the right to secede from Confederation if the French Canadian nation in its majority should so decide. National equality for French Canada requires constitutional recognition of its character as a nation; of its right, as a nation, to arrange its affairs as it chooses, and to decide on the form of state it prefers, whether separate or independent, or in voluntary union with English-speaking Canada. . . . Upholding this fundamental democratic right, Canadian Communists have at the same time advocated that it be exercised in such a manner as would best serve the interests and unite the efforts of the working people of both nations in their struggle against common enemies—monopoly, imperialism, exploitation, war."

Questions of Party Work

The building of the Party, the YCL and the press in extended public work, occupied a great deal of time of the Convention and was the subject of debate during the pre-Convention discussion.

The Seventeenth Convention further consolidated the unity of the Party. Delegates remarked on the notable progress made in this respect since the Convention of 1957 which saw the rout of the revisionists. The members have resisted not only the pressures

of cold war propaganda and the ensuing confusion in the minds of many working people, but also the heavy attacks of the Right-wing in the labor movement. They not only resist these attacks; the Party members fight back, in public meetings and demonstrations; by agitation and propaganda; through work in the labor and farm organizations; in the united front movement for peace; in election campaigns and many other fields of activity.

The Party and the press have begun again to grow, in a modest but encouraging way.

The Policy Resolution proposed a number of measures to reduce the rigidity of Party forms of organization, to enlarge the membership of Party clubs, to turn them out from their present isolation from the communities into genuine political clubs in their areas, to draw members of industrial clubs into general Party work and out of the relative isolation from Party political work which often mark them now, to become infused with the idea that it is possible, in the present circumstances, to draw forward-looking workers into the Party, to build the YCL—which is now growing and becoming a firm organization of young Canadians—to extend the circulation of the press and to promote younger people to positions of responsibility.

In connection with the latter point, it is strongly felt that the average age of the membership is much too high to do the political work which Communists are called on to do, that younger people are needed for the Party and they should be promoted more boldly.

As an example to the Party, Comrade Buck proposed to the new National Committee that because he is now 71 years of age he should not accept nomination as General Secretary, to which post he was elected in 1929. The Convention accepted this point of view, and endorsed the proposal of the Committee that he should become chairman of

the National Committee and in this post continue to play an active part in the leadership. The present National Committee contains several new and younger members, and a system of candidate membership has been introduced to promote younger members. The National Committee will now meet four times a year, instead of twice as formerly, in order to allow the members and candidate members better to fulfil their responsibilities.

The Convention called upon the membership to study the Program of the CPSU, and the other documents of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU in order to raise their political and theoretical level.

Working-class internationalism and the vital necessity of the unity of the world Communist movement around the 81-Party statement were to the forefront during the Convention. Strong expressions of solidarity with the United States Communist Party, with the people of Cuba, and the people of Latin America were voiced by the delegates.

The ideological level of the Party, it was remarked by many, has risen, but it still needs more attention and a struggle for the mastery of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their skilful use in interpreting Canadian reality, and in fashioning policies.

Reality requires an improvement of Marxist creativity, and the making of ever sharper instruments to combat bourgeois ideology and propaganda that asserts that "communism is alien to the North American tradition." The influence of bourgeois ideology and propaganda is still deeply imbedded in the masses. Steady proof, by increasing political and ideological activity among the masses, that the laws of development in North America objectively place the issue of socialism before the masses, will enable the Party to carry out the concluding words of the Policy Resolution: "Let us join our efforts to transform our Communist Party into a mass party of the Canadian working class!"

Israel's Problems, Our Struggle and Its Perspectives

Samuil Mikunis

THROUGHOUT 1961 and during the early months of the current year Israeli Communists conducted considerable activity and made good progress. Over May 31-June 3, 1961, we held our Fourteenth Congress, which was preceded by a two-month discussion based on the Central Committee's theses, and by vigorous activity among the working people. Immediately after the Congress we plunged into the general election campaign for the Fifth Knesset (Israeli Parliament), held in August 1961, which brought our Party success, our representation in the Knesset rising from three to five, while Ben-Gurion's party lost a number of seats.

A feature of the present situation in Israel is that sections of the public represented by the different political parties and organizations feel that a basic change is needed in Israeli policy and government, and that our protracted struggle towards this end has now borne fruit.

The basic premise of our Fourteenth Congress—in the light of the national needs of our people and the fundamental change in the balance of world power—was the need for a radical shift in Israeli policy, and its replacement by a policy of peace, amity, national independence and neutrality, democracy, and social and cultural progress.

The program of struggle placed by our Party before the working class and the masses is based on our conclusion that the main enemy is imperialism, which enslaves our country and endangers its security; rapacious foreign monopoly capital which exploits us and prevents any advance towards economic independence.

The big compradore bourgeoisie in Israel is the partner and the agent of the foreign monopolies, while the ruling militarist circles act as lackeys of imperialism, of foreign capital and its local partners. This combination of forces causes grave damage to the national interests, to the vital interests of the working class, working farmers, intellectuals, artisans, small and medium producers in town and countryside, to the national bourgeoisie and to the Arab population—in brief, it works

to the detriment of the overwhelming majority of our people.

The fight waged by our Party for working-class unity and for a broad national-democratic front which would group all who suffer from the present regime, is the way to achieve the union of forces needed to bring about a basic change in policy and in the regime.

For a Policy of Peace, National Independence and Neutrality

In recent years, the rulers of Israel have added to the dependence of our country on imperialism; they have jeopardized Israel's security from without and our democratic liberties from within. Ever since the establishment of Israel some 14 years ago, the ruling circles headed by Ben-Gurion have failed to solve any of the country's basic problems. On the contrary, their policy aggravated these problems—Israeli-Arab relations, the matter of attaining economic independence, which would guarantee political independence, the problem of our isolation in the Middle East.

This aggravation of things is the direct consequence of the adventurist nature of the foreign policy and of the reactionary policy pursued at home by the Ben-Gurion government, a consequence of the basic contradiction between this policy and the national interests, between this policy and the desire for peace and the vital needs of the people, between it and the trend of development in our time.

Ben-Gurion's foreign policy is one of service to the reactionary forces in NATO, to neo-colonialism, and to international imperialist reaction which is pushing the world towards nuclear war. This foreign policy has placed our country in opposition to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in opposition to the national-liberation movements in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in opposition to the forces of peace and progress—that is, in opposition to the largest part of mankind.

The rulers of the United States gauged nicely the importance of having Israel as a satellite for their policy in the Middle East and in the international arena generally; the Rockefeller and the other oil magnates appreciated the potentialities of Israel's rulers as an instrument which, in their hands, could be used against the anti-colonial liberation movements in this oil-rich region. These considerations, jointly with those of the British and French colonialists, resulted in a flow of foreign capital into Israel during the past 12 years. By mid-1960, this capital had amounted to \$3,540 million.

The Ben-Gurion government took upon itself the disgraceful and dangerous role of participating in the Franco-British war against Egypt in October-November 1956, of aiding the U.S.-British invasion of the Lebanon and Jordan in July 1958, of taking up the cudgels in defense of King Hussein's regime in Jordan, and of signing, as early as 1952, a military agreement with the USA, first published in *Reshumot* (the official gazette) on May 25, 1961. This agreement stipulates that, in the event of war on a regional or a world scale, Israel's military and economic potential will be at the disposal of the United States.

With the emergence of the new independent states in Africa, the Ben-Gurion government has entered the service of neo-colonialism in that continent, acting for French, U.S., British and Belgian interests. Israeli government representatives and emissaries make their appearance in those countries in the guise of "sympathy" and "aid"—financed from non-Israeli sources; their real purpose, however, is to help the colonialists maintain and even enlarge their economic and political positions (ensuring at the same time good profits both for the Israeli-owned and the mixed companies) and to prevent any democratic and anti-imperialist development. These representatives carry out their mission under the banner of anti-communism.

A grave and shameful chapter in Israel's foreign policy is that of her relations with Bonn. The "Reparations" agreement, signed in 1952 between Israel and the West German authorities with the encouragement of the USA, had for its aim the conclusion of a close alliance between the rulers of our country and German militarism and neo-Nazism. Adenauer, Hans Globke, Heusinger and Herman Abs had two aims in mind in pushing through the "Reparations" agreement — one political, the other economic, both of which they have succeeded in attaining.

From the economic point of view, they have succeeded in turning Israel into a market for West German goods and capital, into a bridgehead for the renewed expansion of German imperialism in the direction of the Middle East. The essential objective, however, is the political one. The rulers in Bonn were most anxious to obtain from Israel something no other state could grant them — a certificate of rehabilitation. And this certificate the neo-Nazi regime, Hitler's successors and those who are continuing his policy in the West German "Reich," those whose hands are stained with the blood of six million Jews, obtained from the Ben-Gurion government.

Ben-Gurion's declarations to the effect that "the Germany of today is not the Germany of yesterday," that his ties with Bonn's rulers are "ties of confidence and friendship," and that the Eichmann trial has proved that Nazi Germany is a thing of the past—these shameful lies, which are an insult to the memory of the millions of our martyrs—are widely exploited by Eichmann's accomplices who now, under Adenauer patronage, rule the roost in West Germany.

The ties between Ben-Gurion and Adenauer also affected the conduct of the Eichmann trial. On the one hand, the Ben-Gurionite government tried to use Eichmann's capture in order to appease our people's anger at the friendly ties with the neo-Nazi Germany, and, on the other hand, to restrict the scope of the trial, to distort its historic mission, to concentrate exclusively on Eichmann the individual without mentioning those of his partners in crime still alive and occupying key posts in the West German state machine, to separate the crimes committed by Hitlerism in the past from the plots now being hatched by neo-Hitlerism.

The policy pursued by Ben-Gurion towards West Germany has made Israel a party to the revival of German militarism and revanchism, to fostering a hotbed of war and provocation in West Germany and West Berlin, and an accomplice of those who are playing dangerously with the fire of nuclear war.

In accordance with overall imperialist strategy, the Ben-Gurion government continues to back the imperialists in preventing People's China from taking its rightful place in the United Nations; his government makes its full contribution to the cold war by a campaign of ceaseless and unrestrained abuse against

the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

This reckless policy is involving our country more and more in an impoverishing arms race, in a situation where the danger of war is always present.

In the 12 years from the establishment of Israel in 1948 to March 1960, our country's total official military expenditure swallowed 2,813 million Israeli pounds, while the national income for the same period amounted to 20,000 million. In other words, military expenditure during these 12 years was 14 per cent of the national income—as against 12.5 per cent in the USA.

Ben-Gurion's entire political method is leading to Israel's isolation in the international arena. This policy, the cause of the frequent governmental crises, is arousing discontent and encountering resistance on the part of the masses. The consistent struggle waged by the Communist Party against this policy together with the experience gained by the people, have led some groups in the different political parties to insist on a change in Israeli policy towards neutrality and peace.

There is every indication that the ferment now observed among Israeli public opinion is running and will continue to run in the direction of the Communist Party—which is actively fighting for a policy of peace, national independence and neutrality.

A turn to a policy of peace, independence and neutrality would place our country on a common road with our Arab neighbors and would bring us closer to peace with them; it would open up a real path to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who pursue a policy of neutrality, would enable us to improve relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and profit by their sincere and disinterested aid.

Our Program for Solving the Israeli-Arab Conflict

The militarist circles "explain" to the public that their foreign policy is dictated by the needs of Israel's security and that this policy alone can resolve the Israeli-Arab conflict.

According to this theory only a military showdown between Israel and the Arab countries can solve the conflict. Furthermore, the imperialist powers, willing to supply the arms and equipment needed by the Israeli militarists, adopt an attitude of understanding and

sympathy with regard to their "positions of strength" policy. . . .

Any sane person will appreciate that this policy, far from ensuring Israel's security or a solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict, is fraught with the danger of war, with the menace of catastrophe for our people. The struggle against this policy is literally a struggle to save our people from catastrophe.

The responsibility for the absence of Israeli-Arab peace, which rests on the rulers of Israel, stems from their unrealistic and adventurist policy of total disregard for the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, from the use of violence against Israel's Arab neighbors.

The Arab population of Israel lives under an oppressive military rule. Under this regime, Arabs must have special travel permits; administrative arrests, military trials, and arbitrary banishments are frequent occurrences. The military administration is an instrument for the eviction of Arab fellaheen from their land.

The policy of expropriation has brought about a situation where only 45 per cent of the Arab rural population earn their living in agriculture—as against 65 per cent at the time of the mandate. The fellaheen are exploited even more than the Jewish farmers who themselves suffer from extreme poverty. The average income of an Arab farmer is only 52 per cent of the very low income of the Jewish farmer. Out of a total sum of 105 million Israeli pounds earmarked for the development of agriculture in the 1961-62 budget, only 500,000 (0.4 per cent) were allotted to Arab cultivators in loans.

The policy of land expropriation and the total absence of economic development in the Arab-populated areas compel thousands of breadwinners to wander far from their villages in search of work in the towns. Yet even here they come up against innumerable obstacles and difficulties. The Arab worker's wages are lower than those of the Jewish worker.

The discrimination affects all spheres of life—education, housing, health services, etc.

The Communist Party has always defended the rights of the Arab population; it is fighting to put an end once and for all to the oppression of the Arab population so as to ensure it complete equality of rights—civic and national. As a result of this struggle Arab workers have been admitted to membership of the Histadrut (Israeli Labor Federation); yet the struggle still goes on to guarantee

equality of rights to the Arab members of the Histadrut.

A new factor in the present situation is that more and more public and political organizations are insisting on the abolition of military rule in Arab-populated areas, on ending the discrimination against the Arab population.

Our Party is vigorously combating the splitting tactics and the forces of disunity among the Arab population who come out under the flag of anti-communism. The Communist Party is doing everything to foster democratic unity inside the Arab sector and to integrate it in a broad Jewish-Arab democratic front—with the aim of stepping up and bringing to a successful conclusion the fight for the abolition of military rule and the granting of equal rights to the Arab population. It is this struggle which has made of the Communist Party of Israel an influential political force among the Arab population.

The vital interests of our people and of our country make it imperative to recognize and respect the just national rights of the Palestinian Arabs; these interests call for peace with the Arab people—for that is the guarantee of our security. Abolition of the Israeli-Arab conflict would put an end to bloodshed on the borders and to the ever-present danger of war; it could lead to a very considerable reduction in military expenditure, to easing the tax burden and expanding the social services; it would bring about an improvement in the economic situation; it would enable the establishment of fruitful economic ties and cooperation between Israel and the Arab states. Settlement of this conflict would be a contribution to peace in the Middle East.

The Communist Party bases its plan for the solution of the problem of Israeli-Arab relations on the rights of peoples to self-determination, on the fact that in the course of its historical development Palestine has become the homeland of two peoples—the Jews and the Arabs; on the possibility and the need to ensure the just national rights of both peoples; on the imperative need and the possibility of resolving Israeli-Arab relations peacefully, through negotiation and mutual agreement. The Communist Party is fighting for a policy that would recognize the lawful rights of the Palestinian Arabs as well as the moral duty to rectify the injustice they have suffered in being deprived of their rights; for a policy that would recognize the right of the Arab refugees to return to Israel, while guaranteeing appropriate compensation

for those refugees who elect not to come back, and show a willingness to replace by mutual agreement the provisional armistice lines by permanent peace borders.

This is the way for Israel to obtain the recognition of the Arab states, the recognition of Israel's right to freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal and in the Red Sea, and the termination of the Arab economic boycott of Israel.

That is our program for ending the Israeli-Arab conflict, for eliminating this source of tension in the Middle East, and for Israeli-Arab peace.

We can note with satisfaction that the Communist Party's analyses and conclusions with regard to the problem of Israeli-Arab relations—which were for many years the object of a wild anti-communist onslaught by the ruling circles—have now, in one way or another, penetrated the minds of broad sections of the public, to a greater or lesser extent, with reservations here and there. This was especially obvious during the past year as a result of the broadening of the general democratic struggle in our country.

The public discussion also pointed to the crystallization of a demand among the masses for a radical change in Israeli policy and for sweeping personnel changes in the higher echelons of policy-makers.

Put an End to the Policy of Economic Oppression of the Country

The surrender of the Israeli economy to foreign monopoly capital and the drive against democratic liberties are a direct consequence of the foreign policy of the Ben-Gurion government.

The decisive fact is that after the American "aid" and the West German "reparations" had achieved their initial aim—that of gaining political, military and social control of Israel—the imperialists concentrated on their second aim—creating the conditions for investment of private capital by the industrial monopolies and commercial banks, with the aim of raking in huge profits.

The flow of foreign capital to Israel—mainly through governmental channels—has led to the formation of a powerful state-capitalist sector. The government did not use this capital to set up an independent national economy to the benefit of the masses. Instead of extending state-ownership of key enterprises, the government is actually transferring state-owned enterprises to foreign capital. At the moment more than 400 of the coun-

try's most essential economic enterprises are controlled by foreign capital—mostly American.

At the same time, the treasury has channelled big sums into private capitalist enterprises jointly owned by foreign capital and Israeli capitalists. In a speech in the Knesset on November 25, 1957, Minister of Finance Levi Eshkol put the rhetorical question: "What kind of regime do we have in Israel?" and answered: "It is a regime which is clearing the ground for private capital, to the extent to which it exists and is willing to come here. It is enough for someone to take the initiative and we finance him to the extent of 75 per cent from government funds." In pursuing this policy the Ben-Gurion government has helped to consolidate and enrich a big bourgeoisie, mainly compradore in nature.

First the government invested hundreds of millions of pounds in reconstructing the former British concessions, and then, the moment these enterprises had begun to show a profit, the government began to sell them at dirt-cheap prices to U.S. and other monopolies. For example, the government is engaged in transferring to foreign investors its shares in the Electric Corporation; it has transferred the Dead Sea Works to the control of foreign banks—mainly American; the Fertilizers and Chemicals Corporation (Haifa) has been sold to a U.S. company, while the Eilat-Haifa Pipeline has been leased as a concession to Rothschild and Co.; the U.S. Alumina Corporation has obtained, for a very low price, a concession to exploit the phosphate resources in Negev (Southern Israel); U.S. oil monopolies have laid their hands on oil concessions in our country, through the American-Israel Oil Corporation.

The Histadrut's economic enterprises, too, come in for their share of attention from foreign monopoly capital. Officially, these enterprises belong to the Hevrat Ha'ovdim (the Histadrut's holding company); in 1959 their share of the total industrial output came to 20.7 per cent. These enterprises, which started out as producer, contractor, consumer and credit cooperatives, have, in the course of time, become typical capitalist enterprises under the joint ownership of Hevrat Ha'ovdim and foreign and Israeli capitalists.

Because of Israel's subservience to imperialism, capitalist development in our country has been such that it has distorted the economic structure, made economic independence ever more remote, and brought us an increasingly unfavorable balance of trade — and this despite the significant increase in produc-

tion and exports. This leads, in its turn, to a further import of capital in order to cover the deficit in the foreign balance of payments, which comes to \$350 million a year. This subservience to imperialism is also the cause of our national economy having taken the form of an inverted pyramid with the non-productive branches of the economy accounting for 51 per cent.

One of the results of Israel's subservience to imperialism is the militarization of all spheres of life. The enormous military expenditure is the main source of the inflation, of the fall in the value of the Israeli pound, the rise in the cost of living, the growing tax burden—mainly indirect taxes—the cuts in the social services and of the decline in the amount of local capital invested in the national economy.

Data contained in the annual statements of financial corporations show a steep increase in profits. A striking example is provided by Bank of Israel data on the index of shares registered on the Stock Exchange: from an average of 100 points in 1950, share quotations shot up to 274 in December 1959 and to 584 in October 1960. At the same time, there has been an increase in the bank's profits—from 15.6 per cent in 1957 to 31.9 per cent in 1959—and this process is still under way. A large number of financial corporations have increased their profits 3-4-fold in the last three years.

The process of the rich becoming richer is paralleled by another process: that of impoverishment of the working people. Like in any other capitalist country, so too in Israel, official statistics tend to conceal the steady decrease in the working-class share of the national income, as opposed to the increase in the capitalists' share. However, even the doctored official figures prove the truth of our assertions. The Bank of Israel estimates for 1959 show that, compared with 1957, the national income increased 29 per cent, total wages 19 per cent, while total profits went to 42 per cent.

As for absolute impoverishment, the following figures are indicative: in the period 1949-1960 output per person employed in industry went up by 80 per cent while the average daily wage of industrial workers (calculated in dollars) fell from \$7.12 to \$4.20—a decrease of 41 per cent. The steady rise in the cost of living, the rent increases and the soaring taxes nullified the efforts made by the working class to raise nominal wages. The *Bank of Israel Review* No. 10 (August

1959) shows that the wages of two-thirds of all Jewish urban workers are below the official subsistence level; 25 per cent of Jewish urban workers receive medium wages which revolve around the subsistence level; and only nine per cent receive wages that are above the subsistence level. The wage level of agricultural laborers, Arab workers, women workers, and working youth is even lower.

The spokesmen for the government and the Histadrut leadership are finding it more and more difficult to continue to deceive the people by painting in rosy hues the conditions of the working class and the working population in town and country. The "strike epidemic" — as it is called by the capitalists and their lieutenants in the government and in the Histadrut leadership — is spreading, despite the efforts of the government and the Histadrut to stop it by imposing government arbitration, by delaying and splitting tactics and by applying "democratic" methods of pressure. Strikes are conducted by workers in industry, agriculture, on the fruit plantations and in the public services; there are also strikes of doctors, engineers, teachers and legal personnel—in fact, of all categories of workers in all branches of the economy. The big bourgeoisie's lieutenants in the leadership of the Histadrut have lately been faced by a new phenomenon: the action committees, set up by the workers, which unite and lead them in the fight for the satisfaction of their demands and in defense of their rights.

The token strike on January 23, 1961, in which tens of thousands of workers participated, the meetings and demonstrations held in March 1961 to protest against the increase in taxes and the rise in prices, and to press for a wage boost, the struggle waged by the workers of the Electric Corporation and the diamond industry, the setting up of joint action committees for all forms of cooperative agriculture, the strike recently waged by 6,000 engineers — all point to a deepening and intensification of class antagonisms in Israeli society, and show that we have reached a new stage in the struggle between labor and capital.

The Communist Party—as the only working-class and revolutionary opposition in the Knesset and in the Histadrut—plays the part of a consistent vanguard in directing the struggle, in deepening the class consciousness of the workers and of all working people, in exposing the political and class sources of the policy of enriching the big capitalists and

impoverishing the working people, in consistently and constantly fostering unity of action of the working people notwithstanding national, communal, and political differences.

Our Party has proposed a program of struggle with a view to winning economic independence and ensuring the revitalization of the economy. The achievement of this goal requires the fulfilment of the following conditions: abolition of the domination exercised by foreign monopoly capital; nationalization of the foreign concessions, national resources and other key economic positions; cancellation of unequal agreements concluded with the USA and other imperialist states; expansion of foreign trade by way of barter agreements with the Afro-Asian and socialist markets; an increase in the production of goods destined for the home market, as well as an increase in the volume of exports.

We explain to the working-class and all wage-earners, to cooperative farmers and to independent producers in the towns that, in order to protect their interests, they must rally all the democratic forces and wage a vigorous struggle against the government's reactionary policy. This will guarantee successful fulfilment of our tasks.

Defending the Democratic Rights of the People

The policy of leaning on imperialism, the adventurist "positions of strength" policy pursued with regard to the neighboring Arab countries, the policy of serving the interests of foreign and home monopoly capital, impels the rulers of our country to abolish or at least seriously to curtail democratic liberties, which cannot but arouse the discontent and opposition of the masses.

The end of 1960 and the whole of 1961 were characterized by the struggle for democracy waged by big sections of the population, Jews and Arabs. This movement received its impetus from the sensational "Lavon-affair," which had its beginning in 1954. The revelations laid bare the adventurist nature of Ben-Gurion's junta of senior officers, the pervasive corruption in the top echelons of the Ben-Gurion regime, and the designs aimed at setting up a military one-man dictatorship. These revelations destroyed the Ben-Gurion cult, and contributed to the rise of a mass movement of the working people in town and country, of the intellectuals and the students, directed against Ben-Gurion and his yes-men and against their dictatorial maneuvers in the government, in the Histadrut, and in the MAPAI Party.

This broad democratic movement opened up vistas for the class struggle and the fight to have the Histadrut's autonomy respected, it provided additional encouragement to the Arab population to step up its fight — with the support of the democratic forces in the Jewish sector—against the plots being hatched to evict still more Arabs from their land.

The crisis of the Ben-Gurion regime became so profound that the government disintegrated and new elections had to be held on August 15, 1961.

Fear of the democratic struggle impelled the ruling circles to suppress demonstrations and strikes, to intensify the oppression of the Arab population, curtail freedom of the press on the pretext of "security" and to enact a series of fascist-type laws, such as the Military Jurisdiction Act, the Assault of Policemen Act and the typically McCarthyite law known as the State Security Act. The object of the latter is to provide a "legal" basis for persecuting the democratic forces, to intimidate the masses and make them give up their struggle. It is with these same aims in mind that strenuous efforts are being made to abolish proportional representation in the elections to the Knesset and the local authorities; the underlying idea is to create the conditions for a dictatorial regime with an absolutely unrepresentative Knesset devoid of all democratic content and shorn of all real power.

The ruling circles want to undermine the democratic liberties of the people and the democratic patterns of government. Last year there came to the surface their design to abolish the Histadrut's independence and its trade union powers (already severely undermined by its MAPAI leadership), and make it entirely subservient to the government.

All the levers of power are being used in an endeavor to create a climate favorable for the ascendancy of predatory monopoly capital. In this connection widespread use is being made of the political police; all barriers have been removed before the ideological onslaught of the reactionary forces on the life of society, on education and culture; fostered in every way possible are the "American way of life," the cult of militarism, chauvinism, and clericalism — in brief, the ideology of anti-communism and hatred for Israel's Arab neighbors.

The working class and the masses must come to the defense of democracy and extend it.

To sum up, the struggle waged in defense of democratic liberties and of the democratic patterns of government is simultaneously a powerful blow to the entire anti-national and reactionary policy, and the successful outcome of this struggle will depend on the fight for a basic change in Israel's policy and regime being intensified and brought to a successful conclusion. Such is the chain of mutual dependence linking these various phenomena. And this is what our people are coming to understand as a result of their direct experience and as a result of the Communist Party's explanatory work and organizing activity.

Unity of Action by All Progressives Is the Way to Ensure the Victory of Democracy

The Party's Fourteenth Congress has equipped us with the theoretical theses and practical conclusions that will enable us to step up and win the struggle for our short-term goal, namely: to effect a radical change in policy and in the regime for peace and national independence, democracy and brotherhood, social and cultural progress. In planning our policy, we have taken into account the conditions prevailing in our country, the realities of the present situation, the nature of the forces operating in our society, their relative strength, and the likely trend of their development; in this we are guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our appraisals and conclusions are inspired by loyalty to our people and to our country, to the cause of democracy and of the working class and all working people, to the noble cause of peace, brotherhood and socialism.

The events of the past few years have produced a situation in which—in addition to the growing antagonisms between capital and labor—we see a deepening and intensification of the contradiction between the domination of foreign monopoly capital and its local partners, on the one hand, and all the victims of monopoly capital, on the other. Thus the objective conditions have matured, not only for the formation of a united working-class front, but also of a broader grouping — a united, national-democratic, anti-monopoly front, with the working-class united front as its core.

Our explanatory work and our struggle against the dangers stemming from foreign capital penetrating our economy have begun to bear fruit. Especially in the past two years workers and farmers, artisans and small and medium producers in the towns have

felt the damaging effects of this penetration. Coordinated action by these forces in the struggle against monopoly capital and its faithful servant, the government, is an absolute condition for the change we want to see in Israel's policy and regime.

This, then, is the reason for the systematic efforts of the Israeli Communists to forge unity of action by the working class—the guarantee of attaining a broad unity of the popular forces. This is also the reason for our efforts aimed at securing unity of action at every possible level—in the place of work, on housing estates and in the mass organizations. Everywhere and on every issue we suggest a minimum program capable of uniting the different forces in the struggle for a common goal, and we adopt a flexible attitude, showing willingness to compromise, while standing fast by our principles and preserving our Party's independence. These efforts which are aimed at unity at the base have more than once yielded fruitful results, thus enabling us to advance in this direction. In our country, however, the struggle for unity is complicated by the fact that the Israeli working class is a relatively young working class, and is further handicapped by being divided along national lines—Jews and Arabs, and along communal lines—Jews from European countries, Jews from Asian and African countries. Another big obstacle is that most of the workers' parties — “socialist” and non-socialist — except the Communist Party, are partners in the government coalition. It is the leaders of these parties, and first and foremost those of MAPAI — where Ben-Gurion now rules the roost — who are the authors of the present anti-national and reactionary policy. The leaders of these parties resort to all kinds of diversionary tactics, and chiefly to anti-communist and anti-Soviet calumny. The idea is to erect a barrier between the working-class and the Communist Party. The ideology of reformism and opportunism holds back the workers' class struggle.

The corroding influence of Zionist ideology, of bourgeois nationalism, is still strong. It will be seen then that our struggle against anti-communism and our debate with ideologies that are alien and dangerous to the working class, far from running counter to unity of action, are in reality an indispensable condition for working-class unity and defense of the working people's vital interests. That is why our Fourteenth Congress paid special attention to this question and to the ideological discussion with Right-wing reformism and opportunism. Our opponents in this de-

bate are falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism, men who in reality support capitalism, those “workers' leaders” who falsely describe as a “socialist economy” the state, Histadrut, and Kibbutz (cooperative settlements) sectors, which are an integral part of the system of capitalist exploitation; those who argue thus are the proponents of Zionist ideology—the class weapon of the big Jewish bourgeoisie and international imperialism. Our own experience, gained in the day-to-day struggle, proves that the unity of the interests of the working people and of various other social strata who suffer from monopoly capital and from the government that is at its beck-and-call is an objective force, a force which is gradually gaining the upper hand over those of disunity and anti-communism.

The Knesset elections (held on August 15, 1961) which, on the one hand, were a moral and political blow to Ben-Gurion's MAPAI and, on the other, brought a noteworthy success to the Communist Party, reflected the discontent of the people and their growing opposition to the government's reactionary policy. The Communist Party's analysis of Israeli life and the conclusions it has drawn from it, exert an ever-growing influence on broad sections of the public.

The bankruptcy of the policy of the ruling circles is becoming increasingly obvious. While in the past Ben-Gurion controlled 75 per cent of Knesset votes, the new government commands only 57 per cent of the votes. Thus the government's parliamentary majority has been reduced, and its popular base has narrowed.

New horizons have opened up before the Communist Party of Israel. Knowing that the strengthening of the Party is decisive for the success of our noble cause we are campaigning for a big increase in membership, and have already achieved appreciable results. The recent National Conference noted that in 1961 the membership increased by 24 per cent. We are working to consolidate the Party's unity in keeping with the Leninist standards of Party life, stepping up our activity among the working people in the spirit of militant unity, and we are working to extend and strengthen the ties between members and sympathizers and the masses; this will guarantee the realization of the vital demands of the working people and ensure the success of our fight for an independent, democratic, peace-loving and progressive Israel, for a bright future for our people and our homeland.

Some Problems of the Economic Integration of Central America

The question of so-called economic integration looms large for the Latin American countries at the present time. The first steps toward establishing a number of common markets were taken in 1951 on the initiative of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA).

By now the project is quite far advanced. A Latin American free trade association, which includes the Argentine, Uruguay, Peru and some other countries, has been set up in South America, while a common market consisting of four countries—Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua—virtually exists in Central America.

We publish here two contributions from Guatemala and Costa Rica setting forth the position of the Communists in these countries on the question of a common market for Central America.

Alfredo Guerra Borges (Guatemala)

THE economic integration of Central America is in an advanced stage. The basic agreements have already been signed, viz., the multi-lateral agreement on free trade and on the economic integration of Central America, the agreement on integrated industrial enterprises and the agreement on the establishment of a Central American bank of economic integration.

The general agreement entered into force on June 3, 1961, after Guatemala, Salvador and Nicaragua had submitted the instruments of ratification to the Organization of Central American States. A final step toward integration was the setting up of a clearing house to facilitate exchange operations. The clearing house is located in Tegucigalpa, capital of Honduras, as is the Central American Bank of Economic Integration, which will supervise the former's functions. The value of the Central American peso will be brought into line with the U.S. dollar, and, from the moment of conclusion of the corresponding agreement, each of the national banks will fix the exchange rate of its own currency in relation to the Central American peso. Preparations for adopting a law on industrial development in Central America, for unifying the accounting operations of the national banks, and other measures are in progress.

The only country not included in these plans so far is Costa Rica. True, Costa Rica

participated in all the negotiations and signed a number of documents, but has not ratified them. This attitude has evoked the displeasure of the Guatemalan government which has retaliated by denouncing the Guatemala-Costa Rica bilateral free trade agreement.

It can be assumed that Costa Rica's attitude will change in the future and that its government will ultimately give its support to the economic integration plans. The fact that the influential Chamber of Industry of Costa Rica is advocating a shift in government policy is a straw in the wind. This merely confirms our belief that to expect any retreat at this stage is out of the question. The integration of the Central American countries is already in progress and in the face of this obvious fact, it is necessary to take a position that will enable us to see both the negative aspects of integration as well as those which, given certain conditions, could benefit the people of Central America.

Unfounded Optimism

No one can question the importance of establishing a broad market capable of absorbing large quantities of goods, especially the output of those basic industrial enterprises which require large initial investments and, consequently, a big market. This is the chief argument of those who are in favor of economic integration. It is an argument, how-

ever, which touches on only one aspect of the problem (the creation of a broad foreign market for the countries of the isthmus), and overlooks certain factors which hamper the establishment of such a market, and avoids the question of the measures each country of Central America must take to expand its own home market.

The fact is that the home market in the Central American countries is extremely limited and the purchasing power of the population is about the lowest in the world. According to the *British Economist* (April 22, 1961), nearly two-thirds of the population of Latin America "do not rank as consumers at all. These are people who, in the countryside, live on what they can grow; in the towns, on what they can pick up. . . ."

This description wholly applies to the Central American countries with their predominantly rural population and vast areas of arable land left uncultivated. According to data for 1950, the per capita average cultivated land in the Central American countries was 0.47 hectares. Large numbers of peasants in these countries have no land at all, the worst sufferers in this respect being the Indians.

Ruthless exploitation and an abysmally low standard of living is the lot of much of the population of Central America. This is an intolerable situation and must be remedied if these countries want to have home markets capacious enough to form together a powerful and dynamic Central American market. But the ruling circles are anxious to avoid any radical changes. Moreover, the backward economic structure is an insuperable obstacle to such changes. Any attempt to overcome this obstacle by combining five poverty-stricken countries would merely augment the profits of a handful of foreign and native millionaires.

Dr. Jorge Sol, a prominent Salvador economist and lawyer, speaking on the economic integration at a seminar in San Salvador in November 1957, expounded the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie on these questions. A "basic condition for the assistance of national and foreign capital in financing economic activity and enterprises needed for economic development," he said, "is the existence of incentives for investment. . . . The basis for economic cooperation in Central America," he continued, "is not only profit from the trade in commodities which some countries can produce and which others cannot . . . but chiefly, a bigger market, and an economic

upsurge that would lead to a further expansion of the markets in the five countries."

An attractive prospect, unquestionably. But in our view this statement expressed only part of the truth and did not even approach the substance of the matter. The problem is that of expanding the national markets through deep-going economic and social changes, and above all, through *agrarian reform*. This is the only way to create a home market capable of coping with the requirements of our economic development. The experience of Guatemala is proof of this.

During the brief 18 months when the Arbenz government carried out its agrarian reform, hundreds of thousands of hectares of uncultivated land were wrested from the latifundia and turned over to the peasants. The significance of these changes could not be concealed even by the counter-revolutionaries who after 1954 virtually put a stop to the agrarian reform. In 1958, the former director of the department of agrarian problems in Castillo Armas' government, in a letter to the newspaper *La Hora* pointed out that the Arbenz agrarian reform had given land to "one hundred thousand families, which meant life for 300,000 people."

Compare this with the official government data according to which in 30 months (from July 1955 to December 1957) the measures taken by the reactionary government gave land to a mere 3,984 peasants, dividing barely more than 10,000 hectares among them.

The report of the Central Committee to the Third Congress of the Guatemalan Party of Labor points out that "for more than a hundred years the big landowners were unable to extricate the country from its backwardness and merely demonstrated again and again that they are a most pernicious and useless class for Guatemala."

Yet it is precisely this class which along with the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie wields power not only in Guatemala but throughout Central America, and so long as this state of affairs continues, it is useless to expect any solution of the question of markets. We believe we have demonstrated that the excessive optimism among the proponents of the common market for Central America is quite groundless.

It would, however, be a mistake to go to the other extreme and deny that this market would afford opportunities for expanding the production of the Central American countries. greater opportunities in fact than each coun-

try individually has at the present time. Nor should we forget that the economic integration will to some extent facilitate the development of capitalism in our countries, in other words, help to change their archaic economic structure, however slow, partial and inadequate these changes may be. Nevertheless, these positive aspects cannot blind us to the chief danger with which the plans for economic integration are fraught.

In Whose Interests?

The economic integration of Central American countries in the form in which it is contemplated involves something more than creating a bigger market. Certain historical factors must be taken into account. During Spanish colonial rule the present countries of Central America comprised a special administrative unit known as the Captaincy-General of Guatemala, and it was only after winning independence in 1821 that the region was reconstituted as the Republic of the United States of Central America. In 1838, after years of internecine wars, the Republic was dissolved. But the spirit of unity did not die. It has survived as the lawful striving of our peoples for a united Central America founded on a common desire for progress, on common traditions of anti-imperialist struggle.

This strong national sentiment is widely exploited by the proponents of economic integration as the foundation on which a united Central America could be built.

An active role in boosting the common market is played by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America. ECLA documents paint a glowing picture of the prospects for economic development and of the incentive to development that would be provided by common markets for the different groups of Latin American countries. One such document, for example, states that the policy of integration would help to establish manufacturing industries wherever the available natural wealth and economic resources would make this profitable.

Past experience and the present realities, however, give scant grounds for any assurance that the resources of Central America would fully suffice for the prosperity of all the five countries or that these resources could be utilized rationally. The political and social regimes in these countries would make this impossible. Moreover, the very nature of capitalism, with its cut-throat competition and insensate drive for profit, makes short

shrift of the illusory plans of "inter-dependence" fondly cherished by champions of integration. It is impossible to imagine that the capitalists of some countries would suddenly display an interest in developing and expanding the economy of others, thereby creating additional problems of competition and placing themselves in a disadvantageous position.

And lastly, many of the key branches of the economy in the Central American countries are in the hands of the U.S. companies which are interested solely in extracting enormous profits and care nothing for the welfare of our peoples. The U.S. monopolies have marked out for themselves the particular branches of industry or natural resources which are to be developed or exploited under the integration program. It is noteworthy that the agreements on the economic integration do not include a single condition restricting the investment of foreign capital. The decisions of the third conference of the economic ministers of Central America (Managua, 1950) which discussed the distribution of capital in the "integrated" branches of industry, state that 30 per cent of the shares of each new enterprise are to remain within the country in which the enterprise is located. (However, two-thirds may be placed outside the Central American countries.) The remaining four countries signatory to the agreement are to receive no less than 10 per cent each. The remaining 30 per cent of the shares can also be taken up outside Central America.

The conclusion is obvious: *the economic integration of Central America is designed to expand U.S. investments on the isthmus and to enhance the domination of the U.S. monopolies.*

Financing or Expansion?

But that is not all. How is the economic integration of Central America to be financed? When Prado Garcia Salas, the Minister for Economic Integration in the Guatemalan government, made his highly sanguine statement regarding the common market, he added: ". . . all we are lacking is the means to finance the economic and social measures that will improve the position of our population and create decent conditions of life to which all people, all nations are entitled." So all that is lacking is the means! Where are they to come from? We all know the answer to that one: the United States, in other words, the North American companies

and the government that protects the interests of those companies.

What else could be expected from the authors and advocates of the idea of the economic integration of Central America? Much attention was devoted to studying problems of transport, natural resources, etc. But practically nothing was done about finance which, after all, is a matter of first-rate importance.

The only documentary material available is the preliminary survey made by ECLA in 1953 and the work done in 1958 by the Bank of Guatemala.

The ECLA survey merely hints at some possible solutions of the basic problem of finance (the establishment of an Institute for Central American Development, financing along governmental lines, the setting up of mixed state and private enterprises, etc.). These, however, do not venture beyond the sphere of general suggestions, although one could hardly expect more from a preliminary survey. On the other hand, this document speaks of the desirability of the "participation of private foreign capital."

The study made by the Bank of Guatemala is even more modest in its conclusions. It suffers from a shortcoming common to the work of all bourgeois economists who look for ways of financing economic development without removing the obstacles to that development.

The Bank of Guatemala report speaks of the need to "attract savings." But what "savings" can the peoples in the Central American countries possibly possess? The rich landowners who hold the bulk of the nation's capital, as a rule, keep their money in United States banks. The Guatemalan Bank's proposal to obtain "compulsory savings" by channelling part of the income of the middle classes into an economic development fund is not practicable. Nor is the proposal to float "people's shares" which could be acquired by people in the medium income bracket.

"Contributions" of this kind to the solution of the problem of financing economic integration are of little practical value, and hence it should not surprise anyone that the authors of the report also speak of the need for foreign investments.

Mention should be made of the Central American Bank for Economic Integration. Its task includes furnishing funds to the governments for building roads and power

stations, and also to enterprises belonging to private capital, but with the stipulation that in either case the money should further the economic integration. The new bank will have a capital of \$16 million which will be provided on a parity basis by the four founding countries—Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua. In addition, \$10 million of the bank's operating capital will come from the United States. Half of this sum will be paid in cash by the international cooperation board and the other half in the form of credits from other financial organizations in the United States.

An analysis of all these plans brought us to the inevitable conclusion formulated above, namely, that a common market in Central America would open up greater opportunities for North American investments first and foremost. It would heighten our countries' dependence on the neo-colonialist policy of the United States.

Lessons and Prospects

We see, then, that it is U.S. imperialism and the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie in our countries that are primarily interested in the economic integration of Central America. And this is not fortuitous. In our days imperialism is experiencing grave difficulties. Besides the market problems associated with the general crisis of capitalism, U.S. imperialism is faced with problems caused by the growing influence of the socialist camp and the rise of the national-liberation struggle. It is in need of new markets and spheres of investment. At the same time it is looking for new forms of economic expansion. The imperialists want to protect their investors, to prevent the property of the North American monopolies from being nationalized as the national interests of our countries demand.

It is useless to expect any resistance to increased penetration by U.S. monopoly capital on the part of the Central American governments representing as they do the interests of the big landowners and the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie.

The question that arises is: who can resist the growing foreign domination in our countries—the national bourgeoisie, the working class or some other force?

The national bourgeoisie fears the social and economic changes so badly needed in Central America not only because they dread revolution, but because of their close ties with those chiefly responsible for the backwardness and dependent status of our coun-

tries. Hence it sees economic integration as the only way to establish an extensive home market without resorting to revolution as a means of changing the economic structure of the isthmus countries. And if some bourgeois elements or groups, as in Costa Rica for example, are opposed to integration, this is by no means typical of the bourgeoisie as a whole, the national bourgeoisie included. Nor can this resistance be expected to last very long.

In the past, establishing a home market was accompanied by a sharp anti-feudal struggle. Today the bourgeoisie in our countries wants to leave our backward agriculture unchanged. In the past, the bourgeoisie headed the revolutionary struggle against the feudal order. Today our bourgeoisie is afraid to carry out an agrarian reform because to do so would involve the masses of the peasantry in revolutionary struggle. In the past, the creation of a broad home market was in the interests of the rising capitalism, which represented a progressive force at the time. Today the bourgeoisie is seeking to enlarge the market by uniting the small markets and is striving to amass still greater wealth without alleviating the poverty of the people.

True, the increased penetration by foreign capital in some respects affects the interests of the national bourgeoisie, but at the same time it increases the number of enterprises with mixed capital—Central American and North American. The national bourgeoisie in our countries regards U.S. monopoly investment with mixed feelings of fear and hope. It fears the competition and the supremacy of North American capital, but at the same time seeks to cooperate with it.

Clearly the bourgeoisie will not bar the road to North American investments, nor

does it seriously wish to. However this does not mean that one should underestimate the diverse contradictions which now or in the future may arise between the national bourgeoisie and North American capital. These contradictions must be exposed and utilized in the interests of the struggle for national independence and progress.

Only the working class and the other patriotic sections of the population can offer consistent resistance to the negative aspects of economic integration, particularly the further penetration by U.S. monopoly capital.

It is necessary to prove to these sections that as things are today and in the form in which it is envisaged, economic integration is bound to lead to increased domination by U.S. monopoly capital.

It is for these advanced sections to demand—either before integration is effected or while it is still in progress—that the economic and social changes of which our countries are in need, and primarily a far-reaching agrarian reform, be carried out. They must show the people the fundamental difference between integration under conditions of imperialist domination and integration through a democratic national revolutionary process, and, to go farther still, under socialist conditions. When the Central American countries take the socialist path, there can be no doubt that economic cooperation on the broadest scale will be a fundamental condition of their progress. However, the economic integration of Central America can be beneficial in other conditions as well. This can happen when the national democratic revolutions smash the age-old fetters of dependence which shackle the Latin American countries and open the way to their voluntary and equal cooperation.

Eduardo Mora Valverde (Costa Rica)

IN COSTA RICA discussion of the economic union of the Central American countries has so far revolved around the question of whether integration is of advantage to one or any of the Central American countries or whether it is equally advantageous to all of them. The pro-imperialist bourgeoisie of Salvador and Guatemala maintain that integration will be of benefit to all. Influential bourgeois circles in Costa Rica hold that it will be of no advantage to their country and will only benefit others. What is the economic background to these differences?

"For" and "Against"

Integration under the existing political and economic conditions is opposed by the most diverse sections of society—from the big bourgeoisie to the working class. The Communist parties in the Central American countries are vigorous opponents of any economic unification of Central America under the aegis of U.S. imperialism.

Among those favoring the common market are representatives of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie who hope that the integration will increase their profits and strengthen

their ties with the U.S. monopolies. Then there are some patriotic elements who favor integration in principle. They believe that Central America needs a common market in order to accelerate the industrialization of the isthmus, to overcome the economic backwardness which adversely affects the living standard of the peoples, to protect their raw material prices on the world market, and advance toward the political union of the Central American countries which has long been the cherished dream of our peoples.

Some sections of our bourgeoisie still harbor the illusion that North American capital plays a positive role in developing the national economy. They proceed from the assumption that the imperialists will invest their capital in the countries with the lowest production costs, and that, consequently, integration will promote the industrial development of Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras where such "favorable" conditions for foreign capital as cheap labor, the almost total absence of anti-monopoly legislation and similar restrictions exist. Hence the ruling circles of these countries strongly support the integration project.

The government of Costa Rica is not categorically opposed to integration, it merely believes that the process should be carried out slowly, so as to be able to iron out the differences between the various countries and thus give each of them equal conditions for attracting foreign capital. The fact is that Costa Rica's economic position, poor though it is, is nevertheless better than that of the other Central American countries, and its social legislation is more progressive. Of course, this is only true in relation to the general economic backwardness of the other Central American republics.

The Costa Rican government, under popular pressure, will think twice before encroaching on the social gains of the working people, gains won as the result of a century of struggle. Moreover, in some instances this struggle was revolutionary in character. However, there is little likelihood that the governments of the other Central American countries, most of which are dictatorial regimes, will voluntarily embark on a program of economic and social reforms at the present time.

At the conference of economic ministers held in San Jose in 1958 the Costa Rican representative advanced the relatively progressive idea of raising the average wage level throughout Central America to that of Costa Rica. Our Ministry of Economy con-

tinues to uphold that idea, but it has received no support from the other governments of the isthmus countries. At first Costa Rica was also in favor of a common market for Central America, having extracted a promise from the other countries that the union would be effected "gradually."

In 1960, however, the governments of Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras hastily concluded agreements with the Somoza brothers in Nicaragua.

Behind Costa Rica's back they agreed on the general lines of a common market for Central America. This maneuver was both instigated and backed by Washington, the idea being to confront the Costa Rican government with a *fait accompli*.

Costa Rica reacted by declaring the agreement, drawn up without its knowledge, "a severe blow to Central American integration," and it disclaimed all "responsibility" for the action.

What Is Behind Integration

The plans for economic integration are being given every support by the U.S. State Department. The U.S. imperialists and their stooges are behind all the schemes for uniting the economies of the Central American countries. Some years ago such prominent imperialist spokesmen as Milton Eisenhower and Nelson Rockefeller waxed enthusiastic about the idea of a Latin American common market. Moreover, the United States Department of Commerce announced that North American investments would be substantially increased in areas where customs barriers would be lowered. In 1958 Nelson Rockefeller wrote about the desirability of regional trade agreements for the three groups of states: Central America, the countries of the northern part of South America and those situated at the southern extremity of the continent.

It would obviously be more convenient for the U.S. monopolies to have a single common market in Central America instead of several small ones. This explains why Wall Street is so keen on the removal of customs barriers, the free exchange of goods and capital, unifying transport systems, and similar measures.

The agreements on a common market for Central America place no restriction on foreign investments. Foreign capital will be free to operate within the framework of this economic union and to enjoy all the privileges arising from the agreements on economic integration.

Clearly, economic integration, in the form desired by the imperialists, answers the needs and interests of the U.S. monopolies and not those of the isthmus countries. U.S. capital, extending its frontiers, is on the lookout for new markets and spheres of investment, not the small markets of countries such as those of Central America with populations of one or two million, but markets with no customs barriers, affording unlimited opportunities for investment.

Imperialism is out to destroy any possibility of national development. With the common markets U.S. capital will have abundant opportunities and better conditions for strangling the national bourgeoisie, enslaving the people and creating its own colonial empire.

Tonic or Poison?

The countries of Central America are at varying levels of economic and social development. Their differences, however, stem from the same roots. From the standpoint of production, these countries can be classed as agrarian, and their production relations as semi-feudal. Common to all is their political and economic dependence on U.S. imperialism.

Seventy per cent of the labor force is engaged in agriculture, only 10 per cent in industry. A bare nine per cent of the territory of these countries is cultivated—six million hectares of arable land have fallen out of production owing to the prevailing production relations.

The mineral resources of Central America are still barely tapped. Oil prospecting was started only recently. While handicraft industry is widespread, manufacturing industry, the cement industry excluded, is embryonic.

The economy of our countries rests mainly on the export of a few items of agricultural produce, chiefly coffee. Coffee, for example, comprises 80 per cent of the exports of Salvador, and 72 per cent of those of Guatemala. In 1954 coffee, bananas, cocoa and cotton made up 89.2 per cent of the total export of all the Central American countries.

Characteristic of all these countries is the appalling poverty of the population. According to the United Nations statistics, the annual income of 92 per cent of the population of Salvador averaged about \$96 per person; in Guatemala, it was \$80; in Nicaragua for nine-tenths of the population it was less than \$100. In Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua more than half of the population is illiterate.

The picture presented by the economy of Central America reflects its dependence on

U.S. imperialism. The monopolies have mutilated the economy of the five countries, turning them into suppliers of raw material for U.S. industry. Air, sea and land transport, communications, electric power and other important branches are in the hands of the U.S. capitalists. The five countries are deeply in debt to Wall Street banks. Their foreign trade is wholly under United States control.

U.S. imperialism, anxious to preserve the present economic and social structure, is obstructing the development of the democratic movement in these countries, combating it under the guise of anti-communism. The long occupation of Nicaragua by the United States Marines, the overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala and the numberless military coups in the other countries—these are eloquent testimony to the interference of U.S. imperialism in the internal affairs of our countries.

To check the revolutionary process in Central America, Washington, hand in hand with the home reactionaries, lauds integration as the miraculous remedy that will cure the economic ills and banish the economic backwardness without changing production relations.

In Costa Rica, as in the other republics of Central America, there are those who claim that the integration plans proposed by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America will help to overcome the economic backwardness of our countries. The advocates of this view fail to see that these plans do not envisage any fundamental measures capable of altering the semi-colonial character of our economy and ending its dependence on the United States. Any development project that would further the interests of the peoples of Central America must provide for agrarian reform, a redistribution of the national income in favor of the dispossessed sections of the population and expansion of foreign trade. The economic position of the Central American countries is such that it cannot be improved by half measures or paltry reforms.

Economic integration can effectively promote industrialization and agriculture only as a component of the process of national emancipation. But so long as things remain as they are, and until the patriotic forces take their countries onto the highroad of independent development, no integration project can achieve any of those aims which often make the idea so attractive to big sections of the population. As for the inte-

gration project drawn up by ECLA, its object is to throw the doors wide open to monopoly investment, in other words, to the very imperialists who are responsible for our enslavement and our national humiliation.

The ECLA scheme would place the Central American common market at the mercy of those forces which operate in favor of the strong and strangle the weak. In practice, competition between imperialists and home capital in these conditions will undoubtedly spell the ruin of our weak industry—it could be compared to a contest between a drowning man and a school of sharks. A feature of capital accumulation in Central America, as in all of Latin America, is that it is largely pocketed by imperialism, either in the form of profits transferred abroad or interest on loans, or simply by plundering our natural wealth. That is how it has been in the past, and that is how it will be until our countries gain independence and put an end to the imperialist exploitation.

Some bourgeois circles naively think that the proposed integration will lead to bigger internal capital investments in the economy. But there are scant grounds for this hope. The lack of national capital in our countries is a fact, and nothing short of a miracle can increase it. And since miracles do not happen, we should be aware that integration and the common market are merely a means of intensifying the exploitation of our natural resources and the labor of our people.

Union Through Anti-Imperialist Struggle

A necessary condition for genuine economic development is a liberation struggle that would put an end to this exploitation.

The anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly movement in the Central American countries is growing, although not to the same extent in all countries. There are notable differences in the struggle for democracy, national liberation, agrarian reform and higher living standards in the different countries.

The people of Costa Rica want to achieve social changes by peaceful means. But they have no illusions on this score. Whether the changes will be brought about in a peaceful way depends on many factors, and primarily on the extent to which the people will be able to get rid of the imperialist interference. The liberation process will not stop even if a peaceful solution is impossible. However, the fullest use will be made of all the possibilities for effecting a peaceful change in the structure of society.

Each of the popular movements in the countries of the isthmus is developing in its own way, and we must not ignore the possibility that revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal changes, even in a zone as small as that of Central America, can take place in some countries sooner than in others. The purpose of the common market recommended by ECLA is to tailor the economy of the Central American countries to fit a uniform pattern of development which does not answer the needs and aspirations of a single one of the peoples of the five countries concerned. And when one of these countries succeeds in throwing off the shackles of imperialism, in breaking through to independence, negative aspects of the so-called common market will be fully revealed, since it presupposes economic and political control by the monopolies over the Central American states.

In the event of the democratic and revolutionary development of any of these nations, the common market will be an impediment to agrarian reform, to expanding trade with all the countries of the world, to a more just distribution of the national wealth and to the advancement of national culture.

To overcome the economic backwardness, the peoples of Central America must first put a stop to the imperialist intervention in their internal affairs. Fraternal efforts towards union must be developed in the interests of achieving a better understanding and closer unity between the peoples in their struggle for national emancipation, for economic and social progress.

Only in the course of revolutionary struggle against imperialism and latifundism, for the freedom and well-being of the peoples can the opportunities for a genuine common market arise, for only then will the domination of the monopolies be broken and fraternal ties among all the countries of Central America cemented.

In the struggle for economic independence our peoples will be able to draw on the disinterested aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which, as the experience of Cuba has shown, will enable us to build up our economy in the interests of the people.

The mass liberation movement can indeed sweep away the barriers in the way of economic, social and cultural progress of the peoples of our countries, and achieve those goals to which all true patriots of Central America aspire.

Automation and Man

Jan Auerhan

Economy of labor time — a boon or a curse? • How lower cost of production affects purchasing power • Does automation presuppose or necessitate greater skills?

ALTHOUGH it is difficult fully to visualize the effects of the modern scientific and technological revolution there is no doubt that it will bring radical changes both in the conditions of material production and in the life of man generally.

What is the basic trend? Primarily rapid automation of production.

Mechanization as such relieves man of the burden of arduous physical labor. The machine replaces him as the prime mover in the production process, and the manipulation of the instruments of labor is transferred from man to machine. But the worker runs the machine and controls each operation. Automation, on the other hand, frees the operator of most control and operation functions. It thereby frees man from direct participation in the production process, fundamentally changes the nature of human labor and greatly increases its productivity. At the same time it makes production far less dependent on the amount of labor time at the disposal of society.

Automation signifies that the production process and its pace cease to depend on man's physical limitations.

Automation, then, considerably enhances man's ascendancy over the forces of Nature and sharply increases the productivity of social labor, creating the technological prerequisites for an unprecedented rise in material well-being and cultural standards. But whether these possibilities will be realized, what effect automation will have on the life of man and what its socio-economic consequences will be—these depend on the social system, on the given production relations.

Let us examine some aspects of the effect of automation under socialism and under capitalism.

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Whereas formerly technical improvements as a rule raised the productivity of labor gradually, automation increases it by leaps and bounds. There have been instances when it has risen 15-20 times over and more.

There is no doubt that in the future, when automation passes on from the initial to a higher stage and when machine design, technology and the products themselves will be fully adapted to the requirements of automated production, its economic effect will be infinitely greater.

That automation increases labor productivity is, of course, a good thing. True, expenditure of less labor per unit of output makes a certain number of workers redundant, but the point is to prevent this redundancy from becoming unemployment. The redundant workers should either be given new jobs at the same enterprise or transferred to other enterprises. Only if this is done will increased labor productivity at automated plants help to raise the social productivity of labor, and automation make it possible rapidly to expand social production, provided there are no socio-economic obstacles to such expansion. Herein lies the basic condition for multiplying the wealth of society and improving the life of its members. Otherwise automation will result in wholesale unemployment and the squandering of the productive forces of society.

In socialist society, where the means of production and the products belong to the working people, growth of production is accompanied by improved well-being, which signifies a steady growth of effective demand for articles of consumption. This, in turn, stimulates the further growth of production.

It is common knowledge that the economy of the socialist countries is developing considerably faster than that of the capitalist countries. The average annual rate of growth of industrial output in the socialist world in the period 1951-1960 was 13.6 per cent, and in the capitalist countries only five per cent. And in the socialist countries this high rate of economic development will be continued. The USSR, for instance, plans to increase its gross industrial output no less than sixfold in the course of the next 20 years, while labor productivity in industry is

to rise 4-4.5 times. The hourly average will go up much more in view of the reduction of the working day.

Socialism, then, knows no barriers originating in the nature of the system which might impede automation. As a matter of fact, automation is an important lever for increasing output, and the manpower it releases is used to expand production, either in the same industry or in other branches. Social ownership of the means of production and planning facilitate technological progress and at the same time guarantee full employment; hence there not only is no unemployment in the socialist countries but the number of workers increases from year to year. Technological progress requires a redistribution of the labor force, and this is done according to plan, not left to chance. Moreover, the state provides the funds needed to enable workers to learn new trades and to improve their skills.

Thanks to the growing productivity of labor, socialist society is able to reduce hours and at the same time to channel more and more resources to the non-production sphere—education, health and recreation services, etc.

While rapidly expanding production, the socialist countries are gradually reducing working hours. In 1960 the Soviet Union completed the introduction of the 7-hour working day and the 6-hour day for underground workers in coal and ore mining. The average working week in the USSR is now 39.4 hours, whereas in the USA the average working week, excluding farm workers and those working part-time, was 44.1 hours in October 1960. Growth of labor productivity as a result of the introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology makes it possible under socialism to continue reducing working hours. Within the current ten years the USSR plans to go over to a 6-hour day with one free day a week or a 35-hour week with two free days generally, and a 5-hour day or a 30-hour, five-day week for coal and ore miners and workers engaged in occupations harmful to health. In the subsequent ten years (1971-1980) the steady growth of labor productivity will provide the groundwork for a still shorter working week.

In Czechoslovakia the working week was reduced in 1956 to 46 hours. In 1957 the German Democratic Republic cut the working week for most industrial and office workers to 45 hours. In the socialist countries

shorter hours do not mean lower wages; on the contrary, the real wages are steadily rising.

Socialist society provides its members with more and more free time for cultural pursuits. As a result, the people are increasingly being drawn into social activities which have nothing to do with the mere satisfaction of immediate material needs and help harmoniously to develop the physical and spiritual powers of each member of society.

Automation produces different results under capitalism, where its main purpose is not to raise the standard of living but to extract the maximum profit.

The meaning of capitalist automation was strikingly revealed by Albert Whitehouse, a U.S. trade union leader, when in April 1958, addressing a labor conference on automation in Washington, he said that the object of introducing more efficient machines was to cut expenditure on wages. If one could find a firm which introduces better and more efficient plan for any other reason, he continued, its president would deserve to be put in a museum.

Under capitalism automation breeds unemployment. This, of course, could be counteracted to some extent if the growth of labor productivity were accompanied by a corresponding reduction of working hours by law, without any cuts in wages, if paid holidays were extended and the school-leaving age raised. The working class may in some cases be able by its struggle to wrest concessions from the exploiters along these lines, but partial gains cannot prevent in any appreciable measure the growth of unemployment. For the capitalists do not wish to part with any of their profits. A reserve army of unemployed is too profitable for them to be allowed to disappear.

What automation does to jobs under capitalism can be seen from the example of the USA, where it is more widespread than in any other capitalist country.

In July 1961, when a certain improvement was registered in business activity following the recession of 1960-61, gross industrial output in the USA exceeded the 1956 monthly average by 12 per cent. Yet in the same month, according to official figures, there were over five million unemployed, which was double the 1956 average. The sharp increase in unemployment accompanying the rise in output was directly due to automation and capitalist rationalization. Practically all branches of production in the USA stopped

taking on workers and in most of them the number employed dropped considerably. There were, to take earlier figures, 1,600,000 fewer workers in manufacturing industry in the first half of 1960 than in 1953, although gross production was 20 per cent higher. The increase in over-all production was far behind the growth of labor productivity per worker.

True, the increase in unemployment in the various branches of production was to some extent offset by a rise in the numbers employed in the service industries and in finance and trade. But, as George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, said, these spheres are notorious for low wages and part-time employment. Any shift of workers from industry to, say, retail or wholesale trade signifies a reduction in average wages, consumer purchasing power and the standard of living.

Owing to the exceedingly low rate of production growth, automation and other forms of technological progress in the USA gradually increase what is called "normal" unemployment during boom periods. According to official figures, during the 1951-1953 boom 3.1 per cent of the U.S. labor force was unemployed. In 1955-1957, after the 1954 crisis, the percentage of unemployed increased to 4.3, and in 1959 and in the first half of 1960, when the 1958 crisis was followed by "prosperity," it rose to 5.7. In mid-1961 when, after the recession, gross production exceeded the pre-recession level, unemployment reached 6.9 per cent.

Technological progress and in particular automation will undoubtedly continue to pick up speed. How will this affect employment in the capitalist countries? The U.S. trade union publication *Mine-Mill Union* pointed out in July 1960 that in a few years, as a result of automation and capitalist rationalization, 8-10 million jobs will be permanently lost in the United States. The spread of automation to those branches where unemployment has been rising until now (trade, finance, office work generally) is fraught with grave consequences. The danger of a further sharp growth of unemployment as a result of automation is becoming "domestic problem No. 1" in the USA, as was pointed out at the trade union conference on unemployment held in Washington in April 1959.

The saving of social labor effected through automation thus turns in capitalist society from a blessing into a curse for the workers. Instead of an increase in free time for the worker there is increased unemployment.

Thus, capitalism distorts the whole meaning of automation.

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Automation poses a multitude of socio-economic problems. Salient among these is the above-mentioned problem of economy of labor time necessary for the creation of material values. No less important is the effect on prices and living standards. Inasmuch as it not only makes for rapid expansion of production, but also effects a considerable saving of both living and materialized labor expended in the production of each unit of output, automation provides the conditions for lowering prices and raising the standard of living.

It has been established that in most cases, contrary to the general tendency of past decades, automation reduces the amount of materialized labor transferred from the instruments of labor to the product. In other words, expenditures on machines, other equipment and production premises per unit of output are less than in non-automated production. Hence, besides reducing the cost of production, automation makes it possible to expand production capacities with far smaller capital investments than under hitherto existing techniques. This, in turn, enables society to channel a considerably larger share of the funds at its disposal to science, education, culture, health and recreation.

However, these possibilities can be fully realized only in the socialist countries.

Under socialism automation accelerates the rise in living standards and, in time, will ensure an abundance of consumer goods far sooner than was formerly thought possible.

A rapidly rising standard of living is a feature of the socialist countries. Besides the growing money income and lowering of prices, free education and health services, the extensive system of social benefits should be taken into account. In the USSR, for example, real income in 1960 was more than double the 1940 figure. In Czechoslovakia personal consumption in 1960 was 36 per cent above the 1955 level. Further development of production, primarily through automation, will ensure the continued rapid improvement of the living standard in the socialist countries also in the years to come.

The people in these countries know that automation and scientific and technological progress generally are indispensable to the rapid improvement of their well-being. Hence they play an increasingly active part in ad-

vancing techniques of production. Year by year the number of worker-inventors and rationalizers, many of whom help to create automatic machines, is growing. The first automated production line put into operation in the Soviet engineering industry as far back as 1939 was designed under the guidance of I. P. Inochkin, a metalworker in the Volgograd Tractor Works. The first automatic tractor was produced and tested in field conditions by tractor driver I. G. Loginov, one of the hundreds of thousands of Soviet young people who helped to bring the virgin lands of Kazakhstan under cultivation. The automatic device for winding miniature transformer coils which evoked so much interest at the international automation exhibition held in New York in 1958, was invented by B. S. Yegorov, a fitter in a Moscow factory. Many other similar examples from the USSR and other socialist countries could be cited. They show that the working people in these countries have no fear of automation, but on the contrary are promoting it in every way.

The picture is different in the capitalist countries, where automation benefits only the capitalists, sending the profits of the monopolies soaring.

Although automation has lowered production costs, retail prices are continuing to rise. In the USA, even during the recession, the price trend is upward, due not only to inflation, but primarily to the monopoly stranglehold. The U.S. trade union leader Elmer J. Malloy, addressing the above-mentioned conference on automation in April 1958, stressed that the situation was the same in all branches of industry: growing production accompanied by a steady decline in the number of workers, and rising prices. The higher prices of consumer goods cut into the purchasing power of the working people. The position of the masses is worsened, moreover, by the wholesale transfer of workers to lower-paid jobs, which is another concomitant of capitalist automation. In these circumstances technological progress intensifies the exploitation of the workers and lowers their living standard.

There is a wide gulf between the purchasing power of the people and the possibilities for satisfying material needs created by the development of the productive forces. And automation widens the gap, aggravating the contradiction between production and consumption which is inherent in capitalism. It is one of the factors exacerbating crises of overproduction.

Competition compels the capitalists to modernize their plant, with greater emphasis on automation. But since prices remain high and wages low, a substantial part of the output finds no market. Hence, underemployment of production capacities becomes chronic in the capitalist countries. According to the U.S. press, American manufacturing industry utilized in the summer of 1960 only about 80 per cent, and in the spring of 1961 roughly 75 per cent, of its production capacity. *Labor's Economic Review* points to this gulf between capacity to produce and buying power as one of the features of the U.S. economy. And *Wall Street Journal* puts the question still more plainly when it describes the U.S. economy as being gripped by a revolution caused by the harnessing of science to the interests of business and industry.

By greatly accelerating the development of the productive forces, automation makes it technologically possible to ensure a higher standard of living for all. But the capitalist mode of production and distribution prevents the realization of this possibility. For capitalism is unable to ensure the rise in the purchasing power required to provide a market for the vastly increased output resulting from technological progress. Hence under capitalism automation can but greatly increase the danger of overproduction and further undermine the economy. This aggravation of the contradiction between the growing production potential and the limited capacity of the capitalist market highlights the inevitable doom of capitalism.

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Of no small significance is the effect of automation on the character of man's labor and his participation in the production process.

In addition to liberating man from arduous physical labor, automation will free him also from monotonous, stultifying mental labor. With the gradual shift of emphasis from the direct operation of machines to tending and maintenance of automatic systems, and above all to technological preparation of the production process in the wider sense, the worker will be able to devote more time to occupations that appeal to him most, i.e., creative work. Production activity becomes increasingly centered around scientific and technological research, designing and perfecting automatic equipment, and devising new techniques, with much more time than before for science, education, art, etc.

In practice, of course, this objective process takes complex forms, but although there are zigzags, the general trend is clear. Automation not only provides opportunities for all-round development of the individual, it makes that development imperative. The point is that the instruments of production and the human element are inseparably interlinked. Extensive introduction of automatic processes necessitates overcoming the historically conditioned barriers between science and labor and at the same time creates the material conditions for erasing the distinctions between physical and mental labor, for the *all-round* development of each individual.

This is the objective trend, a trend that can fully assert itself only under socialism. Production relations based on public ownership not only clear the way for this trend, they also provide new and powerful stimuli to the all-round development of all members of society. These stimuli stem from both the development of the productive forces in the conditions of the technological revolution and the political development of socialist society. What is essential for building a developed socialist society and for the gradual transition to communism is that each member of society should be well educated and, besides doing his bit in the production of material wealth, should take an active part in public life, in managing industry, in state administration, and in developing science and art.

Socialist society equips its members to meet the demands made on the production worker by the technological revolution and its key component—automation. Indicative in this respect is the substantial rise in the workers' skills, as a result of automation in the socialist countries. For instance, in the fully automated department of the Moscow Ball-Bearing Plant the proportion of highly skilled workers is considerably greater than in the other shops. The percentage of machine adjusters increased from 11.8 to 51, of maintenance workers from 10 to 24, and of electricians from 2.4 to seven, while the percentage of operators declined from 57.8 to 7.6 and of unskilled helpers from 18 to 10.4. Moreover, the average skill rating of workers in all trades has risen.

Excellent opportunities are provided for workers to improve their skills. In the socialist countries a network of schools, including correspondence and evening higher schools, is at their disposal. For example, in the Kharkov Motor Works, where the basic components are machined on automatic lines

and where 30 more production lines will be installed by 1963, a technical college and a secondary technical school have been opened. More than 500 workers combine regular work in the plant with study in these establishments. At a chemical works in Usti nad Labem, Czechoslovakia, a number of departments will be fully automated by 1965, by which time more than 800 workers will have advanced to the higher skill brackets. At present the works' technical school is attended by about 400 workers, who when they finish the course will have a complete secondary technical education. In addition, 50 workers study at higher schools. As a result, this plant will, by 1965, not have a single worker with a low skill rating, while 20 per cent of the personnel of the automated departments will be graduate engineers and technicians.

In the socialist countries technological progress is accompanied by a rise in the general educational and professional level of the working people. In the USSR, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries facilities are being provided for all young people to receive a complete secondary education. As for higher education, here the socialist countries have surpassed many capitalist states. The higher educational establishments in the Soviet Union, for instance, graduate roughly three times as many engineers as do the colleges in the United States.

All education in the USSR is free of charge. Moreover, countless courses and schools, including higher schools and their branches, have been organized directly in the factories or in their immediate vicinity, and students who combine study with work are given paid leave to prepare for examinations and are not required to work at night. By 1959 nearly 40 per cent of all workers in the USSR had had a secondary or higher education. With the further advance of technology the educational and technological level of manual workers approximates more and more to that of mental workers. The very nature of labor is changing as mental and manual work gradually fuse into an organic whole.

The capitalist system, on the contrary, presents an insurmountable barrier to the attainment by the working people of the higher educational and technological standard required by automation, for under capitalism the intellectual element of the production process is divorced from manual work and is diametrically opposed to it.

For the overwhelming majority of workers automation under capitalism does not mean higher skills; on the contrary, it tends to downgrade them. The U.S. economist James R. Bright says that nowhere has he found automation accompanied by a rise in skills even approximating expectations. On the contrary, he discovered that in most instances less knowledge is required of individual workers and in the case of many factories even of the entire personnel.

The decline in skills is due to many reasons, of which we shall dwell only on the more important. Employers in most cases prefer partial automation which does not completely replace the operator but merely simplifies the operation. Inasmuch as these simpler operations can be performed by less skilled and therefore lower-paid workers, *complete* automation may actually be unprofitable. Whereas under socialism the purpose of automation is not only to effect an economy but also to improve working conditions, under capitalism the sole criterion is profit.

Hence the capitalist's frequent preference for the simpler forms of automation and his reluctance to do away completely with simplified manual operations. John Diebold, a U.S. business expert, has pointed out that while 80 or 90 per cent automation of a process may yield a substantial economy, an attempt to automate the remaining 10-20 per cent might make the whole undertaking unprofitable.

In general, under capitalism skills decline because the division of labor is carried to a point where the worker becomes a kind of robot, a fact which enables the employer to cut wages drastically. No wonder employers, as the French sociologist Georges Friedmann notes, try to downgrade workers "whenever they can."

Whereas in the socialist countries most workers tending automated production lines in engineering works, for example, are also skilled machine adjusters, in the capitalist countries the two functions are strictly separated. Consequently, the capitalist employers need fewer workers with a wide range of skills; as a rule, they prefer workers trained to perform limited functions. Such workers are paid less and are easier to replace, since in most cases their training takes no more than a few days or weeks.

Needless to say, the overall trend of automation towards a higher educational standard generally is gradually asserting itself even under capitalism, though in a highly contra-

dictory manner detrimental to the interests of considerable sections of factory and white-collar workers. Although there is a marked increase in the need for college-trained specialists and intermediate personnel with a secondary technical education, few workers have access to either secondary or higher technical schools. Even those with years of experience behind them find it harder to advance to the middle echelons of technicians. As for substantial numbers of workers, their skill ratings are downgraded. The technological revolution in industry leads to a devaluation of skills based only on practical experience.

Whereas socialist society attaches the greatest significance to raising the educational and technological level of the working people and encourages all to study, in capitalist society the worker is given no encouragement and very little assistance. By denying the majority of the working people access to scientific knowledge, the capitalist system comes into conflict with the objective requirements of technological progress, since this knowledge is essential to the further development of the productive forces of society.

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Taking place at a time marked by the coexistence of two diametrically opposed social systems, the technological revolution enhances the might of the socialist countries and hastens their victory in the peaceful economic competition with the capitalist countries.

Unlike capitalism, socialist society knows no barriers to the development of science and technology and the introduction of new techniques. As socialist society progresses toward communism, all-round mechanization and more and more complete automation of production processes steadily gather speed as the principal elements of technical progress. In the period of full-scale building of communism, automation is not only a cardinal law of the development of production but a social necessity, inasmuch as without it neither the production level nor the change in the character of labor essential to the communist society can be achieved.

The experience of the Soviet Union, which plays a vanguard role in the advance of the peoples of the socialist countries to communism, shows that to build communism such progress must be made in production as would elevate the productive forces to a qualitatively new stage. This cannot be

achieved without automation. Hence automation is one of the decisive aspects of the Soviet Union's principal economic task—creating the material and technical basis of communism. During the next ten years comprehensive mechanization of production processes will be carried out, and in 20 years comprehensive automation will be effected on a large scale, with more and more departments and entire plants being fully automated.

Thereafter, productivity of labor will greatly increase and overall production will be adequate to ensure abundance for all. Automation and comprehensive mechanization will provide the material foundation for the gradual evolution of socialist labor into communist labor; not only arduous manual work but eventually all unskilled work will disappear with the rapid advance of general and professional education and the erasing of the distinctions between mental and manual labor. Labor will cease to be merely the source of livelihood and will become man's prime requirement. His latent talents will find full expression. Socialist relations will gradually develop into communist relations. By the end of the present 20-year span the Soviet people will be ready to implement the communist principle of distribution according to needs.

In the capitalist world technological progress aggravates all the contradictions of capitalism. Capitalism is an obstacle to the full utilization of scientific and technological achievements in the interests of social progress. Hence advance in these fields, since it cannot be reconciled with the capitalist relations of production, brings nearer the end of the capitalist system, which acts more and more as a brake on the productive forces, prevents the scientific and technological revolution from developing freely and its fruits from being placed at the service of society, thus turning technical progress into a weapon directed against the working people.

The U.S. automation expert Milton H. Aronson has pointed out that automation cannot cure the ills of an ailing country, and that while it can help to make a sound economy sounder still, it is equally capable of aggravating the affliction of a sick economy.

Automation, marking as it does a new, higher stage in the development of the productive forces, makes production increasingly social in character and necessitates the transfer of the means of production to public ownership. Only when this is done will the potential latent in automation be fully released to serve the interests of man everywhere.

The Fight for Democratic Education in Austria

Fritz Glaubauf

FEW people in Austria can say they are satisfied with the situation in public education, or, for that matter, in the country's cultural life in general, all the more so since the Catholic clergy are engaged in an all-out drive completely to subordinate the school to the church and to preserve the educational privileges enjoyed by a minority of the population.

A school reform is being urged by bourgeois circles, as well as by the working class, which wants all children to have free access to education. The workers are no longer reconciled to a state of affairs when the parents' income decides whether their

sons and daughters enter the university or have to do without a higher education.

The Austrian Communists give priority to education and culture generally in their fight for the regeneration of democracy. They champion the right of the working people and their children to education irrespective of income, and combat the offensive mounted by the clerical reactionaries against general secular education. "The schools should come under the state," the Party declared at its Eighteenth Congress, "and all attempts by the Catholic clergy to force the state to finance private religious schools should be repulsed as undemocratic." The Communist

Party, then, both defends the educational system against reactionary machinations and advocates far-reaching democratic reform and reconstruction of education.

More Thought to the Future

Austria's contribution to world culture can hardly be questioned. In recent years, however, funds earmarked for cultural purposes have been spent *mainly on preserving the cultural heritage of the past, rather than on promoting culture today*. So alarming is the situation that the heads of higher educational establishments, meeting in April last year, issued the following appeal: "This conference of rectors wishes to impress on the nation as well as on the competent bodies and on those in the government and in Parliament, that the time has come to realize that parsimony in regard to higher education is tantamount to selling Austria's future for a mess of pottage. The innate talent of our people is our greatest wealth. But it is bound to waste away unless there are funds to cultivate it. Our higher schools lag far behind those of other countries as regards equipment, there are not enough auditoriums and the existing ones are too overcrowded for fruitful work. . . . There is also a shortage of professors, instructors and researchers."

It would be a mistake, however, to think that only the higher educational establishments are in this plight. The situation is no better at other levels.

Austria has had compulsory education for nearly 200 years. Formally no one is debarred from entering any type of school. Indeed, at first sight it might seem that there are no under-privileged. A closer examination, however, reveals an entirely different picture.

The Obsolete School Regulations Should Be Scrapped

The Austrian educational system rests on *totally antiquated foundations*. The "General School Regulations" — the cornerstone of the whole set-up — date from 1774. The imperial primary school law, the key principles of which are applied to this day, was adopted in 1869. Although there was a time when Austrian school laws were progressive, in our day social, economic and technological development has made a far-reaching overall educational reform imperative.

According to the abovementioned imperial primary school law, school attendance is compulsory for all children from six to 14. In reality only a minority is able to finish

all eight grades. The lack of a unified school (alongside the elementary Volksschule there is the so-called Hauptschule, which in turn is divided into two parallel courses with differing curricula) complicates the educational system and in effect prevents large numbers of children from going on to secondary school and, eventually, to university. These antediluvian survivals make it imperative to modernize and democratize the education system.

The fight against clerical influence is in many respects comparable to the struggle waged in France for secular education, even though the Austrian schools can by no means be called purely secular. Religious instruction, acts of worship and, in elementary schools, daily prayers, are obligatory.

What Should Be Changed In School Organization . . .

The principal demand put forward by the working class is *the abolition of the educational privileges enjoyed by the ruling circles, and equal opportunity for all children*. The reactionary clergy deny there is inequality of opportunity, arguing that the number of workers' children in secondary schools has substantially increased in the past ten years and that the fees are not excessive. True enough, more workers' children go to secondary school now than in previous decades — if there is such a school in the neighborhood. But not all are able to finish and take their matriculation examinations. According to the Vienna Chamber of Labor, workers and peasants account for 70 per cent of the total gainfully employed population. Yet their children make up only nine per cent of the total student body in the higher schools — a clear indication that there is a definite system of selecting the country's future administrative and executive personnel from among certain classes.

The Communists hold that democratization of the educational system should begin at the bottom — in the elementary schools. Needless to say, this is not a simple task, since small rural schools are needed in the numerous rural communities—many of which, moreover, are situated in mountain areas difficult of access. But if these schools with one to three classes were to cater only to children up to 10 years of age and the older ones went to a Hauptschule in the nearest town, the large percentage of children who now get only the rudiments of knowledge would be spared this injustice. This, of course,

would involve substantial expenditure on building new schools, opening boarding schools for out-of-town children, and providing transportation. The Communists, however, believe that the government should provide the money.

The demand of the day is to extend the term of compulsory school-attendance from eight to nine years (the Trade Union Federation urges 10-year schooling). This, however, is connected with the solution of a number of crucial economic problems. In the worker's family it is not a matter of indifference whether the child will begin to contribute to the family budget a year earlier or a year later. Raising the school-leaving age, therefore, is connected with the demand for government allowances for school-children.

That more and more working people want their children to get an education is evident from the increased enrollment in the eight-form secondary schools which prepare pupils for the university. But to choose at the age of ten between the Volksschule and the Hauptschule, knowing that the former puts an end to all hope of entering university, is not a simple matter. Nevertheless the clerical reactionaries insist on this conservative practice. "Nothing should be changed in the secondary schools," declares a Catholic teachers' statement. Moreover, the Catholics advocate early selection of children for further education and insist that Latin, which they regard as a barrier against workers' children getting into the higher schools, be introduced as early as possible in secondary school. No wonder then that besides guarantees of universal elementary education the question of instruction in Latin has loomed large in the public debate on education. The introduction of Latin earlier in the Hauptschule raises a wall between its pupils and those of the Volksschule and helps to maintain the exclusive right of the rich to higher education. Progressives consider it their duty to break down this wall. This would make a breach in the undemocratic school set-up.

But this is only one side of the matter. It is also imperative to teach children to respect productive labor, and especially manual labor. Although the rest of the capitalist world has conceded that the success of the socialist countries in education is due precisely to the proper combination of academic instruction with the teaching of skills, the Austrian rulers stubbornly cling to the obsolete forms of education.

Apart from the fact that only the children of the wealthy enjoy every opportunity to acquire a proper education, the minority monopoly of education is also expressed in inculcating scorn for physical labor and in idealizing office work. The present secondary school is an incubator for future civil servants, judges, army officers and other servants of the ruling class and its state machine.

These schools not only give no vocational training whatever; they imbue their pupils with the idea that any white-collar job is better than manual labor. The bourgeois state does this deliberately, for it does not want its future servants to have anything but disdain for the working man. Children are taught from their earliest years that society consists of those who give the orders and those who carry them out. It goes without saying that this principle is incompatible with the democratic outlook of the working class.

. . . And in Curricula

Curricula, naturally, correspond to the principles on which the school system is founded. The physics course, for instance, ends where modern physics begins. Study accessories in the natural sciences have hardly changed since grandfather's day. The history course is mostly a collection of dates and names of kings and, as a rule, says nothing about the present. Only in a few schools is there any mention of Hitler having started the Second World War and what it meant to Austria. A mobile exhibition telling the story of the Ravensbrueck concentration camp, arranged last year in Vienna and other cities, caused a sensation even among senior pupils. Most of them knew nothing of the horrors of the Nazi invasion. The children have only the haziest idea of the history of countries outside Europe and the Mediterranean area, and about the Soviet Union they know next to nothing. But they have to memorize the names of the Habsburg emperors and to have at their fingertips the outstanding dates in their reigns.

The Catholic reactionaries would like best of all to divert the attention of the youth from contemporary problems, to cut them off completely from real life. The result is that the school graduates are wholly unprepared to meet the realities of life.

As mentioned above, religious instruction is obligatory in all schools. It is given mostly by clergymen, whose influence on the pupils extends far beyond the classroom hours. This influence has grown since religion, which

requires no great intellectual powers or effort, was made one of the subjects of matriculation exams. For the past 16 years now the school system has been headed by active Catholics who make no secret of the fact that they consider the spread of Catholic influence in the schools to be the best antidote to the "pernicious influences of our time."

Needless to say, the clerical reactionaries are too cautious to reveal all their aims. Instead they stress state aid to church-supported private schools — the same demand as has been put forward in France. But whereas in France Catholic schools are common, in Austria they are few, and their influence is negligible. Nevertheless, if such private schools were to be put on a par with the general schools, this would spell the doom of the latter in many rural areas, for no peasant family would decide on a school for their children without the local priest's advice. And this would undermine the unified state school system in the towns as well.

In recent times the Socialist Party, which for the past 16 years has governed the country jointly with the Catholic People's Party, has made it one of the key planks of its program to seek reconciliation between Austrian Right-wing socialism and the Vatican. Socialist leaders have accepted papal decorations and have voted solidly in Parliament for the annual 100 million schilling subsidy to the Church, no small part of which goes to expanding the Catholic school network. Moreover, the Socialist Party has not objected to the founding in Salzburg of a "private" Catholic "European university" designed to serve as an anti-communist training center. All it did was to insist in return on the establishment in Linz of an Academy of Social Science. This concession to the clerical reactionaries cannot but encourage them to step up their drive to clericalize the schools completely.

In the light of this, *the training of teachers* is an urgent problem. At present the Volksschule teachers — and they make up the majority of the teaching profession — are trained at normal schools which have a five-year course and are open to all who have completed compulsory education. Most of these schools are run by the church or by the various Catholic orders. And since all Catholic normal schools provide board and lodging at low cost, many trainees prefer them to the state schools. As a matter of fact, the graduating classes of the state nor-

mal schools have been dwindling from year to year while those of the Catholic schools have been increasing. In this way the influence of the church goes far beyond the bounds of religious instruction.

Educationists and the trade unions feel that *teachers should be given a broader and more thorough education*. For this teacher training colleges are needed. So far, however, Catholic tenacity in clinging to the old positions, to the detriment of both teachers and schools, has prevented the realization of this sensible demand, which is also the demand of the Communist Party.

All along the line, then, there is a *struggle going on between the progressives and the Catholic reactionaries, whose power and influence over the schools are bound to grow so long as the educational system is not put on a genuinely democratic footing*.

Where Is the Money to Come From?

How is the reorganization of the school system to be financed? The ruling circles raise this issue to thwart school reform. "How can any comprehensive reorganization of the schools be carried out," they argue, "if there is no money even to maintain the present standard, to meet the present demand for premises and teachers, and to provide the higher schools and research institutes with the modern equipment they need?"

The Communists, fully aware of the magnitude of the problem, have repeatedly pointed out that it is *impermissible to economize on the upbringing and education of the rising generation*.

Curtailing expenditure on education is something that is going on in all capitalist countries. Even the Catholic reactionaries do not deny that too little is being spent on the schools. They agree that the allocations should be increased—but only by cutting pensions. As befits apologists for capitalism, they argue that the "philanthropy" of the modern capitalist state is detrimental to man, encourages idleness and engenders sinful thoughts. And this at a time when far from all pensioners receive allowances anywhere near the official cost of living index and are able to satisfy only their barest requirements.

Working-class circles, which have given serious thought to how the reorganization of education can be financed, have an answer to the problem. The money can be obtained by cutting down on military spending, especially expenditure on fortifications, to which the Austrian brass hats have latterly taken

a particular fancy. Further hundreds of millions of schillings could be obtained by putting an end to the tax plums which are now being handed out to the employers in one or another form. Clearly, then, even in Austria, which spends a smaller percentage of its revenue on armaments than the NATO powers, *money can be raised to improve the educational system by cutting the military budget.*

The obstacle is the reluctance of the ruling class to abandon an obsolete school system which works against the interests even of a substantial section of the bourgeoisie. Industry needs workers who are better educated than their fathers, and a higher level of technical training is required of all workers in general. Although the building industry in Austria still lags considerably behind that of many other countries as regards mechanization, a visit to any construction site will show the extent to which machines are replacing hand tools. In agriculture, too, machinery requires new skills. But the schools do not equip people to play their full part in modern production. Yet the capitalists hesitate to undertake any radical educational reconstruction.

The Communists Take the Lead

Democratic education implies more than the establishment of a unified compulsory school system. The Communists hold that *every opportunity should be provided for the working people to acquire a higher education.* For this two things are needed: boarding schools maintained by the state, and scholarships for all pupils in the senior grades of secondary schools, technical schools and, above all, in the higher educational establishments. At present one out of every three college students has to earn his living. But since there are no correspondence courses, while lectures and classes take place only during the day, few are in a position to work in industry. Many make their way through college by selling books or household appliances or holding down some night job.

In Austria there are only three evening secondary schools for workers. And the few who attend them lack the elementary conditions for study: their jobs are not guaranteed and no leave is allowed at examination time. *Democratic education also implies enabling*

the worker who wants to continue his schooling to combine study with his regular work. This is one of the democratic reforms formulated by the Communist Party.

The Communists likewise insist on *education being adapted to practical life, to the democratic spirit of our times.*

In 1961 the Central Committee of the Party adopted a comprehensive program for the regeneration of the educational system.

Fully aware that the capitalists will not yield any of their class privileges voluntarily, the Party considers that the urgent need of the day is a public discussion of problems pertaining to the schools.

In recent months the Communists have been in the forefront of the struggle waged by the progressive forces against the attempts of the ruling circles to substitute fictitious reforms for genuine modernization. When it was announced last March that ten school bills—aimed at consolidating the privileged position of the religious schools, strengthening the influence of the clergy in training teachers and, hence, in the entire educational system, and legalizing inequality of opportunity—were to be put through Parliament before its dissolution, the Party urged that the proposed laws be submitted to public discussion since they have a direct bearing on the interests of the people. The Party's attitude was stated in its paper *Volksstimme* on March 17:

"The proposed school program involves no real reform but serves only to strengthen the influence of the Catholic church among the youth.

"We demand that the public be fully informed of the program and the ten bills drafted by the Ministry of Education, and that the bills be submitted to the public for discussion. Education and the training of teachers should be the concern of the state, not the church."

The statement concluded with the demand for *equal educational opportunities for all.*

The democratic reconstruction of the school system advocated by the Communist Party would ensure the education of the young generation in the spirit of peace, understanding between nations and peaceful coexistence, instead of the mediaeval spirit of intolerance and pathological anti-communism of which the Catholic reactionaries are the principal vehicle in Austria.

WMR Commentaries

"Global Poker" versus Grand Strategy

THE U.S. journalist Stewart Alsop recently published an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* which attracted considerable attention in the press of many countries. This is hardly surprising, for, as the author repeatedly stressed (and as the President subsequently confirmed), the article, entitled "Kennedy's Grand Strategy," sets forth the President's views on the burning issues of our time.

The very nature of the article is such as to invite serious comment, not only with regard to Kennedy's strategy, but to the basic lines of policy of the USSR and the USA, i.e., of socialism and imperialism. For this is the plane on which the Alsop article is written. Kennedy's strategy is described as a reply to the Soviet "challenge," and in this connection reference is made, among other things, to Khrushchov's speech summarizing the results of the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow (first published in the January 1961 issue of our journal). The speech, we are told, greatly impressed the President. "Since then," the American journalist avers, "the President has become convinced that in the 'January speech' as it is known in the White House, Khrushchov was explicitly outlining his strategy. . . ."

But first about Kennedy's "grand strategy." What does it imply?

In the first place, that the President of the United States has abandoned the doctrine according to which the United States would never be the first to use nuclear weapons. ". . . In some circumstances," Alsop quotes Kennedy as saying, "we must be prepared to use the nuclear weapon at the start, come what may."

The second objective of Kennedy's "grand strategy" is to have "enough non-nuclear chips—enough conventional power—to continue to play the global poker game." The "game," Alsop explains, consists in actively combating the national-liberation movement, in continuing armed intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, specifically Laos and Vietnam, and in subversion against the socialist states, including attempts to engineer "guerrilla warfare" there.

"Kennedy's grand strategy," thirdly, covers a program of aid to foreign states. What is more, here the aid is frankly regarded as an instrument for subordinating other countries to American influence. "Foreign aid," writes Alsop, quoting one of the President's assistants, "is

a weapon in the battle, not a charitable enterprise."

The Presidential "strategy," as outlined by Alsop, surprises the reader. What has happened to the loudly advertised "new frontiers"? Where, for instance, is the new constructive approach to foreign policy? Atomic blackmail (and "in some circumstances" nuclear war), "local" wars, bribery in the guise of aid—in what way does the new strategy differ from the Dulles brand? The difference is a semantic one: a "global poker game" instead of the old "brinkmanship."

Anticipating the reaction to his revelations, Alsop bends over backwards in an effort to prove that Kennedy's "grand strategy" has been thrust upon him by the policy of the Soviet Union and, specifically, by Khrushchov's "January speech."

The argument, however, does not hold water, as anyone who has read the speech in question at all carefully will testify.

In the first place, the "January speech" does not repudiate but simply *develops* views expressed on previous occasions by the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Hence if only for this reason it gives the U.S. President no grounds whatever for changing his strategy, and least of all for reneging on declarations made some 18 months previously (for example, the pledge that American arms would "never be used to strike the first blow in any attack").

To give credit where credit is due, Alsop does cite Khrushchov's statement that the Communists regard the prevention of a global thermonuclear war as the number one job. He recalls, too, that, as Khrushchov pointed out in his speech, one of the means by which the Communists expect to win in the world contest is through the economic achievements of the socialist countries, through their victory in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

However, these principles, which are set forth in the "January speech," appear to have made no impression either on Stewart Alsop or, judging by the article, on the United States President. At any rate they have not, seemingly, affected the latter's "grand strategy" in any way.

The clinching point in the Alsop version of Kennedy's strategy as a reply allegedly to Khrushchov's strategy hinges on that part of the

"January speech" which deals with wars of national liberation. Alsop declares that such wars are "the chief military instrument of Khrushchov's grand strategy," and that the whole of his strategy, militarily speaking, "is a formula for spreading communism through . . . limited guerrilla warfare." By means of such wars, Alsop claims, the Communists hope to "nibble away at the non-communist world bit by bit" until final victory is achieved.

This interpretation of the Khrushchov speech does indeed make it look like an invitation to a game of "global poker." The leader of the Soviet Communist Party is charged, in effect, with advocating "export of revolution" by armed force. It is common knowledge, however, that Khrushchov, upholding the Leninist line, has always been a most vigorous opponent of this thesis. In the same "January speech" he said: "In the present conditions the following thesis formulated in the statement of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties acquires particular significance: *'The Communist parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution.'*"

And that part of the speech which touches on wars of national liberation has, needless to say, an entirely different meaning from that ascribed to it by Alsop. True, Khrushchov does say that "as long as imperialism exists, as long as colonialism exists" such wars are inevitable, and that Marxists take a favorable view of genuinely peoples' wars or uprisings, and fully support them. At the same time, he made it quite clear that national-liberation wars are a weapon to which the oppressed peoples resort when their "cup of patience overflows," and not an instrument of some external force bent on gaining its own ends.

This, indeed, is how national-liberation wars are regarded not only by the Communist Khrushchov but by many bourgeois spokesmen as well. And it should hardly be necessary to remind Alsop, the man who has undertaken to interpret Kennedy's policy, of such things. No one knows better than he that one of the criticisms levelled against the Eisenhower Administration by Adlai Stevenson, Chester Bowles and other Kennedy advisers was that the United States had failed in Asia, Africa and Latin America precisely because of its misguided notion that the ferment which had seized these continents was caused by communist intrigues.

That the socialist countries support the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries in their liberation struggle and render them aid is another matter. This aid can take the most diverse forms, from moral support (when

the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries use their political influence and international prestige to uphold the freedom of oppressed peoples) all the way to armed assistance (when it comes to foiling attempts at "exporting" counter-revolution, imperialist attempts by force of arms to overthrow young states born out of the national-liberation revolution). But whatever the form of the aid, it has nothing to do with "export" of socialist revolution, with a desire to impose socialism on other countries by force. It is a question of extending a *helping hand* to peoples who are fighting for freedom. Numerous indeed are the instances of the socialist countries extending aid to movements and governments far removed from communism for the sake of helping the national-liberation struggle of the people. One instance was the support which the socialist countries rendered Egypt during the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression in 1956.

And the Communist position on this question was reaffirmed by Khrushchov in the interview he gave to the American publisher Gardner Cowles in April. "As regards wars of liberation," he said, "it must be emphasized that we do not attempt and never have attempted to dictate the conduct of liberation wars to other nations.

"We recognize the right of the people of one or another country to wage liberation wars against foreign oppression."

Speaking of the political development of one or another country, Khrushchov said: "We strictly abide by the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and we believe that questions concerning the internal development of this or that state must be decided by the people of the given country themselves. What is in question here is not a liberation war, but the solving of internal problems."

To ascribe to Khrushchov a strategy of struggle for world communism based on guerrilla wars in remote corners of the globe is to question not only the sincerity of the Communists' intentions but their common sense as well.

Of course the Communists attach immense importance to the national-liberation struggle. Like the struggle for socialism, they regard it as one of the greatest movements of our time. For the Communists, moreover, the link between these two movements is quite obvious; they know that the national-liberation struggle can lead the peoples to the struggle for socialism, that it can enlighten and organize the masses and show them that the road to a happy future lies not only through national but also through social emancipation. That is what happened in China, in Vietnam and in Cuba. And it will happen again.

But even if a national-liberation war were to occur in all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America where colonialism still exists or where corrupt reactionary regimes are in power; and if, moreover, in many of these countries that war ended not only in independence but in socialist revolution, would this in itself decide the issue in favor of communist ideas throughout the world? Of course not. To think otherwise would be tantamount to underestimating the power of imperialism with its vast economic potential, its huge military machine, its long experience in suppression and deception of the working masses, to ignoring the fact that imperialism today still holds political and ideological sway over millions of people.

A realistic view of things—and the Communists have always been noted for their realism—impels the conclusion that the outcome of the struggle between the two social systems in the world today cannot be decided by blows, however painful, at the periphery, by “nibbling,” as Alsop puts it, at the edges of the capitalist world. No, the *complete and final victory of socialism throughout the world will come only when it strikes a mortal blow at the very heart of capitalism, that is, by demonstrating its superiority as a social system all along the line, and by convincing the people in the capitalist countries of that superiority.* This is how the people will be won for socialism. With capitalism gripped by deepening contradictions, this conviction of the superiority of socialism will generate such a mighty upsurge of revolutionary struggle that imperialism will have to give way and socialism will win the final victory in the struggle between the two systems.

The victory of socialism in peaceful competition with capitalism is, incidentally, a prime condition also for the socialist outcome of national-liberation revolutions. The peoples rising against colonialism are making their own choice, and will continue to do so, guided not merely by a sentimental attachment to the particular social system that has rendered them the most aid and expressed the most sympathy. These nations will look for the social system that can ensure them the most rapid and painless progress in the economic, social, cultural and all other spheres.

These are the things Alsop refuses to understand. Moreover, if we are to believe him, they have not been fully grasped by the President of the United States either. Yet in the very Khrushchov speech which, according to Alsop, aroused so much interest on Kennedy's part, there is a full and clear exposition of the truly grand strategy of communism. Here we have a comprehensive view on the times in which we

live, the Communist attitude to the problems of the day, in a word, a concept which can be regarded as the most important theoretical achievement of the contemporary Communist movement.

This concept is above all the concept of *mature socialism*, mature not only in the sense that it has recovered from its “infantile disorders” and accumulated valuable experience, but also in the sense that by and large socialism has overcome the consequences of the unfavorable conditions in which it was born (the economic backwardness which many countries inherited from capitalism, the destruction and loss of life caused by war, etc.). Contemporary socialism has a vast inner strength which is manifested in all spheres—economic and military, political and ideological. And this makes it a decisive factor of social development. New and immense possibilities for influencing the course of events lie before the socialist system, facilitating and accelerating human progress, and helping mankind to avoid dangers, misfortunes and disasters.

And this means that it is not only becoming possible today for socialism to defeat capitalism, whatever form the world struggle between the two systems may assume, but also to choose in the contest with imperialism the arena, the weapons and the methods which best serve the interests of humanity.

The Communists offer their own solution to the problems which capitalism has proved incapable of solving—well-being and social justice, peace and security, democracy and protection of the interests of the individual. That is where the Communist challenge to capitalism really lies.

Judging by Alsop's article, the President of the United States does not want to—or perhaps cannot—accept that challenge. Alsop virtually justifies that position indirectly by dismissing as utopian the goals to which the peoples aspire. “There will never be a time when poverty and war and the attendant miseries of both are wholly banished from the earth,” he writes. “The President and the men around him seek no final solutions, because there are none.”

True, American journalists and political leaders are entitled to their views. That is their personal affair. But the President's decision to continue the struggle between the two systems on the old, Dulles battlefield and by the old, Dulles methods is no longer the personal affair of a group of policy-makers. That decision affects the interests of all countries, of all peoples, inasmuch as it adds to the danger of war and makes heavier the burdens imposed by the arms race and the international tension.

The socialist countries cannot afford to ignore the policy of "global poker"; it compels them to take extra measures to strengthen their defense capacity. At the same time, the socialist countries will, as heretofore, continue to use

their power, prestige and influence to force the imperialists to abandon the "game" and to accept the challenge of the "grand strategy of communism." For on this the destiny of humanity largely depends. J. ARMSTRONG

"New" Policy and Old Allies

POLITICAL doldrums are a rarity in Latin America, an area of unstable political climate where revolutionary cyclones are superseded by anti-cyclones moving from the North and where the wind of national liberation now rises, presaging a purifying thunder, now calms down as if gathering strength before the next onrush . . . The spring that has just passed was no exception. In the past few months developments took a sharp turn in Argentina and Ecuador.

In March the militarists in Argentina forced President Frondizi to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba, and then, threatening to use force, made him resign and vested power in Jose Maria Guido, President of the Senate, the latter being compelled to reorganize the government.

The events in Argentina were followed by a similar onslaught of reaction in Ecuador. Under pressure of the military clique President Julio Arosemena early in April broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba, Poland and Czechoslovakia and reorganized his government, bringing in men of the extreme Right.

Regardless of their scale and significance for the political situation in Latin America, the events in Argentina and Ecuador are as like as two peas. In what way do they resemble each other?

Firstly, the original object of and the pretext for the reactionary drive was the stand taken by the corresponding governments at the inter-American conference in Punta del Este in January this year, at which the delegations of Argentina and Ecuador were among those who abstained from voting for the expulsion of Cuba from the Organization of American States.

Secondly, in both countries it was the top military which the reactionaries used as their shock force.

And lastly, and this is particularly noteworthy, the military cliques in Argentina and in Ecuador advanced almost identical demands: rupture of relations with Cuba and the socialist countries, a ban on or at least restrictions of the activities of the Communist Party and the Left groupings, and military control over the state apparatus.

Army coups d'état are not new for Latin America. The military are always on top, ready at any time to overthrow a too "Left" regime or suppress anti-imperialist actions. This time, however, the blows of the reactionaries were aimed against liberal bourgeois-democratic governments which could hardly be described as being too "Left" and certainly not revolutionary. The forcible change of government in Argentina and the sharp turn to the Right in Ecuador signify, in essence, abolishing the self-same "representative democracy" which the gentlemen of the "free world" laud to the heavens.

But to regard the events in Argentina and Ecuador, as well as last year's attempt at a coup d'état in Brazil, simply as a crusade by the reactionaries against the democratic legality and constitutional liberties which restrain them, would be looking at the surface of things. These events have a more profound significance. They are a kind of "forestalling strategy" designed to prevent the swing to the Left. Both the Latin American reactionaries and their patron and ally—U.S. imperialism—are haunted by the specter of "another Cuba."

And their fears are not groundless. This was forcefully confirmed by the developments in Ecuador at the end of last year when attempts to instal a military dictatorship were frustrated, and by the results of the March general election in Argentina.

It was with a view to arresting the spread of the democratic movement in both countries that the military acted against the "indecisive" governments. Everybody understands, however, that this action could be taken only after the Argentine and Ecuador reactionaries got a nod from outside, i.e., from U.S. imperialism.

The Latin American press reported that on the eve of the military coup in Ecuador this country was visited by General Bogar, U.S. commander in the Caribbean, who conferred secretly with the military chiefs there. U.S. diplomacy has also left its imprint on the events in Argentina. *Prensa Libre* (Mexico) commented at the beginning of April that Washington had decided basically to reverse the

results of the general election in Argentina in order to show the other Latin American countries that it intended to act without delay and without regard "to the laws and norms of decent behavior"(!).

In view of this one cannot but ask: how can the White House declarations in favor of economic and social reforms in Latin America be squared with the undisguised support for the reactionary crusades and military plots directed against its own "representative democracy"?

The answer is simple. Here we see two sides of Washington's policy with regard to Latin America: support for dictators like Stroessner in Paraguay or the Somoza brothers in Nicaragua, hatching military plots and sending Marines to "dangerous" areas, on the one hand, and flirting with the national and the big bourgeoisie, promises of lavish financial support for industrialization and economic reforms, and talk about abolishing the latifundia and about "equal economic opportunities" for all, on the other.

It is, naturally, far from easy to put these two lines together. But in all probability, this is not necessary, since these lines are of an altogether different character. The love-affair with the bourgeois groups and "democratic regeneration" is purely Platonic. As we see, Washington has a really mutual affection only for the ultra-reactionary classes in Latin America—the latifundia owners and the venal pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., classes whose interests organically merge with the interests of foreign monopoly capital.

That is why the views of even the most well-meaning of President Kennedy's advisers and aides have so little effect on United States policy. They may really be convinced that a liberal policy will be much more effective, and may even try to prosecute such a policy, but the nature of the relationship between Wall Street imperialism and the Latin American countries—a relationship based on exploitation and plunder—is such that it presupposes alliance with

the reactionary classes and groupings in these countries. The relationship derives from the nature of U.S. imperialism, and this nature nullifies the efforts of those who would like to defend its interests in a somewhat more rational and effective way.

This complex and contradictory situation poses serious tasks before the working class of Latin America and its vanguard—the Communist parties. The counter-offensive launched by the reactionaries shows that more countries on the American continent will become a scene of sharp clashes and severe class battles. And the outcome of this struggle will be of the utmost significance for the future of the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

Although the reactionaries are strong enough to strike hard at the liberation movement, the chances for doing so are shrinking. The fact that they have trampled underfoot constitutional liberties, thrown overboard their own bourgeois democracy and pinned their hopes on bayonets alone, testifies not to their strength but to their weakness, and shows that they are losing support not only among the masses but also among part of the bourgeoisie.

In these circumstances a national democratic front headed by the working class can become an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the land-owning oligarchy, the venal bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism. And this front is taking shape in a number of Latin American countries. The Communists regard it as their task to draw into it the widest possible groups of the population—from the working class to the national bourgeoisie. The recent developments in Argentina and Ecuador provide cogent arguments to the organizers of this front. They prove, in particular, that Washington, in its relations with some sections of the Latin American bourgeoisie, can indulge only in an innocuous flirtation, that it will not risk undermining seriously, even through liberal reforms, its social base in Latin America.

Miguel CAMPOS

Politics, the Trade Unions and the Communists

A FAVORITE complaint of the bourgeois press is that the trade unions in the "free" world pay too much attention to politics. In Britain, for example, the author of a book entitled *Trade Unions in a Free Society* exhorts the unions to leave politics alone and confine themselves to questions of wages and conditions of labor. The weekly *Statist*, for example, recently published a series of articles on the

principles of "the free and affluent society" in which the British trade unions are accused of having violated these principles by championing nationalization. This desire to keep the unions out of politics is one of the main aspects of the modernized versions of the "alliance of labor and capital" theory expounded by Cardinal Montini and some Christian Democratic leaders in Italy, by the National Association of

Manufacturers in the United States, and in France by people like Chalandon, a man of big business.

The fact that the class enemy is sounding the alarm is a sure sign that the trend of trade union development coincides with the interests of the working class. The bourgeoisie indeed has serious grounds for apprehension. For today the trade unionists in the mass no longer confine themselves to fighting for wage increases and better conditions. They are participating to a far greater extent in the political struggle—the fight for peace, for disarmament, for extending democratic freedoms, for nationalizing the key industries under democratic management, and for other demands which shake the foundations of the monopolies and serve in the final analysis to hasten the achievement of the final goals of the working class—the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. How much greater the role of the trade unions has become may be judged from the replies given by 12 trade union leaders from different countries to the questionnaire circulated by our journal and published in issues Nos. 3 and 4 for this year.

But is this true of all trade unions? One of the above 12 union leaders, the Swedish Social Democrat Andersson, said that "the trade union movement will always and in all countries be an important factor in building socialism." That is so, we may add, but only if it adopts the standpoint of class struggle. As everybody knows, the leaders of the biggest unions in the United States and in other countries advocate class collaboration and use the unions to bolster up rather than undermine the capitalist system. There is not a trace of socialism in the actions of this type of leader; on the contrary, they are playing the part of capitalist agents in the labor movement. But Andersson is right in the sense that whether the union leaders like it or not, the experience of the day-to-day conflict with capitalism develops class consciousness — if only in dimly-sensed embryonic form — among the trade union members (even in those unions whose leaders adopt a conservative, conciliatory position).

The way in which the trade union membership takes part in the political struggle was described in the speeches of many of the delegates to the Fifth World Trade Union Congress. These delegates, many of whom were not Communists, spoke of the value of trade union cooperation with other democratic organizations, and especially with the Communist parties, and expressed their gratitude to the Soviet Communist Party for having given the international labor movement such a shining beacon as the

Program of the CPSU. This testifies that the Party, the Communist movement, is the prime factor in developing the class consciousness and militancy of the proletariat, and consequently, in drawing the unions into political struggle.

U.S. experience, on the other hand, shows that where the Communist Party, because of persecution, is not in a position to exert a decisive influence on the working class, the class consciousness of the rank-and-file trade unionists lies dormant, so to speak — a fact which plays right into the hands of the union chieftains. And that is where the danger lies. For while it is true that the American workers have on the whole won a relatively high standard of living, it was their failure to pursue an independent class policy that prevented them from taking a militant stand, say, against the U.S. intervention in Cuba. And had it not been for the resolute action of the Cubans and the support they received from progressive forces all over the world, the American workers might have found themselves embroiled in an imperialist war.

On the other hand there is a tendency on the part of political leaders in some countries to regard the expansion of trade union functions and their increasing participation in political struggle as evidence that the labor movement of today has no need of political parties (the Communist parties, mainly, of course), that the trade unions, whose task according to the leaders of the French Confederation of Christian Workers is to "take the parties in tow," have now to all intents and purposes replaced the parties. There could hardly be a more dangerous point of view. This would mean depriving the working-class movement of the ideological and political leadership which can be provided only by the Party, and in the final analysis would again limit proletarian action to the sphere of economic struggle. The Party, as Lenin said, is the "highest form of class organization of the proletariat,"* and all our experience has confirmed the truth of this thesis.

Does this mean, however, that the trade unions are merely "instruments" of the Communist Party, and that the Party drafts their policy? Of course not. Lenin regarded trade unions as independent organizations of the workers, which teach the masses the art of government, of achieving unity, solidarity and defense of their interests. Speaking of the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he said "we should utilize these workers organizations for the purpose of protecting the workers from their own state and in order that they

*V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder."

may protect our state".* In other words, Lenin saw the peculiar, dialectically complex role of the unions, he appreciated that the leading role of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and especially in relation to the unions, is combined with the independence of the latter. It is for this reason that when the question of the trade unions was discussed by the Soviet Communist Party, Lenin levelled such sharp criticism at Trotsky, who argued that the unions be directly subordinated to the state; Lenin emphasized that, as production developed and the cultural level of the working people rose, the trade unions would play a bigger part in society, and particularly in the management of the economy.

We know that not all of these principles of Lenin's were properly observed in the USSR during the period of the Stalin cult. And this at times detracted from the role of the trade unions, lending them a purely formal character. With the end of the personality cult, the Communist Party took resolute steps to stimulate the initiative of the mass organizations of the working people, and primarily the trade unions. "The role of the social organizations increases in the period of the full-scale construction of communism," states the new Program of the CPSU. "The trade unions acquire particular importance as schools of administration and economic management, as schools of communism. The Party will help the trade unions to take a growing share in economic management . . ." The Program goes on to enumerate in detail the manifold functions of the unions. The place of the trade unions in socialist society was aptly described by Khrushchov in his address to the Fifth World Trade Union Congress. "If the whole of the economic, cultural and public activity in our country could be likened to a ship steered by such an experienced helmsman as the Communist Party, then side by side with the helmsman on the captain's bridge of that ship you would find the trade unions." By dogmatist standards, the trade unions would no doubt be placed somewhere in the nether regions of the ship.

But if a dogmatic, vulgarized conception of the leading role of the Communist Party with regard to the trade unions is harmful to the cause of communism in a socialist society, where the Party is the acknowledged leader of the people, how much more dangerous is it in capitalist conditions, where the working class is exposed to the influence not only of Marxists but of parties hostile to Marxism. Under these conditions such mistakes could undermine the

influence of progressive trade union centers and strengthen the reformist organizations, and lead to violation of the fundamental law of trade union activity, namely, the striving to unite all workers whatever their political convictions.

Here again it is in place to cite Lenin who, as far back as the 1905 revolution, warned against precisely this kind of error. In a letter to a newspaper, published under the heading "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies," he wrote that the local Soviet *as an organization of working men*, should strive to include deputies representing factory workers, office clerks, domestic servants, farm laborers, etc., all who can and wish to fight together for a better life for all toiling people, all those endowed with elementary political integrity, all except the Black Hundreds." In the same letter Lenin welcomed the fact that there were others besides Social Democrats in the Soviet and he agreed with those Socialist Revolutionary workers who objected to the local Soviet being incorporated in the Social Democratic Party. He sharply criticized those comrades who called for the expulsion from the Soviet of representatives of other political groups, calling such action "sheer madness."

International experience shows that the Communists working in the trade union movement adhere to these principles. They resolutely combat the dogmatist, sectarian view of the trade unions as a branch of the Party, an approach which could only undermine Communist influence in the working class.

The Communist position on this question is set forth in the pamphlet *The Trade Unions and the Revolutionary Transformation of Ecuador* published last year in Guayaquil. Its author is Pedro Saad, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ecuador. The mistake to avoid in this respect," P. Saad points out, "is any attempt to turn the trade unions into an appendage to some political party . . . If the economic struggle is waged only by the Communists or the Socialists, even if they are united, we shall not be able to achieve that combined force of the working class and all the laboring masses that is essential for revolutionary changes. This is what happens when we turn the trade unions into an appendage to one or another Party, or when we act on behalf of one party. This isolates the trade union, divorces it from the masses and prevents the struggle from developing to the full."

Of course, the fact that the Communists stand for the independence of the unions does not imply that the Party of the working class attaches no importance to the unions. Unlike the narrow-minded reformist labor leaders who be-

*V. I. Lenin, *The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky*.

lieve that theirs are the only organizations entitled to exist, the Communists hold that for the achievement of the working class goals not only the Party but non-Party mass organizations are essential, and above all the trade unions. The Communists in their mass are doing excellent work in the unions, faithfully adhering to their program principles and at the same time seeking to guide trade union activity in the direction that will be of the maximum advantage to the working class. It is thanks to their conscientious work that Communists have been elected to leading posts in the trade union movement in a number of capitalist countries, for example in France, where Comrade Frachon, member of the Political Bureau of the Party, is General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labor and in Italy whose General Confederation of Labor is headed by Comrade Novella, a leader of the Italian Communist Party. Men like Frachon and Novella of course are guided in their actions by their conscience and their Communist convictions, but this does not mean that they use the trade unions as instruments of narrow Party politics. Far from it. The Communists have no interests other than the interests of their class, the proletariat; hence their insistence that the unions pursue a policy of class struggle. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, who in publications like *Statist* deplore the "preoccupation with politics" on the part of the trade unions, professing to be concerned solely with the welfare of the unions, are in

reality pursuing their own selfish ends. The trade unions cannot stand aloof from politics. Either they fight for an independent working class policy or they help the hostile class to pursue its policy, which is exactly what happens when the line advocated by the *Statist* is followed. Take, for example, the West German unions. Their leaders, hiding behind the "no politics in the unions" slogans, have virtually placed their organizations in the service of the bourgeoisie, and thus deprived them of the possibility of taking an independent stand on any of the urgent issues facing their country, with the result that the policy of remilitarization, a policy utterly alien to the working class, holds sway in the Federal German Republic, and the power of the big bourgeoisie and its party, Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union, has been consolidated.

In speaking of the place of the trade unions in society, one cannot but agree with the program of action drawn up by the World Federation of Trade Unions and the emphasis it places on the independence of the unions as a cardinal condition for their active struggle on behalf of all the people, and primarily the working class. In other words, the independence of the trade unions is a guarantee that the trade unions will be able to pursue a progressive policy, a policy that accords with the interests of the proletariat and alarms the bourgeoisie.

A. M. BARTZ

The Ground Is Shaking in Spain

THE attention of democrats everywhere is again focused on Spain. For weeks past a strike wave, the biggest of its kind since the fascist dictatorship was installed, has been sweeping the country.

The working class, having gradually mustered forces and closed its ranks, has now stepped out in a united front for its own emancipation and the emancipation of the people as a whole, to put an end to the Franco regime and open the way to progress. The Franco dictatorship has failed to destroy the militancy of the workers and their dignity. After all his efforts Franco has not succeeded in sowing among the working class feelings of despair and conformity; neither hunger nor terror has been able to extinguish the spark of intolerance towards violence which has always burned brightly in the hearts of the working people.

The strike, sparked off by a group of miners in the Asturias for higher wages, spread rapidly throughout the area. By April 23, 60,000 miners and metalworkers had come out on strike. Strikes in solidarity with the Asturias spread all over the country. By mid-May over 100,000 had downed tools, and above all in the Basque country, in Catalonia, Andalusia and Leon.

From these working-class struggles the struggle spread to students and intellectuals. At the beginning of May students organized a large demonstration in Madrid. Although dispersed by the police who made many arrests, the students have not been subjugated.

Foreign journalists have expressed the view that Franco will go to all lengths, even to repetition of the butchery in the Asturias in October 1934, to crush the actions against his regime. The fascist authorities have dispatched large numbers of the armed police and the "civil

guard" to the Asturias and other strike-stricken areas where wholesale arrests have been carried out.

But Franco and his government are treading on very thin ice. One of their first steps was to declare a three-month "state of emergency" in the Asturias, Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, the areas where strikes acquired a particularly sweeping scale. In an appeal issued on May 5 the Communist Party of Spain declared that "the introduction of a state of emergency has exposed before the country and the whole world the real fascist face of the Franco government, and the truth about its 'social policy', it has demonstrated the weakness of this government which trembles each time the working people go on strike, a measure which is lawful in any country that has a bare minimum of civic liberties."

Although the present strike movement pursues the immediate aim of obtaining higher wages and securing better conditions, it is in fact, like any action directed against the Franco regime, of a political character. It should be borne in mind that these strikes are taking place in a country where strikes are strictly prohibited and their organizers and participants are condemned by military tribunals to 20-30 years' imprisonment.

Regardless of the outcome of the struggle one thing is clear: Franco and his dictatorship will not be able to recover from this blow. And not, as the ruling circles are trying to depict it, because these actions testify to the growing militancy and unity of the democratic forces.

The Communists are doing everything to strengthen this unity. In a statement issued on May 12 the Executive Committee of the Com-

munist Party of Spain said it would take the necessary steps to establish contact with the other anti-Franco forces with a view to organizing joint action.

Democrats all over the world are displaying their solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish people. An example of this was the International Conference for the Freedom of the Spanish People held in Rome on April 13-14, i.e., before the recent events, and attended by public figures from many countries. The active part played by the Communists helped very much to make the conference a success. Participants also included such Socialist leaders as Jules Moch, Pietro Nenni, Leo Collard, Mrs. Jenny Lee and Claude Bourdet. Messages of greetings were received from Catalan anti-fascist organizations and from the Spanish republican government in emigration. These messages together with the contributions made by Santiago Carrillo (General Secretary, Communist Party of Spain), Alvarez del Vayo (Socialist, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Spanish Republic), Pallach (United Socialist Party of Catalonia), Buiria (General Union of the Working People of Catalonia) and Eduardo Ortega y Gasset (veteran republican), were an expression of the urge towards anti-Franco unity.

Among the decisions adopted by the Rome conference was a call for unity addressed to the people of the world and to the population of Spain. The latest surge of struggle is, as it were, a response to the Rome decisions. By their struggle the Spanish people are making their contribution to the international democratic movement.

B. SANCHEZ

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Current Tasks of the Communists in Honduras

THE Communist Party of Honduras is forced to work underground—the result of the political rule of the oligarchy which is aided and abetted by U.S. imperialism and follows its *diktat*. Backwardness, unemployment, poverty, disease and ignorance—these are the tragic consequences of the reactionary policy the burden of which is borne by the workers, peasants and the urban middle sections. It is these classes that are fighting ceaselessly against U.S. domination, against the national treachery of the landlords and the bureaucratic and compradore bourgeoisie. This struggle is growing in intensity, and leadership of it is gradually passing over from the national bourgeoisie to the working class and its political vanguard.

The prestige of the Communist Party is growing, as a result of its work in elaborating the burning problems of national development and in fighting selflessly on behalf of the people. The Party's prestige stands out against the background of the defeat suffered by the Liberal and Conservative parties in whom the masses had long reposed their trust. The ruling clique of the Liberal Party, having reneged on their promises to the people, have gone the way of the Conservative Party clique.

The country is fast becoming a semi-colony and the present situation, characterized by a continuing decline in living standards, confronts the Communist Party with the task of fighting for a democratic reconstruction of society. In order to do this and to take the masses along the road to social progress, the Communists must first strengthen the Leninist foundations of the Party and make it the effective vanguard of the popular struggle.

In recent times the Party has experienced an acute internal crisis caused by the appearance of a strong revisionist trend headed by one of the members of the Central Committee. The factional activity of the revisionists brought the Party to the verge of a split. But in the course of the sustained ideological struggle waged by the leadership with the support of the majority of the rank and file, the anti-Party group was defeated. This crisis caused by the renegades (a few months later they openly acted as imperialist agents and police informers) caused no little injury to the Party which

has been deflected from the job of organizing the struggle of the masses, and has had to concentrate on combatting the revisionist deviation.

Upon overcoming factionalism the Party began to make headway. It was able to establish a Communist youth organization, and its influence is growing in the trade unions. It has helped to bring into existence many "Land to the Tiller" committees. These committees are organizing the peasants and are agitating for land reform. Women's organizations, too, are being set up — hitherto the women's associations were connected with the bourgeoisie. The idea for a broad and powerful National-Liberation Front advanced by the Party is gaining support.

A meeting of the Central Committee, held in November 1961, summed up the results of the struggle conducted against the revisionists and recognized as correct and timely the measures taken by the leadership. In conformity with the decisions adopted by the First Congress of the Party, the Central Committee discussed and endorsed the Party's Program which has been taken up by the masses as the instrument of their struggle. The program, which sets forth the political and organizational tasks of our Party in the struggle against the local and foreign oppressors, contains a Marxist analysis of the economic, political, social and cultural conditions obtaining in the country. It lays bare the reasons for the poverty of the people and the backwardness of the country. It exposes the ruling oligarchy, the reactionary political parties and the present regime which has sold itself wholly and completely to U.S. monopolies. U.S. imperialism is characterized as enemy No. 1. Such American companies as Tela Railroad Co., Standard Fruit (a United Fruit subsidiary), the Mochito Mining Co., the Public Utilities Honduras Corporation and others control the country's industry and agriculture and a large part of her public services.

The Program analyzes questions of vital significance for the country: the military pacts which bind Honduras to the U.S. policy of aggression and which are instruments for suppressing the people of Honduras; the economic integration of the Central American coun-

tries—another form of imperialist economic domination; the consequences of the subordination to U.S. imperialism which has resulted in the enactment of fascist-type laws and in a drive against democratic rights.

Turning to the new conditions in the world at the present stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the Program stresses the changed balance of world forces in favor of socialism, and notes that the progress recorded in all spheres by the socialist world system has greatly aided the underdeveloped nations. "The socialist camp in alliance with the peoples fighting for peace and national independence," it says, "is proof that Honduras patriots should redouble their efforts and with still greater resolve organize the struggle for the liberation of Honduras."

Apropos of the victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba the program emphasizes that "the struggle of the peoples of Latin America for liberation is bound to grow, and in so doing will support the Cuban revolution and weaken and destroy the yoke of U.S. imperialism. Solidarity with the Cuban revolution signifies fighting relentlessly against imperialism. Imperialist intervention against Cuba would be aggression against the peoples of Latin America."

In its Program the Communist Party voices the need to secure a radical turn in national life, to isolate the reactionaries who today hold the reins of government, to ensure the emergence onto the political scene of new forces so that "the country can be run by the representatives of the working class, of the peasantry and of the small bourgeoisie whose interests are injured by U.S. imperialism and the latifundia system." The Program outlines the tasks of the democratic national-liberation government. These include taking over all the national resources owned by North American imperialism, a policy of peace and friendship with all nations, trade relations on the basis of mutual advantage, complete equality and respect for national sovereignty, control over foreign trade, industrialization and simultaneous establishment of the necessary state institutions, a democratic land reform, abolition of the latifundia and the primitive methods of cultivation, free distribution of the land among land-hungry peasants and farm laborers, rural cooperatives and better conditions for the people.

The Party points out that this government will be the outcome of the unity and the struggle of all men and women, of those parties, classes and social groups whose interests are menaced or injured by U.S. imperial-

ism and the latifundia regime. And for this it is necessary to build a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front.

The Communists do not rule out the possibility of any class, party or group prepared to fight for national liberation taking part in the democratic national-liberation front. The Communists, says the Program, "are prepared to work for mutual understanding, even a temporary understanding, on all or on particular questions, or at least on one point of the Program, and we declare our readiness to study the proposals of other classes, groups or political parties striving jointly to elaborate program concepts; the only reservation we make is that the proposals, like our Program, pursue the aim of national liberation."

The Communist Party does not reject the possibility of a peaceful solution of the problems confronting our people, but unless rational steps are taken quickly to end the crisis and the poverty, then "we will not be to blame for the use of force and the entire responsibility will devolve exclusively upon U.S. imperialism and the rulers who resort to ruthless measures, lawlessness, and arbitrary action in order to prevent the people from expressing their will and ending their poverty by purely democratic means." To implement the noble task of liberation "the working class by virtue of its organization and militancy must be the main force; it, more than any other class, is interested in liberation and it is the most patriotic, consistent and only class whose present and future interests completely coincide with the interests of the nation."

History, the Program continues, has allotted the role of vanguard of the working class to the Communist Party. And in order to live up to this role, it must be strong, united, disciplined and solid theoretically, politically and organizationally. "The Communist Party of Honduras, heir to the best traditions of the national struggle, has unfurled and, in the new conditions, holds aloft the banner of independence and democracy, the banner of our heroes Francisco Morasan, Dionicio de Herrera, Marco Aurelio Soto, Ramon Rosa and others, the banner which was trampled underfoot by imperialism and by the treachery of the traditional political parties." Inspired and guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching which has triumphed in the Soviet Union, People's China and in the other socialist countries, we shall work to raise the ideological and political level of the Party so that its organization shall correspond to its historical mission and the responsibility reposed in it by the mass movement.

Seledonio FUENTES

The People's Party of Panama Unfurls the Banner of Patriotism

OF late the capitalist newspapers in Panama have been filled with suggestions and vaguely-worded hints about the future of the Panama Canal. Galileo Solis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, ex-President Harmodio Arias and other spokesmen of the ruling classes have made statements in which they try to formulate a "new" official policy for the Canal.

But there is little that is new in this policy. The line taken by the present government suffers from the same weaknesses as those of its predecessors who also presented demands to the United States. The weakness of the line is that while much is said about many things, about the thousand and one injustices contained in the 1903 treaty, in the final count everything boils down to bargaining for miserable crumbs.

In this there is nothing fortuitous. The experience of the negotiations with the United States shows that this tactic of our governments, the present one not excluded, is an expression of the colonial thinking of those who profit from the oppression to which imperialism subjects both our country and people. These gentlemen believe that the United States domination over the Canal Zone is both lawful and eternal. And they reduce the solution of the Canal problem to securing at least partial concessions from Washington. Acting on the principle that "the fleece of a scabby sheep is better than no wool," they seek only an alteration in the system of violence which enables the imperialists to cash in on our geographical position.

This is the attitude of hucksters bargaining for a possibly higher price for our national sovereignty and independence.

Capitalist newspapers, and in particular *El Panama America*, express the view that our country should not have to wait another 20 years before the United States decides to build a canal without locks, that the government should secure the cooperation of other countries, including the socialist countries, with a view to building a modern canal. Although these statements are made largely for purposes of blackmail, the possibility of building a canal without locks not by the United States but by some other country or a group of countries is something more than the wishful

thinking of blackmailers. The time when only the big imperialist powers could undertake such costly and complicated engineering work is gone forever. Today the socialist countries, and the Soviet Union in particular, have outstripped the capitalist world in technology and science.

The Soviet Union has built a whole series of canals which in all respects leave the Panama Canal far behind. At present the USSR is financing and building the Aswan High Dam in Egypt. From the technical standpoint and the amount of money involved the Aswan project surpasses the design for a lockless canal. The building of the dam does not affect in any way Egypt's independence, whereas we lost our independence as the result of the digging of a canal which, moreover, is not our property.

The idea of a canal without locks came from the imperialists themselves and now they are putting out feelers for a concession to build it. But since the U.S. imperialists say that the construction could be undertaken only 20 years hence, a section of the ruling class, with an eye to getting a large amount of capital as quickly as possible, is thinking in terms of getting other countries to do the job. But this is not because they really want the participation of other countries, and even less are they motivated by the idea of freeing our country from dependence.

One thing is clear—if we had a government really representative of the people, and if this government were to ask the socialist countries for help in building a modern canal, it would, doubtlessly, meet with complete understanding. But those who jointly with the imperialists are profiting by exploiting and oppressing our people will do all in their power to maintain the present state of affairs.

We say that in order really to solve this problem it is necessary to annul the right of the United States to exclusive possession of the Canal and the profits ensuing from its use, to reunite the Canal Zone to the country and to make the USA withdraw its armed forces from Panama.

Vicente TELLO,
General Secretary,
People's Party of Panama

The Ceylon Communist Party's Views on Studying the Experience of the CPSU

THE decisions adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are still engaging the attention of public opinion everywhere, and they are discussed and studied in the fraternal Communist parties. The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party recently issued a statement on the Twenty-Second Congress assessing its decisions and drawing conclusions pertaining to the practical work of the Party.

"The Twenty-Second Congress," the statement says, "is a landmark in the history of the CPSU and the international Communist movement. It was the congress of the building of communism, of the advance of socialist democracy and defense of peace. It provides fresh encouragement and renewed assurances of success for the peoples fighting to win their national independence or to uphold, consolidate and develop the national independence that they have already won."

The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party supports the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU directed towards relaxing international tensions and strengthening the worldwide struggle for peace.

"The Twenty-Second CPSU Congress," the statement goes on, "is also a source of hope and inspiration for the national-liberation struggles now sweeping colonialism out of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America...."

"The victorious march of the Soviet Union towards communism will greatly increase its capacity to aid the liberation struggle of the nations fighting for independence and to assist newly-free nations rapidly to overcome the backwardness inherited from imperialist rule. It will signify also a shift in the correlation of world forces that will make it even more difficult for the imperialists to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries or to establish forms of neo-colonialism."

The Central Committee points out that the new Program of the CPSU, which sums up the experience of the international Communist movement, is an outstanding work of contemporary Marxism-Leninism and will be of great value for the Communist Party and the people of Ceylon. The new Program and the decisions adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress "will help our Party and the people of Ceylon to use to best advantage the possibilities that exist speedily to complete the remaining tasks

of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution and to take the way of non-capitalist development to socialism through national democracy."

The statement speaks of the need to learn from the principled and consistent struggle waged by the CPSU against the Stalin personality cult and its harmful consequences. "Although the Ceylon Communist Party," it says, "has functioned and continues to function under different circumstances from those of the CPSU, the Central Committee considers that the Communists of Ceylon have important lessons to learn from the experience of our Soviet comrades in regard to the need for proper collective leadership at all levels; for establishing continuous control by the Party over the actions of combating all tendencies toward subjectivism and loyalty to individuals rather than to Marxism-Leninism and the program and policies of the Party; for strict observance of the principles of Party life set out by Lenin; and for establishing correct relations between leaders and rank-and-file members and between the Party and the people."

"The Sixth National Congress of our Party in December 1960 discussed shortcomings in Party work and took steps to correct them. The experience of our Soviet comrades, as generalized at the Twenty-Second Congress, will help our Party to understand more profoundly the reasons for some of these shortcomings and the ways of overcoming them."

"The Central Committee resolves, therefore, to make a more comprehensive study of the lessons that our Party can learn from the experience of our Soviet comrades and to initiate a discussion in the Party on the basis of this study."

The Central Committee expresses its concern at the political course now being adopted by the present leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor, in particular Enver Hoxha and Mehmed Shehu.

"These leaders," the statement says, "are departing from the principles of proletarian internationalism and are opposing some of the important agreed conclusions of the meetings of fraternal Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960. . . ."

"The present political course of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor endangers the unity of the socialist camp and the internation-

al Communist movement. It is detrimental to the cause of socialist construction in Albania itself. The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party hopes that the principled

criticism made by other fraternal parties of this dangerous political course will help the Albanian Party of Labor to correct these mistakes."

Italian Communists Counter Bourgeois Propaganda

IN ITALY the Communists are right in the forefront of the political life of the country. They are always on the offensive and they never evade issues. They go among the people, explaining the policy of the Party and political happenings at home and abroad. They accept the challenge of their opponents and refute their arguments and expose their slanders.

The ways in which this is done differ. First of all we should mention the propaganda carried out by the Party branches (in Emilia, for instance, in the space of two months the public meetings had an overall attendance of some 165,000, and in Milan during one month over 200 meetings were arranged by local branches and 43 factory branches).

Besides, the Party uses new and unique forms of propaganda embracing wider and wider sections of the population. With Party spokesmen now taking part in radio and T.V. debates with representatives of other parties, in press conferences, round-table gatherings and in the "political forums" organized by newspapers, we are reaching out to much bigger audiences.

"Meetings of the five," at which party spokesmen answer questions put by radio listeners are very popular. The subject discussed at one of the recent interviews was formulated by listeners in this way: "Since the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU it has become clear that the Communist world is not unanimous in its assessment of Stalin. Why is this so?" The answers, which developed into a highly interesting debate, were supplied by a Communist, a Nenni Socialist, and by spokesmen of the Social Democratic, Liberal and Christian Democratic parties. The spokesman for the latter Party claimed that the personality cult was the "inevitable product of the system." He was supported by the Social Democrat for whom the personality cult was "in all probability determined by the system." The Socialist replied in vague terms. These viewpoints were refuted by the Communist who made it quite clear that the personality cult can be regarded

only as an abnormal phenomenon in "a normal and harmonious system."

The televised "political forums" also attract big audiences. Each week in this program journalists question the Party spokesmen on a particular subject. A recent debate between representatives of the Communist, Christian Democratic, Social Democratic, Liberal and Republican parties on the subject: "Dictatorship and Democracy Today" was watched by millions of viewers. The clash centered around the significance of the October Revolution and the difference between democracy under socialism and capitalism.

The Communist spokesman pointed to the inconsistency and the harm caused by a formal understanding of democracy. He refuted the anti-Soviet arguments and stressed the significance of the socialist revolution in the Soviet Union and other countries which cleared the way for genuine democracy. These revolutions, he said, have changed the face of the world, and have created in the West, and in Italy in particular, the conditions which presage a new way to socialism—by making use of the republican Constitution, extensive development of the democratic institutions and preserving the multi-party system.

Keen interest was displayed in the discussion on "Problems of scientific research in Italy"; in this program Comrade Natta (head of the cultural commission of the Communist Party's Central Committee) showed that Italy was lagging in this sphere, and that responsibility for the lag lay with the Christian Democratic government. Natta stressed the need for greater freedom and autonomy in the research institutes and for more state appropriations for research. Arguing with the Liberal Party spokesman who extolled monopoly financing of research, Natta exposed the narrow aims and profit-seeking character of the monopoly-sponsored research.

A T.V. forum on the status of women proved highly successful. Comrade Jotti (head of the Central Committee's women's commission)

arguing with a Republican Party spokesman who claimed that women are but an auxiliary force in politics, cited facts illustrating the part played by women in political life (the Communist Party has nearly half a million women members) and showed that women's interests are becoming more and more identified with politics, and that the struggle for emancipation is closely linked with the struggle for structural reforms.

"Political forums" are held also in theatres, recreation halls and premises of public organizations. At these forums Communists and spokesmen of other parties discuss topical issues before large audiences.

A press conference organized by the Communist Party in connection with a document stating the Party's views on the home and international situation drew over 100 journalists representing both Italian and foreign newspapers; this lively gathering lasted for over three hours, with pride of place being given to questions about the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and the Italian road to socialism.

Communist Party spokesmen take part in the "round-table" meetings sponsored by newspapers. The meeting sponsored by the radical weekly *Espresso* was attended by Alberto Moravia, writer, Isaak Deutscher, journalist, one of the leaders of the Communist Party, a French Communist, a leader of the Socialist Party and the editor of *Espresso*. Here, too, most of the questions concerned the international Communist movement.

Gatherings of this kind, at which the Party expresses its viewpoint, are extremely useful.

The main thing is to reach out to those who are still under the influence of capitalist propaganda. The Party encourages all its members to be active, to conduct *individual talks* explaining our views and combating capitalist propaganda. How effective this work is can be seen from an article in *Espresso*. The author, by no means a Communist supporter, describes a talk with Communist factory workers about the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and the "regeneration of the Italian Communist Party." He found the Communist workers ready to talk with him about the mistakes made at the time of the personality cult. But, he writes, they resolutely rejected any attempt to criticize the Soviet system as such, and spoke with pride about the growth of the socialist movement in Italy and throughout the world. "Society," one worker told him, "should be regarded as a whole. And Soviet society is so much preferable to capitalism that there is no need to pose problems in the abstract." Another worker said: "The Communist Party is not one or another personality, it personifies thousands and tens of thousands of Party organizations in the towns and in the countryside. And while individuals can make mistakes, the Party as a whole cannot." Others spoke much along the same lines. And the author drew the conclusion: "It would be wrong to assume that the discussion which developed around the problems of legality and guarantees against the abuse of power, that took place in the USSR, can give rise to a crisis of the Communist basis."

M. MAZI

Meetings of Central Committees

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

THE Executive Committee of the British Communist Party discussed and approved the report submitted by John Gollan, General Secretary, who spoke about the situation at home and on the international arena, and on the tasks of the Party and the Labor movement.

The Tory government's wage pause, Gollan said, had evoked the indignation of the people and had resulted in many strikes.

Gollan denounced the Right-wing leaders of the TUC and the Labor Party for their support of the government's wage policy, and called upon the Party and the entire labor movement to expose this policy, to extend every support to the engineering workers who were in the center of the battle, and to exert pressure on the TUC to withdraw from the so-called National Economic Development Council.

Touching upon the international situation, Gollan said that the U.S. decision, backed by Britain, to resume tests in the atmosphere, together with the reluctance of the Western powers to take any real steps towards disarmament and to improve the international climate had caused profound alarm in Britain and given a new urgency to the fight for peace and disarmament.

This situation impelled the Party to issue a call for an emergency national protest and for action to stop all further tests.

Referring to the work done by the Party since its Twenty-Seventh Congress (April 1961) the speaker said that the Party now had 30,455 members, a net gain of 2,883 over the year. In the same period the Communist Youth League made a net increase of 1,015 members. The Party had held 500 public meetings, issued 2,350,000 copies of folders and broadsheets, three million leaflets and manifestos and 10,600 posters.

The executive Committee pointed out that before the end of the Party Building Year the basis of the effort should be mass work and campaigning on wages, on the municipal elections, and the public presentation of the political case for the Party. Greater efforts were needed to establish Party branches in the factories and to make the main drive for a bigger circulation for the *Daily Worker*.

It was therefore proposed that a Party Conference should be held in June to sum up the results of the Party Building Year and to decide on the next steps in this direction.

HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

A RESOLUTION headed "The Situation in Agriculture and Our Next Tasks," adopted

by a meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, notes that 95.5 per cent of the country's arable land is tilled by cooperative and state farms. The socialist reconstruction of agriculture has been completed. Socialist production relations now hold undivided sway throughout the national economy.

The significance of the agricultural reconstruction is that it has strengthened the worker-peasant alliance—the political base of the people's-democratic state. This alliance now rests on a new, socialist foundation.

A new chapter, the resolution goes on, is being written in our agricultural development. Today all efforts can be concentrated on ensuring a rapid growth of production, thus demonstrating the superiority of large-scale socialist farming over capitalist and small-peasant farming.

The meeting also issued a document on international matters, which expresses complete support for the Soviet government's disarmament proposals. Hungary also favors any partial measures aimed at bringing us nearer to this aim.

The Central Committee expressed the view that a peace treaty with the two Germanys, if possible, and the settlement on this basis of the West Berlin issue is one of the central questions in the fight for peace and an international détente.

Another resolution stated that the emulation movement of the working people in honor of the Eighth Party Congress scheduled for this autumn mirrors the people's faith in socialism and their growing moral and political unity.

SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

A RECENT meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party discussed Walter Ulbricht's report headed "Some of the Basic Problems of the Development of the GDR," and approved the draft document entitled "The Historic Task of the GDR and the Future of Germany" which was later submitted for discussion by the National Council. This document answers the complex of questions pertaining to the transition to socialism in Germany, and shows how peace can be safeguarded and the survival of the people ensured.

"Socialism in the GDR," it says, "is in the interests of the German people as a whole and is the basic condition for the solution of our national question. . . . Reunification will be possible only when the peace-loving forces

in West Germany defeat German imperialism and when the people take their destiny into their own hands. The socialist German Democratic Republic and the anti-fascist and democratic West Germany, liberated by the people from German and foreign monopoly rule, will extend hands to each other on the road to unity."

Pointing to the responsibility devolving on the working class—the only class which in alliance with all the democratic forces can take its place at the head of the nation—the Central Committee stressed that a peace treaty, settlement of the West Berlin issue and a confederation of the two German states would be the best way to solve the national question.

The proposal submitted by the GDR government on November 30, 1961, to the government of the Federal Republic, namely, to agree at least on minimal steps to ensure peace and normal relations, derives from the policy of peaceful coexistence. The military neutrality of the two German states, guaranteed by the Great Powers, would be in the best interests of the German people.

"We," the document continues, "firmly adhere to our proposal that complete disarmament should be carried out in the two Germanys, which should maintain only the minimum of armed forces needed for public order."

The economic growth of the German Democratic Republic is decisive in the fight for peace and socialism. Hence the meeting urged that everything possible be done to expand the productive forces, increase labor productivity, change the production profiles of some branches, and raise crop yields.

POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

THE 10th meeting of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party, held over April 16-18, examined how the engineering industry had fulfilled the decisions of its fourth plenary meeting concerning technological progress. The meeting was attended by industrial experts, scientists and technicians, both members and non-members of the Party.

The main task set the engineering industry was to re-equip the basic branches of industry on an up-to-date technological basis. The past two years witnessed steady progress in this direction. Rate of growth in the engineering industry was nearly double that of industry as a whole. Much had been done to modernize rail transport, building work, the textile industry, agriculture and other branches.

The meeting stressed, however, that all was not well. Industry is not turning out enough

machines and equipment to adequately supply all branches. The technical standards of the machines produced are not always high enough. Sometimes obsolete machines are still on the production lines. Inadequate use is made of the internal reserves of the enterprises.

Speakers mentioned these drawbacks and showed how they could be overcome. They pointed also to the need for a drastic improvement in research and designing and for better planning of technological progress.

Introduction of new techniques, it was pointed out, necessitated a number of essential changes, with particular regard to:

- the principles of correcting the indices of production, labor productivity and the wage fund, as well as of accumulation, for the enterprises launching production of new items or modernizing their output;

- the methods and principles of price formation which would provide a stimulus for the enterprises to produce new goods, and for consumers to buy the goods;

- the system of remuneration for engineers and technicians in order to remove the obstacle preventing the best and experienced engineers and technicians from working in the factory designing and technological bureaus or any other links of the technical base of the enterprise.

Summing up the discussion, Comrade Gomulka stressed that the rate of technological advance was not keeping pace with our possibilities and, moreover, with the requirements of the country. In the current Five-Year Plan the Party gives pride of place to technological progress. Planning for a 52 per cent increase in industrial output, the Party wants to secure 80 per cent of this by way of higher labor productivity.

Today the production base of our industry has greatly expanded, thus opening up new horizons for technology. However, the conditions for technological progress will not be created by abstract propaganda but by down-to-earth activity at the enterprises. It is people with their initiative, skills and understanding of the tasks of the day who are solving the problems of technology. Therefore the Party organizations are called upon to step up their political work among the working people and encourage their creative capabilities and their initiative.

RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

THE meeting of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, in April, summed up the results of the work carried

out by the Party in the matter of reconstructing agriculture along socialist lines. The completion of rural cooperation long before the date fixed by the Third Congress of the Party was assessed as an historic victory for the Party and the people in their efforts to complete the building of socialism.

The meeting discussed the proposals submitted by the Political Bureau and aimed at reorganizing management of agriculture in keeping with the needs of the new stage of its development. With this aim in view a Supreme Council of Agriculture will be established as an auxiliary of the Council of Ministers, and also regional and district agricultural councils under the people's (local) councils. The new councils will be manned by directors of state farms and of the machine and tractor stations, cooperative chairmen and farming experts. A central agricultural research institute is to be set up to guide and coordinate all scientific work.

It was also decided to re-allocate farming cadres so that each cooperative should have specialists with a higher education already this year, to improve agricultural education and to disseminate agricultural science among members of cooperative farms.

Another decision concerned Party matters. The Party committees and branches, reads the resolution, should continue to pay special attention to recruiting industrial and building workers. In order to be able to fulfil the tasks facing the Party in the countryside, the meeting deemed it necessary to admit into the Party a large number of peasant cooperators with a view to strengthening the Party organizations in the cooperatives. The resolution points to the need for better work in admitting intellectuals, and to redouble the efforts in recruiting women into the Party.

In keeping with the steps taken it was decided to amend some of the points in the Party Rules.

FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, which analyzed the political situation in the country and discussed the tasks facing the Party, characterized the cease-fire in Algeria as an important victory for the cause of peace, won as a result of the struggle waged first and foremost by the Algerian people and also by the working class and all the democratic forces of France, as a result of the pressure exerted by the champions of peace throughout the world and the solidarity displayed by the socialist countries. An independent Algeria is proof of the

further weakening of world imperialism, it shows once again that in our times imperialism no longer determines the march of history.

"In all circumstances," reads the resolution, "the Communists stress the decisive significance of unity of the working class and solidarity of the democratic forces."

French Communists, it declared, displayed every kind of initiative to bring masses of people into action. The struggles fought by the working people were multiform, depending on the conditions and possibilities: strikes, petitions, street demonstrations, lobbying, assemblies, public meetings, congresses, extensive propaganda campaigns for peace in Algeria in which millions of men and women participated, particularly in the factories.

The resolution noted three lessons that should be drawn from the signing of the Evian agreements.

1. Relations with the former colonial peoples cannot be settled through violence. In Algeria and in other countries neo-colonialism must be abandoned, the national independence of these countries must be respected, and efforts made to promote their economic, social and cultural development — all on the basis of equality.

2. All outstanding issues must be settled through negotiation. This concerns both the independence of the colonial peoples and other problems of vital significance to our country (the German question, disarmament, etc.).

3. In our time the people should have a real say in governing the country. "And from this follows the need to re-establish and regenerate democracy. Personal rule has had pernicious effects in all spheres; it has demonstrated its inability to solve the problems facing the country. The concentrated expression of monopoly rule, it plunders the country, placing the heavy burden of its reactionary policy on all the non-monopoly sections, primarily on the working people of town and countryside. Faced with the growth of the popular movement, it seeks to restrict and, if possible, to abolish the democratic rights."

The Central Committee reaffirmed the determination of the Communists to unite the masses and to fight to re-establish and regenerate democracy in accordance with the program adopted by the Sixteenth Congress, and, in particular, to convene a Constituent Assembly based on universal and proportional suffrage. This program has been forwarded to all democratic parties, and the Communist Party repeats its call for discussions on this basis with a view "jointly to implement the mutually elaborated measures."

Exchange of Views

Paths of Development of Newly Emergent Countries

Pedro Motta Lima (Brazil)

IN OUR opinion, it would hardly be correct to regard Latin America as an integral whole inasmuch as it comprises more than 20 countries, among them Guiana and Puerto Rico, which are under foreign domination.

Nevertheless, if for the moment we lay aside the specific features of each country, there is one basic feature common to all of them: they all broke away from what used to be the principal colonial powers — Spain, Portugal and France—only to fall into a new type of bondage.

While helping the Latin American countries in their fight for independence (sometimes openly, by sending naval forces to South American waters), Britain set out to bring them under unofficial domination, both by diplomacy and by bribing individuals, politicians and even entire sections of society. At times British guns were brought into play, and troops were landed. But not always were these methods effective, and time and again there was stubborn resistance, as in Montevideo and Buenos Aires, for instance.

The people and their leaders did not see at once the danger with which the new state of affairs was fraught. It would be a mistake to assume that in those early years only the corrupt elements and outright traitors looked to the British government for protection and "aid." Capitalism, being a progressive force in those days, could and did fire the hopes of the colonies which had suffered so much from poverty, ignorance and terror under the feudal-clerical governments in Madrid and Lisbon. Only with the passage of time and the sharpening clash of interests did the harsh reality become fully apparent.

Citing the example of Brazil, Comrade Motta Lima described how British and, later, U.S. capital distorted economic development and retarded socio-political progress.

The imperialists stopped at nothing to retard the development of industry. The tragic story

of one knitting mill is characteristic. The founder of the mill, Delmiro Gouveia, was murdered. A British firm, Machine Cotton Co., bought the stock from Gouveia's estate, and the crime was brought to consummation: the machinery was smashed and dumped into a river. A comparable case is that of the writer Monteiro Lobato, a pioneer in Brazilian oil development, who spent years in prison (he was released in 1940) for writing a book in which he exposed the sabotage of a certain Oppenheim, an official in a government agency who at the same time was on the payroll of Standard Oil.

The brakes were also put on agriculture. Take, for instance, wheat growing. Time and again Brazil has tried to introduce this crop. When the USA was still a British colony, Brazilian growers evolved a variety of wheat which was successfully cultivated also in other countries; at this time Brazil was the leading wheat grower on the continent. Gradually, however, its cultivation was discontinued, and the country became dependent on grain imported from Argentina, and, more recently, from the USA.

Since 1950 renewed efforts have been made to expand wheat growing with varying success. The harvest increased from 532,000 tons in 1950 to 1,100,000 in 1957-1958.

The opponents of wheat growing, however, launched a counter-offensive in the press, on the radio and in Parliament, claiming it was a "parasitic" branch of farming incapable of development unless "artificially stimulated by the government." The campaign was headed by newspapers closely associated with the U.S. Information Service, which has its offices in the U.S. Embassy in Rio de Janeiro. Once the ground had been prepared, the offensive was carried over to official channels. The upshot was that the Brazilian ambassador in Washington had to sign an agreement whereby 1,800,000 tons of U.S. "surplus" wheat was forced on Brazil in the guise of "aid."

What this meant to our wheat growers is obvious when we recall that the country's annual wheat consumption ran to some 2,200,000 tons. About half of this was grown at home, the rest imported from Argentina under a mutually advantageous trade agreement. The U.S. move was, therefore, a blow at both countries, curtailing at once Argentine exports and Brazilian wheat growing. It was a case of U.S. dumping which undermined vital branches of Latin American economy—an instance of President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress policy in action.

In other spheres, however, mass campaigns conducted by progressives have helped to break the resistance of the U.S. trusts and their agents, enabling the state to take over the operation of oil fields, to create an iron and steel as well as an alkali industry of its own, and also to build a motor-car plant and other factories which Brazilian private capital could not have financed. This has spurred economic development, which is now proceeding at a rapid rate thanks to the new balance of forces both within the country and in the world arena.

Between 1944 and 1956 Brazil doubled its national income, and rose to first place in Latin America for gross production; it had long held third place, after Mexico and far below the Argentine level, although it possesses vast natural resources and has a considerably bigger population and territory than Argentina. Nor is the progress of our country manifested only in the growing volume of production; the economy is becoming more diversified. In the aforementioned period the share of the means of production in the total industrial output increased from 20 to 33 per cent.

Although the basic industries, railways, docks and other key branches have been nationalized, foreign monopoly capital, which dominates in such important areas as the automobile industry, still holds in its grip a substantial slice of the economy. And since the export of profits, like the export of capital generally, is uncontrolled, this jeopardizes the interests of the economy as a whole.

Entrenched in important economic positions, the foreign and especially U.S. trusts are seeking to stave off economic liberation and to halt the advance of Brazil. With their powerful propaganda machine, the foreign trusts are the imperialist Trojan horse not only in the economy but also in the domain of culture and education. Another highly dangerous aspect of the intrigues of U.S. monopoly capital in the underdeveloped countries is subversion in the political and military spheres.

After dwelling on the political situation in Brazil, Comrade Motta Lima turned to the line of national development proposed by the Communist Party.

The Party, which joined with the other basic political forces of the country in supporting the foreign policy of the Quadros government and is now vigorously combating the U.S. conspiracy, has charted a path of independent economic development for Brazil; it did this in the program adopted at its Fifth National Congress in September 1960.

The program defines the building of socialism as the ultimate aim, pointing out that only when socialism has been achieved will the people of Brazil finally win national and social emancipation. "The productive forces will then develop freely and the way will be paved to the growth of material well-being, to the development of democracy and our national culture." The way forward, then, is the way of non-capitalist, socialist development.

The program stresses the urgent need to form a government which would break the economic fetters binding the country and abolish the obsolete structure of agriculture by carrying out an agrarian reform, giving effect to broad democratic freedoms and raising living standards. The Party declares its resolve to fight together with other patriotic and progressive forces for these reforms, for measures aimed at promoting the economy, particularly industrialization, mainly by drawing on internal resources, for protecting national industry and conserving the natural resources.

At the same time the Party program calls for an independent foreign policy and recognition of the right of nations to self-determination; solidarity with Cuba and all peoples fighting for national liberation and sovereignty; promotion of diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with the socialist countries; admission of China to the United Nations; defense of world peace and peaceful coexistence of all nations.

These aims advanced by the Communists are in the best interests of the nation. Through their trade unions, peasant leagues, student and cultural organizations and political parties the people of Brazil are fighting to uphold the constitutional system. Defending democratic legality as the way out of the present crisis, the progressive forces consider it imperative to pursue peaceful lines of action. But the agents of U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries in general, inasmuch as they are resorting to violence, are inviting the armed resistance

of the people. The slogan coined by the masses, "Constitution or Revolution," is symptomatic.

In this connection the Cuban revolution offers an inspiring example to all Latin Americans, who are coming to realize that at the present stage in human history with its new balance of forces the peoples who are fighting against imperialism are no longer alone. The powerful socialist world system and the sympathies of all peoples are on their side. The facts are confirming the wisdom of the conclu-

sion contained in the 1960 statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties that the final disintegration of colonialism is inevitable. The politically independent countries can develop their economy freely and fully only if they win complete national independence and social emancipation. This alone will guarantee their advance to the complete abolition of exploitation and the establishment of a classless society.

S. Nader (Lebanon)

LEBANON won political independence before the end of the Second World War. The French and British colonialists withdrew their last soldiers from its territory in 1946. However, though they left the country, the French colonialists retained their economic positions and political influence. The British imperialists, too, sought to strengthen their political and economic positions in the Lebanon. Shortly after independence had been won, the young republic found itself faced with the American imperialists who launched an offensive in all spheres.

During the period of French domination most of the Lebanese bourgeoisie had a vested interest in the imperialist companies and foreign banks, with the result that its Right-wing had strong positions in the economy and in the administration. Another section of the bourgeoisie wished to invest its capital in national industry but encountered all manner of obstacles and restrictions on the part of the colonial authorities and the foreign monopolies. This section of the bourgeoisie developed slowly. Its economic position was unstable and its influence on the political life of the country negligible.

On assuming power the bourgeoisie, being closely linked with imperialism, not only preserved the domination of the imperialist monopolies in the economy but expanded it. American as well as British, Italian and West German capital began to penetrate into the country.

The main problems confronting the people immediately after independence were, first, to safeguard and consolidate independence and, second, to develop the productive forces in every way.

Today, 15 years after the last foreign soldier left the Lebanon, the people are faced with exactly the same tasks as on the day after independence; so far not a single one of the

democratic and national tasks has been carried out.

Among the many urgent problems awaiting solution the most vital and pressing is that of agrarian reform, a reform which would rid the peasants of the feudal survivals and the grip of the big landowners. A reform of this kind would avert the disaster threatening agriculture, safeguard the peasants, who constitute the majority of the population, against poverty and misery and contribute substantially to the general expansion of the production forces of the country.

Another task is that of protecting the rising national industry. If the national industry is to become the decisive factor in the economic life of the country the power of the imperialist companies must be curtailed. With a view to securing complete emancipation from imperialist dependence it is necessary first and foremost to nationalize the bank of emission and to turn it into a national bank, into an effective instrument governing the financial life of the country. A central investment bank should also be opened.

The government should assume responsibility for developing the productive forces in agriculture and industry, for establishing an independent national economy. This presupposes an independent economic policy on the part of the government. There are enterprises which formerly belonged to foreign capital and which became state property either through purchase or with the expiry of the corresponding concession (the railways, electricity and transport companies, the tobacco companies, the Beirut Port Company, etc.). These enterprises make up the core of the state sector, which could be expanded by means of state investments—in the mining industry, for example. Mining has been totally undeveloped in the Lebanon, despite the rich deposits of ore and other minerals.

It goes without saying that, with the existing low level of national production, the formation of a state sector does not mean nationalizing the privately-owned Lebanese enterprises. The state should support these enterprises, guarantee them markets, supply them with raw materials and help them to compete with foreign firms.

The Lebanon should, of course, make better use of its geographical position and its climate to develop trade and tourism as much as possible. But trade and tourism alone cannot provide a solid basis for the national economy or guarantee the necessary growth of the productive forces. What is needed is a trade policy that would aim chiefly at supporting the national industry, extending trade with other countries on conditions of equality and mutual benefit. The people have before them a concrete example in this respect, namely, the trade agreements concluded with three socialist

countries — the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic.

As regards developing the relative democracy that exists in Lebanon, this is one of the main problems facing the people.

All the patriots, democrats and progressives are well aware that the people have only a minimum of freedom, whereas the imperialists, their agents and the reactionaries enjoy extensive freedom and wide scope for activity. Of late, however, even the relative and restricted rights granted the people have begun to irk the reactionaries. Hence defense of the bourgeois-democratic institutions — the parliamentary regime and universal franchise — and struggle to ensure respect for freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations and political organization is essential if economic and social reforms are to be carried out on behalf of the people.

Hutomo Supardan, Oei Hai Djun (Indonesia)

THE economy of Indonesia, despite the reforms and limited achievements registered to date, is still colonial in character and the imperialists still dominate in vital spheres. The fundamental changes are yet to come.

According to far from complete figures, foreign investments in Indonesia prior to the Second World War amounted to \$2,100 million; of this Holland accounted for \$1,470 million, Britain, \$262.5 million, the USA \$210 million, France and Belgium \$105 million, and other countries \$52.5 million. Most of this capital was invested in the key branches: oil, rubber and sugar plantations, the big agricultural banks, etc.

Another feature is the survival of feudal relations in agriculture. These weigh heavily on the peasants, who make up 70 per cent of the population. The landlords, a numerically insignificant part of the rural population, own the bulk of the land, while the overwhelming majority, especially the agricultural laborers and poor peasants, have little or no land.

Feudal exploitation still exists in the villages in the form of both rent and compulsory labor. The landlords extract up to 80 per cent of the crop from their tenants. The peasants are ground down by debt slavery.

For most Indonesians life is steadily becoming harder. Between 1954 and 1958 real wages declined by 38 per cent.

The national bourgeoisie, which appeared on the scene "belatedly" (at the beginning of the

20th century), is still too weak to play a decisive role in the country's economic development. It is basically a merchant class largely dependent on the imperialists, who have the upper hand in foreign trade and in a number of other areas. This accounts for its vacillation in regard to imperialism.

On the other hand, the weakness of the national bourgeoisie and the pressure brought to bear on it by imperialism make it possible objectively to enlist this class in the anti-imperialist struggle and to build up a broad united national front.

A prerequisite for this front is a national development program, realization of which should be based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

It should be borne in mind, however, that so long as imperialism and its stooges have not been completely defeated and so long as the survivals of feudalism remain, the soil for the growth of reactionary forces, especially of the compradore bourgeoisie and bureaucratic capital, will continue to exist. This is what is happening in Indonesia today.

The task of the Indonesian revolution at the present stage is to combat two main enemies — imperialism and feudalism — in order to establish the rule not of one class but of the whole people.

The Indonesian revolution is essentially a national-democratic revolution which holds out the prospect of building socialism, not capitalism.

In the economic sphere, the task is to do away with the colonial-type economy and the survivals of feudalism. For this it is essential:

- a) to ensure for the state sector the dominant place in the economy;
- b) industrialization, with emphasis on heavy industry;
- c) agrarian reform and increasing farm production;
- d) not to base economic development on foreign investments, but to undermine and eventually abolish the domination of foreign capital.

The establishment of government control over Dutch imperialist enterprises and their subsequent nationalization in 1957 on the initiative of the working class as part of the struggle for the liberation of West Irian were revolutionary measures marking a new stage in the struggle.

These measures affected no less than 70 per cent of the total foreign capital invested in Indonesia before the Second World War and helped to consolidate the state sector, which is destined to play the decisive role in abolishing economic dependence on imperialism and to provide a sizable portion of the funds needed for development by channelling to this purpose the capital which the Dutch enterprises used to transfer abroad. These measures will, eventually, raise the standard of living.

In order further to develop the national economy, it is imperative to strengthen the state sector, stimulate the activity of the people, and draw workers into managing the enterprises and controlling their operation. At the same time opportunities should be provided for national private entrepreneurs in branches outside the state sector.

The new eight-year economic plan adopted by the People's Consultative Congress is of major importance for Indonesia.

The previous five-year plan (1956-1960) rested largely on expectations of foreign aid and was in no way directed against the imperialist and feudal elements. The present plan, on the contrary, was drawn up with the participation of the people as represented by the united national front, which will also play the leading role in carrying it out. The plan rejects the capitalist road, which would signify continued domination of the economy by imperialism and feudalism, and is, in fact, the program of all the patriotic and democratic forces. True, official approval is no guarantee that the plan will be carried out. For there still are reactionaries in government bodies who are opposed to independent development, and the national bourgeoisie too, as mentioned above, tends to waver.

Because of these factors the nationalization of the Dutch enterprises and the adoption of the progressive plan have not yet produced the desired results. Moreover, sabotage by the imperialists in addition to preventing any improvement in the economic situation has actually lowered the standard of living.

In the sphere of agriculture, a long and hard fought struggle has resulted in substantial advance as exemplified by the adoption of the Basic Agrarian and the Division of the Harvest Laws.

True, these laws are half-measures, insofar as they do not provide for the complete abolition of imperialist and feudal domination in the countryside. Still, they have initiated the juridical groundwork for agrarian reform. In particular, they restrict the land-holding rights and guarantees extended to foreign monopolies. The new legislation also imposes some restrictions on feudal land tenure, depriving the landlords of their absolute powers and limiting the size of land holdings.

The new legislation provides for the return of mortgaged land to the owners, prohibits the system of feudal servitude with its *corvée*, quit-rent and sharecropping, and stipulates the allocation of a bigger part of the crop to the sharecroppers (60 per cent to the tenant farmer and 40 to the landlord instead of the customary 50-50 ratio).

These measures have eased the lot of the tenant farmers and play an important part in stimulating activity and in awakening the consciousness of the peasants.

Still, the reform is far from adequate, all the more so because it merely gives the land-hungry peasants an opportunity to buy land (true, at reasonable prices and on easy terms) and limits the area subject to sale to a mere million hectares, which is far from sufficient.

But even this limited legislation is relentlessly resisted by the reactionaries.

Symptomatic is the dual attitude taken by the national bourgeoisie, which wants an agrarian reform only insofar as it expands the home market and increases the purchasing power of the population.

We know that the adoption of a law and its enforcement are two different things. The economic plan, too, can be carried out only under certain conditions. One of these is close revolutionary cooperation between the nationalists, the various religious groups and the Communists. Moreover, the entire state machine should be geared to the aims of the plan. Besides consistently pursuing an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal policy and ensuring that the key posi-

tions in the economy are in the hands of the state sector, it is essential to stimulate the political and production activity of the masses, to inspire them, and this can be done only by ensuring them democratic liberties and raising their standard of living. On the other hand, resolute action should be taken to curb the reactionaries, who are doing their utmost to block the plan. The people should have the right to criticize and exercise control.

The existence of the socialist countries is an exceedingly important factor helping to create favorable conditions for Indonesia's economic development. At the critical moments — when government control was established over the Dutch enterprises, when the nation was engaged in a struggle against reactionary rebels,

when the threat of imperialist aggression and interference hung over it, and also during world crises with their severe repercussions on the economy of the country — the socialist camp invariably played a major part in helping us to overcome the difficulties. Mention should be made also of the aid rendered by the socialist countries in the form of credits, which have helped to strengthen our economy and to ensure its progress.

The tasks ahead can be carried out only by consolidating the revolutionary forces in a single national front founded on a firm alliance of the workers and peasants, a national front which will lead the country forward along the socialist road.

. Jose Cademartori (Chile)

COMRADE Cademartori dwelt on the reasons for Latin America's economic backwardness and on the plans of the North American imperialists with regard to some of the Latin American countries. According to official data, between 1946 and 1955 the imperialists shipped \$7,685 million out of Latin America in the form of profits and interest on capital. If we add to this the repatriated capital and sums debited to depreciation, totalling \$3,492 million in the same period, the actual outflow was \$11,177 million, as compared with \$8,000 million originally invested by foreign capital. But this is not all. As a result of non-equivalent exchange (high prices for imports of manufactured goods and low prices for raw material exports) the Latin American countries incurred an additional loss in the period from 1945 to 1955 of \$6,458 million. This plundering of the Latin American countries, he said, is the chief reason for their economic backwardness.

Comrade Cademartori spoke also about the semi-feudal exploitation of the peasantry, the need for agrarian reform, for industrialization, and about the significance of the Cuban revolution. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, he said, is the latest imperialist strategy of the United States in Latin America.

Comrade Cademartori then turned to the program for economic development which the Communist Party has submitted to the people.

The program, he said, was adopted at the Tenth Congress of the Party in April 1956. And notwithstanding the many changes that have taken place since then both in Chile and on the international arena, the basic principles of that program are still valid.

"Successive governments in Chile," the program states, "served the interests of the ruling classes mainly and facilitated the penetration of imperialism. The same policy was pursued even by those bourgeois governments which, coming to power as a result of the electoral victories won by the people, promised to carry out democratic programs in the interests of Chilean independence and progress and popular well-being." "In these circumstances," the program continues, "new social forces must be brought into the leadership of the country; in other words, the responsibility for administering the country should be placed in the hands of the working class. In addition to the working class, however, other social forces should participate in the government, including those sections of the national bourgeoisie who are willing to fight for national independence and progress."

The basic tasks of such a government are formulated in the program as follows:

1. "The democratic government of national liberation shall confiscate all enterprises and capital owned by the North American monopolies . . . and suspend payments on foreign loans. Oil, uranium and other mineral resources shall become national property. All concessions granted to foreign monopolies for the exploitation of these resources shall be annulled."

2. "The democratic government of national liberation shall confiscate the land of the big landowners . . ." Part of the land will be turned over to the tenant farmers, farm laborers, sharecroppers and poor peasants — either free of charge or for a minimal sum — and deeds to

the land issued in each case. All peasants will be entitled to technical aid and loans on easy terms for the purchase of implements, fertilizer, seed, etc. Every encouragement will be given to agricultural cooperatives.

Land that can be more gainfully used for intensive farming will not be parcelled out, but will become state property and used to provide for the food and raw material needs of the country.

Land belonging to the middle peasants and rich peasants, as distinct from latifundists, will not be expropriated.

With regard to the monopoly bourgeoisie the program stipulates:

a) Transfer of the entire banking system to the state. The functioning of private banks will be prohibited (without the confiscation of their capital or investments). Directors of the Central Bank who belong to the monopoly bourgeoisie will be removed.

b) All the monopolies, both foreign and national, will be banned from the home market and replaced by organizations for the sale and distribution of goods.

c) Government control of the export and import trade.

d) The government will "gradually restrict and subsequently suspend the activities" of the Creole monopolies, by preventing them from "continuing to jeopardize the interests of entire areas, thousands of working people and the nation in general."

e) Nationalization of insurance companies.

As regards the national bourgeoisie and capitalism generally the position outlined in the 1956 program is as follows:

At the present stage it is essential to develop an independent and sound national economy with the participation of both state and private capital, to improve the conditions of the people and pave the way to the building of socialism.

Industrialization will be effected through building both state and mixed enterprises established by the state jointly with national capital. Private initiative in the development of new enterprises will be encouraged.

Aid will be extended to state and private national enterprises to enable them to compete with the foreign and home monopolies. The state will purchase the output of the private enterprises and market it, guaranteeing a reasonable profit to the manufacturers.

Control over production and trade will be rationalized and simplified. The system of extending credits to small and middle manufacturers will be placed on a democratic footing.

These are the basic principles of the program adopted by the Tenth Congress in 1956. At this congress our Party expressed the view that the revolution in Chile would in all probability develop along peaceful lines.

A meeting of the Central Committee in August 1961 raised the question of bringing the program up to date. It was decided to submit a new version to the Twelfth Congress after a nation-wide discussion.*

What are the main differences between the two texts?

The 1956 program pointed to the need for the elimination of the monopoly bourgeoisie from the banking and insurance systems, for home and foreign trade. In industry, however, it provided merely for the restriction and gradual removal of the monopolies. Today it is essential to specify exactly what forms the elimination should take and to fix definite time limits.

Under the Alessandri government the monopoly bourgeoisie has in recent years made the country more dependent on imperialism, it has intensified the exploitation of the working class and peasantry and has seriously impaired the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

The need now is to nationalize the enterprises of those sections of the monopoly bourgeoisie which control coal mining, most of the ore mining, the steel industry (together with the imperialists), the woodworking, cement, textile, cellulose and pulp industries, and others.

This does not imply any change in the strategic line of the Party; it is merely being clarified and deepened.

The 1956 program clearly stated that it was not directed "against national capital as a whole and did not aim at expropriating the national capitalists, with the exception of those who join the camp of the country's enemies." On the other hand, it stated unequivocally that the program of economic development proposed would pave the way to socialism. These principles were and remain correct.

Experience has shown that there is no solid wall between the anti-imperialist, democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. On the contrary, these processes are intertwined. In the conditions of today, when the socialist system, both materially and ideologically, has become the decisive factor in world affairs, the period of transition from one revolution to another may be considerably shortened.

In the light of these facts, it was deemed necessary in the new program to re-emphasize that it envisaged development of the economy along non-capitalist lines and clearing the way for the advance towards socialism.

*The Twelfth Congress was held in March 1962.—Ed.

This means that it is necessary to differentiate between the new branches of industry established by the state and those set up by private capital; that the encouragement given to private capital should not be to the detriment of the state sector; the state and cooperative sectors will be given priority in the matter of aid.

Although development of national capital will not be banned, it will, nevertheless, be restricted. The formation of a national and democratic government headed by the working class and its allies, reconstruction of the economic and social structure, abolition of the economic base

for the exploitation of the working people by the imperialists, big landowners and home monopolies, establishment of a powerful state sector, encouragement for agricultural cooperatives — all with facilitate rapid planned development of our economy.

We are convinced that given these revolutionary changes and the support and aid of the socialist countries, the people of Chile, in common with the other Latin American peoples, will be able to put an end to their poverty and economic backwardness in a comparatively short time.

Reviews

In the Front Lines of the Fight for Communism

THERE are events the impact of which does not wane with the passing of time but, on the contrary, increases as it finds embodiment in the daily lives of the millions. The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an event of this order.

For the Soviet people the years following the Twentieth Congress have been years of hard work, creative endeavor and signal victories, a period which, in the words of N. S. Khrushchov, "required of our Party, of all the peoples of the Soviet Union tremendous effort and devotion. It has fallen to the lot of the Soviet people, of the Party of Communists of the Soviet Union," he said, "to be pioneers in the great mission of communist construction, and to advance to the victory of communism over uncharted paths."

How have the decisions of the Twentieth Congress been carried into life? What changes have they wrought in the life of the Party organization? The answer to these questions may be found in a number of books which have appeared recently in the Soviet Union. Not the least interesting of these is G. M. Okladnoi's study of the work of the Kharkov Regional Party organization since the Twentieth Congress.*

Kharkov Region is one of the biggest industrial areas in the Soviet Ukraine. It produces tractors, turbines, powerful diesel locomotives, generators, electric motors, agricultural ma-

chinery and plant for the textile, non-ferrous metals and food industries, various machine tools and equipment for mining and other industries. Kharkov machine tools are well known in the Chinese People's Republic, in Vietnam, in India, Indonesia, Burma and other Asian and African countries. Moreover, the Kharkov Region has a highly mechanized and highly productive agriculture. It is an area with a large contingent of skilled workers and technicians, and a substantial body of research and educational workers. The regional Party organization has a membership of approximately 127,000.

Democratic Forms of Work Widespread

The liquidation of the consequences of the Stalin cult, the restoration of the Leninist standards of Party life and leadership have had a beneficent effect on all aspects of Party life in the Kharkov Region. The rank-and-file members are taking a more active part in Party work, in deciding economic and cultural problems. Party organizations keep their members regularly informed as to the action taken on the criticisms and suggestions made by members at meetings and conferences.

The character of Party committee meetings has changed. A large number of activists, as well as non-Party specialists, workers, peasants and intellectuals now take part in preparing the meetings and in discussing the questions on the agenda. This makes it possible to draw on the experience of a large number of people, and to work out realistic decisions which meet the demands of the situation.

*G. M. Okladnoi. *At the Head of the Masses*. (How the Kharkov Regional Organization of the Ukrainian Communist Party is carrying out the decisions of the 20th and 21st congresses of the CPSU.) Kharkov Book Publishers, 1961, 375 pp.

Indicative of the activity of the members under the new conditions is the fact that more than 37,000 took part in the discussion of the draft Program and Rules of the CPSU and of the reports delivered at the various Party organizations in the Kharkov Region. This means that every third Communist expressed his opinion on the draft documents of the Twenty-Second Congress and shared in the critical analysis of the Party committees' reports.

The development of inner-Party democracy following the Twentieth Congress has helped to strengthen the Party and to educate the cadres. Okladnoi cites facts showing that with the more democratic inner-Party life a renewal of the cadres is taking place. Nearly a thousand new members of district and city committees in the Kharkov Region—or one-third of the total—were elected last year. Of the 3,517 secretaries of primary organizations, 593 have been newly elected.

The Party functionaries of today are young and energetic people who know their business. As a rule district and city committee secretaries are graduates of higher schools and specialize in one or another field. For example, 16 of the 26 district committee secretaries in Kharkov are graduates of engineering colleges. Four-fifths of all the members of city and district committees have a higher or secondary education.

The development of inner-Party democracy, and the participation in Party work of a large number of activists has made it possible to cut down the number of paid functionaries. This has released dozens of leading members for full-time work in the national economy. The industrial departments of the district committees have been abolished. As the author puts it, "there are now fewer people issuing orders, and more doing the actual work" (p. 149).

Volunteer Work Plays Bigger Role

Volunteer work is being developed on an increasing scale in the Party committees of the region. More than 500 spare-time instructors are working at the present time, nearly half of them specialists in industry and agriculture. These volunteers help to strengthen the ties between the Party committees and the membership, they take an active part in preparing plenary and bureau meetings, in conducting seminars for secretaries of primary organizations, in checking up on the work of the Party organizations and in giving them practical assistance.

Party control too has assumed a mass character. Over 2,000 commissions comprising some

9,000 members have been set up in the Region to check up on the work of the management of various enterprises. Public control on this scale makes it easier to bring to light and to remedy shortcomings, as well as to improve the management.

Departments staffed with spare-time workers, public commissions and councils also function under the Party committees. These include commissions dealing with questions of economy and technical progress, ideological work, preliminary examination of applications for membership and personal matters concerning individual members, work among women, etc.

The volunteer principle is a new form of collective endeavor, a further development of inner-Party democracy, of mass participation in Party work. This, however, does not mean that the volunteer principle did not exist before. Most Party assignments, as for instance the secretaryship of a branch, membership of a Party committee, the job of lecturer, speaker, agitator, etc., have always been unpaid and spare-time jobs. The difference now is that *entire sections of the Party apparatus* are now actively functioning *on this basis*, thereby preparing the ground for a further reduction in the number of paid functionaries and their gradual replacement by volunteer functionaries. In this way the Party, being the highest form of political organization, affords an example to all other organizations of the best form of Communist, public self-administration.

The positive influence of the volunteer principle on the activities of Party committees may be seen in the work of the Lenin District Committee of the Party in Kharkov. Commissions, councils, departments and groups consisting of hundreds of Communists working on a volunteer basis function under the district committee, among them a 30-member commission on ideological work. Another undertaking of this order is a technical council consisting of 75 engineers, technicians and skilled workers which does excellent work under the auspices of the district committee. It meets once a month to discuss such questions as the rational use of electric energy, modernization of equipment, replacement of metal parts by plastics, utilization of pneumatic and hydraulic installations at factories and similar problems. On the initiative of this council two technical conferences were held at which urgent problems of industrial development in the given district were discussed. Besides these, the district committee employs the services of 28 non-staff instructors.

The reorganization of Party work has had a salutary effect on all aspects of the economic and cultural life of the district.

Party Education Comes Closer to Life

The character and content of ideological work carried out by the Kharkov Party organization has changed substantially in recent years. For one thing Party education has been brought closer to life. The accent is placed on the need to raise the ideological level of Party members, to give them a thorough knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and of economic subjects. Some 213,000 people, members and non-members of the Party, are studying in the Party educational network in the region. The education, which is purely voluntary, takes into account the professional interests of the students. For example, seminars for the study of industrial economy are organized for activists in industrial enterprises, while Party workers in the countryside study the economics of agriculture. Teachers take up questions of Communist upbringing; medical workers, the philosophical aspect of biology; engineering personnel, the philosophical foundations of physics and chemistry, and art workers, problems of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics. The region has an extensive network for training Party educational workers. In 1961, about 11,500 instructors were engaged in the Party education system, 80 per cent of them with a higher or secondary education.

Special attention is devoted to mass political work. Some 64,000 members are engaged in this, 11,000 of them factory workers with distinguished production records who influence their workmates by their personal example. The city Party organizations help the branches in the rural localities by sending out groups of experienced Party people, including lecturers, writers, artists and agricultural experts.

One way of popularizing the outstanding achievements of science, literature and the arts is through the so-called "people's universities." Kharkov has a "university" of science and technology with six departments attended by 2,500 people. There are similar "universities" in the Krasnograd and Dzerzhinsk urban districts and 30 in the countryside.

The Party organizations have been devoting more attention in recent years to intellectuals. A literature and art festival was held recently in the region during which writers and artists met with factory workers and students and exchanged opinions on the need to bring literature and the arts closer to the life of the people. "Poetry Day," an annual event, has become the occasion for writers and poets to

get together with their readers. Six exhibitions of paintings and drawings have been held recently in the Region.

Heightened Role of Soviets and Public Bodies

Changes in the style and methods of Party leadership are reflected in the work of the trade unions and the Young Communist League. Okladnoi shows how the role of these organizations and their initiative in solving the problems of economic and cultural up-building have increased.

The range of questions taken up at sessions of Soviets has been extended, and new and more effective forms and methods of work have been introduced, such as out-of-town sessions of Soviets, Executive Committees of Soviets and of permanent commissions, which settle questions of concern to the given district or village on the spot, with the active participation of the local inhabitants. Other activities include the holding of "Deputy Day," consultations on housing and other questions. All this has revitalized the work of the Soviets, and cemented and broadened their ties with the electorate.

People are now much more active in the public life of their communities. A variety of committees function in the enterprises, institutions and in residential areas, as for example, voluntary committees whose members specialize, say, in housing, public health, parents' councils at schools, pensioners' councils, etc.

"These various committees and councils," the author concludes, "are essential components of Soviet democracy. Without taking into account these forms of public participation in state administration it is impossible fully to appreciate the democracy of the Soviet way of life" (p. 99).

The strengthening of the Leninist standards of Party life and the development of inner-Party democracy, the heightening of the role of the Soviets, trade unions, the Young Communist League and other public organizations have laid a solid foundation for another advance of the economy of the Kharkov Region.

Better opportunities for accelerated development of the socialist economy have accrued from the reorganization of the management of industry and construction carried out after the Twentieth Congress. This reorganization was made possible thanks to the broadening of democracy in all aspects of public life, which in turn released the initiative of local Party, administrative and economic bodies, and of the working people. As a result, the industry of the region has been steadily forging ahead.

The period following the Twentieth Congress has witnessed substantial changes also in the agriculture of the region. The regional Party organization is now in a better position to give competent guidance to this branch of the economy. To begin with, steps were taken to strengthen the leadership in the rural areas. Immediately after the Twentieth Congress, the Communist Party of the Ukraine sent some 2,500 Party members from the cities for permanent work in the countryside. Another 316 Party members were selected for leading Party and administrative work in the countryside, and 302 to take up the posts of chairmen and vice-chairmen of collective farms. The material and technological base of agriculture was strengthened and the structure of the cultivated areas changed.

In accordance with the decisions of the recent meeting of the Central Committee of

the CPSU which drew up a program for the production of an abundance of agricultural products, the Kharkov Party organization is at present carrying out measures to ensure a further improvement in agricultural management.

Today the Kharkov Party organization leads a full-blooded life. Its activity is a striking example of the galvanizing effect of the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the Communist Party. The Kharkov Region, however, is no exception; what is happening there is happening also in other parts of the country. The Party is gaining in strength and maturity, its bonds with the people are growing firmer. This process is an indispensable condition for the successful construction of communist society.

A. POMOGAYEV

Professor Guelfat's Conclusions

MR. ARTHUR DEAN, U.S. delegate to the Geneva disarmament talks, has come out with a rather curious initiative—he has proposed that Marxism-Leninism be banned.

Humanly speaking, of course, one can understand the U.S. delegate. Marxism-Leninism is giving both Mr. Dean personally and those he works for a great deal of trouble. And Mr. Dean, naturally, would be delighted if he could wish the great revolutionary theory out of existence. Alas, he can't. Neither he nor anyone else.

How many times have the enemies of progress hurled anathema at the teaching of Marx and Lenin! How many times have they endeavored to ban it, how many times have they consigned the classics of Marxism to the flames and hounded and tormented its supporters! But, as the great Lenin wrote, after each "annihilation" of Marxism by its enemies, it became stronger, more tempered and more vital.

Today the ideas of Marxism have triumphed over one-third of the globe—in the countries of the socialist camp. But it has won some resounding successes on the remaining two-thirds of the earth as well. The evidence for this is well-nigh overwhelming. However, we wish merely to dwell on one piece of evidence, one which illustrates an important aspect of Marxist influence in the modern world.

We have before us a small book entitled *Economic Doctrines and the Developing Coun-*

tries.* It was published in Paris and its author is Professor Guelfat, an economist rather well known in the West, whose specialty is the history of economics.

Professor Guelfat is by no means a Marxist. He is a typical liberal scholar, critical of the more "excessive" manifestations of imperialism and colonialism, but at the same time cherishing those petty-bourgeois illusions about imperialism that one finds among Western intellectuals.

His book contains some highly interesting arguments. For example, speaking of the position of the economically backward countries today, he shows—and very convincingly—the inadequacy of the political independence they have won and points to the need to strengthen their economic independence. Taking issue with the more reactionary bourgeois economists, the author advocates deep-going economic and social reforms in the industry and agriculture of the new states.

But perhaps the most interesting passages in the book are those in which Professor Guelfat gives his own appraisal of the various schools of economic thought. His criterion of judgment is quite simple: he endeavors to examine each theory from the standpoint of the practical advantages it can bestow on the countries that have emerged from the colonial yoke. This

*I. Guelfat, *Doctrines économiques et pays en voie de développement*, Paris, PUF, 1961, 131 pp.

approach causes him to discard, one by one, all the principal bourgeois economic theories existing in the West.

"... Keynes' 'General Theory,'" he writes, "is incapable of rendering any appreciable service in studying the theory of the development of the underdeveloped countries" (p. 112). He then proceeds to reject Rostow's "theory of economic growth" as well, correctly pointing out that the Rostow "theory" lumps together all phenomena and processes relating to different social formations and differing fundamentally from one another by their very nature (p. 118).

But if all the main bourgeois economic doctrines prove on balance to be unsound where, in Guelfat's opinion, are the leaders of the economically backward countries to look for a solution to their problems?

Professor Guelfat formulates his conclusion on this score several times in his book: the only theory which really answers the questions facing the young national states today is Marxism.

Marxism alone can be the "point of departure" for research in the sphere of the development of the backward countries, he states (p. 9), citing in support of this view the opinion expressed by the American scholar E. D. Domar that of all the numerous schools of economic thought only the Marxists have developed anything approaching a theory of economic development (p. 10).

Elsewhere in his book the author notes that Marx was the "most penetrating analyst of capitalist economy that ever existed" (p. 114).

And lastly, as if summing up his comparative study of the different economic theories, he declares:

"... We for our part are convinced that no honest economic theorist, no matter to what school—non-Marxist or even anti-Marxist—he belongs, can completely ignore Marx's theory" (p. 108).

These, we repeat, are the conclusions drawn by a non-Marxist. In formulating them, Guelfat makes many reservations. Nevertheless, as he himself admits, formulate them he must. And that, if nothing else, is surely a sign of the times.

The fact is that contemporary bourgeois ideology is in the grip of a severe crisis. More and more our ideological adversaries are compelled to admit that they have lost sight of their goal, missed their "guiding purpose," and that they cannot provide an answer to the urgent and vital issues facing mankind. The reasons for this crisis of thought are objective; they spring from the aims and the policies of the monopoly bourgeoisie, which are contradictory to the needs of social progress.

In these circumstances it is inevitable that the more thoughtful and honest-minded intellectuals in the West should come to see—as indeed more and more of them do—that the only truly sound and reliable theory corresponding to the interests of society is Marxism-Leninism. This realization is dawning slowly and painfully, but it is dawning nevertheless. And Professor Guelfat's book is a small, but nonetheless indicative symptom of this process.

V.-M. VANDENHOVE

Communications and Comment

New Trends in British Cinema

ON the eve of the XIII International Film Festival in Karlovy Vary I should like to acquaint your readers with some of the new trends in British films. I think they will be of interest since the magazine has opened a discussion on film problems with the article by Frantisek Bretislav Kunc "In the Service of Man" (*World Marxist Review*, No. 7, 1961), in which the author posed a series of questions pertaining to the cinema.

It need hardly be stated that the sole object of the great financial interests that control the British film industry is *profit*. Yet this needs to be said because it is more true of the film industry than of any other field of art or entertainment. The film financiers are not interested in new ideas because they involve a risk, so it is far better to do something that has been done a hundred times before. If the film *Frankenstein* has made a lot of money, then the wise thing to do is to make *The Return of Frankenstein* and *The Brides of Frankenstein* and *Teenage Frankenstein*. ("Fiendish, Frenzied, Blood-chilling!")

This explains the spate of films in recent years about drug-addicts, incest, homosexuality, prostitution, werewolves, vampires, monsters from outer space, and nudist colonies.

The financial interests argue that in their world of declining cinema attendance (a drop from 27 millions weekly in 1950 to 12 millions weekly in 1959), and fewer cinemas (1,500 closed down since 1950) there is no time for experiment or for themes of challenging social importance.

They fail to see that precisely because of this situation, British films must find a new integrity and purpose, and explore new, vital themes if they are to survive at all.

There are, fortunately, a few independent film-makers with integrity and courage who are prepared to make a fight and prove to the financiers that we are living in the 1960's and not in the days when Barnum and Bailey made money out of freaks and flea-circuses.

There is nothing similar in British films to the French "Nouvelle Vague," but since 1956 a number of films of social comment and significance have broken through the barriers of conformity, and achieved success with the public.

The first, in order of time, was *Room at the Top* adapted from the novel of John Braine. *Room at the Top* reveals in personal terms the corrupting influence of capitalist society. The chief character, Joe Lampton, is a young man who is determined to get rich quickly. This ambition is fulfilled by marrying the daughter of the richest man in town, but the whole story is told with such biting irony that everyone in the audience instinctively realizes that Lampton is a beaten and defeated man. . . .

The authenticity of the settings, the delineation of the script, the character absorption of the actors, the style and integrity of the director and above all the film's enormous success with the public shook the industry to its foundations.

Emboldened by the success of *Room at the Top*, another company decided to film John Osborne's play *Look Back in Anger*. This play had created something of a minor revolution in the English theater, and its impact is still being felt. The story, and its chief character, Jimmy Porter, were representative of the contemporary scene and of a contemporary state of mind of the 1950's—frustration, disillusionment, cynicism, and personal rebellion against bourgeois values and morality. The film *Look Back in Anger* attracted large audiences, although many people were puzzled by it.

In 1958 another film in the same genre called *The Man Upstairs* appeared. This was made by an independent company — ACT Films — which is the only film production company in the world owned and controlled by a film technicians' trade union. The situation of the story involved a young scientist who is on the verge of a nervous breakdown, believing that he has caused the death of a friend through an experiment. He is determined never to go back to his work. He hides away in the top room of a large apartment house with the result that his behavior causes resentment, and one night the police are called. The police inspector assumes that he is a criminal, and is determined to get him out of the house by force. The scientist barricades himself in his room and refuses to come out. The police inspector sends for tear-gas, the fire brigade and even a gun.

However it is now the turn of the people in the house to take a hand. Most of them have sympathy for the man, believing him to be mentally ill and in need of help. They resent the display of force put on by the police, and finally join hands to stop it. They insist on a peaceful solution, and the victory is theirs.

The profound humanity of this story and its implication that the people can find their own solution to problems made *The Man Upstairs* a film of distinction.

The highly successful *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* portrayed aspects of working-class life in an industrial city. The story of the film was taken from the novel by Alan Sillitoe. Again we have the new type of "anti-hero," a young working-class lad who is loud-mouthed, cocky, warm, and full of the zest for life. The end of the film shows him preparing to marry, settle down and have children—and flinging a stone at the new housing estate where his home will be. The stone-throwing gesture can be interpreted in any way the audience likes—as a gesture of disgust at his lost freedom, of hatred of new housing estates, or as a general protest against pretty well everything.

The film breathes life and integrity and must surely end for all time another age-old cinema convention—that the workers when they are permitted to appear in film stories must be shown as servants, arse-crawlers or comic relief.

Another contemporary film of considerable interest is *The Entertainer* which is notable for a fine interpretation of a broken-down music hall artist. It derives from the stage play of John Osborne. Although it is at times too bitter and astringent for some popular tastes, it is an important film which took considerable courage to make.

Of quite a different character is the film *Flame in the Streets*. This film deals with race prejudice and the color-bar, not in America, not in South Africa, but here in England. The story centers on a trade unionist who has devoted a lifetime to the service of the working class, but in doing so has sadly neglected his own family and in particular his wife. When there is opposition in his factory to the appointment of a colored worker to the post of chargehand, he goes into action with a fine speech against racial prejudice, and carries the majority of the workers with him. At the very moment of his success, he is told that his own daughter intends to marry a West Indian school teacher, and his wife, almost hysterical with fright and hatred at the thought of her daughter sleeping with a colored man,

begs him to stop the marriage. The message of this film is struggle for a new attitude based on social justice and humanity.

Most recent of the new progressive trend in British films is another production by ACT Films, *The Kitchen*, which had its London premiere in July of last year. This is also a film of a play, written by Arnold Wesker, who in the opinion of many is the best of the new generation of young writers who are dealing with social problems and themes. The kitchen, owned by a greedy and menacing proprietor, is in effect a microcosm of the capitalist world, inhabited by people of a dozen different nationalities, all of them hating their work and often hating each other, but bound together in common solidarity against their inhuman exploitation. In the intervals of frenzied work to serve two thousand meals a day, they argue and discuss about peace, and H-bombs, and capital punishment, and pride in work; they dream, sing and make love. Critics described *The Kitchen* as "a great chorale to dignity and humanity."

ACT Films succeeded in raising the money needed to make this film, which gave them freedom from any interference from distributors and financiers.

In addition to the feature film, it is necessary to pay tribute to a number of people working in the sphere of short films and documentaries who have been able to make fine films of action and protest. Among the latter we shall mention first the *March to Aldermaston* which has been a worldwide success, and has undoubtedly made a great contribution to the success of subsequent Aldermaston marches and similar peace demonstrations. Money to produce the film was raised from individuals and trade unions. Another film *No Place to Hide* shows the physical effects of nuclear weapons. The film *Shadow of Hiroshima* was compiled from Japanese material. The film *Let My People Go* is a devastating exposure of apartheid in South Africa. £2,000 was needed to make this film and one of the first contributions came from the film technicians' trade union. Further sums came from as far as Japan, Australia, USA, Malaya, Sweden, South Africa and India. From all over Britain contributions kept arriving, from shillings and sixpence collected by students to generous cheques sent by anonymous donors. Many actors and technicians gave their services free. An important point about the films we are mentioning in this article is that they are mostly the work of young and new writers and directors. Tony Richardson, John Osborne, Arnold Wesker, Alun Falconer, Jack

Clayton, Alan Sillitoe, James Hill and Karel Reisz—all represent, if not a “new wave,” a new vital creative group of people who are breaking down the old conventions in literature, the theatre, and the cinema.

So far efforts such as these have been spasmodic, but it is hoped that sufficient money will eventually be received from the worldwide distribution of these films to maintain a permanent group on a part-commercial basis.

Just as one swallow does not make a summer, neither does a handful of progressive films in five years make a healthy film industry. In 1959, the film magazine *Sight and Sound* put a specific question to a number of British film-makers — *what particular subject would they choose to film if they had a completely free hand?* Regrettably, many avoided giving an answer, or took the position that as long as they were working on *something* they did not much mind what it was.

An exception was Tony Richardson, who after mentioning his future plans, went on to say—“What is so disheartening about the British cinema is that few of the producers have any sort of convictions at all, not even determinedly commercial ones. Behind all their actions and decisions is a timidity which leads to a falling between every stool, so that their products are totally without vitality. This caution has permeated the whole structure below them, for always in the background is the threat, the fear of dismissal.”

Anyone familiar with the structure of the capitalist cinema will know this to be true, and it is therefore all the more important that the greatest encouragement should be given to those writers, directors and others who have the vision and the courage to fight the system and strike out on a new road.

Ralph BOND,
General Director,
ACT Films

Attention—Sedition . . .

THE Stockholm newspaper *Aftonbladet* has a column headed “In the News.” The column, as a rule, is about living personalities who for one reason or other are in the news. But not long ago the editor departed from the rule and, turning to the dead, wrote about Marx.

In a way, of course, this is understandable, for much is being said today about the founder of scientific socialism. And this, too, is understandable, seeing that in our day the ideas of Marx are being transformed into reality in the socialist countries and in the scope of the national-liberation struggle now sweeping all five continents. Moreover, *Aftonbladet* is perfectly entitled to write about Marx today because it is the organ of the Central Trade Union Association of Sweden, which is closely linked with the Social Democratic Party.

But the reasons which impelled the column about Marx are of rather a specific character.

The point is that the Workers' Education Association produced a reading list which, among other things, recommended to those attending the study groups to read Marx. And this, apparently, was just too much for *Aftonbladet*.

— What, study Marx? Why, you're crazy! Don't you know who Marx is? . . .

And so the unoriginal *Aftonbladet* columnist, turning to the mouldy archives of anti-com-

munist, produced a rehash of the hoary slandering of Marx the man and his teaching.

There is hardly any need to reproduce the absurdities and the gaffes with which the article is replete. We shall limit ourselves to two.

“In 1848,” we read, “when Marx wrote the *Communist Manifesto* he was so wide of the mark that revolution actually took place before he had completed it, and in any case it turned out to be different from what he had anticipated. . . .” This is all that the Social Democratic columnist could say about the *Manifesto*—the “birth-certificate of scientific socialism.” It will not be out of place to recall that this characterization of the *Manifesto* was made by Branting, whose name is not unknown in Swedish Social Democracy.

Yes, the times have changed! There was a time when Swedish Social Democrats were proud that they were among the first to translate (in 1848) the *Communist Manifesto* into their mother tongue. Nowadays their newspaper scornfully dismisses it.

Marx, according to the *Aftonbladet* column, is not worth studying today. He is outdated, we are told. And, what is more, he said that “religion . . . was opium for the people.” Any comment on this “explanation” would be superfluous.

Then the biggest of all Marx's sins is listed—Marx, we read, believed in a world revolution and he fought for a revolutionary reconstruction of the world. Just imagine! How can any Swedish worker read the works of a man who believes in the necessity of revolution? Yes, the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders have forgotten all about the word "revolution," so

much so that they get the jitters whenever it is mentioned in their presence.

Aftonbladet headed its diatribe against Marx: "In the News." Clearly they did so because they were most anxious to exclude him from things spoken about, particularly among the Swedish workers. Fortunately, to do so is not within their province. *Viktor TOMM*

Interference in the Guise of Sympathy

WHENEVER imperialist propaganda suddenly begins to display "concern" for one or another country, one cannot but be on the alert: there is sure to be something shady about it.

Today the "free world" propagandists are in a flurry about the destiny of Nepal. In article after article they shed crocodile tears about the "absence of democratic liberties" in that country. And a British magazine *Eastern World* even speaks about a "tragic situation" there.

Actually the situation in Nepal is characterized by a contest between the national forces headed by the emerging national bourgeoisie, and the reactionary forces linked with foreign imperialism and relying on the local feudal landowners. The national forces stand for a policy of neutrality, peace and international cooperation, of steering clear of military blocs. Their aims include the furthering of the country's political and economic independence, social progress, and overcoming the centuries-old backwardness. The reactionary forces on the other hand, and above all the leaders of the Nepal Congress Party and a number of other Right parties, are opposed to the country's development, thus bringing grist to the mill of foreign capital which seeks to preserve Nepal as a backward agrarian country and semi-colony of imperialism.

The struggle between the opposed forces at times assumes very sharp forms. At the end of 1960 the reactionaries, financed from abroad, conspired against King Mahendra with a view to reinforcing the rule of the feudal, pro-imperialist groups. As a result of the conspiracy the King was compelled temporarily to take extreme measures—Parliament was dissolved, Congress leaders and leaders of other parties were arrested, all political parties were banned,

and he himself assumed responsibility for government. These steps prevented a putsch and made it possible to continue the policy of strengthening the country's independence.

The reactionaries, however, have not become reconciled to defeat. They commit acts of sabotage, provoke clashes with government troops and, to the accompaniment of noisy talk about upholding democracy, are stepping up their anti-national activities aimed at overthrowing the regime. Hence the sharp inter-political struggle.

In this situation the "concern" shown by the imperialist propaganda over the absence of democracy in Nepal is simply a crude attempt to influence the course of developments in the country. When they demand "democracy" in Nepal, their aim is obvious: legality for pro-imperialist parties, i.e., the green light for ultra-reactionary propaganda. And their demand for the release of the political prisoners mirrors their desire to bring the conspirators back into the dirty game.

The anti-Nepal campaign in the capitalist press today is, then, undisguised interference in the internal affairs of an independent state.

The imperialists, however, should remember at least one thing: gone are the days when Nepal, deep in the Himalayas, was sealed off from the world and when the colonialists could do as they pleased in the country.

Today peace-loving Nepal has powerful friends who are helping it to further its independence and to build its economy. The unity of the national forces is being consolidated. Overcoming the resistance of international imperialism and the reactionaries at home, Nepal is building a new, independent life.

SH. JAWAD

Against the Persecution of Democrats

STRONGER THAN DEATH

ON April 24 yet another shameful page was written into the history of Thailand, a country bartered by its venal rulers to the U.S. imperialists. On that day Ruam Wongphand, a leader of the Communist movement, was publicly executed in a Bangkok prison. This patriot was shot "so that he should no longer serve as a bad example to others" — so said the death warrant issued by the Cabinet of Ministers.

In May last year two ex-members of Parliament — Krong Chandawongh and Togphan Sutimat — were executed, also without trial, on suspicion of being Communists. Hundreds of freedom fighters have been in prison for years, charged with violating the notorious anti-Communist law.

The murder of Ruam Wongphand, the witch-hunts and reprisals against patriots testify not just to the hatred harbored by the imperialists and their flunkies for the Communists but also to their animal fear of the ideas of communism which are attracting more and more people.

For more than two months, in the police dungeons of Bangkok, the torturers, headed by the Prime Minister, tried to get this Communist

hero to forsake his ideas and to betray his comrades. But this time, too, it was the will of the Communist that triumphed. The only thing that the torturers learned from him was the proud admission of his membership of the Marxist-Leninist Party. Nor was the very last interrogation, conducted personally by the Prime Minister just before the execution, of any avail.

The courage displayed by Wongphand was such that even the bourgeois press had to pay tribute to it. At the very last moment, the newspapers wrote, when taken out of his cell, Wongphand distributed Communist pamphlets among his fellow-prisoners. Nor did he flinch before the firing squad. His last words were "Long Live . . ." A burst of machine-gun fire cut short this ardent call and the life of Ruam Wongphand, a modest rural teacher and a genuinely national hero.

The execution of Ruam Wongphand will not instil fear into the people, which was the hope of the reactionaries; on the contrary it will make the people still more determined to fight for a better future, that future for which this gallant son of the people of Thailand gave his life.

D.S.

THE PEOPLE OF HAITI ARE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

TERROR is rampant in Haiti. Since the advent to power of the Duvalier military dictatorship the people are under the constant threat of arrest. In violation of the Constitution, large numbers have been thrown into prison; many have been secretly shot or have died because of the terrible conditions. The writer Jacques Stéphené Alexis, the student Souffrant and many others are held in jail for months without trial. The authorities are persecuting the national poet Jean Briere for his opposition to Duvalier.

In addition to the regular army and police, the Duvalier government also uses the terrorist organization Tontons Macoutes to combat the progressive movement. Whereas in the initial period of the Duvalier government the police organized their raids only at night, now they operate in daylight. People are killed or wounded indiscriminately.

In order to prevent organized actions by the masses the government has restricted the activities

of the public organizations. The right to strike has been removed from the Labor Code. After the recent students' strike all student organizations were disbanded. In Port au Prince meetings and even religious gatherings are prohibited unless attended by an agent of the police prefecture. A lecture is allowed only if the text has been censored in advance and not unless it is attended by a prefecture agent. The same order entitles the police to raid public premises and even private apartments.

But despite the draconic measures the people are standing up to the dictatorial and venal Duvalier government, whose policy is ruining the Haiti economy — taxes have been raised, embezzlement of public property is rife, public money is squandered on unnecessary investment and the country's prestige is bartered for American dollars, as was the case in Punta del Este where the Haiti delegation got \$11 million from the United States for voting against Cuba.

But the people of Haiti, confident of their victory, are determined to carry on their struggle for freedom, national sovereignty and genuine

independence. In this struggle they enjoy the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples.

René GAUTHIER

TERROR IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA

"**S**ALAZAR'S regime is going through the worst crisis in its history. For that very reason men, women, youths and even children are today the defenseless victims of the inhuman PIDE, Salazar's police." This extract from the appeal issued by the Portuguese Communist Party in April applies in equal measure not only to Portugal itself but also its colonies.

Rafael Barbosa, chairman of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, has been detained in Salazar's gestapo since March. The life of this patriot of the freedom-loving people of "Portuguese" Guinea is in danger. The Party, headed by Barbosa, was formed in 1956 and is now the leading force of the liberation front consisting of national democratic organizations determined to fight against Portuguese colonialism.

Hundreds of African patriots have been thrown into prison and concentration camps

without trial. A communique issued by the Political Bureau of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde early in April said that in the space of a month the Salazar police had arrested 102 patriots in Bissao, capital of Guinea, on the charge of being members of the Party. The communiqué added: "The danger of a massacre is again hanging over the people. In these conditions the Party appeals for help to the United Nations and to all peace- and freedom-loving peoples and particularly the African peoples and their governments."

In a telegram cabled to the U.N. at the end of March, A. Cabral, General Secretary of the Party, demanded on behalf of the people of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde that the world body should take effective steps to stop the crimes of the colonialists.

John RIFF

ANOTHER OUTRAGE BY THE BONN RULERS

PEACE supporters and fighters for democracy have been persecuted by the hundreds of thousands in West Germany in recent years. The best sons of the people such as Oskar Neumann have been thrown into prison, while Nazi assassins, including Wolfgang Otto and Alfred Berger — the men who murdered Ernst Thaelmann — are free and enjoy the protection of the authorities.

After banning the Communist Party in 1956, the Bonn obscurantists set out on exactly the same trail as that which still bears the blood-stained footprints of Hitler. Over 200 democratic organizations, including the German-Soviet Friendship Society and the Peace Committee, have been suppressed.

Today work is underway in the Federal Republic to prepare another act of political violence — to ban the Association of Nazi Victims. Way back in 1958 the government submitted a motion to the Federal Administrative Court proposing to ban this organization. Soon the court will pronounce its verdict. The Association is being persecuted because of its work in exposing the infiltration of the state adminis-

tration, the army, police, judiciary, industry and education by former high-ranking Nazis. The resistance fighters are demanding that war criminals such as Globke, Heusinger and Verusch, should be removed from their posts, that the Hitler industrialists like Flick and Abs should no longer be allowed to carry on their activities. The Association wants the political influence of these persons to be ended, since it was they who carried out Nazi policy under Hitler, and it is they who once again are taking the way of preparing war and suppressing the democratic forces.

It is not only the German anti-fascists that the Federal Government wants to put on trial. Challenging world public opinion, it has openly attacked the International Federation of Resistance Fighters. The movement against the persecution of the Association of Nazi Victims is growing in many countries. All who do not want the foul political gamble in Bonn to develop into another world tragedy, are raising their voices in defense of the German anti-fascists.

Kurt VALKE

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the titles are given in English)

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