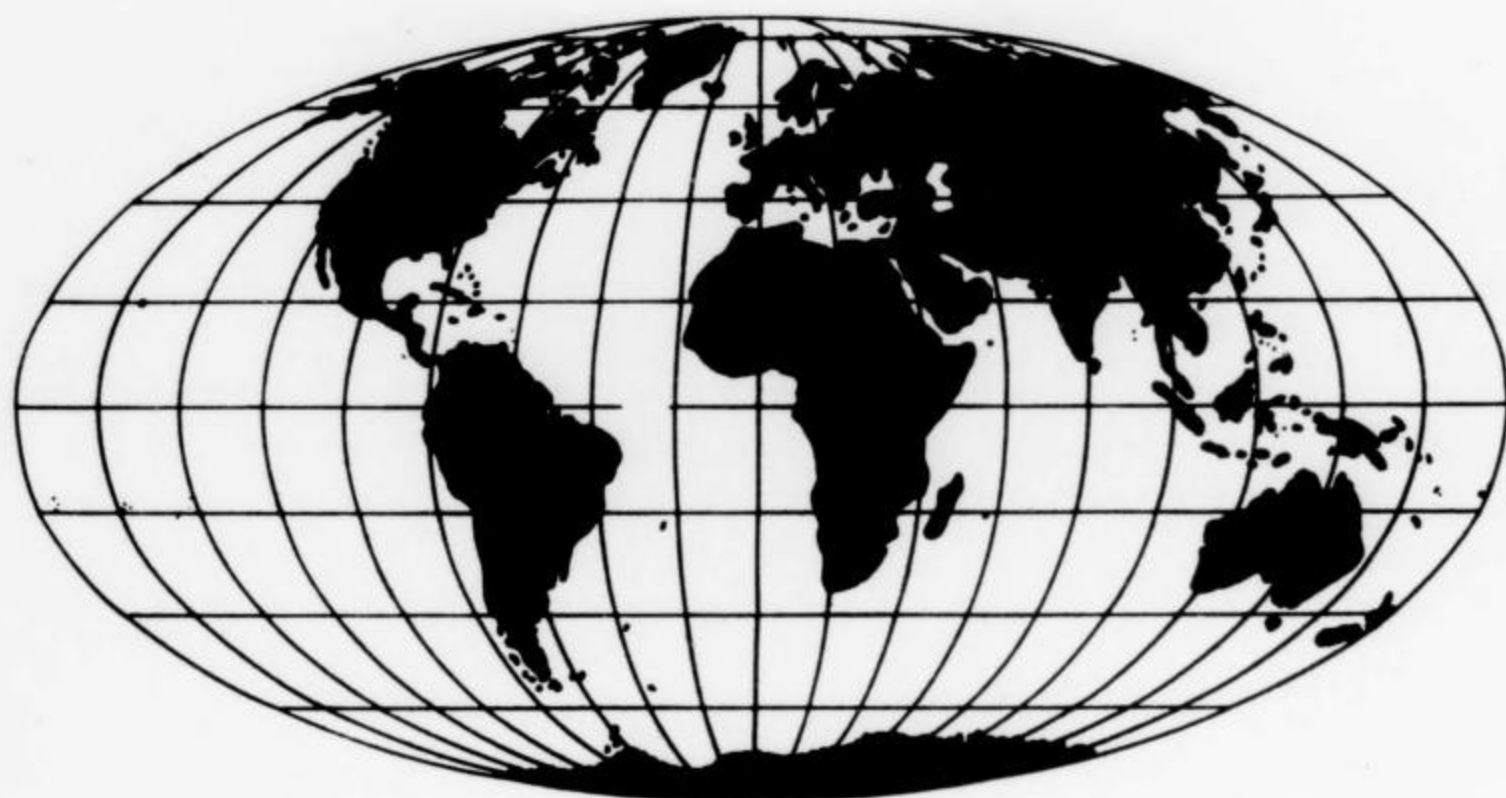


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

**The World Revolutionary Process and Unity
of the Communist Movement**

Some Economic Aspects of Disarmament

*To the Readers of
"World Marxist Review"*

Dear Readers,

We believe, we cannot but believe, that the forces of peace and progress will prevail. And we Soviet cosmonauts hope that our efforts to master outer space will be a contribution to the common struggle for peace and socialism.

We heartily wish you every success in your noble endeavor.

VALENTINA TERESHKOVA

VALERY BYKOVSKY

July 10, 1963.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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The World Revolutionary Process and Unity of the Communist Movement

THE world today is changing faster than it ever did before. The scientific and technological revolution is increasing man's dominion over nature at an unprecedented rate. The first steps in space exploration have been taken. But perhaps even more significant is the fact that today the requirements of all in food, clothing, housing and education could be fully met if only the world's productive forces were put to planned, rational use. That this has not been done is due to capitalism, under which even the greatest of scientific and technological achievements are used not in the interests of the peoples but to create instruments for the wholesale destruction of life.

Because of this, man's growing mastery over nature is accompanied by an upsurge of the liberation struggle of the masses embracing the economic, political, social and cultural spheres on a worldwide scale. The aim of this struggle is to achieve a higher stage of social development ensuring a better life for all. Hence it is a universal, revolutionary struggle which, despite the endless variety of its forms, constitutes an organic whole, an *integral world revolutionary process*. The depth and breadth of this process and its perspectives make our time the epoch of transition to socialism and communism, an epoch when the trend of history is determined by socialism.

Communist ideas and practice are increasingly revealing their vital, dynamic force. The influence, as well as the tasks of the Communist parties and also the opportunities for the realization of these tasks, have grown as never before. Hence the increasing diversity of the forms and methods of their work. Experience has shown that the more fully they take cognizance of the concrete conditions, the better results they achieve. But these results should not be regarded in isolation from one another. The activities of one Party affect the work of the others, the entire movement, just as the common line and accomplishments of the movement as a whole

affect the situation in each Party taken separately.

Needless to say, the emergence of new forms of revolutionary struggle, like any process of growth, tends to give rise to new problems; different viewpoints on one or another issue may appear, requiring examination and creative discussion. Such discussion is essential so that unity might be deepened and cemented, as it objectively can be by virtue of the oneness of the world revolutionary process. Moreover, the importance of unity increases with the growth of the forces of communism, with the development of the Communist movement into the determining factor of human progress.

The three great revolutionary forces of our time—the socialist world system, the revolutionary working-class and general democratic movements in the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement—are organically interlinked and interactive. These three movements merge in a single revolutionary stream which is undermining and will sweep away world imperialism.

The unity of the world revolutionary process, then, does not preclude, but, on the contrary, presupposes the diversity of its forms as well as the link between these forms and the influence they exert on one another in the course of the overall march of history. The more varied the forms the more they intertwine, and this in turn gives rise to new forms of revolutionary struggle. For instance, would the national-liberation movement take the many different forms it does today if socialism were not being built over a considerable part of the world? The building of socialism, indeed, is the most powerful stimulus to the revolutionary energies of the peoples fighting against imperialism, and this creates more favorable conditions for socialist construction, which in turn enhances the prestige of socialism and its influence on the development of the national-liberation movement.

The general line of the international Communist movement elaborated jointly by the

Communist parties after thorough discussion reflects the objective unity of the world revolutionary process, the interpenetration of its principal components and its general historical tendency.

On the other hand, the multiformity of the world revolutionary process cannot be invoked as justification for subjectivism or opportunism. For, varied though the forms of struggle are, they are governed by the same universal laws; indeed, diversity of form does not negate but reveals these regularities. For example, the variety of forms and methods of working-class struggle to win political power highlights the fact that this struggle is necessary everywhere, that it is the general law.

These universal laws are set forth in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of the international Communist movement.

The objective unity of the world revolutionary process, however, is not always self-evident to the masses or even to all Communists. Hence the danger of dialectical perspective being lost at crucial junctures of social development and an absolute value being attached, on the basis of the narrow, specific experience of one or another country, Party or revolutionary group, to some particular aspects of the objective process as distinct from the process as a whole. From here it is only a step to one-sided practical politics, to flouting the facts, interpreting them tendentiously and fitting them into stereotyped patterns.

Such onesided development of theory and political practice, however, proceeds not in a laboratory isolated from the world but in real life with all its contradictions and its steadily sharpening class struggle.

Consequently, every Communist, every revolutionary, is exposed to the danger of a wrong understanding of the overall revolutionary process diminishing his contribution to it. Hence the need for the fullest exchange of experience, for the broadest creative discussion, for a desire for mutual understanding, as well as patience combined with an uncompromising attitude towards everything that might weaken the unity of the international Communist movement which stems from the objective oneness of the world revolutionary process.

* * *

What is the Marxist-Leninist view on the interrelation and interaction of the basic forces constituting the world revolutionary process? The answer provides the key to a

correct understanding of the differences that have arisen in the international Communist movement and for defining the only positions capable of serving as the basis of unity. The documents of the international Communist movement are a clear-cut guide to the formulation of these positions.

When socialism transcended the bounds of one country and became a world system, the world revolutionary process entered a *new phase* of which the basic feature is the struggle between the two diametrically opposed social systems. The building of socialism and communism and economic competition with capitalism are the pivot of this process today. "The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the socialist world system," the Statement of the Moscow meeting of 1960 declares.

This conclusion of the international Communist movement which underscores the leading role of the socialist system in the mainstream of the revolutionary emancipatory struggles, which is undermining and destroying the world imperialist system, is based on incontestable facts.

First of all, the process of building socialism and communism is one of *revolutionary social change*. The socialist revolution not only gives free rein to the development of the productive forces by breaking the fetters of the old relations of production; it presupposes the growth of these forces as the basis of its continued progress in depth and breadth. The process is governed by its own inner laws; it cannot be accelerated by skipping stages, nor can it be retarded or put off for the future. Full utilization of the advantages of socialism, resolute work to overcome shortcomings with utmost speed, close economic cooperation between the socialist countries, all-round strengthening of the socialist system—these are the levers ensuring the solution of the urgent historical tasks, this is what integrates the labors of the peoples, governments and parties of the socialist countries in the world revolutionary process under the most favorable and most beneficial conditions for the cause of socialism and for humanity as a whole.

By exerting every effort to build up the productive forces, to raise the productivity of labor and to improve the living standard of the people, thereby creating the material base for developed socialism and communism, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth are engaged in that revolutionary reconstruction which is the

duty of the Communists, a direct contribution by the working people of the socialist countries to the world revolutionary process. By so doing they are carrying out their internationalist duty as it was formulated in the 81-Party statement: "In developing industrial and agricultural production in their countries at a high rate in keeping with the possibilities they have, the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and the internal resources of every country to carry out, by joint effort and as speedily as possible, the historic task of surpassing the world capitalist system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then outstripping the economically most developed capitalist countries in *per capita* output and in the standard of living."

The socialist world system is becoming the *decisive factor of social development* on the basis of the steady growth of the economic, political and military strength of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. Its progress in production, science and technology signifies a *steady shift in the world balance in favor of socialism*, i.e., the advance of the world revolutionary process. In this sense the fathoming by the Soviet people of the secrets of nuclear energy and their accomplishments in rocketry and space exploration are among the greatest revolutionary developments of our time; these fruits of the peaceful labors of scientists, engineers, designers and workers at factories and laboratories are of truly epoch-making revolutionary significance. The achievements of the Soviet people in peaceful labor have greatly changed the balance of forces in favor of socialism, weakened the positions of imperialism and opened new prospects for the accelerated development of all revolutionary processes.

The conditions have been created for exerting ever greater economic, political and ideological pressure on imperialism; already now socialism is wresting one position after another from the imperialists, forcing them to yield now in one and now in another area. A prime factor weakening the positions of imperialism and shaking the foundations of the entire capitalist system is economic competition between the two systems. The achievements of socialism in this competition are undermining capitalism, aggravating the inter-imperialist and especially the social contradictions, deepening the antagonism between labor and capital.

Lenin pointed out that the countries of

victorious socialism would exert their greatest influence on the development of world revolution by their economic endeavor, through the force of example. The socioeconomic achievements of the socialist countries indeed demonstrate the vitality of socialism and its progressive, humane essence, thereby winning it the support of ever greater numbers of people. The living example of socialism stimulates the mass movement in the capitalist countries, compelling the bourgeoisie to make concessions, to give way under pressure from the working people fighting for their vital interests and rights.

The expanding productive forces of socialism provide a reliable material groundwork for the growth of its defense capability. Moreover, the military strength of the socialist camp is a barrier to the export of counter-revolution. The revolutionary significance of this aspect of the growth of the socialist productive forces has been highlighted by the events of recent years.

As a result of their all-round progress in production, science and technology, the socialist countries are acquiring a military-economic potential great enough to compel the class enemy to accept the principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems and thereby prevent world thermonuclear war.

The struggle of the socialist countries and the masses generally, of all progressive forces everywhere, for general and controlled disarmament is likewise of direct revolutionary significance. It helps to isolate the most reactionary imperialist elements and strengthens the positions of the democratic forces in all countries. The prime issue is the banning and destruction of nuclear weapons, which imperialism is holding over the peoples, and the abolition of foreign military bases. In this way the imperialist states would be deprived of their vast superiority in armaments over the less developed countries; they would be prevented from using the most destructive of all weapons to suppress the national-liberation movement.

The new form of the class struggle between world capitalism and world socialism is the economic aid rendered by the socialist countries to states which are seeking to break away from capitalism and to launch out on their own independent path. Such aid enables newly-independent countries to escape from the grip of capitalism, and to take the non-capitalist way with its perspective of socialist development.

Needless to say, the successes of socialism

in its peaceful offensive against imperialism will not bring about the *automatic* collapse of capitalism in one or another country. Capitalism can be overthrown only by the peoples of the countries concerned, through class struggle. The Communists are confident that all peoples, utilizing the increasingly favorable opportunities opening up before them, will find their own way to socialism.

* * *

The class struggle waged by the working people in the capitalist countries has entered a new stage. The big strike struggles in France, Italy, Spain, Federal Germany, Britain, Belgium, Finland, USA, Japan, Brazil, etc., the signal success of the Italian Communists in the recent parliamentary elections, and the upsurge of the movement against race discrimination in the USA are all signs of the times. They give the lie to the bourgeois propaganda claim that the class struggle is waning in the developed capitalist countries.

True, revolutionary development in the advanced capitalist countries is proceeding very unevenly. But it is going ahead and, what is particularly important to note, it is steadily spreading out and assuming new forms.

Formerly there was only one practicable way of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing people's government. That way was through armed uprising. Although in theory Marxism has always conceded the possibility of, and declared its preference for, the peaceful conquest of power, in practice the possibility offered itself very rarely. In our time the prospects of winning power by peaceful means are steadily improving. The form the revolutionary movement will take in one or another country—peaceful or non-peaceful, or a combination of both forms—depends on the specific situation, the alignment of class forces, and the extent to which the Communist parties concerned take cognizance of all these factors in shaping their policies.

The Communists have always regarded their parliamentary activity as an important means of deepening the political consciousness of the working class, strengthening its links with all other sections of the working people and defending the immediate interests of the people. Today broad parliamentary struggle has become a powerful instrument for influencing the life of society in a number of capitalist countries. The Communists, therefore, combining parliamentary activity

with extra-parliamentary mass struggle, are bending every effort to use Parliament to weaken the political positions of the reactionaries.

In some countries the conditions are becoming more favorable for the participation of the Communists in the government. Formerly, too, they entered, on certain conditions, non-proletarian governments. But hitherto such situations have rarely arisen. Now that socialism has become the main determinant of the trend of world development and capitalism has been forced to take the defensive, while the popular mass movement has risen to an incomparably higher level, the Communists are in a better position to make use of participation in anti-monopoly coalition governments to combat the reactionaries and to work for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

For the fraternal parties correctly to work out their policies, it is important to have full clarity on what is the essence of a political crisis, on the forms the revolutionary situation takes as the objective political prerequisite of the revolutionary transfer of power into the hands of the people. In the past, political crises as a rule developed and came to a head either in connection with wars or as a result of economic convulsions or acts of tyranny. In our time such national crises are likely to develop under the impact of many other factors as well.

Since the Second World War all the imperialist countries have witnessed a steady sharpening of the political conflict between broad sections of the people and the ruling monopoly bourgeoisie primarily on the issues of war and peace and the banning of nuclear weapons. In other words, the *struggle for peace* has become a permanent trend of popular democratic action against the aggressive militarist ruling circles. The biggest general democratic movement in history, it is of vast importance primarily as a barrier to the aggressive plans of imperialism. At the same time, in the course of this struggle the progressive forces marching in the forefront of the nation win new allies, extend their ties with the diverse classes and sections of society who want peace; new scores of millions come to see the inherent evils of imperialism, which give rise to aggressive wars, and the humanity of socialism, which combats imperialist aggression and seeks to put an end to war in general.

Another constant democratic trend that is asserting itself in the imperialist countries is

struggle to defend, regenerate and broaden democracy. The monopoly capitalists are waging an unceasing offensive against the democratic gains of the working people, seeking to set up authoritarian regimes, and wherever this is impossible owing to the resistance offered by the democratic forces, to curtail and emasculate democracy. The offensive against democracy has acquired an enormous scale. The events of recent years in France, Italy, Japan and a number of Latin American countries show, however, that the working people are evincing a high degree of understanding of their historical and political responsibility, rising to the defense of the existing democratic institutions and at the same time demanding the regeneration and extension of democracy in all spheres of economic and social life.

The struggle for democracy is a school for the masses; it organizes them, enlists them in political activity, heightens their political consciousness, thereby helping to build up the political forces of the socialist revolution and to broaden and cement alliances. Consequently, the Communists regard it as a component part of the struggle for socialism.

The defense of national sovereignty is another aspect of the general democratic struggle. The urgency of the issue of course is not identical in all countries and at all times. But on the whole the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions indicates that defense of national sovereignty will for a long time be an issue that will unite the working masses.

The economic factors tending to revolutionize the working people, who are subjected to increasing pressure by the monopolies, are bound to play an increasingly important role. The workers' economic struggles have acquired an unprecedented scale and a greater degree of intensity; they take a greater variety of forms and intertwine more and more with the political struggle. While defending its vital immediate interests, the working class is posing more and more important social problems and working to solve them, dealing with each new social gain a new blow at the bourgeoisie. In the course of their economic struggle the masses are awakening to the need for far-reaching changes all the way to democratic control and nationalization of the biggest monopolies. In this way the economic struggle is becoming interlinked more and more with the political struggle and helping to open people's eyes to the necessity of the socialist reconstruction of society.

All these features, which are characteristic of the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries, form the groundwork for the growth of unity in the course of the struggles. Basing themselves on this objective tendency, the Communists are working steadfastly to overcome the split in the working-class movement, to remove all the obstacles to unity created by the reformists, revisionists and sectarians. For working-class unity is an essential precondition of unity among all the democratic forces and of success in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The fraternal parties, the 1960 Statement says, "decide on the prospects and tasks of revolution according to the concrete historical and social conditions in the respective countries and with due regard to the international situation." Above all they seek to make the fullest use of the growing opportunities to build broad *anti-monopoly coalitions* headed by the working class, to undermine the power of the monopolies and to carry out the socialist revolution.

Relying on the popular mass movement, the Communist parties are working to build up the impact of the blows delivered at the chief enemy of the people—the monopoly capitalists. The policy of the Communist parties proceeds from the fact that the problems of peace, democracy, national independence and defense of the working people's economic interests are a constant source of sharp social conflict, and that therefore it is possible, in the struggle to solve these tasks, to deal blows at the monopoly bourgeoisie already at the present time, in the existing conditions. Such democratic mass action heightens the political activity of the people, accelerates the maturing of the subjective factor of revolution, hastens the march of history and makes the peaceful transition to socialism an all the more probable and realistic prospect.

Experience shows that in order to forge ahead, in order to carry on an unflagging offensive against the reactionary classes, the masses must be helped to organize and, striking at the most vulnerable spots of capitalism, led from victory to victory, no matter what the magnitude of these gains. It is equally obvious that if new political tasks are not posed in uninterrupted succession before the masses there is a danger that they will lose faith in themselves and drift away from revolutionary struggle. Political inertia is no less harmful to the cause of the working class than adventurism. Passivity

of the masses is fraught with political danger and tends to retard the revolution.

The fraternal parties have underscored the importance of choosing the right time to strike at capitalism, the right forms of class struggle and the right slogans of action. The slightest departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism at once gives rise to two dangers: the danger of Right-wing opportunism in tactical questions and that of adventurist sectarian distortion of tactics.

There always is the danger that slogans suitable for a given period may be regarded as valid for all time. This would divorce the struggle for socio-economic reforms from the revolutionary process as a whole. Because of this the Communist parties link the struggle for far-reaching democratic reforms with a clear-cut revolutionary, socialist perspective.

On the other hand, there are those who hold that if the masses in one or another country are not yet ready for the socialist revolution, the maturing of the subjective factor should be artificially accelerated, for instance, by embarking on armed struggle. But precise assessment of concrete situations and correct appraisal of the balance of forces are cardinal conditions of victory in the revolution. The revolutionary fervor of the masses should not be suppressed when the objective and subjective conditions for action are ripe. But neither can the revolution be spurred on artificially if the conditions for it have not matured. To do so would create insurmountable obstacles to winning the masses over to the revolution, it would retard their escape from the influence of the bourgeoisie, break up alliances that have begun to crystallize and doom the revolutionary vanguard to sectarian isolation and the revolutionary action to defeat.

Hence the Communist parties are waging a constant struggle on two fronts—against Right-wing opportunism and revisionism and against all manifestations of Leftist adventurism, dogmatism and sectarianism. Only if this dual struggle is carried on is it possible to work out the correct Communist policy which is the cornerstone of anti-imperialist unity.

* * *

The role and impact of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have vastly grown. Since the Second World War more than 50 new sovereign states have launched out on the path of national regeneration and social progress. The

epoch-making process of the decline and fall of the moribund system of colonial slavery is nearing completion.

Not all the new nations won their political independence in the same way—some won it peacefully, others through armed struggle. But however varied the forms and methods of winning political independence owing to the different situations in the various countries, it has always been a matter of long and difficult struggle. The colonialists would like to have it believed that it is they who are bestowing independence on the peoples they have enslaved. Actually, however, it is not a matter of the "good intentions" of the imperialists; it is the radical change in the world balance of strength in favor of socialism, the spread of the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and pressure from the national-liberation movement that is forcing them to make concessions.

The winning of political independence is a major victory for the national-liberation movement, but it does not mean the end of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Political independence, unless it is consolidated by far-reaching socio-economic changes, is unstable and may prove short-lived, especially when it is largely nominal as is mostly the case. The colonialists are not reconciled to defeat; they are exerting every effort to preserve and, if possible, to strengthen their influence in the liberated countries, utilizing to this end the inferior position these countries occupy in the capitalist system of economy.

The national-liberation movement has now entered a *new and more difficult stage—that of struggle for economic independence*. The newly-emerged countries are confronted with the momentous task of eradicating with the utmost speed the legacy of colonialism and drawing up to a level with the industrially developed. At this stage the national-liberation movement, far from waning, acquires an even deeper significance. Its own inner logic leads it on from the fight for independent statehood to struggle against capitalism and imperialism. It is this that the old and new colonialists alike fear most; hence their efforts to prevent the newly-emerged states from effecting far-reaching socio-economic changes capable of undermining and expelling the foreign monopolies and leading to the creation of independent national economies.

The overwhelming majority of the countries which recently overthrew colonial rule have not yet freed themselves from the grip of

the world capitalist economy, even though they occupy a special place in it. The imperialists are trying to hold the former colonies and semi-colonies in the capitalist orbit and to perpetuate their inequality. But capitalism offers little attraction to the peoples of the developing countries, who are coming to see that it is unable to ensure the high rate of growth of the productive forces without which it is impossible to do away with their enormous lag behind the industrial countries caused by the long years of ruthless colonial exploitation.

The situation in the world arena is now such that the peoples that have thrown off the colonial yoke are in a position to choose the non-capitalist path of development if they so wish. The existence of a powerful socialist system, which exerts a growing influence on human development in general, is a reliable guarantee of their independence. "It cannot be questioned," Lenin said, "but that the proletariat of the advanced countries can and should help the backward working masses, and that the backward countries can emerge from their present stage of development when the victorious proletariat of the Soviet republics extends a hand to these masses and is in a position to give them support."

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to help the peoples fighting against colonialism of every kind to strengthen their political independence and to win economic independence. Nearly 900 industrial enterprises and installations are already being built or will be set up in the near future in the newly-emerged sovereign states of Asia and Africa with the financial and technical assistance of the socialist countries.

The countries of the socialist community are rendering all-round moral, economic and political support to the national-liberation movement. Together with the peoples of the young sovereign states they are barring the way to imperialist attempts at openly exporting counter-revolution. The failure of the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956, the prevention of imperialist intervention against Syria in 1957 and the Iraqi revolution in 1958, the inability of U.S. imperialism to suppress the Cuban revolution, and other facts show that the existence of the socialist world system and the consolidation of its relations with the newly-free countries have brought about a situation where all peoples, regardless of size or geographical location, are in a position to wage

a victorious anti-imperialist struggle. The Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries gave all-round aid to the just struggle of the Algerian people against the French colonialists. The sympathy, support and tangible material aid extended by the socialist countries facilitates the fight for national independence carried on by the peoples of Indonesia, South Vietnam, Yemen, Laos, South Korea and Angola. The socialist countries support the just struggle of the Kurds. And, in turn, the telling blows at imperialism dealt by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America help the socialist world system.

The national-liberation movement, then, is closely linked with the other revolutionary forces of our time. It cannot be regarded apart from the world revolutionary process as a whole. It develops in close connection with the struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries. Suffice it to recall the important contribution which the working people of France made to the liberation of Algeria, and the resolute support of the national-liberation movement by the Communists and other progressives of Italy, Britain, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal and other countries. And the anti-imperialist movement for the freedom of peoples in turn helps to develop the political struggle of the working class and other democratic forces against reaction, militarism and fascism in the developed capitalist countries.

Communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars and are dedicated champions of national independence. Today the national-liberation movement has developed from being the "reserve" of the world revolutionary process which it was considered before into an important component of this process. It has already delivered a powerful blow at imperialism. Complete independence of the newly-emerged sovereign states achieved by radically solving the agrarian question, expelling foreign monopoly capital, expanding the state sector, creating an independent national economy, etc., would deliver these countries from the status of a monopoly-exploited "global backwoods" and further seriously weaken imperialism. But the national-liberation movement in itself cannot abolish imperialism. Although Britain and France lost nearly all of their colonies after the Second World War, British and French imperialism continue to exist, causing many hardships for the peoples. U.S., British or

French imperialism can be abolished by their respective peoples in the overall context of the new world balance. *The anti-imperialist forces should be united, not divided.* Any attempt to counterpose the national-liberation movement to the other revolutionary forces of our time can only weaken the anti-imperialist front.

* * *

The international Communist movement is guided by the jointly formulated principles set forth by the fraternal parties in their agreed international documents. Taking cognizance of the radical changes in the world balance between socialism and capitalism, it is steering a course towards *peaceful coexistence and economic competition* between the two systems; towards full utilization of the new opportunities for *peaceful socialist revolution* in the developed capitalist countries (allowing, of course, for the possibility of the non-peaceful way becoming essential wherever the reactionaries resort to violence against the people); towards the further *development of the national-liberation movement* in all of its forms.

The Moscow Statement of 1960 points out: "In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. . . ." Peaceful coexistence, being a form of the class struggle between capitalism and socialism, provides, as the events of recent years have shown, a favorable climate for the revolutionary struggle of all peoples. It is in the conditions of peaceful coexistence that the colonial system of imperialism has disintegrated, that the socialist revolution has triumphed in Cuba, and that the working-class and democratic movements have grown in the capitalist countries. Peaceful coexistence, then, does not signify "accommodation" with imperialism, "reconciliation" between the oppressed and the oppressors, or "coexistence of ideologies," but the further development of the class struggle—economic, political and ideological—between the two social systems, between labor and capital, between the oppressed and the oppressors.

Only in the conditions of peaceful coexistence can socialism achieve a decisive victory over capitalism in peaceful economic competition, surpassing the capitalist countries for both overall volume of production and output per capita. The steady strengthening of the position of world socialism in this economic

competition on the one hand deepens the contradictions of imperialism and, on the other, strengthens the mutually beneficial link between the socialist countries and all other anti-imperialist forces. This in turn facilitates the struggle of the working people in each capitalist country, a struggle on the outcome of which depends the final victory of socialism in these countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of counteracting the danger of a new world war, of exposing the aggressive plans of the imperialists, of concrete and fearless measures against aggressive actions on the part of the latter. The vigilance of the peoples with regard to imperialism must be heightened and the disastrous consequences of thermonuclear war made clear to them; it is essential to reinforce the faith of the masses in their ability to prevent world war already now, before imperialism has been destroyed. The slogan of peaceful coexistence does not "lull" the peoples but helps to set the masses in motion, to rally them to solve the fundamental social problems of today.

Any other approach to these problems gives rise to the desire to conceal or minimize the deadly consequences of thermonuclear war—ostensibly in order not to weaken the militancy of the peoples. Such is the "logic" of those who reject peaceful coexistence as a realistic positive alternative to thermonuclear world war, those who consider peaceful coexistence the opposite of revolutionary struggle. It is a dead-end logic which boils down in the final analysis to idle speculation as to what fraction of humanity would survive a nuclear war—two-thirds, half, or one-quarter. The Communists refuse to indulge in such monstrous statistics.

There is, of course, no absolute guarantee that one or another imperialist group will not try to unleash world war. However, the imperialists know full well what such a war would mean for themselves. Precisely because of this the aggressive element in the imperialist countries has not dared to set off a new worldwide holocaust. As socialism gains strength, the process of differentiation goes on in the imperialist camp, increasing the number of supporters of a more rational policy who concede the need for peaceful coexistence. And conceding the need for peaceful coexistence is a victory over world war, a victory that can be consolidated by developing the idea further.

The world revolutionary process inexorably

hastens the end of imperialism. In order to put off the inevitable, the imperialists are doing everything in their power to prevent the unity of all the revolutionary forces, taking advantage for this purpose of every fissure that may appear in the revolutionary

front. But the Communists are convinced that, all the obstacles notwithstanding, unity will triumph, for it stems from the bedrock of the unity of the world revolutionary process and the common Marxist-Leninist outlook.

The Growing Influence of Socialism

Ernest Burnelle

BELGIUM is moving toward major political and social battles—battles far broader in scope and far more serious than any she has known hitherto. A realignment of political forces is slowly but surely emerging, new alliances are in the making which are no doubt destined to play a decisive role in the coming struggle.

In such a situation it is imperative that the Communists have a clear-cut program of action, that they be thoroughly prepared to meet the approaching political developments with full understanding of the issues involved, that they be worthy of the lofty mission which the new situation and the growing confidence of the working masses imposes upon them.

These were the problems that claimed the attention of the Fourteenth Congress of our Party held in April of this year. It met to consider what path to take, what had to be done to enable the working class and democratic movement to play its full part in the political life of their country, to steer Belgian politics on to a new course, one that accords with the aspirations of the people.

The Congress answered these questions by making a profound study of current problems both in the context of our own country and in the light of the general strategy of the Communist movement as set forth in the documents of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960, the validity of whose ideas continues to be confirmed throughout the world. Proceeding from these premises, the Congress thoroughly examined all the most vital aspects of the Party's policy in the new situation, adopted a new program

of action based on the discussion, and introduced the necessary changes in the Party Rules with a view to adapting it to the new conditions of Party work. In short, the Congress furnished the Belgian Communists with the ideological weapon so essential in the complex situation in which we are living.

Although not much time has elapsed since the Congress, nevertheless looking back we can say that its decisions were correct, that they have already served to broaden and deepen the struggle of the Belgian working people for peace, democracy and social progress. There is no doubt that those decisions will continue to exert a stimulating influence on the life of our Party.

1. The Contradictions of Belgian Capitalism

A salient feature of the present-day world is the unprecedented expansion of the productive forces, the colossal development of industrial techniques, and an increasing tendency toward internationalization of production and commodity exchange. These are objective tendencies of world development which we Communists cannot fail to take into account, for in our country too technological progress is bringing the productive forces into ever sharper conflict with capitalist production relations, clearly demonstrating how obsolete these relations have become and how they retard the country's progress.

How are these contradictions manifested in Belgium?

It would of course be absurd to maintain

that Belgian capitalism has fallen completely behind the technological advance of the rest of the world. Our capitalists continue to erect new plants and to modernize old ones, as is evidenced by the substantial expansion of the Cockerill-Ougrée and l'Espérance-Longdoz concerns, the oil refineries in Antwerp or the glass factories in Glaverbel. But under conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, the monopolies, possessing vast financial resources of their own and enjoying unlimited opportunities to draw on the finances of the state, direct the development of the productive forces to suit their own private interests while the real interests of the country and the bulk of its population are unheeded.

One of the contradictions of Belgian capitalism is that despite the technological progress in some branches of industry the general picture is one of economic backwardness. Belgian capitalism has essentially not abandoned its old economic orientation. Today, as in previous decades, priority is given to the production and export of steel and to other branches requiring a relatively small investment of labor power. One reason for the one-sided orientation on metallurgy is that, being associated with the arms build-up, this branch yields the biggest and easiest profits.

It is this one-sided economic policy that prevents Belgium from keeping pace with her neighbors in many branches of production and which has relegated her to a back seat in the Common Market set-up for a long time to come. Leaving aside such advanced spheres as the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, which at times do require investments beyond the means of a small country, Belgium is lagging behind in other branches where she could make a far better showing than she does. Belgian capitalism has failed to make use of the opportunities open to it even in such a sphere as the production of plastic materials. Up to the present only 8,200 workers are employed in the production of plastics. And what results have been achieved in electronics—also, incidentally, below actual capacity—have been due exclusively to the stimulus of military orders.

The prolonged lag and the imbalance of the economy gives rise to other unhealthy phenomena—in foreign trade, for example. During the past four years Belgian exports have grown twice as fast as the overall volume of industrial production. In itself

this is not bad, but like production, export trade is developing one-sidedly and this has the effect of increasing Belgium's dependence on her capitalist neighbors. Whether in relation to France, West Germany or even Italy and Holland, Belgium always appears to be lagging behind. The rate of annual growth of industrial production in Belgium is invariably below that of these countries.

All this taken together has an adverse effect on scientific research which is being concentrated more and more in private laboratories and hence subordinated to the profit motive. Scientific progress is thus seriously impeded by the laws of state-monopoly capitalism. Of course science has not ceased to bear fruit, but the obstacles it is forced to overcome in the process considerably limit the field of its research and application.

The Belgian economy, as we see, is caught in a web of contradictions—contradictions which are caused by the limited and anarchic development of the productive forces in conditions of monopoly ownership of the means of production and which are associated with the relative backwardness of Belgium as compared with other capitalist countries.

Having sustained heavy losses in the Congo, and being justifiably apprehensive of competition from their foreign rivals in the European Economic Community, the Belgian capitalist monopolies are now bent on recouping their losses at the expense of the working people by squeezing the maximum profits out of the war industry. But the arms drive is costing the country more than it can afford. The national defense budgets run into astronomical figures, forcing the successive governments to resort to financial measures which impinge on the interests of the working masses and evoke anger and resentment. It is this, incidentally, that explains the belligerent attitude of the employers and the government with regard to the workers' demands.

It is hence not surprising that the year 1962 witnessed a substantial increase in taxation. Belgians paid 11,000 million francs more taxes that year than in 1961, and the biggest part of the tax burden fell on the lower income bracket, the wage-earners chiefly, but also the small manufacturers and shopkeepers who are being hard pressed by the fiscal system which is accelerating the process of capitalist concentration.

All these factors add up to the following

picture of the economic situation in Belgium today: the national income is showing a tendency towards a slow but nonetheless perceptible increase. Wages, on the other hand, are on the whole relatively declining. The number of unemployed (although still close to 100,000) is less than at any other time since the war. However, the difficulties in finding markets for industrial output, especially iron and steel, the main branch of Belgian economy, is causing grave concern.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the foregoing is that the growing contradictions between capitalism both on an international and a national plane are further exacerbating the chief contradiction evoked by the conflict between the interests of the capitalist monopolies and those of the working masses. The Belgian Communists know that all these contradictions can be fully and finally overcome only by adopting the most democratic solution, namely, socialism, and that the time in which we are now living is leading us in that direction.

2. Some Features of the Class Struggle

The class war in Belgium has always been fought on a grand scale and in recent years the scope and effectiveness of the working-class struggle has notably grown. But today's battles, though a continuation of yesterday's, are not merely a repetition of the past. On the contrary, they differ from the battles of earlier periods in many respects. This is due in large measure to the character of the historical period through which we are now passing, the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. If we take the trouble to examine the struggle that has been going on in Belgium for several years now, we will see that it bears the unmistakable stamp of socialist influence.

Take, for example, the fight for peace, which is the paramount issue of our time. In our country its development has been attended by many new features. In the first place it has assumed huge proportions, setting in motion vast masses of people, and is steadily gaining momentum. Splendid examples of the growth of the peace movement in our country were the anti-nuclear youth march held on March 24 of this year, and even more so the peace demonstrations held throughout the country on May 8. A good half of the population of Belgium took part in these demonstrations, showing that the rank-and-file citizens in our country have

come to see that the fight for peace provides a key to the solution of urgent problems of the gravest concern to each and everyone.

However, as the peace movement grows it acquires more and more features of a social character. This is because in their day-to-day activities the peace fighters find themselves in constant conflict with the most powerful forces of modern capitalism, namely, the monopolies. The fight for peace is, practically speaking, a struggle against the policy pursued by the monopolies. That is why it is such a thorn in the side of the capitalist system. Participation in the fight for peace is helping the different strata of the population to understand the real causes of international tension and to recognize their real enemies. The nuclear threat, against which the peoples are resolutely protesting but which fully suits the purpose of the monopolies, is in itself an indictment of capitalism as opposed to socialism, the bulwark of the fight for peace.

True, the broad peace alliance which is taking shape in Belgium does not have socialism as its ultimate goal. When the task of building socialism becomes the order of the day in our country the necessary alliance of all forces capable of giving effect to the socialist transformation will emerge to the fore. Nevertheless the present peace alliance opens the prospect of expanding and consolidating the progressive forces of the Belgian nation.

And indeed the experience which the peace supporters are accumulating today may tomorrow bring the whole anti-war movement to new and more radical positions. The fight for peace cements the unity of all genuinely national forces against the capitalist monopolies, the most ardent champions of the capitalist system and the most violent opponents of extending democracy and strengthening the peace.

The progress of the fight for peace affords an insight into the perspectives of the fight for socialism. Just as the movement against war became broad and effective only when the masses realized that the fight for peace was a key to the solution of many national problems, so the movement for socialism will come into being and develop only when the masses grasp the fact that socialism alone can provide the answer to the vital questions exercising their minds.

However, the changes that are taking place under the impact of the principal developments of our time have not only affected the peace movement. A marked change has

occurred latterly in the balance of forces between the masses and the governing capitalist groups in Belgium. The number of individuals and national organizations participating actively in the struggle for social progress and democracy is growing from year to year. On the other hand, the reactionary elements, all-powerful until recently, are being forced under mass pressure to maneuver. Anti-communism is retreating; the violent manifestations which were so common only a few years ago have become rare and are evoking less and less sympathy among the popular masses.

The wind of change, the influence of socialism, is felt also in the scope of the movement for the vital demands of the working class. Ever since the great strikes of 1960-61 our working class has been very active. Demands are being raised on all sides and strikes are more frequent than ever before. But that is not the chief thing. The demands themselves are changing, as are the objectives of the workers' struggle.

What is particularly significant is that the struggle for economic demands has today assumed a *national* character. Partial demands by individual categories of workers are now being replaced by general demands advanced on the scale of the entire country and with the support of all trade unions. Working-class unity is being cemented and extended in this way.

Another distinctive feature of today's working-class struggle in Belgium is that the workers' organizations are coming out actively *against government policy* in the social and other spheres, against the solutions of economic, political and social issues running counter to their interests which the government is trying to impose on the nation. The workers are demanding anti-monopoly structural reforms, they want to be in a position to exercise effective control over the operation of the enterprise and the conduct of its affairs. The working class is insisting also on democratic rights which would enable it to exercise a greater influence on national life.

The new demands advanced by the Belgian working class have their roots in the long tradition of working-class struggle in our country. Another significant factor, however, is that government policy is largely determined by the big monopolies. The state is interfering more and more in economic and social life in an effort to protect and uphold the interests of the ruling monopolies. As a result, the workers are awakening more and more to the actual role played by the bour-

geois state and are learning to defend their own interests by combating its policy. Now that their eyes are opened to the true nature of the monopoly-dominated bourgeois state, the workers are becoming increasingly conscious of the need to abolish that state and replace it by a democratic government by the people, one that would solve economic and social problems in the interests of the working masses.

In any case it is practically impossible in Belgium today to find any economic demand that does not contain some political elements. The merging of the economic struggle with the struggle for democracy is a characteristic feature of our time. It reflects the socialist perspective in the struggle of the Belgian working class.

Let us examine another important aspect of the present stage of the class struggle in Belgium. Gone are the days when the working class was as often as not the only active force in this struggle. Today every social movement is joined by vast masses of working people. The number of women participants is steadily increasing, and clerks, technicians, teachers and students are coming out more and more often in support of the factory workers. Indicative in this respect is the spread of the protest movement of broad sections of educational workers against the government's anti-democratic measures in the sphere of education. In many cases teachers and other educational personnel give their support to the demand for structural reforms. The same applies to medical workers who are demanding more democracy in the public health services. The wave of big peasant demonstrations which began this summer against the government's policy of sacrificing the interests of the countryside to the dubious advantage of the Common Market is essentially the first of its kind in Belgian history.

In other words, the demand for a democratic solution of the problems confronting the country is becoming nationwide, testifying to a *general shift to the left* in Belgium.

In these circumstances the Fourteenth Congress of our Party elaborated and adopted a broad program of immediate action in the fight for peace, social progress and democracy.*

The new program of our Party is based on the following premises, the first of which

*The basic points of that program are given in the communication on the Fourteenth Congress of the Belgian Communist Party published in No. 6 of *World Marxist Review*.—Ed.

is that socialism is the ultimate objective. We believe that we shall achieve this objective sooner than is generally assumed. This conclusion is based, firstly, on an appraisal of the main trends of world development, on the growing influence of the world socialist system; and secondly, on the progress in the internal political life of Belgium mentioned above.

We believe that the successes achieved by the socialist and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, the policy of peaceful coexistence and competition pursued by the socialist countries, and primarily, by the Soviet Union, create an exceptionally favorable situation for the struggle for socialism in our country. At the same time we do not lose sight of the fact that these achievements in themselves can not do away with the capitalist system in Belgium. Take the national-liberation movement, for example. Thanks to its success the former Belgian Congo is now independent. This was unquestionably a serious blow to the Belgian monopolies. Nevertheless their power inside the country has remained virtually unshaken. The new Program of our Party proceeds from the thesis that the decisive role in ensuring Belgium's transition to socialism must be played by the Belgian working people themselves. It goes without saying that today the question of transition to socialism is as yet a matter for the future, but it is also true that today's battles for peace, democracy and social progress undoubtedly pave the way for tomorrow's struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. And here we come to another of the fundamental premises of our program.

An essential condition for preparing the masses for the struggle for socialism is to expand and activize today's battles. We believe that the Party's ability to solve the urgent problems confronting the nation today is an earnest of its success in the struggle for socialism in the immediate future.

That is precisely why the new Party Program contains clear-cut, concrete and constructive proposals on all the principal issues of concern to our people at the present time, including the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence, for the broadening of democracy and for social progress. In elaborating these propositions, the Congress bore in mind that every slogan we advance should lead to some mass action. As the program points out, the most effective slogan is, of course, one which reflects the general line of stra-

tegy of the world Communist movement and which at the same time is able to bring together in a single united front the broadest sections of the population and inspire them to wage a serious struggle, a struggle that is bound to lead to victory. Of course, no little effort had to be exerted to evolve such slogans. There are comrades inside the Party who are slow to realize what slogans of action are needed in the present situation. Some have been concerned at the fact that not all of our slogans on current issues indicate our final objective—the communist society. Such sentiments, however, are a manifestation of the old sectarian malady with which all Communist parties were afflicted to a greater or lesser degree at one time or another and which is now becoming a thing of the past.

The watchwords advanced by the Communists unite the vast majority of the population. Each day brings fresh proof of this. The power of their appeal lies in the fact that they express the interests of the masses, and this should be seen as an important factor in broadening and consolidating the working class and democratic front. The capitalist monopolies are well aware of this and they retaliate by vicious attacks on the progressive forces. However, the reactionaries are powerless to prevent the forces of social progress from uniting.

The theses adopted by the Fourteenth Congress examine the question of the possible paths to socialism for Belgium. Our Party believes that the road to socialism lies through the socialist revolution. But the revolution may take different forms. We hold that in the present conditions the peaceful development of the revolution is perfectly feasible, firstly, because of the new balance of forces on the world arena, and secondly, because of the specific character of our internal development which affords the possibility for establishing an extremely broad and genuinely national front of struggle for socialism. Our belief in the possibility of the peaceful development of the revolution is founded on a thorough assessment of the forces of the popular masses, on faith in their revolutionary enthusiasm, on their desire to build a society where there will be no exploitation of man by man.

3. For a Party of Action

The development of the struggle of the progressive forces of the Belgian nation, with

socialism as the ultimate goal, makes it imperative to strengthen the Belgian Communist Party. The Fourteenth Congress emphasized the need to turn the BCP into a Party of action.

The 11th Congress of the Party held several years ago in Vilvorde initiated a vigorous campaign of renewal and reinforcement of the Party. It was then that our Party adopted the course it has pursued ever since and which has been crowned with signal success. This course is based on the general line of the world Communist movement as a whole. The Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU and the decisions of the meetings of the representatives of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties were and continue to be a source of inspiration to our Party and its members.

The course adopted by the Eleventh Congress is, moreover, a realistic course, one which takes account of all the new elements that emerged in the world and in the working-class movement. We fully realize that it is these new elements that are helping our Party to move forward, to improve its work and extend its influence. Failure to understand what is new and progressive in the evolution of our epoch breeds opportunism and sectarianism.

The more than 40 years of its history have taught our Party that success cannot be achieved so long as the working class movement remains in the grip of that pernicious opportunism in which the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders are so anxious to keep it. We have learned, moreover, that the vanguard of the working class must avoid leftism and sectarianism like the plague. At its Eleventh Congress the Party launched a resolute struggle against sectarianism and Left dogmatism. The Fourteenth Congress continued this work and exposed the whole fallacy of the dogmatist and sectarian views which a small handful of people, speculating on the present differences in the world Communist movement, sought to impose on the Party.

"We must raise our Party, its organization, its outlook and its method of struggle to the level of a truly Leninist Party," the theses of the Fourteenth Congress state. "Our Party must be able to give new impetus to social and political development, to take the lead in these fields. The past must serve as a springboard for the advance to the new, to the future. Our Party must open broad vistas for the people and point the way to progress."

The lofty objectives and ideals of the Party cannot but be mirrored in the style and methods of its work. We Communists reject as alien to Communist morality the idea that "the end justifies the means." Our means must be worthy of the noble goals we serve. Hence, when we conclude alliances, when we extend our activities to the mass organizations, when we appeal to the working people, we do not employ the unethical methods used by bourgeois politicians. We proclaim our objectives clearly and frankly and we try to convince the masses of the justice of our cause.

We attach the utmost importance also to our internal Party life. The theses adopted by the Congress state that "internal Party activity should be a model for the entire working-class movement." By perfecting our inner-Party democracy, by allowing no deviations from the Leninist line in this question, by fighting against factions and for the active participation of all members in the life of the Party, we are demonstrating our concept of democracy, demonstrating to the masses those methods of public activity which accord with the socialist ideal.

The correctness of the line pursued by our Party is evident also in the fact that its influence in the country is steadily growing. In the period between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth congresses alone the Party gained more than 3,000 new members, bringing the total up to 14,500. The Party's influence is particularly strong among the workers in the machine-tool industry, iron and steel, and among the workers and employees of government enterprises, especially the railways.

The experience of the past few years has shown that the successes we have achieved in increasing membership and spreading socialist ideas have been due in great measure to the activity of the Party workers at the enterprises. The Party branch at the enterprise is the backbone of our Party. It is the political organization of the working class, and in this capacity it gives active support to the broad democratic organizations — the trade unions, as well as organizations of peace supporters, etc. We believe that the moment is now opportune for the Party organizations at the enterprises to become mass organizations. The work done by the best Party branches functioning at the big enterprises (the ACEC works in Charleroi, the state ordnance works in Herstal, the factories of the Cockerill-Ougrée firm)

show that the opportunities in this sphere are great.

The Party also devotes much attention to Communist work in mass democratic organizations. One example is the activity of the Communists in the Walloon people's movement. This movement, which sprang up in the Walloon areas of Belgium, expresses the national aspirations of the Walloons. Its program, influenced by the progressive forces, and especially the Communists, contains two basic objectives: to make Belgium into a federal state and to carry out anti-monopoly structural reforms. These two objectives are closely interlinked, and to separate them would be a grave mistake. To place the accent on structural reforms would enable the nationalist elements to split the movement. On the other hand, had the movement confined itself to the federal slogan it would have alienated masses of working people who are striving for a solution to the social problems. The Communists participating in the Walloon people's movement are endeavoring to prevent the spread of anti-Flemish sentiments which only play into the hands of the reactionary nationalists. The Communists in Flanders, for their part, are working for a rapprochement and alliance between Flemish democrats in the fight for structural reforms and federalism. And finally, while upholding the democratic federalist solution of the national question, the

Party unquestionably stands for the class unity of all the working people in the struggle for a lasting peace, for democracy and social progress.

It is quite obvious that the Party's activities cannot be effective unless its members devote sufficient attention to ideological questions. At a time when the ideological struggle on a world scale has grown sharper, when debates are in progress inside the Communist movement, when the working people are evincing a growing interest in the ideas of scientific socialism, ideological work acquires a special significance. The Fourteenth Congress went on record that the Party must strengthen its ideological work, broaden the political knowledge of its members, encourage exhaustive discussion of ideas through public debate. The Party must also popularize its ideas among the working masses. In this sphere an important role is played by the Party press.

By strengthening the Party, drawing thousands of new members into its work, perfecting the methods of Party work and expanding the practical activity of the Party among the masses we shall obtain new and greater opportunities for solving the problems facing us. The confidence of the workers in the Party will be strengthened and this will be decisive in ensuring the attainment of our lofty goals.

Imperialist Integration Is a Threat to the Underdeveloped Countries

Paulino Gonzalez Alberdi

THE Common Market and associations like it present a serious threat to the economically underdeveloped countries. "The rulers of the Western world, notwithstanding all their antagonisms, have partly succeeded in forming inter-state alliances the activities of which create difficulties for the newly emergent countries in Asia and Africa and also in Latin America,"* N. S. Khrushchov

has said. Indeed, the European Economic Community puts its imperialist members in a better position to shackle the countries which have freed themselves from the yoke. Holding out certain advantages in the sphere of import trade as a decoy, they dictate terms of trade designed to retard the independent economic and political development of the newly-emerged sovereign states. This imperialist policy finds its main local support among the latifundists and the capitalists for whom the production of export crops is the

*N. S. Khrushchov. *Vital Questions of the Development of the Socialist World System*. *World Marxist Review*, No. 9, 1962, p. 3.

chief source of profit. The inconsistency of the national bourgeoisie, which trembles at the thought of radical social-economic measures, likewise plays into the hands of the imperialists.

I

The EEC has brought 18 African countries into the Common Market system as associated members. The economy of all these countries is of the monoculture type, virtually dependent as they are on the sale of two or three types of commodities.

The imperialist powers affiliated with the Common Market are pursuing a policy of collective colonialism aimed at preventing the underdeveloped countries from winning genuine independence. Particular pressure is exerted by the governments of the EEC countries on the newly-emerged African states in order to prevent them from building up independent economies and establishing close contacts with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

By providing the "associated" African countries certain openings for the export of their goods to the Common Market, the imperialist monopolies seek to entrench themselves in positions enabling them to plunder the inestimable wealth of the African continent. In a number of instances they have already been able to establish their control over emerging national industry. Some of the West African associated countries, for example, have reduced customs tariffs on goods originating in the Common Market countries by 30 per cent, thereby seriously jeopardizing their home industries. In particular, the monopolies are out to do away with the state sector wherever it exists.

Will Mac Lorin pointed out in the article "The Bourgeoisie in Senegal and Neo-Colonialism," published in this journal, that some of the Senegalese capitalists have properties in France and prefer to transfer their capital to Europe, especially to Switzerland. "Utilizing the state machinery, as well as trade and other economic agreements with the French and West German imperialists and also the machinery of the Common Market," he says, "the bourgeoisie is lining its pockets and at the same time facilitating the exploitation of the people by the foreign monopolies to whom it extends all manner of guarantees, tax exemptions and other privileges,"*

Implicit in this is the bribing of the politicians and high-ranking officials of some independent African countries by the imperialists with a view to fostering a bureaucratic bourgeoisie ready to do their bidding.

The EEC countries have concluded a number of agreements among themselves providing for the joint exploitation of the natural riches of underdeveloped countries. The British and especially the U.S. monopolies are particularly active in this respect in Africa. But compacts of this kind do not rule out struggle between the imperialist powers for control over Africa's natural resources. The Congo is a case in point, as is the struggle between imperialist monopolies for Saharan oil.

Eugene Black, ex-President of the U.S.-monopoly-controlled International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, pointed out in a recent article that it is only in developing African mineral resources that rapid progress has been made. According to him, the greater part of the loans totalling \$885 million issued by the Bank to African countries in the past 12 years was earmarked for the construction of roads, railways and ports—in a word, projects facilitating the pumping out of Africa's national wealth by foreign monopolies.

Imperialist integration and the efforts to involve the underdeveloped countries in it are prompted not only by economic reasons but also by political and military considerations. Western leaders do not conceal the direct link between the Common Market and the aggressive NATO alliance. SEATO, CENTO, the Organization of American States and other military-political organizations are likewise devices used by the imperialist powers to line up countries which are economically dependent on them. It is a question of the imperialists capitalizing on the economic dependence of these countries in order to subordinate them politically and militarily, to combat the democratic and progressive forces, and to make these countries bases for war preparations.

II

The establishment of an exclusive trade bloc of European and African countries has placed at a disadvantage those Latin American countries which export the same type of goods as the associate members of the Common Market. This applies above all to the exporters of coffee, cocoa, bananas, cot-

*World Marxist Review, No. 10, 1962, p. 14.

ton, sugar and copper. In 1952-56 these six items accounted for 55 per cent of the total value of the Latin American exports of farm produce and raw materials (roughly one-fifth of the total went to countries now in the Common Market). The situation is aggravated by the fact that, owing to the shrinkage of the capitalist external markets, a crisis of overproduction has already set in in several of these industries.

The adverse effect of the Common Market is felt not only by the Latin American producers of the six export items mentioned above. The Common Market treaty calls for a unified policy for all the main branches of agriculture. The West European countries will accordingly seek to meet their farm produce requirements by expanding both their domestic production and their mutual trade while raising a tariff barrier against imports from third countries. This cannot but damage the interests of the Latin American exporters of grain, fruit, vegetables, tobacco, butter, meat and other items. "The farm policy of the EEC and the technological revolution in West-European agriculture," the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America went on record in 1958, "will have a direct effect on world trade in temperate zone agricultural produce, and in particular on Argentine and Uruguayan exports. The countries of the temperate zone will most probably be affected to a greater extent than the tropical countries."

Forty per cent of Argentina's exports go to the Common Market countries (together with Britain they account for 60 per cent). The USA and Canada, Argentina's main competitors in the export of grain, have already concluded agreements with the Common Market ensuring them preferential treatment. Argentina has no such treaty arrangements.

Not long ago the *Mexican Comercio Exterior* pointed out that whereas in the thirties Latin American goods accounted for 11 per cent of the import trade of the countries now in the Common Market, in 1960 the percentage went down to six. Moreover, the journal stressed that the "decline will continue . . . if the European countries do not renounce their protectionist policy and do not curtail imports from other areas, Africa, for instance, which are establishing closer ties with the Common Market."

It would be a mistake to think that the Latin American economic difficulties began with the establishment of the Common Market. They were only aggravated by it.

The root cause lies in the fact that the imperialist monopolies and the latifundist oligarchy have retarded economic development by channelling it along one-sided, monoculture lines.

The economies of the Latin American countries are far from stable. They are completely dependent on the export of one or a few types of agricultural produce or minerals. True, some Latin American countries have, besides a substantial light industry, various heavy industry enterprises, but on the whole their economic development has been left to drift. The obstacles have been many and all that has been done to promote the economy has been designed to serve the interests of the capitalist monopolies. As a result the industries that have been developed are largely dependent on the import of machinery and other equipment, spare parts, oil products, engines, industrial raw materials, etc., all of which has to be paid for in foreign currency. And this currency is mostly obtained by exporting agricultural products and minerals.

The general crisis of capitalism has caused Latin America's traditional capitalist markets to shrink, and this has given rise to chronic overproduction of many of its basic output items. The USA, Britain, France and other imperialist countries have made substantial investments in their own agriculture and increased farm output at home. The United States, for example, has large "surpluses" of agricultural produce which it dumps on the foreign market, playing havoc with the export trade of a number of Latin American countries, especially Argentina. At the same time the USA, under diverse pretexts, has stopped buying certain Latin American products, such as Argentine meat, for example. It has also cut down on the import of minerals. No small threat to the production of wool and cotton, which are also staple Latin American exports, is presented by the increasing output of synthetic materials.

According to data released by the Economic Commission for Latin America, the value of the continents exports declined in 1958 by \$700 million as compared with the previous year owing to a drop in the world agricultural produce and raw material prices. In terms of the prices of 1950-53 and 1958-61, the decline amounts to \$1,500 million. For example, Colombia, 80 per cent of whose dollar inflow comes from the sale of coffee, lost half of this inflow as a result of the fall in prices in 1957-61. A few months ago

the Peruvian National Mineral and Oil Society announced that it might have to close a number of mines since the U.S. government had limited the import of lead from Peru to 59,000 tons and of zinc to 64,000 tons annually.

The fall in export prices and the rise in the prices of goods originating in the imperialist countries, and also the drop in the overall volume of export trade, have resulted in a foreign trade deficit. Moreover, the imperialist countries siphon out of Latin America enormous sums in the shape of interest on investments. Between 1957-61 the gold and foreign currency reserves of the Latin American countries declined by \$1,000 million, or by 26 per cent. Their financial difficulties are aggravated by the growth of military budgets as a direct consequence of the inter-American treaties and other agreements imposed on these countries by the USA.

Imperialist integration is no new development for the American continent. The process found expression more than half a century ago in the founding of the Pan-American Union which the U.S. imperialists used to subordinate Latin America to their diktat. After the Second World War the Union was renamed the Organization of American States. Through it the U.S. government controls the economy, politics and armed forces of the Latin American member countries. The Pentagon holds their armed forces in its grip through the Inter-American Defense Council and military missions operating in nearly all Latin American countries. During the Caribbean crisis the OAS and the Inter-American Defense Council backed the U.S. imperialist aggression against Cuba which was foiled primarily by the firm stand taken by the Soviet Union. Despite the opposition of their peoples, the governments of Argentina, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela actually sent warships to blockade Cuba.

Realizing what thermonuclear war would mean and aware of the potentialities of the Soviet Union's intercontinental missiles, the U.S. strategists are gradually coming to see that the participation of Latin American armed forces in a world war would be completely pointless, and are, therefore, spearheading these forces mainly against the Latin American peoples.

U.S. Secretary of Defense McNamara has said that nearly half of the roughly \$75 million allocated annually by the USA for military aid to Latin American countries goes

for equipping and training their armed forces for tasks connected with internal security, with special emphasis on preparedness to deal with armed uprisings.

The Pentagon is out to crush every attempt by the peoples of Latin America to order their lives as they would wish. It regards the national armed forces as an instrument with which to strangle the national-liberation movement. Moreover, high-ranking U.S. officers often direct the military coups which are usually staged when the people are victorious at the polls. This happened, for instance, in Argentina after the March 1962 elections.

III

The International Monetary Fund is an instrument of imperialist integration. Taking advantage of the economic straits in which the Latin American countries find themselves, it grants them loans on shackling terms. It insists on the recipients giving up protectionist policies designed to safeguard national industry and merchant shipping against foreign competition, denationalizing the state sector of the economy and renouncing trade relations with the socialist countries. The fund is opposed to reciprocal barter agreements and insists on clearing arrangements based on the dollar or other imperialist currencies. The object is to raise barriers to the Latin American countries trading with one another and with the socialist world.

The USA also advocates setting up regional markets in Latin America in which the leading role would be played by U.S. imperialism, thereby trying to capitalize on the striving for unity evinced by the Latin American peoples.

On the initiative and under the leadership of the Organization of American States and the Economic Commission for Latin America the Central American Common Market and the Latin American Free Trade Association were set up. The latter now comprises nine countries—Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.

Why is U.S. imperialism anxious to set up regional common markets in Latin America?

Primarily to persuade the peoples that their economic difficulties can be overcome without combating imperialism, that U.S. government and private investments are a cure-all capable of preventing the decline of foreign trade and the growth of balance of payments defi-

cits. Actually, however, an analysis of the movement of private capital between the USA and Latin America in the first half of 1962 shows that the outflow from the latter exceeded the inflow by \$30 million. U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Dillon said last October that not only had there been a reduction in the flow of foreign capital to Latin America but that national private capital had begun to search for outlets beyond the bounds of the South American continent. In some cases, he said, the flight of capital had reached substantial proportions.

It is highly questionable that the USA will appreciably increase government investment in the Latin American economy inasmuch as the Administration does not have adequate funds available for the purpose. Indeed, this explains why the U.S. government has repeatedly urged the West European countries and Japan to shoulder part of the burden of "aid" to Latin America.

The U.S. imperialists and their agents claim that integration will increase the export trade of all Latin American countries, create bigger markets, and help to attract foreign capital. In a speech addressed to Latin America, President Kennedy said on March 13, 1961: "... We must support all economic integration which is a genuine step toward larger markets and greater competitive opportunity. The fragmentation of South American economies is a serious barrier to industrial growth. Projects such as the Central American Common Market and free trade areas in South America can help to remove this obstacle."

The imperialists of the USA are sparing no effort to drum it into our people that radical socio-economic changes paving the way to socialism are not at all necessary for improving their conditions. The purpose of this propaganda drive is to counteract the profound impression made on the working masses and some sections of the intelligentsia by the achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The victorious revolution in Cuba is another source of inspiration for our people. Dr. Raul Prebisch, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America and a leading protagonist of regional markets, admitted in an article entitled "Latin America's Response to the New Policy of International Economic Cooperation" that "the Soviet Union's economic achievements are the prime factor imparting new confidence and heightening

the enthusiasm of our peoples, especially of the young generation."

The U.S. imperialists use the regional markets they dominate to prevent the Latin American countries from establishing broad economic and cultural contacts with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. But the working people want closer relations with the socialist countries, and their efforts in this direction are supported by the national bourgeoisie and other elements which stand to lose from the curtailment of foreign trade.

Underlying the idea of regional markets is the striving of the U.S. imperialists to preserve and consolidate their political, economic and military domination in Latin America. The political aims and nature of the Latin American integration were particularly clearly revealed when Cuba was denied admission to the Latin American Free Trade Association on the grounds that the Cuban economic system was "incompatible with the LAFTA treaty."

In supporting the establishment of regional markets, the USA pursues far-reaching economic aims. The fall in export prices has led to a decline in imports. According to Alberto Baltra, the former Chilean Economy Minister, the purchasing power of the Latin American countries is now less than it was in 1925-29. Moreover, the imperialist monopolies are setting up in these countries their own industrial enterprises as well as mixed companies in which the national capitalists are merely junior partners. Some of these foreign-owned enterprises have existed for a long time. Since their output has outgrown the capacity of the national markets their owners too are eager to set up regional markets. For example, plants producing automobile parts in a number of countries are in the grip of an overproduction crisis. In Argentina the tractor plants are similarly affected, and this in spite of the fact that our agriculture is still technologically backward and in need of tractors. In Brazil there is overproduction of penicillin, sewing machines and watches. And several Latin American countries can turn out more of certain chemical products and consumer goods (fabrics, footwear, etc.) than they can market.

The U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America notes in its publication *The Basic Principles of the Latin American Regional Market* that "it is to be expected that foreign businessmen will find in the Latin American countries the stimuli to invest in industry

which they are now lacking; instead of national markets they can look forward to a capacious regional market."

By means of regional markets the imperialists hope to divert the attention of the people from the urgent need to develop the national markets for this can be done only through far-reaching changes ensuring a higher living standard and general economic and cultural advance. Instead of promoting economic cooperation between countries with a view to increasing the capacity of the national markets, the U.S. monopolies are doing their utmost to merge these markets, although this can only aggravate the economic difficulties of the various countries. Hence the Communist and Workers' parties are opposed to regional markets controlled by U.S. imperialists.

The communique on the July 1961 Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica stressed that the economic, political and ideological penetration of U.S. imperialism in these countries and its insistence on merging their national economies in a Central American Common Market ran counter to the interests of the people. It was pointed out that truly free association of the Central American countries will be possible only when the yoke of the U.S. monopolies has been overthrown. Orlando Millas, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Chile, has also emphasized that the U.S. monopolies want a common market only in order to make the most of the opportunities for investment in Latin America.

The Communist Party of Argentina holds that "although the democratic and anti-imperialist movement should work to promote trade among the Latin American countries, it is essential to bear in mind that so long as the economy of our countries is dependent on imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular to the extent it is now, the projected Common Market is bound to be controlled by the U.S. monopolies."

Economic integration, if effected under U.S. imperialist control and not backed by far-reaching changes at home, can yield no positive results. Even Dr. Prebisch, who was one of the first to advocate integration, has had to admit this. Speaking at the Second Session of the Latin American Free Trade Association he deplored the fact that "the Free Trade Area is not developing as we would wish. It is limping along, encountering

frequent hitches." The *Comercio Exterior* has pointed out that the "Latin American Free Trade Association is in a state of crisis, or, to be more exact, in a hopeless impasse."

Latin American integration in its present form finds support only among those who believe that our economy can be put on the upgrade without effecting far-reaching anti-imperialist and anti-latifundist changes, those who hope to "develop" it with the aid of foreign and above all U.S. monopoly capital. The Argentine ex-President Frondizi too, after jettisoning the program with which he had won at the polls, advocated economic "development" and Latin American "integration" under U.S. aegis.

The epoch-making achievements of the Cuban revolution and the all-round support rendered by the USSR and other socialist countries to nations fighting for economic independence have made a profound impression on our peoples, and to counteract this impression the U.S. imperialists have launched a sweeping demagogic propaganda campaign around the Alliance for Progress. What this "alliance" really amounts to can be seen from a report prepared by a nine-man panel of experts for the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the OAS. "The increase in foreign credits under this program was not enough to cover the foreign trade deficit and to compensate for the decline in foreign private investment," the report states. Clearly, the Alliance for Progress, which is now in the throes of a crisis, is nothing but a fig-leaf used by the U.S. imperialists to cover up the intensified exploitation, plunder and colonization of our countries.

The Latin American peoples, who have before them the example of the victorious Cuban revolution, are working under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' parties to achieve unity, to effect far-reaching changes and carry out the tasks of the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution, which marks a stage on the way to socialism. Thanks to the efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties of the Latin American countries, the working class and all other sections of the working people are increasingly turning for guidance in their day-to-day struggles to Marxism-Leninism, under the banner of which they will eventually win.

* * *

The peoples of the underdeveloped countries realize that the paramount task of the day is to free their foreign trade and eco-

nomy generally from the grip of the imperialist monopolies. To achieve this it is essential to work for broad trade and cultural contacts with all countries, and primarily with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, sweeping away all the obstacles raised by the imperialists to such contacts. Imperialist integration is one of these obstacles; it can only cripple the economy of

the underdeveloped countries and lead to still greater subordination to the imperialist monopolies. In the light of all this the convocation of an international trade conference as proposed by the government of the USSR is of vast importance. All peoples want free and equal trade. The unhampered development of trade relations will help to strengthen world peace.

Some Economic Aspects of Disarmament

Ludek Urban

MAN has achieved such a degree of mastery over the forces of nature that he is in a position to pose and solve tasks that only yesterday seemed to belong to the realm of fantasy. He has the scientific and technological wherewithal to put an end to poverty, disease, hunger, ignorance and backwardness. But at the same time the progress of science and technology has produced weapons of unprecedented destructive power capable of wiping out vast areas of human civilization in a nuclear holocaust.

Moreover, there is an arms drive under way which swallows up enormous quantities of human energy, material resources and financial means. Millions of young men have been put in uniform, divorced from constructive labor and maintained at the expense of society. A large percentage of the skilled workers are engaged in war production. According to United Nations data, the overall strength of the world's armed forces is in the neighborhood of 20 million men, while the total number directly or indirectly engaged in the military sphere is more than 50 million. In the first half of this century the cost of preparing and waging war ran to \$4 trillion — a sum big enough to build comfortable homes for 500 million families, or two-thirds of the world's population. All this once again highlights the urgent need for general and complete disarmament.

But is complete disarmament feasible? Or will it be possible only after the complete

collapse of imperialism? The view that imperialism must go first, although it does not rule out the possibility of a measure of agreement on disarmament being reached already at the present time, in effect removes the question as a whole from the order of the day. For the proponents of this view general and complete disarmament is purely a propaganda slogan, a slogan aimed at exposing imperialism, and not a slogan of mass action; the substance of this position is denial of the possibility of ending the arms drive in present-day conditions.

The crucial thing, then, is to establish whether the struggle for disarmament is realistic at a time when imperialism still exists.

Clearly, the socialist countries present no objective obstacles to disarmament, since in them there are no social forces interested in the arms drive and seeking to unleash thermonuclear war. The only obstacle to general and complete disarmament is imperialism.

The international Communist movement has set forth its views on this question in its jointly-adopted documents. The Moscow Statement of 1960, for instance, states: "Through an active, determined struggle by the socialist and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and

force the imperialists into agreement on general disarmament."

In order to give the proper direction to the struggle to avert the threat of a world nuclear war, it is necessary first to ascertain the alignment of social forces in the capitalist world on the question of disarmament, to find out what interests dictate the arms race and what can be done to stop this "race to war."

In this article I shall not try to give an exhaustive analysis of all sides of the problem but shall examine only a few of its economic aspects.

1

Data available on military production in capitalist countries show that only a comparatively small segment of the monopoly bourgeoisie is directly or indirectly battenning on the manufacture of the engines of war. But it is an economically powerful segment which exerts a strong influence on the state machine, possesses a large entourage of political and ideological servitors, and has at its disposal all the media for influencing public opinion. As the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties points out, "only a handful of monopolies and war speculators are interested in the arms race." And as military technology continues to advance and war orders become concentrated in fewer hands the number of capitalists enriching themselves on armaments is bound to diminish further.

There are also other groups of monopolists who are lining their pockets by serving the war machine in one or another way, although at first glance their production often seems to be of a purely peaceful nature (for example, fuel, clothing, food, etc.). But their main interest is not in war production. In the event of disarmament they could fully compensate for the loss of military contracts by expanding civilian output. As for the non-monopoly capitalists, most of them either have nothing to do with military orders and consequently are not interested in them, or find that the profits accruing from whatever military contracts they get are all but wiped out by the high taxation caused by militarization.

It is easy to see why the big armament interests should want to keep up an atmosphere of war hysteria; after all, it helps to swell military spending. But why do other sections of the bourgeoisie help to enrich

the arms merchants? Although taxes on profits are not the main source of government revenue in the principal capitalist countries, they nevertheless have run in the post-war period to nearly half of the gross profits. Thus the majority of the bourgeoisie is reconciled to turning over half of their profits to the capitalist state without full or even partial compensation in the shape of substantial economic advantages. Why?

The press abounds in data on the lush profits netted by the capitalists from military production and the growing subordination of the imperialist state machine to the war industry monopolies, etc. This tends to create the somewhat over-simplified impression that profit is the basic driving force of the arms build-up. It goes without saying, of course, that the drive for high profits on a part of the war industry monopolies plays an important part in the steady growth of military appropriations. Nevertheless it is essential to ascertain what it is that prompts the rest of the capitalists, including the monopolists not engaged in war industry, to sacrifice part of their profits to the war industry monopolies.

It is the common aim of all capitalists to ensure the continued existence of the capitalist system, to alter the course of social development in the socialist camp, and to prevent the states which have emerged as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system from achieving complete independence. Above all they are out to combat the socialist countries inasmuch as the social progress these countries stand for presents the greatest danger to capitalism. On this score there is full agreement between the war industry magnates and the monopoly bourgeoisie as a whole which is the real ruler in the capitalist countries. The same position is shared by many members of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, largely due to fear of socialism which the reactionaries are systematically cultivating in order to consolidate the forces of the entire capitalist class.

A suspicious attitude to the proposals made by the socialist countries for disarmament and peaceful economic competition is deliberately fostered. The idea of a world without arms, of peaceful economic competition between the two systems is made to appear as a sort of disguised "export of revolution." In this situation the "death merchants," who constitute only a small part of the ruling class, would seem to be acting on behalf of the capitalist class as a whole.

It is for this reason that the majority of the capitalists are reconciled to part of their profits being channeled to pay for armaments and enrich the war industry magnates.

It should be noted, however, that despite this community of interests, contradictions often spring up between the capitalist class as a whole and those of its sections which derive their profit primarily from armament production. These contradictions become particularly apparent when the arms magnates and their political placemen seek to swell the military budget beyond the bounds which the monopoly capitalists in general consider reasonable from the standpoint of the overall economic, social and political interests of the capitalist class. Such clashes often lead to curbing the appetites of the most aggressive monopoly groups at least for a time.

The military build-up plays a dual role in imperialist strategy. The prime object is to be able, if not to defeat the socialist camp through war, then at least to oppose it from "positions of strength," to contain the "Communist expansion," as the imperialists label any advance of the democratic movement and any consistent struggle for national liberation and independence.

The second aim pursued by the architects of the imperialist arms drive is to compel the socialist countries to shoulder a burden of military spending which, even if it did not bankrupt them economically, would at any rate slow down or disrupt their economic development.

Reality, however, has upset these imperialist schemes. The economic potential of the socialist world has grown to such an extent that it has been able to pose the task of overtaking and outstripping the developed capitalist countries economically within a historically brief period of time. The imperialist hopes of being able to build up sufficient military strength to impose their political diktat have collapsed. Indeed, the imperialists themselves have had to concede that the situation today is marked by an "equilibrium of strength." But they have not given up the armament drive. Although they keep on talking about the "superiority" of monopoly capitalism, the imperialist leaders are not at all certain that peaceful competition between the two systems will result in victory for their social system. Hence their efforts to channel the historical contest between the two systems to military rather than economic lines.

2

The arms drive, then, is due not only to economic but also political causes. Indeed, the key to the problem, in my opinion, should be sought in the political sphere. If arms production were conducted solely or primarily to solve the economic difficulties of capitalism, if it were essential to capitalist reproduction, general disarmament would be impossible as long as capitalism exists. But since politics is the prime factor, the abolition of the instruments of war, difficult though it may be to accomplish, is nevertheless a tangible prospect.

Only sufficient political pressure on the imperialist states from within as well as from without can compel their rulers to give up the idea of employing armed force to order the relations between the two world systems. The aim of such pressure should primarily be the political and ideological isolation of the most aggressive section of the imperialist bourgeoisie dominated by the war industry interests. The idea of peaceful coexistence and disarmament must first triumph in the political sphere for all the potentialities now latent in the sphere of the economy to be realized.

Two groups may now be discerned among the capitalist political leaders. One regards nuclear war, preferably preemptive, as the only solution of the contradictions between socialism and imperialism. The second group are beginning to see, or have already realized, that with the present balance of military strength nuclear war would be far too risky a recourse. The more farsighted are aware that nuclear war might put an end to capitalism once and for all.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries is aimed at reaching an understanding with the capitalist countries on the *fundamental* issue — peaceful coexistence of the two systems, which can be made secure only through general and complete disarmament. It is clear, however, that only active struggle on the part of all the peace forces can compel the imperialist rulers to accept this principle.

But one can hardly expect the peace front in a capitalist country to bring its full weight to bear so long as the attitude of large sections of the population to disarmament is conditioned by the political and ideological influence of the most aggressive elements, so long as these sections remain passive and fail to see that the abolition of armaments is in their vital interest.

The monopolists of the industrial capitalist countries are propagating the view that military spending and war production help to ensure a high level of employment and economic stability, tending not only to counteract crises but to stimulate economic growth.

For example, the prominent U.S. writer H. Aptheker says that "there is a very widespread belief here (in the USA), among all classes of people—big and little business, working people, including major segments of the trade union leadership, and by no means excluding Negro and other specially exploited components of the population—that without the enormous expenditures for war preparations . . . we would have had a disastrous depression perhaps greater than, and certainly of the proportions of, the depression of the thirties."

It would be an oversimplification to think that the spread of such views in the capitalist countries is due only to bourgeois propaganda. To no small extent they can be traced also to superficial interpretation of some facts of economic life.

In the USA, for example, besides the whole of the munitions industry, 93 per cent of the aircraft and missile industry, 60 per cent of shipbuilding, 21 per cent of the electrical and 38 per cent of the radio and electronics industry are dependent on military orders. In other branches war production affects employment far less. According to official figures, in 1960 2,600,000 people—nearly five per cent of the total non-agricultural employment in the USA—were directly or indirectly engaged in military production. Inclusive of servicemen and civilian employees of the armed forces, military spending in 1960 provided jobs for more than six million, or more than nine per cent of the total employed labor force. A similar situation exists in Britain, whose armed forces, according to data for the end of May 1961, numbered 478,000, while 440,000 people were engaged in military production and research. Together with spheres engaged in servicing and supplying the armed forces, the total amounted to 4.5 per cent of the entire labor force.

Under certain conditions (under-employment of production capacity and redundancy of labor power and free capital) military spending can expand the market, stimulate employment and increase production to some extent. But no imperialist state is in a position to increase its military expenditures ad infinitum. For such spending cannot but pre-

vent it from carrying out its other, political and economic plans. In time the build-up of military potential is bound to come into conflict with the need to strengthen the economic potential and begins to erode the latter. Experience shows that as often as not militarization creates difficulties in foreign trade, worsens the balance of payment situation, etc. And the deterioration of the economic position of an imperialist state in turn undermines its military power. For example, there is no doubt that heavy military spending is one of the factors that have weakened the economic positions of U.S. imperialism in the capitalist world. Britain's grave economic difficulties are likewise in no small measure due to the same reason.

There is also another reason why military spending is no safeguard against crisis. In order to serve as an anti-crisis factor these expenditures must not only be of substantial proportions but they should be sensitive to the ups and downs of the economic cycle, increasing in inverse proportion to any decline in business activity. But it is impossible to finance the armament drive without regard for the condition of the economy as a whole, nor can taxes be endlessly raised. In the long run military spending will tend to follow the curve of the cycle inasmuch as state revenue and expenditure depend on its dynamics. Lastly, it should be borne in mind that the volume and structure of arms expenditures are determined primarily by strategic considerations and the advance of military technology. Using these expenditures to cure the cyclic convulsions of an ailing economy would, then, come into sharp conflict with the purely military aspect. Military spending, since its purpose is to ensure the military build-up, cannot but be wholly independent of the cycle. Consequently, for this reason, too, it cannot serve as a universal means for counteracting crises.

As a matter of fact, neither in the USA nor in the other imperialist countries has military spending been the decisive factor of economic development. In spite of the enormous growth of military appropriations, war production did not prevent the four slumps the USA has experienced since the war, nor has it guaranteed full employment. Contrary to the promises of the country's rulers, it has not done away with unemployment and thus has failed to keep up the purchasing power of the population at a level adequate to ensure steady and stable economic growth. True, armament production

has provided a section of the working people with work and earnings, temporary and insecure though these may be. But the price of this has been higher taxes on all working people, a growing threat to their social gains and even direct inroads on these gains, and conditions that make it harder for the entire working class to defend its vital interests. Experience shows that militarization, far from curing the inherent ills of capitalist economy, places a heavy material burden on the people and is accompanied by an offensive against the basic democratic freedoms in the stifling atmosphere of cold war policies.

Clearly, it is essential to conduct persistent painstaking explanatory work to bring it home to the working people that no disaster would overtake capitalist economy if an end were put to the military consumption of a substantial part of the goods produced.

In order to change the balance between the forces of peace and the forces of war in each imperialist country a powerful political front must be built comprising not only those who today are actively fighting for peace but also those who still stand aloof because they fear the economic consequences of disarmament. Needless to say, the strength of the peace front, the mainstay of which in the capitalist countries is the organized working-class movement, depends largely on the extent to which the factors tending to weaken it are overcome. One of the factors that tend to deter some sections of the working people from actively joining the fight for peace is uncertainty as to the possible economic consequences of disarmament. Therefore, elucidation of the basic ways and means of conversion to genuine peace economy, the feasibility of such conversion and the benefits it holds out to the workers and all other sections of the people apart from a handful of warmongers is an important contribution towards the formation in the capitalist countries of a political force capable of isolating the imperialist groups that have placed their stakes on the arms drive and war.

3

Transition to a genuine peace economy involves solving a large number of problems, primarily economic. Military consumption would have to be replaced by civilian consumption and new markets found for the output of the reconverted industries so as to guarantee work to all those released from war production or the armed forces.

In the imperialist countries the problem of compensating for disarmament by increasing civilian production and civilian employment is complicated by more or less widespread unemployment, under-employment of production capacity and relatively limited non-military demand. Indeed, it might be asked, can the vast material, manpower and financial resources now used in armament production find full application in non-military production in the conditions of modern capitalism? What grounds are there to contend that this can be done?

The postwar reconversion in all the developed capitalist countries, even though it did not involve general and complete disarmament, bears out this contention. In the USA, for example, military expenditure dropped by nearly \$90,000 million between 1945 and 1946. In other words, the decline in one year was greater than the total military spending of the USA in 1963. In the course of that year more than nine million men were discharged from the army—more than three times its present numerical strength. Yet unemployment did not exceed the usual level. The same happened in Britain where 4,290,000 servicemen returned to civilian life and 3,500,000 were released from war industry by February 1947. Although there was a slight increase in unemployment, it amounted to only 1.7 per cent of the labor force in mid-1948.

In other words, the imperialist powers rechanneled then far greater manpower and material resources to peaceful lines than they would have to now. And this was done in less time than would be required to carry out some of the present proposals for general and complete disarmament. Moreover, the postwar experience of Austria, Sweden and other countries, as well as of West Germany in the early fifties, shows that a comparatively high rate of economic growth can be achieved precisely where there is no large-scale military production.

It is often said in the West that the situation was quite different immediately after the war, what with the huge backlog of consumer demand and rehabilitation providing a capacious market for industrial output. True enough, the economic position of the developed capitalist countries today differs greatly from 1945-48. But this does not mean that disarmament would encounter greater difficulties. Although many of the most pressing shortages of goods and services rising from the Second World War have been made

good, the fact remains that in all the capitalist countries, the richest included, there is a *vast demand of an economic and social order which still remains to be satisfied*. Many capitalist observers and official publications admit the existence of serious problems in the spheres of education, health care, etc. A U.N. report on the economic and social consequences of disarmament listing the urgent needs in diverse economic and social areas states that the most pressing of these requirements could already have been satisfied to a considerable extent were it not for the arms drive. In other words, military spending is one of the main obstacles to the satisfaction of these needs.

The *present level of personal consumption* in the capitalist countries is another factor to be borne in mind. The discrepancies between countries are of course considerable, but even in the richest of them, as can be seen from official documents, large sections of the people are in the rock-bottom income bracket. According to a report submitted by the Conference on Economic Progress held in Washington in April 1962, some 40 per cent of the U.S. population live in poverty or actually suffer privation. This section, the report states, represents a huge undeveloped internal market which, in the opinion of U.S. economists, could give greater impetus to economic growth than a good many of the other measures that have been mooted. To make use of this undeveloped market, however, it is clearly necessary above all to increase the minimum wage and reduce taxation of the low income groups.

There is a vast demand for housing. According to estimates made in 1959 by the U.S. National Planning Association, a minimum of \$330,000 million is needed to meet the most pressing needs in schools, housing, medical institutions, roads, etc., in 1960-65. If the money allocated for armaments in this period were to be rerouted to these purposes, it would take care of only about three-quarters of the sum required. The above-mentioned report compiled by U.N. experts correctly notes that the funds released by disarmament would not suffice to meet the most urgent needs of the population even in the principal capitalist countries.

The point, then, is not putting an end to large-scale government spending but *changing its structure*, channelling money from military purposes to civilian uses benefitting society as a whole. It should be emphasized, however, that neither the existence of press-

ing needs and their partial recognition nor the fact that there is a mechanism available for state regulation of the economy in themselves provide guarantees that the funds released as a result of disarmament will be used in the interests of the masses. *Everything depends on pressure from below, on the extent to which the working people are able to compel the rulers to respect their interests.*

Disarmament would also have a beneficial effect on the economic relations between states and serve as a key to the solution of many other problems.

The international détente which no doubt would follow disarmament would broaden economic contacts between the two world systems. So far trade between them remains negligible; in recent years it has not exceeded 2-3 per cent of the total trade of the capitalist world—a far cry indeed from the share of the socialist countries in the overall world production. These countries are a vast and steadily growing market from which the imperialist powers have debarred themselves. The U.S. writers C. Marzani and V. Perlo, for instance, point out that potentially it could absorb as much of the U.S. export trade as the markets of all the capitalist countries taken together. Elimination of the artificial obstacles to international trade created in the course of the cold war would greatly facilitate the transition to a demilitarized economy in the capitalist countries.

Or take the immense economic needs of the underdeveloped countries. Disarmament would create favorable conditions for aid in building their national economies and advancing their culture. The armament burden these countries bear amounts to \$6,000-\$7,000 million a year—more than the annual volume of capital construction financed from domestic sources. According to U.N. estimates made in 1962, at least \$14,000 million will have to be obtained from foreign sources annually in order gradually to reduce the economic gap between the developed and undeveloped countries. At the present time, in spite of some progress in building the national economies of the latter, the discrepancy can hardly be said to be diminishing and in industrial production per capita it is actually increasing. Although the benefits accruing to the underdeveloped countries from disarmament should not be reduced to greater economic aid alone, this aid in itself would no doubt facilitate their advance.

Disarmament of course will not automatic-

ally result either in a rapid increase in East-West trade or an immediate improvement in economic conditions in the underdeveloped countries. Much will depend on the pressure exerted by the democratic and progressive forces. It would, however, do away with many of the obstacles existing today, improve the international climate and open up new opportunities, though the utilization of these opportunities will require active struggle against the reactionary forces.

If disarmament is accompanied by the right economic measures the industrial capacities released can be ensured a full load and jobs provided for the people now dependent on military production. The main thing is how the resources that will be freed will be used. Reduction of taxes is one of the measures envisaged. If this is done so as to benefit the working people, the result will be an increase in the purchasing power of the population, and this will have a favorable effect on production and employment. But if it becomes a matter of handing out tax plums to the capitalists, the result will be merely a growth of free capital and not increased investment helping to create more jobs. Hence it is clear that to avoid grave economic difficulties the measures taken in connection with disarmament should help to increase the purchasing power of the working people.

Disarmament has always been an issue involving a sharp clash of interests. It will remain such even if agreement is reached on it and reconversion is begun. It is imperative,

therefore, for the working-class movement to work out its own economic program to be carried out in the event of disarmament and to fight for its realization in order to prevent the bourgeoisie from laying the burden of reconversion on the shoulders of the working class and the masses generally. Needless to say, such a program should take cognizance of the specific situation in each country. It should set forth the views of the working-class movement on how state funds should be used to ensure economic progress and demand a tax reduction, a higher minimum wage and steps to provide jobs to people released from war production, the armed services, etc. Such a program would help to unite all those who cherish peace. While working out this program efforts should be redoubled to bring it home to the masses that the heavy military spending of today prevents the improvement of social security, increases the tax burden and worsens the situation in the sphere of education, health care, housing, etc.

Needless to say, disarmament will not guarantee capitalism lasting prosperity. Nothing can give capitalism, regardless of whether it is arming or disarming, any such guarantees, just as nothing can give a new lease of life to a senile organism. However, the removal from power of the most reactionary aggressive political groups and the release of the vast sums now spent for military purposes would greatly improve the conditions for the economic struggle of the working people and for far-reaching democratic change.

The Peace Movement in Australia

W. E. Gollan

IN WORLD affairs Australia occupies a contradictory position — being at one and the same time a part of South-East Asia geographically and an extension of European imperialism politically.

This duality is reflected in Australian political life. The bourgeoisie seeks to preserve the world position of imperialism and to maintain an aggressive Australian imperialist pol-

icy towards the South-East Asia countries. At the same time, it tries to find an answer to its problems of trade and economic relations with them.

This situation has become most acute since United States imperialism has, in practice, replaced British imperialism in Oceania, after the Second World War.

The Australian bourgeoisie turned to the

United States and, through the SEATO and ANZUS pacts, Australia became a client-state of U.S. imperialism, sacrificing Australian independence in foreign affairs to adopt a position of subordination to U.S. imperialist policies. As a result, Australia (and New Zealand) became pliant tools in U.S. imperialist intrigues to maintain corrupt, dependent regimes on the mainland of Asia, against the rising tide of the popular movement for national liberation. In Korea, South Vietnam, Thailand and Taiwan — wherever U.S. imperialism made its moves — the Australian government obediently gave diplomatic and military support.

Australia — a U.S. Atomic Satellite

During the last six months, the position of Australia as *an atomic satellite of U.S. Imperialism* has been heavily underscored. A recent (1962) visit of Dean Rusk to Australia had a double purpose: to reject all Australian claims for protection of its economic interests under the European Common Market plans, and to instruct Australia, bluntly, that it was expected to increase its military commitments in South-East Asia under the SEATO Pact.

This has been followed by further moves this year including the summoning of Australian government officials to Washington to receive instructions on policy questions regarding Indonesia accompanied by pressures to involve Australia more directly in military intervention in South-East Asia.

Simultaneously, U.S. imperialism has pushed ahead with its plans to convert Australia into an atomic base. The U-2 base at Laverton in Victoria was the first step; subsequently, it was disclosed that a radio and communications base for the direction of Polaris missile-carrying submarines is to be constructed at Exmouth Gulf in Western Australia, costing in the first stage some \$250 million, while plans are reported to be in hand for another U.S. atomic weapons base near Albany, Western Australia, to maintain control over the Indian Ocean.

Furthermore, the Menzies government has specifically rejected the United Nations proposal that Australia should not store or manufacture nuclear weapons. This clearly envisages the use of Australia as a nuclear weapons base for U.S. imperialism, bringing it into the front line of nuclear danger and of nuclear provocation.

The alienation of Australian territory and the conversion of this country into an atomic base without any public announcement or re-

ference to Parliament is a corollary to the subservient attitude of the Menzies government, which seeks to be a junior partner of U.S. imperialism.

The Australian bourgeoisie, while accepting U.S. policy leadership, has continued its own aggressive pro-colonialist policies.

The Australian government sought to maintain a U.S.-British-Australian bloc in support of the Dutch imperialist position in West Irian. However, when the United States, on grounds of expediency, became an advocate of the transfer of West Irian to Indonesia, the Menzies government, almost overnight, performed a volte face on the issue. A substantial section of the bourgeoisie has expressed sharp differences with this policy and is now pressing for massive Australian armaments and even the nuclear armament of Australia, vis-à-vis Indonesia.

Officially, the Australian government will not recognize the People's Republic of China and opposes its entry to the United Nations. On the other hand, the facts of economic life have compelled a section of the Australian bourgeoisie, especially the farming interests, to turn to Asia, and specifically to the People's Republic of China, in search of markets. In the years 1960-62, it has been possible for the Australian wheat growers to dispose of the whole of their wheat surplus to China, with the result that recognition and the admission of China to the United Nations has become an issue gaining support both inside and outside the labor movement, among wide circles including considerable sections of the bourgeoisie itself. These conflicting trends reflect the contradictions of Australian imperialism in its attempts to establish a foreign policy.

The cardinal fact is that the subordination to U.S. imperialist interests, along with the activities of the Australian bourgeoisie, has made Australia a danger to world peace.

The Peace Movement on the Upgrade

The broad issues of the struggle against war: peaceful coexistence, disarmament, an atom-free zone in the Pacific area, withdrawal from aggressive pacts have become part of the policy of a growing number of Australian trade unions. By consistent campaigning on these issues, national unions such as the Miners, Seamen, Waterside Workers, Building Workers, the Amalgamated Engineering Union and others, have made the struggle for peace an integral part of policies in the trade union movement as a whole.

In 1959, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the national organization of the trade union movement, was a sponsor of an Australia-New Zealand Peace Congress, and the trade union section of the Congress adopted a statement on peace which became the official policy of the Australian trade union movement.

This called for general and complete disarmament by international agreement and, as an immediate step, "the prevention of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and the means of chemical and bacteriological warfare by any nation whether for war or experimental purposes, and the complete cessation of nuclear tests . . ."

The statement went on to call for a policy of friendship with the Asian nations, the establishment of full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and the seating of China in the United Nations. It pointed out that only a policy of peace could make it possible to meet the economic and social demands of the workers, and issued a call for action in support of the movement for peace that was widely taken up in the trade unions under the slogan "Peace is union business."

This advanced position in the official trade union organization, representing over one million unionists, allied to consistent activity by the peace movement in its various forms, influenced important policy developments in the Australian Labor Party (ALP).

This reached its sharpest and most advanced form during 1962 after the resumption of atomic testing by the United States at Christmas Island. The parliamentary leader of the Labor Party, A. A. Calwell, made a statement in Parliament calling for an atom-free zone in the Southern Hemisphere, along the lines already agreed to in the Antarctic Treaty, which, by international agreement, had established all land and ocean below 60 degree latitude south, as an area in which all nuclear explosions were prohibited.

This was followed by a decision of the Federal Executive of the Labor Party in the following terms:

"The Australian Labor Party declares that the hope of mankind lies in agreement through the United Nations for total world disarmament. It supports the view of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in March, 1961, that every effort should be made to secure rapid agreement to the permanent banning of nuclear weapons tests by all nations and to arrangements for verifying the observance of the agreement." The ALP declared its opposition to all nuclear tests and urged that the gov-

ernment should take all necessary steps to initiate a Twelve-Nation Conference of the Antarctic Treaty Powers plus the People's Republic of China, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, the Phillipines, Indonesia and all countries in Africa and South America, directed towards making the Southern Hemisphere a nuclear-free zone.

The confining of the proposal to the Southern Hemisphere has been criticized as being narrow and zonal in its approach. On the other hand, it is an important step away from the position occupied by the Social Democratic parties in Europe, an acceptance of the concept of a nuclear-free zone as a practical political question, a first stage in the direction of establishing a non-nuclear area, of restricting the spread of nuclear arms and nuclear bases.

These developments in the labor movement as a whole are of particular interest in view of the history of the peace movement in Australia.*

In the early fifties, the Labor Party, then under extreme Right-wing domination, outlawed the Peace Councils and expelled members of the ALP associating with them. As the danger of war sharpened, new broad organizations for peace arose, including in their leadership national figures in the trade union movement, Labor Members of Parliament, communists, prominent cultural and church figures, business men and others. The movement became many-sided and its influence permeated the community in many directions.

The Menzies government made every possible effort to restrict its development. Especially in times of great public activity such as the 1959 National Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament, when leading intellectuals, clerics and others were attracted to the cause of peace, the government, working in collusion with United States "security" forces, had its own secret police interview such people as the distinguished physicist, Professor Sir Mark Oliphant and others, as well as leaders of church opinion, in an endeavor to persuade them that the peace move-

*Since this was written, a special Federal conference has been held to consider the Labor Party's attitude to the proposed U.S. base on the North-West coast. Despite heavy pressure from the Party's leader and the Right wing, aided by the capitalist press, endorsement of the base was agreed to on a vote of 19 for and 17 against.

Endorsement was made dependent on certain conditions, chief of which were that Australian sovereignty over the territory be maintained; that the base be jointly controlled; that the base should not be used in circumstances that would involve Australia in war without the prior knowledge and consent of the Australian government; and that it should not be used as a base for stockpiling nuclear arms in time of peace. (Ed.)

ment was "seditious," a form of "communist conspiracy" and the like.

However, throughout its development the movement retained its strong working-class base. The trade unions and working class representatives from factory, mine and ship gave stability to the peace organizations and provided the firm foundation on which the movement grew.

The Communists' Stand

The Communist Party of Australia has taken a principled stand on the issue of war and peace.

Regarding the fight for peace as their "prime task," the Communists, in the words of the Statement of the 81 Parties, "call on the working class, trade unions, cooperatives, women's and youth leagues and organizations, on all working people, irrespective of their political or religious convictions, firmly to repulse by mass struggles all acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists."

The development of mass activity in the struggle for peace is seen as the central political task. The Communist Party has made its own position clear. It has called for peaceful coexistence between Australia and the peoples of South-East Asia. It has waged a constant campaign for the recognition of the People's Republic of China and the establishment of full diplomatic and commercial relations between China and Australia. At the same time, while campaigning for universal and controlled disarmament, it has also played a leading part in issuing the call and mobilizing public support for an independent Indonesia. The mass movement of solidarity that developed in Australia played an important role in the early years of the Indonesian independence struggle.

The Communists were the first to point to the imperialist aims of the ANZUS and SEATO pacts and to raise the demand for the recall of Australian troops from the wars of colonial oppression in Asia.

On the issue of the security of Australia and of the Pacific area generally, the Communists have conducted a prolonged struggle on the question of a nuclear free Pacific area as a real safeguard against nuclear devastation, and as a practical step towards disarmament.

The Communists make it their task to assist in releasing the initiative of the masses to achieve these broad aims and to develop activities for peace. They consider this should be based on the working class, but should include elements of all social strata who are

concerned in the fight against war: a mass movement "involving people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are united by the noble urge to prevent wars and to secure enduring peace."

The stock-in-trade of reactionary propaganda against the peace movement has been, and is, that it is a disguised Communist movement, using the slogan of peace to achieve revolutionary ends.

These allegations are refuted by the very breadth of the movement which, from its inception, has accepted the twin principles of no domination by any sectional body, and no exclusion of any participating organization, group or opinion.

This broad approach enables widely divergent, even conflicting, bodies of opinion to meet in common action on the basis of the unifying factor — the struggle for peace. They are able to reach the maximum area of agreement within the peace movement and to retain their own policies and freedom of action.

The Communists participate actively in this, the "broadest movement of our time," giving devoted service, but not seeking to dominate it or impose their opinions without regard for the views of others.

The reality is that the peace movement contains wide sections of workers, farmers, intellectuals, even sections of the bourgeoisie. Many of these do not understand socialism or imperialism, nor do they realize that imperialism is the root cause of war. Clearly it would be a sectarian error to try to impose the advanced view on the peace movement that to struggle for peace involves recognizing the need to end the system of imperialism.

This does not mean any slackening of the independent campaign by the Communist Party to conduct a constant ideological and political struggle against imperialism in all its forms. The Communists in the trade unions, peace organizations and other sections of the mass movement constantly seek the appropriate forms to bring home to the masses the reality of imperialism as the breeding ground of war; they combat falsehoods concerning the peace policy of the Soviet Union and they explain the role of the world socialist camp in the struggle for peace. Any tendency to rush ahead or "hasten" the process of conviction beyond the reality of the objective position would divide, not unify. It would, in fact, harm the anti-imperialist struggle. Consequently, the Communists in the appropriate way in the peace movement and the mass movement generally carry on independent campaigns for peace.

Such activities by the Communists help to arm the peace movement ideologically and to strengthen it against the vacillations and uncertainties that flow from its character as an association of diverse social forces. As a result, the peace movement, although it has specific aims — the aims of preventing world war and of safeguarding peace — has, in fact, a very advanced program.

This program has gained the support of wide circles for disarmament, for peaceful coexistence, for a policy in foreign relations independent of U.S. imperialism, for the recall of Australian armed forces from Asia, for the end of colonialism, for recognition of and friendly relations with all nations, including the People's Republic of China, for the removal of all foreign bases from Australian soil, for the ending of all regional war pacts such as SEATO.

Basing itself on this program, the peace movement in Australia has been able to organize demonstrations, marches and deputations against U.S. imperialist aggression in the Caribbean, against the testing of atomic weapons, against U.S. nuclear bases in Australia, involving tens of thousands of people and exercising a powerful influence on the national Parliament.

In 1962 a national demonstration was organized in the capital, Canberra, with over 1,000 delegates, some travelling as far as 3,000 miles to present a petition signed by over 200,000 people in two months, calling for a nuclear-free Southern Hemisphere.

In addition to the relatively advanced forces represented in the Peace Committees, a feature of the peace movement in Australia is the activity at different levels, rallying sections of opinion independently of, but parallel to, the principal peace organizations. These range from pacifist and socio-religious groupings which organize demonstrations against nuclear testing to branches of the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament and similar bodies. While remaining independent, these organizations cooperate at different levels with the Peace Committee and play their part in developing the mass movement in religious and intellectual circles.

Some Aspects of the Struggle for Peace

Many thousands of people learn through actual work for peace the hard facts of imperialism; that imperialism, for all its pretensions, is still the same savage system of oppression that it has been throughout history,

and that socialism with its proposals for peaceful coexistence offers a real alternative to the mutual destruction of nuclear war.

Rousing the masses in this way in opposition to imperialism is a most advanced form of class struggle, and corresponds to the real situation created by the existence in the world of nuclear weapons and the threat of their use by imperialism against mankind. It is, of course, obvious that large numbers of people who support the movement for peace do not realize that in backing peaceful coexistence and in calling for disarmament, they are, in fact, engaged in a political struggle against imperialism. However, the imperialists understand this full well, and they wage a constant, ruthless and savage campaign to damage or restrict the peace movement.

Imperialism, which can maintain itself only by oppression, is utterly opposed to peaceful coexistence and its corollary of disarmament through negotiation and agreement.

Consequently, the struggle for peaceful coexistence and disarmament, by bringing wide masses into action against imperialism is, objectively, one of the most advanced forms of anti-imperialist struggle.

It has been clearly demonstrated that in the conditions of an advanced capitalist country like Australia, itself imperialist and an increasingly important base for aggressive military activity, this struggle for peaceful coexistence and disarmament is the sound basis for rallying the people for united activity.

The struggle around these issues is by no means a short-range project, it will cover the whole historical epoch in which mankind now lives — the epoch of the final elimination of imperialism and of the consolidation and final triumph of socialism as the world system. World peace and peaceful coexistence of the opposed social systems can be maintained only if, throughout the capitalist world, a mass movement develops of such dimensions that it can, through mass pressure, actually influence the policies of governments; that, in conjunction with the strength of the socialist camp and governments following a policy of peace, it can act as an effective deterrent against policies and actions which extend the war danger.

The test of such a movement's effectiveness is its capacity to organize and lead the masses into *action* for peace: *action* against nuclear testing; *action* to establish nuclear-free zones and to win practical measures of disarmament; *action* to prevent imperialist intervention in the domestic affairs of the small

countries such as Laos, South Vietnam and Cuba.

There can be no arbitrary distinction in this matter between campaigns concerned with national liberation and those around other facets of the struggle for peace, such as disarmament. When imperialist actions in Vietnam, or the Congo threatened world peace, the organized peace movement consistently and properly campaigned around them, on the basis of the specific aim of the movement, the preventing of world war. That was also the case during the Caribbean crisis.

However, this is a different matter from setting before the broad peace movement the task of waging a national liberation struggle as its central objective. The colonial liberation struggle is a central issue in the anti-imperialist movement, but it is not the whole of it. The struggle to defeat imperialism politically is the sum and content of the whole revolutionary struggle, for with the defeat of imperialism, socialism triumphs as a world system. It is a many-sided struggle — economic, ideological, political, diplomatic and military. Imperialism fights on all fronts and has to be defeated on all of them.

The central issue and the central slogans around which the broad movement has developed are, in one form or another, the struggle for disarmament. Every campaign of the world peace movement from the days of the Stockholm Appeal has been organized around slogans that have disarmament as their objective and now general, complete and controlled disarmament has become the central slogan of the movement. Proof of this was the 1962 Moscow Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, which expressed the breadth in action of the world peace movement.

Can it be said that this slogan is an unreal one because it is allegedly well-known that the imperialists will not give up their arms? Does it, in fact, "mislead the peoples" by suggesting that disarmament is a practical policy that can be achieved by negotiation backed by mass demand? The fact of the matter is that

"general, complete and controlled disarmament" is a slogan expressing the aspirations of progressive mankind, while simultaneously stating the actual, principled policy of the socialist states for whom war preparations are but a brake on the socialist construction, a barrier to expanded welfare.

It is a slogan of the utmost importance, politically, because it unites the aspirations of the masses with the actual policy sought by the socialist states ever since the Soviet Union made its first proposals on general disarmament.

Campaigns around disarmament do not at all mean playing into the hands of the imperialist powers or weakening the national liberation movement. The struggle for disarmament is the struggle, in all forms, to prevent imperialism, the source of the war danger, from launching the world into a nuclear war. It is, objectively, a highly revolutionary demand, because, by mobilizing the mass movement, it increases the difficulties of imperialism in making use of armed force to maintain or extend its rule.

In Australia the principal form of the struggle for disarmament will be the campaigns against foreign military bases which, in turn, involve the whole question of the struggle for a foreign policy independent of U.S. imperialism, including opposition to aggressive SEATO intervention in South-East Asia. The struggle around these concrete aspects of the over-all disarmament issue becomes a focus, a mobilizing point for what is, objectively, anti-imperialist struggle in Australia.

The path forward is the path of constant, unremitting struggle, the avoidance of such ultra-revolutionary slogans as gloss over the real requirements of building a mass movement in the capitalist and imperialist countries, the adoption of slogans and forms of action that correspond to reality, that will really unite the masses and bring them into action against the warlike strivings of imperialism.

This is the path to united action, to solidarity in the great movement for the defence of peace.

Aspects of the Conditions of the British Working Class

*FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD. Study of the conditions of the working class is an important task for all Communists. For the conditions of the working class determine the motive forces of the class struggle. Moreover, a working-class policy and the tactics of working-class struggle cannot be successfully worked out without precise knowledge and understanding of the actual needs and requirements of the workers. As a revolutionary theory, Marxism from the very outset made analysis of the conditions of the working class an integral part of its study. Mention could be made of Engels's Condition of the Working Class in England, and the chapters in Marx's Capital devoted to the British workers. These writings are vital to the entire working-class movement. But for British workers they were particularly important in the sense that they began a tradition of Marxist analysis of working-class conditions, a tradition carried on by the subsequent generations of British Marxists. The present sketches, of which the first part is printed in the current issue, summarize to some extent the work done by them in recent years.**

The questions examined naturally reflect features specific to Britain (one being that the country has one of the highest living standards in the developed capitalist countries). This, on the other hand, tends to make the material even more topical — not a few of the problems posed here are common to the working-class movement in all or practically all the developed countries.

I. REAL WAGES AND SALARIES

The real wage — the sum total of the means of subsistence (goods and services) which the worker can acquire for his nominal wage — is an important, though not the only, yardstick of the condition of the working class.

According to official figures, total wages and salaries in 1961 came to £14,740 million — an average of £655 a year or £12.12.0 a week. Within this average are very wide differences. Basic rates range from scores of thousands of pounds sterling (the chairman of the nationalized railway undertaking is paid £24,000, while directors in some private firms get an average of £50,000 a year) to around £250-300 (e.g., £5.10s. a week for women in a number of industries).

A clearer picture can be obtained from the selective surveys conducted by the Ministry of Labor. The survey made in October 1962 showed the average weekly earnings of manual workers in manufacturing industries and

in some of the principal non-manufacturing industries to be as follows:

Men	£ 15.17. 3
Youths	£ 7. 1. 9
Women:	
full-time	£ 8. 0.10
part-time	£ 4. 3. 1
Girls (under 18)	£ 5. 4. 1

The Movement of Wages

Nominal wages of British workers have been increasing rapidly since the war. If the 1938 level is taken as 100, they rose to 315 per cent in 1961, while men's average earnings (including overtime) went up to 456 per cent. But between 1938 and 1961 prices increased nearly threefold. Taxes, too, showed a sharp increase. Intensification of labor grew considerably as did the workers' requirements in the means of subsistence.

All this has tended to widen the gap between nominal and real wages, although the latter, too, have been increasing rapidly in the post-war period. In 1961 the basic wages, if adjusted to the cost of living, were 114 per cent and the average earnings, 165 per cent of the 1938 level.

*This material has been prepared by a number of Marxists in Great Britain and by members of the staff of **World Marxist Review**, including Comrades K. Andrews, A. Brown, J. R. Campbell, H. Faqan, D. Sharp, Y. Arbatov and A. Romyantsev.

The results of this are felt by considerable sections of the population, who can now afford better food and clothes and other good things of life they could only dream of a few years ago.

In explaining this specific development in the postwar period we should of course bear in mind the favorable economic situation, owing to which the number of unemployed has been comparatively small; true, early in 1963 the unemployment grew sharply, then it dropped and now (May 1963) amounts, exclusive of Northern Ireland, to 2.4 per cent.* But this is only one aspect of the question. The other is that the labor movement has been waging a more determined and effective struggle for wage increases than ever before in the country's history. This is explained both by certain domestic factors (growing membership of the trade unions, the strengthening of the political position of the working-class movement in the immediate postwar years, the growing militancy of the workers evidenced by the increase in the number of strike actions—in 1962 nearly 2,500 strikes were held involving the loss of 5,750,000 working days) and by the impact of the achievements of the socialist camp on the situation in the world as a whole. *The increase in the real earnings of the British working people in the postwar years can be rightfully regarded as a major success of the labor movement.* By their struggle, the workers were able to counter the trend towards the worsening of their conditions which is just as typical of capitalism today as it was a century ago.

Although much of this was achieved through working-class struggle, nevertheless it would be incorrect not to see the other side of the picture, not to see, for one, that this increase in real earnings was accompanied by a considerably intensified exploitation.

The Cost of Higher Wages to the Workers

The ratio of the workers' wages to labor productivity is an important economic and political indicator of the position of the proletariat. It shows whether the share of the wealth produced which the workers receive in each given period is increasing or decreasing, and hence, whether their exploitation is intensifying or diminishing.

Below is a table which gives an idea of the movement of real wages and the growth of output in British industry:

1850 = 100	Industrial output per head	Real wages (1850-1938) Real earnings (1938-1960) (adult male industrial workers)
1880	163	134
1890	182	166
1900	190	183
1910	194	169
1930	237	212
1938	311	222
1960	457	335

Sources: 1850-1938: *Economic Development in the United Kingdom 1850-1950*, Labor Information, ECA Mission to the United Kingdom.
1938-1960: *London and Cambridge Economic Service*; *National Institute Economic Review*.

The figures show that labor productivity grew much faster than real wages. Capitalist propaganda tries to persuade the workers that this is due to new technology and the advances made in the mechanization and rationalization of production. But in fact *the growing intensification of labor has been and remains one of the principal sources of increased productivity.*

Highly indicative in this respect is the very structure of wages. In the first place, the number of workers on piece-rates showed a substantial increase (18 per cent among the adult male workers in 1938 and 30 per cent in 1961). The data also show that men's earnings due to higher productivity, overtime, etc., rise much faster than the basic rate. As a matter of fact the increase in real wages was, in the postwar, due solely to these additional earnings.

The number of industrial accidents is also an indication, indirectly, of the intensification of labor. This number, generally high, has shown a marked tendency to increase in recent years. And it is significant that the increase reflects more or less accurately the fluctuations in the index of production, as can be seen from the following table:

	Production index (1954 = 100)	Number of accidents
1957	108	174,713
1958	106 (-2)	167,697 (-4)
1959	113 (+7)	174,071 (+4)
1960	120 (+7)	190,266 (+9)
1961	122 (+2)	192,517 (+1)

This warrants the conclusion that much of the increase in real wages is due to more intensive work and longer hours.

And, lastly, a question which should be examined in greater detail. The long struggle to

*Actually, however, the situation is worse than the figure would suggest. And not only because it does not include the rather extensive partial unemployment. It should be remembered that the statistical averages conceal the fact that things are far more serious in certain areas. For instance, the percentage of unemployed in Scotland is 4.8, in South Wales 3.6, and in Northern Ireland nearly 10.

shorten the working day (and the working week) — one of the traditional demands of the labor movement — has, despite the resistance put up by the employers, resulted in major gains for the workers. In 1946 the working week was in most industries officially reduced from 47-48 hours to 42-44 hours. Yet the workers actually spent more time at work in 1960 than they did in 1946. Between 1947 and 1959 the average working week increased by 1 hour 18 minutes. The reason for this state of affairs should be sought in the low basic wages which are not enough to satisfy the needs of the worker and his family.

Increasing speed-up and longer working hours to a large extent cancel out the rise in real wages, inasmuch as they necessitate additional expenditure on restoring the worker's energy, i.e., increase the value of labor power.

Are the Gains Secure?

The structure of worker's wages typical for present-day Britain, of which a substantial and ever-increasing part is made up of all sorts of additional earnings and overtime work, not only depreciates to a certain extent the gains won by the working class in this sphere but also renders them highly insecure. Such a structure of wages enables the employers to unload onto the workers if not the entire, at least the major part of the burden deriving from the ups and down in business activity. Dismissals in this situation are rather difficult to carry through because of the resistance put up by trade unions. It is much easier for the employer to achieve the same results by reducing the hours worked whenever there is even an insignificant drop in the volume of production.

A talk with any worker at the motor works in Coventry, where periodic reductions of the working week have been practised for a long time, gives an idea of how painful is the effect of these reductions on the position of the workers. What this means in practice for a working-class family can be gauged from a recent story in the *Daily Herald*. On going over to a 16-hour week a skilled worker earning £18 a week got only £7. Immediately he had to give up his flat and together with his family move to his parents. A feeling of frustration gripped the family. And could it be otherwise when hire-purchase payments (for furniture, a TV set, children's things) swallowed up to £6 a week?

There are many other reasons for the insecurity inevitable under capitalism, for the

instability of the workers' gains, and among them the structural changes in the economy. At the present moment mines are being closed down one after another. The railway system is being curtailed (under the Beeching scheme one-fourth of the railway lines is likely to disappear and one-third of the stations will be closed, which, according to estimates made by the National Railwaymen Union, would deprive some 100,000 railway men of their jobs). Output is shrinking in the shipyards (foreign competition) and in the aircraft industry (re-equipment of the armed forces with missiles). Many branches of the textile industry in which the traditional raw materials — cotton, flax, etc., — are being replaced with synthetic fibers, are curtailing production. And at the same time the danger of automation is looming.

All this, aside from the state of the economy, brings back the specter of mass unemployment. It has already become a reality in some parts of the country and in certain industrial centers. And what will happen tomorrow? Especially when the employers are pressing with increasing vigor for measures that would accelerate the formation of a substantial reserve army of labor which would lower the price of labor-power and sap the positions of the trade unions. A committee set up by the government in 1957 to advise on prices, productivity and incomes declared in its first report:

"In our opinion it is impossible that a free and flexible economic system can work efficiently without a perceptible (though emphatically not a catastrophic) margin of unemployment . . ."

The above-mentioned sources of insecurity are fraught with other painful consequences, such as the need to leave the declining industries or the industries being modernized and find a job elsewhere. There is a general understanding that this, of course, is to a certain extent an inevitable process. But why should the workers alone pay the price by being downgraded from a skilled to an unskilled category (retraining is extremely unsatisfactory), tackling anew the housing problem, etc.?

Other sources of insecurity and instability of working-class gains are created by the possibility of Britain's joining the Common Market (this subject will be specifically discussed below), the continuing inflation and, what is particularly important, the offensive launched by big business and the Tory government on the rights and interests of the workers.

II. POVERTY IN THE "AFFLUENT SOCIETY"

Millions Living in Want

It is not so very long ago that Mr. Macmillan told an audience of United States businessmen that poverty had been "obliterated" in Britain and that the British people had never "had it so good." The same thing, in effect, has been said by John Strachey, Anthony Crosland and many other Right-wing Labor writers who maintain that capitalism has been radically modified by the "Welfare State."

This, however, is untrue as regards both the working class and the working people generally who are facing increased exploitation, insecurity and a variety of everyday problems (some of them will be dealt with in subsequent articles).

The illusoriness of the "Welfare State" concept becomes evident when one looks at the position of those groups of the population whose income is below the "average" cited by official statistics. And this applies not only to some "unfortunates," but to sections of the population totalling several million.

Statistics show that average wages and salaries were £12.12.0 a week. But according to the Blue Book on National Income and Expenditure, out of a total of 26,900,000 persons, 11,130,000 earned in 1961 less than £10 a week (before tax deductions). Of these over 8,000,000 got less than £8.0.0 and of these nearly 6,000,000 less than £6.0.0.

Though many of these are old-age pensioners or young boys and girls living with their families, adult workers with young children are no exception here. For them £10 a week means to be on the borderline of poverty and want.

There are some branches where the workers are particularly hard pressed. This applies to agriculture which employs some 600,000 laborers. Here the minimum wage is £9.3.0 for a 46-hour week, while the average wage (including overtime) is £11 for a 51-hour week. The farmers' explanation for the low wages paid to agricultural laborers is that the cost of living in the countryside is lower. But this is a dubious argument, for in actual practice, according to discussions which were held with some agricultural workers, farm laborers living on farms often pay higher prices than the town dweller for owing to higher overheads, retail prices in rural shops are slightly higher. True, the agricultural laborer as a rule pays less rent, since the farmer often provides him with a cottage at a low rental, but the cot-

tages as a rule lack the urban conveniences, and what is known as the tied-cottage system increases his dependence on his employer and forces him to put up with worse conditions.

As far as their wages are concerned, the agricultural laborers occupy the 166th place among the 221 occupational groups. This means that workers in 55 branches get still less.

Women's Wages

One of the major problems facing the British labor movement is that of unequal pay for women. This injustice affects over one-third of the labor force, for there are approximately eight million women wage-earners.

Ever since the inception of capitalism, working women have been one of the most exploited and oppressed sections of the working class. That is why the principle of "equal pay for equal work" has become a traditional demand of the labor movement. This was officially proclaimed by the British trade unions as far back as 1888.

In the course of many decades of struggle the British working class has succeeded in winning some concessions in this sphere. Discrimination in the matter of wages has been altogether abolished, or at least sharply reduced, in the case of government, railway and city transport employees, postal workers, school teachers and those working in the health service. The same applies to those who work in the professions. But in industry where a vast number of women are employed and where private capital predominates, the employers still find means of effectively counteracting the fight for equal pay. This is convincingly borne out by the statistics — the earnings of adult women engaged in full-time manual labor in manufacturing and in a number of other key branches of industry were in October 1962 hardly more than half the earnings of adult male workers (£8.0.10. as compared with £15.17.3).

Discrimination in payment for female labor assumes different forms.

In many branches of industry where men and women do exactly the same work the wage rates for women are lower than for men.

In other branches the work is divided into "men's work," and "women's work," the latter being paid much less than the former. The explanation often given for this division is that women cannot be used for work requiring much physical exertion or which is injurious to the health. But work in laund-

ries, cleaning, packing, etc., can be both arduous and harmful, yet here female labor is used on a vast scale. The fact is that women are employed for all kinds of work, including arduous manual work, simply because the employers wish to preserve here the existing low wage rates which they would have to change to allow for large-scale employment of men.

And, finally, the difference in the wages of women and men is partly explained also by the fact that it is harder for women to acquire skills and to obtain access to the higher-paid professions. This applies not only to the training of professional workers (there were 92,339 men and 27,602 women among university students in 1959-60, while in medical colleges the figures were 9,377 and 2,937 respectively), but of skilled workers as well.

Discrimination in wages for women affects not only their interests but also the interests of the working class as a whole, inasmuch as it enables the employers to use female labor to keep all wages down. There is already a tendency, in introducing new work processes which can be performed by women, to oust the more highly-paid labor of men from production.

The same applies also to the wages of young workers, in those cases, of course, when they do the same work as the older workers. Such discrimination damages the interests not only of the youth, but of the older workers, especially in those areas with a high rate of unemployment.

Old Age Pensioners

Of all those living at poverty level the lot of the five and a half million old-age pensioners is the worst.

The plight of the aged, a concomitant of capitalism, was aptly summed up by Comrade John Gollan, the General Secretary of the British Communist Party: "Of no use for exploitation or cannon fodder, the capitalist social system leaves them to rot or die."

In the course of the last century many concessions in relation to pensions have been forced from the ruling class under working-class pressure. However, to date none of the measures taken in this direction come anywhere near basically solving the problem of the aged — an ever-increasing proportion of the population.

At present a worker who reaches pensionable age (60 for women and 65 for men) is entitled to a pension of £3.7.6 a week. If the worker has a wife to support, the pension is

raised to £5.9.0 (which means that the pension of an industrial worker is less than one-fifth the worker's average earnings, and with the extra allowance for his wife, one-third). This is barely sufficient to cover even elementary needs, as the published results of many surveys among the old-age pensioners show.

Although since 1957 there have been increases in the pension rate — the last one being in 1963 — there has been no actual improvement in the lot of the pensioner.

Here is some medical evidence throwing light on the plight of the pensioners: "In the clinic for preventive medicine for older people at Teddington," wrote the Medical Officer of Health for Twickenham in his Annual Report for 1961, "I frequently get patients attending who show varying degrees of malnutrition, some quite severe . . . Their condition is usually due to deficiency of intake or utilization of proteins or vitamins. It may be caused by shortage of food . . . The difficulty I frequently encounter is that although I may be able to supply appropriate medicaments, this does not compensate for the lack of money to buy a good diet."

How then do the pensioners manage to survive?

A minority, perhaps about one million, receive Occupational Pensions which are added to their retirement pension. Occupational pensions are derived from private pension schemes under which the worker and the employer contribute a weekly sum through the working life of the employee and for which a pension is awarded at the end.* Only a minority of the workers participate in such schemes as yet. Moreover, the pensions themselves are also quite small as a rule, especially for workers who have paid contributions for a comparatively short time before retiring (five, ten, or 15 years) or for low-paid workers, since the amount of the pension depends on earnings.

Of the 4, 314,000 pensioners not in receipt of occupational pensions, many manage to make ends meet by continuing to work after reaching retirement age. The opportunities in this respect, however, are extremely limited. They are limited not only because a pensioner's total earnings cannot exceed £4.5.0 a week (if he earns more, his pension will be reduced).

*The present retirement pension, incidentally, is not "free." It is paid out of the National Insurance Funds, a great part of which is made up from the compulsory weekly contributions of the workers. The employers also pay for each male or female worker they employ. The government's contribution amounted to 26 per cent in 1949-50 and in recent years it has fallen to 15 per cent.

The chief obstacle, apart from the health of the pensioners, is the difficulty of finding work.

Millions of old-age pensioners who do not receive occupational pensions and have no additional earnings wholly depend on savings made in "better times" or on help from their families. If these sources are lacking the only way open to them is National Assistance.

National Assistance

Founded in 1948, the National Assistance Board, which was supposed to have buried the old Poor Law, has the duty of caring for all those who would otherwise be destitute. The Board has a scale of so-called "requirements" fixed at what is considered the minimum subsistence level. The current scale of "requirements" for a single person is £3.3.6 a week, plus rent allowance. It is the Board's job to bring the income of the applicants up to this level where their resources fall below it.

The fact that 1,904,000 old-age pensioners are forced to apply for National Assistance is a crushing indictment of the existing pension scheme. Besides old-age pensioners, applicants for National Assistance include unemployed who cannot live on their unemployment benefit or have lost their right to it, disabled persons, the sick, widows and other destitute people — a total of 2,800,000. This is the officially recognized number of citizens of the "welfare state" living in poverty, according to the report of the National Assistance Board of December 1962.

Does National Assistance do much to alleviate their plight? As an example, take the budget of a single woman receiving the standard pension of £2.17.6 plus £1.14.6 National Assistance (the example refers to 1962, i.e., prior to the increase of the old-age pension

and "the requirements scale" on account of higher prices):

Rent	£2. 0. 0
Gas	11. 0
Electricity	7. 0
Tea	3. 6
7 loaves at 1s.2d	8. 2
Coal	5. 0
Milk	4. 8
1 lb. sugar	8
¼ lb. margarine	8
	£4. 0. 8

This left 11s.4d for all other expenses, including extra food, clothing, fares, etc. What could be bought with this can be judged from the fact that the poorest meat cost at that time 2s.6d a pound, liver, 3s.4d, haddock and cod, 3s., while in London the cheapest bus fare was 3d.

"There is not enough to buy a good dinner every day," she said.

This is a fairly typical budget (it shows, incidentally, how moderate is the demand of the Federation of Old Age Pensioners Associations for pensions to be raised to £4 a week) and can differ from others only in the amount of rent and gas or electricity used. The rent allowances will be correspondingly higher or lower. Thus, National Assistance not only fails to guarantee a decent living, but it does not even suffice to prevent chronic malnutrition.

What makes National Assistance particularly degrading is the odious means test that accompanies it. This is the most hated part of the Poor Law which still exists and against which the British working class have fought bitterly for more than a hundred years.

It is not, therefore, surprising that many prefer to suffer dire need rather than apply for assistance (there must be a good half a million of such).

III. THE DISTRESSED AREAS

The Causes

There is not a single district in any capitalist country where one does not find people living in poverty. But in some areas the numbers affected are larger and their plight is more grievous. The same applies to Britain. Distressed or, as the bourgeois economists call them, "special" and "development" areas are to be found in different parts of the United Kingdom.

They are particularly numerous in the periphery, above all in parts of Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the North-East Coast of

England. The population in these distressed areas is more than 10 million, slightly less than one-fifth of the total for the country. But it is not only the size of the population, whose living conditions one cannot estimate by general figures alone, that makes these areas of particular interest to the investigator of the condition of the British people. No less important is the fact that they highlight many of the problems which workers throughout the country are already facing in one way or another, or which they may face in the not too distant future.

What is the cause of the plight of the distressed areas?

One of the reasons given is that hardship is practically a tradition in these areas. Some of it stems from historical roots, for apart from the North-East Coast these are areas once conquered by England. True, national oppression as such is not very much in evidence today. National oppression has been replaced by another, characteristically capitalist form of inequality — subordination of these less developed peripheral areas to the center where the economy has become more highly developed and where both administrative authority and capital are concentrated. The Deep South in the USA, Southern Italy and parts of Scotland and Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom, are kindred areas in this respect. Wherever oppression by capital is the harshest there the contradictions of capitalist society are most glaringly exposed. So are its problems which are camouflaged in times of boom or lying latent in the other areas of the country. But tradition and peripheral position are not the only causes of the plight of the distressed areas. An important cause is the decline, owing to structural changes in the economy, of the traditional industries which predominate in these areas.

Technological progress and the attendant changes are often — but by no means always — reflected in the decline of these industries. It is on these grounds that capitalists are trying to persuade the workers to accept philosophically the hardships which they suffer as a consequence. But the root cause of the distress is not due to the technological changes nor to the industrial expansion in other countries at all. Basically it is due to the fact that capitalism is seeking to shift the growing social and economic problems which have arisen from these changes onto the shoulders of the working class. The capitalists are finding it difficult to cope with these problems. It is from this standpoint that the experiences of the distressed areas have a universal significance. The changes in the British economy have by no means come to an end. On the contrary, in this age of rapid technological change and scientific progress, it can be assumed that they are only beginning.

Members of the investigating team visited some of these areas, and they believe that the personal impressions gained on the spot will help to fill in the sketchy impersonal outline provided by statistics.

Beyond the Pale of "Prosperity"

The percentage of unemployed may well

serve as the point of departure in analyzing the situation in Northern Ireland, Scotland and South Wales. In May 1963 it was respectively five times, 2-3 times and twice as high as in England, although the North-East Coast is beginning to catch up. Statistics also provide other figures. In Northern Ireland, for example, the average annual income per capita is 72 per cent of the English figure. All three areas are experiencing a steady exodus of people. Scotland with a population of 5.5 million has lost nearly a quarter of a million in ten years through emigration ("In only one export trade are things looking up," was one bitter comment. "Scotland is exporting more human beings than anywhere else in Britain"). Northern Ireland, with a population of 1.5 million, has lost nearly 100,000, mostly young people, through emigration. Young people in these areas find it harder to acquire a trade. Only one-sixth of the young people entering industry in Northern Ireland are taken on as apprentices, against more than one-third in England, although there too similar problems are developing. There are fewer research workers and engineers, although they are becoming more essential for industrial progress. Small wonder, therefore, that the trade unions in Scotland and Northern Ireland are demanding the opening of more universities as well as other measures to increase the number of such specialists. Health standards too are lower than in England, whilst the plight of the aged is even worse. Whereas in England less than one-fifth of all old-age pensioners are forced to go on National Assistance, the percentage is nearly 30 per cent in South Wales.

The visitor to the distressed areas has no need to fall back on figures to prove that he is in a distressed area. It is visible at almost every step. One is struck by the number of elderly people one meets, for large numbers of youth have left the areas seeking work elsewhere in England.

When in Scotland one reads with monotonous regularity of the closing down of one industry after another. Pit closures, cuts in rail services, the complete closing down of Scotland's shale oil industry, the closing down of the famous No. 12 British Locomotive Works, and now the threat to close down the Cowlans Locomotives sheds owned by British Railways. There is short-time working in the steel industry, which is working at 60 per cent capacity.

One of the biggest blows to the Scottish coal industry is the closing of the Rothes pit,

completed only a few years ago at a cost of £8,250,000.

Distressed areas usually convey the impression of gloomy, deserted streets, old houses with peeling walls and primitive sanitation. There is none of this in Glenrothes, the new town adjacent to the Rothes pit. One of three new towns built in Scotland since the war, Glenrothes is neat and clean, well laid out, solidly built, with conveniences which the older towns of industrial Britain might well envy. And yet it is a distressed town. For its heart was the pit (as new and modern as the town), the basic source of sustenance for most of the town people, and now this is ceasing to beat.

The miners and their families live in comfortable and comparatively low-cost homes lining attractive streets, but they are oppressed by gloomy thoughts and worries. They have been overtaken by want after a taste of decent living. At any rate, this is the impression the visitor gains from talking with the local people; one feels that one is looking at a stage set for a tragedy painted in gaudy colours by a practical joker with a wry sense of humor.

We visited the home of Edward Law. It was a week day, but he was at home for he no longer has a job in the pit. "What are your prospects?" we asked him. "Prospects? There are no prospects," he replied. "If I am lucky I might get a job as a bus conductor (Law started as a bus conductor when he first went to work). But that would give me less than £10 a week, and I have a family to support. Rent alone takes £2.7s a week. I wrote to a pit near Swansea in South Wales, but I don't expect much will come of that. They probably haven't got jobs for their own people. And how could I move there and leave my home here where my roots are. Some have left, without their families, starting again from scratch, but I don't know whether I could do that. . . ."

John Simpson, who lived nearby, had worked as a miner for 47 years. He is now 61 — four years to go until he draws his pension. Asked what he thought of his prospects, he just waved his hand in despair: the chances of finding work at his age were slim indeed. There was nothing he could look forward to except to be supported by relatives (his sons, too, had lost their jobs in the pit) or to apply for National Assistance.

The picture was the same in hundreds of other homes. There was no escape from gloomy thoughts. Everywhere, in the streets and in pubs (they could allow themselves this

luxury as long as the unemployment benefits were forthcoming), there was only one topic of conversation — where to go, how to carry on, what to do. . . .

The fate of Glenrothes is shared by other mining towns and villages in Scotland. But the decline of the coal industry, the full impact of which is still to be felt, is not the only problem in this part of the country. As already pointed out, many other branches of industry have long been in a state of slump. Some 5,000-6,000 workers have been kept on in the steel mills only because six out of the seven mills have cut the working week, with wages down accordingly, whilst thousands of workers in the locomotive industry are now facing unemployment. Shipbuilding, with fewer orders on the books, is also experiencing considerable difficulties. The engineering industry too is in a bad way.

Scotland has 114,119 unemployed, and those who still have jobs are worried about the future.

Northern Ireland is a stone's throw from Scotland, and not only in the geographical sense. The two have many problems in common. Hence when one goes from Glasgow to Belfast one is prepared for much of what one finds there. Perhaps the only difference is that the problems are even more pressing in Ulster and the hardships more visible than in Scotland.

Unemployment, for instance, is at a higher rate in Northern Ireland than anywhere else in Britain. Of the labor force 11.2 per cent were totally unemployed in February 1963. Thousands subsist on occasional earnings. Some work two or three days a week, others a week, a month, or a few months a year. Were it not for emigration, the percentage of unemployed, according to trade union estimates, would be twice as high.

No wonder, therefore, that the busiest place in Belfast is not the central square or the main streets, but the Labor Exchange. This is a huge brick building resembling a railway station, not only in size and architecture, but also because of the crowds who mill about in its lofty halls from morning till night. An hour or two spent there will give one a better idea of the problems facing Northern Ireland than volumes of official statistics.

The thing that strikes the visitor are the differing age groups, and more particularly the young. One young man to whom we spoke was 24 years old. He had no trade, for only a few young men of his age have had an opportunity to acquire a craft. He had been

out of work nearly six months, his last job being that of an unskilled laborer on a building site. Before that he had gone to Scotland to look for work, but he had failed. His was a typical case. Each day hundreds like him come to the Exchange.

Yet things are easier for the young people. It is not so hard for them to uproot themselves and emigrate. Moreover, the few jobs going are almost exclusively for young people, even for the very young. The day we visited the place the "situations vacant" board had seven notices. Of these six were for young men (under eighteen, from eighteen to twenty, etc.). Apart from everything else, they are cheap labor, for the employers would have to pay higher wages to older workers.

Workers over 40 and especially over 50 are in a tragic position. We go over to a group of older workers at the exit. One is 57. He used to be a shipbuilder but he has not worked since 1956, living on his unemployment benefits. Another of the group, an electrician, has been haunting the labor exchange for two and a half years. A third, a transport worker, lost his job a year and a half ago.

The economy of Northern Ireland differs from that of Scotland. The declining industries here are not the same as in the latter (the number employed in agriculture has decreased by nearly 30,000 in the past ten years, in textiles by 17,000; the aircraft industry, which used to employ 25,000, now has less than 7,000 workers, many of whom are on short time — shocking figures for a population of a million and a half). But the consequences are the same and even worse.

South and West Wales represent a somewhat different picture. To those who knew the mining valleys of the Rhondda during the terrible crisis years of the thirties there is a vast difference in living standards, even though the miles of grim barrack-like houses remain the same. In the brief few years following nationalization there was a certain amount of prosperity. This is reflected in the children. Their legs are straight. They wear good shoes and clothes, and above all, the food. Whereas in the thirties few shops were open, with little to choose from, the shops today are full of goods.

And yet, in these mining valleys there is today an air of anxiety and insecurity similar to that in Scotland, for here too the pits are closing one by one, the pits which are here the backbone of the mining valleys, round which the villages group and which provide the work for the vast majority of the male population. The mining valleys are once more becoming a

"special" or distressed area. The threat to the Rhondda valley in particular is most serious. Eventually thirty pits will be closed down.

So ends our depressing tour of the distressed areas. The tourist taking this route would see another picture. He would visit the pleasant seaside resorts of Wales, the beautiful lochs and hills of Scotland and Northern Ireland. But this brings little comfort to millions living in these parts. For them the talk about the "affluent society" or the claim that "poverty has been obliterated" has become a hollow mockery.

Development Programs and the Real Requirements

The situation in many parts of the country (and not only in the "periphery" which we have discussed) has long been so serious that the government, under the pressure of the labor movement and the fear of possible electoral difficulties, inaugurated some years ago what are called "development programs."

These programs were intended to stimulate, by means of subsidies, tax exemptions, etc., economic development in the distressed areas and thereby lessen the burden of unemployment and poverty. But in spite of partial success in some localities, the "development programs" have failed to remove the main causes of the plight.

The number of jobs in Northern Ireland, for instance, far from increasing in the ten years from 1951 to 1961 has declined from 547,000 to 539,000. To abolish the double scourge of unemployment and emigration it would be necessary, according to trade union estimates, to provide 15,000 jobs annually in the course of ten years.

The "development programs" have proved singularly ineffective both in South Wales and Scotland. These parts account for only two new jobs in every hundred created in the country as a whole, while the London area accounts for forty. Similarly revealing is the fact that 77 per cent of all Scottish unemployed who have been out of work for more than eight weeks live precisely in the "development" areas.

Why are these programs ineffective?

The most obvious reason is inadequate government finance.

Another reason is that the distressed areas development policy is incompatible with the Tory government's general political line of supporting the monopolies, as well as with many other measures. Take, for instance, the coal mining industry. Though nationalized by the Labor government, this industry was subordinated not to the interests of the national economy and the people, but to the big monopolies.

This explains why in the early postwar years, when there was a coal shortage, the mining industry was developed rapidly (the Glenrothes pit was one of the projects begun in those years). The price of coal was kept low for the monopolists but not for the general public. The former mine owners were paid, and still are being paid, huge sums in compensation. All this was a result of the nationalization policy of the Labor government, which burdened the mining industry with vast debts even before it began to function as a nationalized concern. And as if this was not enough, the Tory government is deliberately backing oil, and doing nothing to protect coal from the unscrupulous competition of the oil monopolies.

Having burdened the coal industry with a huge deficit from the beginning of nationalization, the Coal Board now talks of making mining "profitable" everywhere. This has sounded the death knell for scores of pits (including new ones) which employ tens of thousands of miners. In the light of this it is not surprising that the government turned down the demand of the Scottish Union of Mine Workers for a public inquiry into the condition of the industry. For an investigation would unquestionably show that its decline is by no means due to adverse geological conditions.

The government's transport policy is also a serious obstacle to the development of the distressed areas.

A closer examination of the "development programs" leaves little doubt that in many cases they are designed to serve the interests of the monopolies rather than society.

Many of the factories built under these programs in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland employ mainly cheap female labor. This is the case in Glenrothes, too. As long as things went well and the men were employed, the additional source of income brought in by the wife or daughter was a boon, helping to raise

the living standard of the families. But as soon as the main industry was affected and the men thrown out of work, the new factories proved incapable of absorbing the unemployed men. A family whose breadwinner earned between £12-£15 or more a week can hardly get along on an hourly wage of 2s.9d. (£6.66d for a 46-hour week), which is what is paid to the women working in the new factories in Glenrothes.

The subsidies and other concessions granted by the government (at the expense of the taxpayer, of course) ostensibly in the public interest and to alleviate hardship, benefit only the employers, both British and American, for a number of U.S. firms have opened up in Scotland. In some cases this object is achieved by using the subsidies not to build factories providing work for the largest possible number of people, but to modernize the existing plant so as to reduce the number of workers employed. In Northern Ireland, for instance, subsidizing laundries and stone quarries to the tune of £1 million in seven years resulted in a fall of employment by 13 per cent!

Clearly, the economy cannot be put on a sound footing and hardship eliminated in the distressed areas by means of "development programs" along such purely capitalist lines.

The stricken areas can be saved only by an extensive, comprehensive development program serving the public interest. This is becoming increasingly clear to the working-class movement, as can be seen from the program proposed by trade unions. These have advanced concrete development plans for the distressed areas, calling for reorganization of their economy, a radical change in the government's economic policy, and an improvement of social security as well as the educational system. The fact that such programs are being elaborated is an indication of the growing maturity of the working class, of its ability to solve the most diverse problems far more effectively than a whole army of government experts.

IV. THE HOUSING QUESTION IN THE SIXTIES

Whenever articles appear in the press of the socialist countries concerning the facts of social life, particularly housing, in Britain, nettled Tory politicians, the Right-wing Laborites and radio and TV commentators have a favorite line of defense. These Marxist commentators, they say, are hopelessly behind the times. They know Britain only from the novels of Dickens. They are so blinded by their communist prejudice that they cannot see the Welfare State; cannot see that poverty in Britain no longer exists. But facts are stubborn things and a closer investigation will show that the Marxist

journalist is, on the whole, much nearer the truth than the apologists.

Let us now turn to the housing question and take a glance at it through the eyes, not of a socialist journalist but through the eyes of that solidly respectable organ of the British bourgeoisie, *The Times*.

On December 18, 1961, *The Times*, in language not unlike that used by Dickens reported a Christmas Carol service in Southwark Cathedral for London's 3,000 homeless people. "In the fading light of late afternoon," said *The Times*, "200 torches were yesterday lit on the

steps of St. Paul's Cathedral. A procession of more than 2,000 people then formed to march with a band at their head playing carols to Southwark Cathedral.

"Two coachloads of homeless mothers with babies and very many young children followed behind."

Dr. Mervyn Stockwood, Bishop of Southwark, addressing the gathering in the Cathedral, said that in London, housing presented an appalling problem and that the situation should be tackled with as much grit, determination, and unselfishness as was given to the war effort. And that is the voice not of a Marxist journalist but of a Bishop of the Church of England!

Where do these people of London's "Abyss" find shelter in the Welfare State of the sixties? Official propaganda boasts that the notorious workhouses which caused Dickens to write some of his angriest pages have long since disappeared from Britain, and that they exist only in the prejudiced imagination of a Marxist journalist. Again *The Times* gives the reply: "Into the one-time workhouses," we read (October 27, 1961), "long since scheduled for demolition, flow the mothers and children who cannot find accommodation in an overcrowded city." And those people, continues the report, "tell stories that should have gone out with *Oliver Twist*."

Who are these people deprived of homes by a government which does everything to placate the landlords? Most of them, and again we quote *The Times*, "are young Londoners, ordinary decent people, couples with young children and incomes of less than £12 a week."

The facts, when studied, will, we believe, show that the myth-makers are not the Marxists, but the bourgeois propagandists.

What Are the Facts?

For over a century, varying governments have tried to solve Britain's housing problem, but each has failed, so that housing still remains one of the most urgent social problems of our day.

Despite the new homes which have been built in England and Wales since 1945 — approximately three million and mostly by the local authorities (why this is so will be shown below) — the housing crisis is still as acute as ever. So acute that the slum back-to-back houses built by speculators over 150 years ago, are still occupied by workers' families in the industrial towns of the North.

Speaking on television on May 24, 1962, Lord Francis Williams, a Labor Lord, could say that nearly two and a half million workers still

lived in slums officially recognized as unfit for human habitation.

Three and two-third million of the 14.5 million houses and flats in England and Wales were built before 1880. That is why so many are rapidly deteriorating.

It is estimated that at the present rate of progress it will take Manchester, a city of 60,000 slum dwellings, 46 years, and Liverpool with its 80,000, at least 51 years before it is rid of slum dwellings. "At the present rate of house-building in Scotland," said Mr. Fraser, Labor M.P., at a conference organized by the Scottish Trades Union Congress, "it will never get rid of its slums." Whilst Mr. Fraser's facts cannot be disputed, nevertheless, Scotland's slums will be abolished when the Scottish masses take things into their own hands as they did on that memorable day in Glasgow in 1915, when the workers and their wives, under the leadership of men like William Gallacher, forced the passing of the "Rent and Mortgage Restriction Act" which stopped landlords from raising rent beyond a certain level. This action by the workers made the housing problem political dynamite, and political dynamite it has remained.

The Situation Today

From 1919 until fairly recently the local authorities built almost all working-class dwellings.

Because of this, the housing conditions of the working class have greatly improved. Sanitary conditions have been transformed, except in rural, and certain slum areas. Slum areas have been cleared so that today four million working-class families have been rehoused and live in publicly-owned municipal dwellings.

Generally speaking, the council estates, especially the London County Council which has been controlled by Labor for many years, are very well planned, with gardens and balconies. Many have lifts, communal laundries, and playgrounds for children.

Moving into such new flats can transform life for a family, although the rent is a bit higher. But for an applicant to receive such a flat may take years and years considering the hundreds of thousands of families on the waiting lists.

Besides, there are hundreds of thousands of families who are no longer protected by the Rent Acts and who today face terrible insecurity under private landlords and for whom the local authority can do very little as far as providing houses or flats is concerned.

In June 1960, the *Daily Worker* reported:

"The news last week that she was to be evicted by the landlord, who had obtained possession of the home where she had lived for 50 years, came like the end of the world for bed-ridden 82-year-old Ellen Percivall, of Rannoch Road, Fulham, London.

"Mrs. Percivall, who suffered from both heart trouble and lung trouble, lay absolutely silent for the whole of the next day. That night she staggered out of bed and crossed the room to take an overdose of sleeping tablets. Next morning she was found dead."

Some months later, on 28th April, 1961, the *Daily Harold* printed a report which reads almost word for word like those quoted by Marx in Volume I of *Capital*:

"Men take turns to sleep five or six to a room in the new slums of Britain, a Health Congress was told yesterday. New marriages, started full of hope, are threatened by the strain of overcrowding.

"This disturbing picture was painted by a chief public health inspector, Mr. Frederick Shaw. He has been investigating room and flatlet living conditions in Britain's cities.

"In extreme cases five or six men may sleep in one room during the day, then at night another five men take over and sleep in the same bed.

"Some of the men sleeping in these conditions work in shifts in Birmingham's engineering factories."

Thus whilst the new local authority houses and flats provide extremely good living conditions, nevertheless housing still remains one of the great social problems of Britain.

A measure of the housing need is the local authority Housing Lists for council dwellings. These do not give a precise picture since many local authorities have "frozen" their lists, refused to add new applicants and even, in some cases, struck off large numbers.

Early in 1959, the National Housing and Town Planning Council sent out a questionnaire and received answers from 532 housing authorities, covering just over half the population of England and Wales. They found that the applicants on the general housing lists of these authorities numbered 752,000, of whom 282,000 were deemed to be in "urgent need." If it is assumed that conditions were the same in the rest of the country, it can be taken that there were in 1959 some 1,500,000 families on the waiting lists for council dwellings, of whom over 500,000 were in urgent need. Very little hope is held out to these, except for the most urgent cases, that they will be rehoused in the next decade.

Figures for Scotland are difficult to obtain. But at the end of the war it was officially estimated that 500,000 new dwellings were need-

ed in Scotland, not including replacement of dwellings in need of modernization. Fifteen years later, by June 1960, no more than 395,683 new dwellings had been completed, leaving a gap of over 100,000. Why has local authority building slowed down?

Vested Interests and the Cost of Housing

House building by local authorities has been made difficult and expensive by the private property interests which make profits out of every stage of the housing process.

The demand for land in urban areas, particularly in the big cities such as London, has enabled private landowners to raise prices to higher and higher levels. Speculators are buying up the limited supply of building land in town and country, and holding the public to ransom. Building land which in 1952 could be bought at £1,500 an acre now costs £8,000.

The Financial Times (February 2, 1960) said land in the London "commuting area" was selling at £10,000 an acre. In the center of London even greater prices are charged.

Prices of building materials have been kept at a high level by monopolistic arrangements among the manufacturers.

Recently new legislation made such arrangements more difficult to maintain, but profits have remained high. Thirty-five big building-material firms increased their total profits from £75,000,000 in 1958 to £84,000,000 in 1959.

The Rate of Interest and Housing Subsidies

When a local authority builds a house, it borrows the money and pays it back with interest over 60 years. The size of the annual loan charges (i.e., repayment of capital plus interest) vary enormously according to the rate of interest at which they were borrowed. The lowest rate of interest on local authority loans was 2.5 per cent under the Labor Government in 1946. At this rate annual loan charges over 60 years on a house costing £1,600 to build were £51.12.6½d, and the total amount ultimately paid was £3,097.12.0d. of which £1,497.12.0d. was interest.

Under the Tory Government the rate of interest on local authority loans has risen to six percent which increases the annual loan charges on a £1,600 house to £99.0s.0d., and the total amount paid to £5,940, of which £4,340 is interest. Thus this increase in interest rates has increased the economic rent of such a house by over £47 a year, and today a local authority has to pay more than 2.5 times the actual cost of building a house in interest charges.

The cost of land and the cost of buildings, together with the rate of interest on loans, make it impossible for local authorities to build

houses and flats to let at reasonable rents without a subsidy. But under the Tory Government, while land speculation has flourished and the rate of interest has risen, housing subsidies have been reduced.

The effect of all this was to reduce the rate of council building in the United Kingdom from the peak of 244,916 dwellings in 1953 down to 124,000 in 1962. Tory policy has been to reduce the amount of council building while increasing the amount of private building which grew over the same period from 64,867 to 174,800 p.a. In 1961 private enterprise built three out of every five of the 269,000 dwellings completed in England and Wales.

Rising Rents

Rising costs plus reduced subsidies faced local authorities with a problem. How could they continue to build houses and flats within the means of the people who needed them?

The Tory government urges local authorities to meet this problem by adopting differential rent schemes. By this is meant schemes which fix the rent in relation to the tenant's income.

The significance of these schemes is that the increased rent paid by tenants in older council dwellings can be used to help subsidize the rents of the new high-cost council dwellings. Thus the financial burden is again placed on the shoulders of the working class.

Rents paid to private landlords were controlled from 1939 until 1957 so far as the vast majority of tenants were concerned. Landlords could not charge more than the legal maximum rent, nor could they evict their tenants without a court order. But in 1957 the Tory government brought in a Rent Act which transformed the position. Some 391,000 dwellings of a more expensive type were completely decontrolled; in addition the Act provides for decontrolling dwellings when there is a change in tenants, which means another 300,000 decontrolled dwellings a year.

In London, where the demand for accommodation enables landlords to get extremely high rents for favorably situated properties, some tenants were faced with demands for rent amounting to 40 per cent or 50 per cent of their total income.

The two Rent Acts passed by the Tory government over the past few years have thus enabled private landlords to make big profits out of the housing shortage.

This is the housing situation in Britain today. Who, then, are the myth-makers? The Marxist reporters or those bourgeois apologists for the landlords who state that there is hardly any housing problem left in Britain, and that soon there will be none at all in this best of all welfare states.

V. SOME ASPECTS OF THE HEALTH SERVICE

General

When the National Health Service was introduced in 1948 it was stated that its fundamental principle would be to provide the best possible comprehensive medical service for all, free, according to needs, irrespective of means.

Although this aim has not yet been realized, the National Health Service, with all its present shortcomings, is a great gain for the working class and people in Britain.

In a recent investigation amongst working-class families to find out which social service helped them most, 82 per cent of those interviewed said that it was the National Health Service which had helped them and their families most of all. It removed the last taint of charity from medical treatment for the working class. Today the Health Service is a right for all.

Probably the greatest single advance is the provision of a universal free medical service, including hospital and specialist treatment. Previously the absence of free medical advice for the wives, children and dependents of insured workers, and of a free consultant and specialist service, led to much preventable ill-health.

The National Health Service has brought about a much better distribution of doctors. Before the Service was introduced there were four times as many doctors per head in the wealthy middle-class resort of Bournemouth as in the industrial area of the Midlands, and twice as many doctors in London as in South Wales. Today, whilst maldistribution still exists, the differentiation is much less.

The hospital service, with all its deficiencies, has been greatly improved, becoming more human and no longer dependent upon the charity of the rich, whilst the payment of consultants for hospital work has led to an increase in numbers and a much better distribution. Thus in the industrial area in Newcastle, where there were 164 consultants in 1949, there were 409 in 1957.

Such advances in the Health Service of the country have narrowed the gap between the service available for the working class and that available for the rich, but the gap is still there and it is still large. Special facilities for private treatment enable the rich to buy a privileged service, as for example "pay beds" in hospitals.

Although the NHS is a major social and

economic gain for the British workers in the conditions of bourgeois society, typically enough it has a long way to go before it reaches the high aims proclaimed on its introduction. In the capitalist conditions it has become an issue around which a bitter struggle has flared up.

The Tory policies convincingly prove this. Once it was returned to power in 1951, the Tory government began a piecemeal attack on the NHS. It attacked its principles to such an extent that anxiety is felt today that the Tories are trying to put the clock back. The more the NHS is undermined, the more health is made a purchasable commodity, the more people will suffer from preventable ill-health because they have not the means to pay for the best available treatment.

The Tory excuse for the attack on the Health Service is that it costs too much. But a glance at the figures will show that the proportion of the National Income taken by the NHS has actually fallen since 1950.

In 1950, government expenditure on the Health Service (excluding expenditure from the funds of Local Authorities) was £414 million, or 3.5 per cent of the National Income. By 1959, though the absolute figure had risen to £675 million, this was only 3.2 per cent of the National Income.

When the Health Service was introduced the major part of the cost was met by direct taxation, thereby ensuring that the rich paid a fair share. This principle is being undermined as more and more of the cost is shifted onto the shoulders of the weekly national insurance contributors — chiefly the working class.

In 1948 they paid 8½d. per head towards the NHS. Today they pay 2s.8½d., which means that about 17 per cent of the cost is now being shouldered by the contributors.

One of the biggest advances made by the NHS was that the Service was to be free at the time of use. This principle has steadily been undermined by the successive imposition of charges. The first charges were introduced by the Labor government in 1951, placing a charge on the provision of dentures and spectacles.

In 1952 the Tories introduced charges for other appliances, for dental treatment, and for prescriptions. By 1961, they had increased prescription charges to 2/— per item.

The Hospitals

Speaking at the 1962 Labor Party Conference, a member of the Socialist Medical Association said that Britain's hospital services were "decaying, creaking and in many cases nearly collapsing." He spoke of an "alarming" situation in the hospital out-patients departments.

Out of 2,699 hospitals in England and Wales, two-thirds were built before 1900, and a fifth are more than 100 years old.

No wonder there is chaos and often a lack of humanity, by an over-worked and underpaid staff. Patients often have to wait weeks and sometimes months to see a consultant, and when they get the appointment they have to wait their turn for hours.

New hospitals are badly needed, not only to replace the existing ones but also to provide more beds. The waiting lists are growing longer. There are approximately between four to five people waiting for every surgical bed. In some hospitals in Manchester, in particular, there were 26 people waiting for each bed, the equivalent of a wait of more than three years.

Because of mass pressure and growing discontent, the government has announced that it intends to spend £570 million over 10 years (1961-1971) on hospitals. It sounds a lot, but in fact it is actually about two-thirds of the minimum program considered necessary by the British Medical Council. But so far estimated hospital building expenditure was £27 million for 1960-61 and £35 million for 1961-62, figures well below the promised target.

Shortage of Staff

The other main problem of the hospitals is shortage of every sort of staff, including doctors. Were it not for doctors who are coming into Britain from the Commonwealth there would be a serious situation.

As for nurses, the position is more than scandalous. This accounts for the resolution calling for the establishment of a Committee of Enquiry into the nursing services which was unanimously endorsed at the 1962 Labor Party Conference.

This committee was called for not only because the nurses' pay is scandalously low, and their conditions bad, but also because many hospital beds cannot be used because of lack of staff. And there is an overall shortage of hospital beds in Britain!

Drugs

Another aspect of the National Health Service which is being severely criticized is the way in which the government is allowing the private drug firms, many of them American, to make profits out of the sick. Anybody who has sat on a Hospital Management Committee knows that one of the most expensive items of a hospital's exchequer is drugs. The cost of drugs to the NHS for the year 1960-61 is estimated to be £92 million. "The profit rates of British subsidiaries of American concerns," stated a government report on pharmaceutical

firms, "had consistently been much higher than those of general industry."

One reason for the high cost of drugs is the extensive advertising. Drugs of today are big business, whose slick salesmen try to persuade doctors to recommend their product. No wonder there is a growing demand for the nationalization of the drug industry.

A Comprehensive Occupational Health Service

One of the most serious criticisms which can perhaps be levelled at the present NHS, is the failure to provide a fully comprehensive Occupational Health Service. This form of Service for the safeguarding of the health of the millions of workers in industry is urgently needed, as can be seen from the figures recently published by the Chief Factory Inspector. Industrial accidents in 1961 rose to the highest level for eleven years. Yet there are not only very

few clinics in factories, and still fewer doctors employed in such clinics; usually there is only a trained nurse. Moreover, there are only 480 factory inspectors to cover the thousands of factories, workshops and building sites throughout the country.

At present, millions of workers enjoy no statutory precautions for their health and safety at work. Many others have only the most elementary safeguards.

To sum up. The government economies in the administration and development of the National Health Service, and the successive imposition of charges, have prevented it from providing the best possible medical service for all, with no financial barriers. There are still two standards of medical service in Britain — one for the rich who can afford to pay for special treatment and service, and another for the rest of the people.

(Continued in our next issue)

Pages from History

A Wellspring of Revolutionary Experience

(60th Anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDLP)

B. Leibson

THE Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (July 30-August 23, 1903), the sixtieth anniversary of which is being observed these days, is a notable event not only in the history of the Russian but also of the international Communist and workers' movement. At this Congress the Party of a new type, the Leninist Bolshevik Party, was founded.

The Congress which adopted the Party's Program and Rules, and resolutions on some tactical and organizational questions, reflected the new that was characteristic not only of Russia, but also of the new era, the era of imperialism which the leading capitalist countries had entered. Imbibing the best that the socialist proletarian movement in the West and the revolutionary democratic struggle in Russia had produced, the Leninist party took shape as a completely new type of revolutionary organization which set as its practical task the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism. In this struggle the Party set splendid examples of fidelity to principle and ideological

firmness, combined with remarkable flexibility, an ability rapidly to assess new social developments and an amazing talent for organizing the masses.

The Party as Vanguard and Leader

The Program adopted by the Second Congress scientifically defined the role of the Party as being that of an organization under whose leadership the proletariat will be able to carry out its historic mission. The West European Social Democrats held different views on this score. The French Socialists, for example, regarded the Party "only as a kind of mentor and recruiter"; the Belgian Socialists considered that the Party's principal task should be "unremitting propaganda of socialist principles"; the Hungarians held it was "to bring enlightenment to all sections of the population." Only the Program upheld by Lenin clearly stated that the party of the proletariat "gives guidance to all aspects of its class struggle."*

Lenin's doctrine on the Party, beginning

*The CPSU in Resolutions, Part I, p. 39.

with fundamental principles and ending with organizational details, is infused with the idea of action, an uncompromising attitude to indifference and fatalism. Lenin criticized the opportunists for their inertia in practical activities, for their narrow outlook and inability to advance bold and sweeping plans, for "... belittling the initiative and energy of class-conscious fighters, whereas Marxism, on the contrary, gives a gigantic impetus to the initiative and energy of the Social Democrat, opens up for him the widest perspectives..."* Exposing the features that were alien to a revolutionary Marxist party, Lenin at the same time described what must be the feature of a party that would be capable of leading the masses, of being their vanguard. It must be a party with a clear aim and broad outlook, a party that can offer plans that will arouse the masses, a party that has inexhaustible initiative and energy.

When the 1905 revolution swept the country Lenin wrote: "Undoubtedly, the revolution will teach us, and will teach the masses of the people. But the question that now confronts a militant political party is: shall we be able to teach the revolution anything?*" In other words, will the Party be able to make the most of the objective possibilities offered by revolutionary developments. To learn from life and to influence it—this is one of the cardinal features of the Leninist party, a feature that manifested itself at all times: when the Party was still weak, with limited possibilities, when the revolution was on the upsurge and, most fully, when the Party became the ruling party.

Lenin had to defend the idea of the Party as the force that would lead the masses in refashioning the world, not only in a bitter struggle with the Right opportunists who turned tail when confronted with objective reality and refused to change it. No less dangerous were the "Left" opportunists who ignored reality, paraded their "revolutionary zeal" and based their policy on subjective desires and not on an analysis of the actual situation. To these "revolutionaries" who were only too ready to hurl abuse at capitalism but who did very little, if anything, to find real ways of fighting this reactionary system, Lenin had this to say: "To show how 'revolutionary' one is solely by hurling abuse . . . is very easy; but just because it is too easy, it is not the solution for a difficult, a very difficult problem."*** The ability to keep the

proper balance between objective and subjective factors in the revolutionary struggle is another salient feature of the Leninist party.

The Party's role as leader of the masses greatly depends on its ability theoretically to assess the nature and trend of social development, and to define its strategy and tactics accordingly. It is only a clear perspective, a correct understanding of the urgent problems of social development in the world and at home that can inspire the confidence needed for practical action and courage in the face of temporary reverses. A feature of the Leninist party is that in its practical activity it has always rested on a solid ideological and theoretical basis, has drawn extensively on theory in solving the numerous problems posed by reality; and theory, as we know, is a guide to action.

The Leninist Party's goal being the revolutionary reconstruction of the world, it was only natural that it should demand that everyone joining its ranks should not only recognize the Party Program but actively help to implement it. The debates that arose at the Second Congress in connection with Paragraph I of the Rules were not over details or fine points of formulation, but over the fundamental question—the type of organization the Party should be. Lenin's formulation that one could be a member of the Party if one accepted its Program, supported it financially and "belonged to one of its organizations" meant that the Party would be able to lead and guide its members. The opportunists argued that a Party member did not necessarily have to belong to one of its organizations, thereby turning the Party into something organizationally amorphous, where no distinction would be made between Party members and simply sympathizers.

Lenin's formulation of Paragraph I thus became the touchstone for testing the genuineness of revolutionary views regarding the Party. The definition of the Party as an active force capable of reshaping society was thus logically given organizational expression.

The specific conditions in which the Leninist Party arose and took shape in Russia laid its imprint on the demands the Party made on its members. In the early period only a narrow, secret organization of professional revolutionaries could form a closely-knit nucleus of like-minded people who parted company with the opportunists. But as subsequent developments have shown, this nucleus of professional revolutionaries not only played a very important role in building up the Party in the specific conditions of Russia, but be-

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 363.

**Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 4.

***Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 45.

came one of the organizational principles of Leninism generally.

The concept "party" like the concept "masses" is not something immutable. Lenin regarded it in its historical aspect. While insisting that the Party should not be expanded excessively in the early stages of its formation, Lenin urged that in the period of revolutionary upsurge the youth, all people who displayed revolutionary initiative, should be more boldly and broadly drawn into the Party. The Bolsheviks, of course, fully appreciated the fact that expansion of the Party by admitting into its ranks hundreds and thousands of new members was fraught with danger. Replying to the misgivings expressed on this score Lenin wrote: "Don't scare yourselves, Comrades. Don't forget that in every dynamic and growing party there are bound to be elements of instability, vacillation and wavering. But these elements are yielding and will continue to yield to the influence of the steadfast and united nucleus of Social Democrats."*

Lenin fought for the creation of a mass party, the vanguard of the working class, capable of exerting a decisive influence on developments in the country. To this end he steadily built up a nucleus of tried and tested revolutionaries, a small but closely-knit party that would become a mass party when the time for this arrived. The experience gained in this struggle acquired universal significance for the international Communist movement.

The same holds true of the fundamental organizational principles of the Leninist party—democratic centralism. Centralism is the only possible principle for a party that is really leading the revolutionary struggle and not merely confining itself to propagation of its views. Thanks to centralism the scattered revolutionary actions of individuals and organizations acquire clearness of purpose; local, private, or group interests give way to common interests and the whole movement as a consequence lends itself to organizational discipline which gives it great strength. The idea of centralism underlies the Party Rules proposed by Lenin at the Second Congress in 1903. At the same time, however, as Lenin wrote that same year, "to be a party of the masses not only in name, we must get ever wider masses to share in all Party affairs. . . ."** The demand for democracy is no less objective than the demand for centralism. It springs from the very nature of the Party and expresses the requirement that the central lead-

ership should, indeed, function properly, that is, that it should absorb and reflect everything valuable produced by the local organizations and individual Party members in their work.

Considering the situation at the time, the Rules could not include the principle of election from below. The higher bodies were therefore set up at the Party Congress, the Rules stating that "all Party organizations and institutions of the Party decide matters by a simple majority vote." As soon as the situation allowed for it the Party began to extend inner-Party democracy.

The principle of democratic centralism gives full scope for freedom of discussion, the participation of all Party members in working out the Party's tactics, for forming its leading bodies, ensuring, at the same time, unity of action and strict discipline. The effectiveness of the standards of Party life, which arose on the basis of democratic centralism, lies in the fact that they reflect, in close interrelation, the principal features of the Marxist-Leninist party both as a party of action, a party of revolutionary change and as a voluntary organization strong in the political consciousness and activity of its members, and in its close ties with the masses. This interrelation of the two principles, centralism and democracy, is notable for its exceptional flexibility, which allows for emphasizing the one or other aspect of this interrelation, depending on the situation, but the nature of the organization or, as Lenin called it, the "fundamental type" of organization, remains the same always. Referring to the historical experience of Bolshevism, Lenin wrote: "This organization was able, without changing its fundamental type, to adapt *its form* to the changed conditions, and to change this *form* in accordance with the requirements of the day. . . ."

The consistent implementation and development by the Bolsheviks of the organizational principles elaborated by Lenin for the first time on the eve of the Second Congress enabled the Party at all times to act as the vanguard, the leading force of the mass movement and to win great victories.

Uncompromising Attitude to Opportunism and Sectarianism

The Program adopted by the Second Congress called on the working class, on all working people to fight for the overthrow of first the autocracy and then the bourgeois system, and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was the only program in the international Social Democratic move-

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 15.

**Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 100.

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 361.

ment which clearly formulated the idea of the socialist revolution.

As Lenin noted later, "the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is presented foursquare in this Program. Besides, it is presented directly in its relation to the struggle against Bernstein, against opportunism."*

In its revolutionary struggle to reshape society the proletariat gives expression not only to its own specific class interests. It is no less concerned with the emancipation from exploitation of all the working people, that is, of the overwhelming majority of the people. This is the objective basis of the hegemony of the working class which idea underlies the Party's Program and all its subsequent practical activity.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in which the Bolsheviks acted as the "representatives of the interests of the entire people" (Lenin), demonstrated to the world that Bolshevism was the revolutionary trend of our time. Naturally, interest centered on those aspects of the Russian experience which had a direct bearing on the victory achieved. The revolutionary elements in all countries enthusiastically hailed such features of the Leninist party as its militancy, boldness, uncompromising attitude to capitalism, and its mastery in organizing the armed uprising. This was a natural reaction to the paralyzing opportunism of the leaders of the Second International, and conformed with the sentiments of the working-class movement in many countries where a revolutionary storm was brewing. At the same time, however, this response to the Bolshevik experience was somewhat one-sided, it oversimplified the real content of Bolshevik policy and tactics.

Two and a half years after the victory of the revolution Lenin in his *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, especially written for the international Communist movement, revealed how varied was the experience of the Bolshevik Party. This book to a great extent rediscovered Bolshevism, so to speak, for the Communists of the world. It showed them that Bolshevism was capable not only of frontal attack, as many of them had thought before, but that it represented a party that combined fidelity to principles with flexibility of tactics, a party able under all circumstances to preserve and multiply its contact with the masses. In this work Lenin counterposed the varied and many-sided experience of Bolshevism to the narrow sectarian notions regarding Bolshevik tactics.

However, in the period of the Stalin personality cult these cardinal Leninist precepts were frequently left out of account. The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was presented in a one-sided, and often dogmatic manner. Suffice it to note that the *History of the Communist Party of the CPSU(B), Short Course*, which laid claim to being the official version of the history of Bolshevism and which gave a summary of all Lenin's main works, makes no mention of his *"Left Wing" Communism*. The sole reason for this is that by its very nature and breadth of views regarding the tactics and principles of Party life this book stands out in sharp contrast to the schematic views held by Stalin.

The Short Course, as we know, for nearly two decades laid its negative imprint on all literature treating of the history of the Party. During that period it was chiefly the propositions in the Short Course that were popularized. The end result was that many important aspects of the Party's activity were kept in the shade and the experience of Bolshevism watered down. Thus, for example, literature on Party history rightly spoke about the Bolsheviks' uncompromising attitude to reformism, but said hardly anything about the Party's practical activities in the pre-revolutionary period in defense of the demands of the working people. Nothing, or hardly anything, was said about the tactical flexibility of the Bolsheviks, about their readiness to make a compromise for the sake of winning new allies and achieving their ultimate goal. The struggle for working-class unity was presented simply as a struggle to smash the various petty-bourgeois parties. This distorted interpretation of the history of Bolshevism only served to nourish sectarian concepts current among Communists abroad.

The literature published since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU is overcoming this one-sided treatment of Party history by writing more about the many different aspects of the Party's activities, and by restoring the truth about it as a party that has been and is intolerant of both opportunism and sectarianism.

Of particular interest is the experience gained by the Party in its struggle to build class alliances. The struggle for "autocracy of the people," for sovereignty of the people, defined by the Second Congress as the immediate task, underlies all the Party's activities. In his book *What Is To Be Done?*, written at a time when the Party still lacked the necessary forces even for systematic work among the workers, Lenin advanced the slogan "to go

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 314.

to all classes of the population," to merge into a single stream the currents of dissatisfaction not only among the workers but also among the peasants, handicraftsmen, intelligentsia, religious sects and oppressed nationalities. The "Public Life" section, which became a regular feature of the Leninist *Iskra*, was a new departure for the illegal press of those years which confined itself to purely workers' problems. In this section *Iskra* addressed itself to teachers, doctors and handicraftsmen, wrote about the attitude of the working class towards all sections of the population without exception. "It is our duty," wrote the paper, "always to remember that we must be able to find allies among the enemies of our enemy."

In the years of the first Russian revolution (1905-07) when the Bolshevik press urged the working class to take decisive action it stressed the importance of enlisting the support of all sections of society that were interested in the overthrow of tsarism. The appeal issued by the Bolshevik leadership in the spring of 1905 contains recommendations on how to arm the workers and put up barricades, but at the same time it notes that, "besides all this it should not be forgotten that the revolution's strength is primarily moral. . . . The mainstay of this moral strength is the sympathy and support of all classes of society, save for a handful of reactionaries. Hence, even at the height of the most desperate struggle we must not lose sight of the interests and psychology of these classes and must avoid anything that might undermine their sympathy." (*Vperyod*, No. 9, March 8, 1905.) The appeal stressed the need to be very careful of actions that might lose the Party the support of the numerous petty bourgeoisie. How utterly different this is from the distorted ideas about the Bolsheviks that were and still are being spread by the enemies of the working class to frighten away the middle sections.

In the subsequent years, too, the Bolsheviks continued to rally round the proletariat the various democratic sections of the population, and first and foremost the peasantry. In 1912-14, and again on the eve of the October Revolution, the Party press reflected the views not only of the worker, but also of the peasant, the minor government official, the domestic servant, etc.

Of fundamental significance is the policy pursued by the Leninist party to achieve the unity of all revolutionary forces in the country. The Party worked to build this unity from below, that is, starting at the factories.

Workers of different political trends as a rule took part in strikes. But it was not only a matter of unity built up from below in the course of the struggle itself. The decision of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies to call a general strike on December 7, 1905, which was to be turned into an uprising, was signed by the Bolshevik, Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary committees. Many parties were represented on the Executive Committee of the St. Petersburg Soviet; its presidium and the Committee itself discussed all major questions with their participation and the decisions adopted were in effect an expression of a united front of different revolutionary parties. In many towns the calls to strike and demonstrate were issued by the Bolsheviks jointly with the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Bundists.

Similar cases occurred between the two revolutions and also in 1917 when the Bolsheviks considered it absolutely out of the question to align themselves with parties and groups that pursued a policy of supporting the imperialist war (as the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries did), but were ready to co-operate with all who took an internationalist stand.

In the fight for working-class unity and working-class allies the Leninist party attached great importance to upholding the demands of the working people. The "Economists," the first variety of reformism the revolutionary Marxists in Russia had to contend with, resorted to the demagogic device of accusing *Iskra* of being indifferent to the needs of the workers and claiming that *Rabocheye Dyelo* and *Rabochaya Mysl*, the organs of the "Economists," defended these demands. The absurdity of this accusation was nailed on the spot. Lenin wrote: "If the accusers computed by the hundredweights or reams (as they are so fond of doing) any given year's discussion of the economic struggle in the industrial section of *Iskra*, in comparison with the corresponding sections of *Rabocheye Dyelo* and *Rabochaya Mysl* combined, they would easily see that the latter lag behind even in this respect."*

However that may be this device of the "Economists" was destined to outlive them. All subsequent opportunist trends invariably tried to represent themselves as "benefactors" of the workers, and the Bolsheviks as people who were obsessed with the idea of socialist revolution and therefore completely indifferent to how the worker lived. This device has

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 370.

now been adopted lock, stock and barrel by contemporary reformist and anti-communist literature which is persistently spreading the tale that the Marxist-Leninist parties ignore the struggle for better conditions for the working people because they consider that this will only weaken the class struggle. This sort of thing hardly adds weight to the arguments of the "Economists." If anything, it speaks of the ideological poverty of anti-communism, which is compelled to cling to "arguments" that have long since been disproved and which in general cannot face up to reality.

Literally from the very first day of their political activity the Bolsheviks took up the cudgels in defense of the working people. They did not postpone the settlement of numerous specific issues until the time when they would be removed by the victorious socialist revolution. "The opportunists would be only too glad," wrote Lenin, "if we would let them wage the struggle for reforms while we ourselves retired from the scene. . . ." But the Bolsheviks never fought shy of reality. They combated reformism but they were by no means opposed to reforms. And the fact that the workers of tsarist Russia did succeed occasionally in winning economic and legal gains, even if only minor ones, was because they waged a stubborn struggle for these gains under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

The leaflets issued by the Bolshevik organization often contained economic demands, and formulated the pressing issues the workers were prepared to fight for. A striking example of the struggle waged by the Party for reforms that would benefit the working class was the social insurance campaign of 1912-14, which reflected the principles the Party was guided by in exposing the reformist fraud, on the one hand, and, on the other, securing reforms that would raise the militancy of the working class and extend the front of struggle.

When exposing the reactionary nature of the tsarist social insurance law the Party started a mass campaign to make the most of the possibilities, insignificant as they were, afforded by this law. The Bolshevik journal *Voprosy Strakhovaniya* and the newspaper *Pravda* regularly carried material showing the workers how to fight for their rights and how to put to use the experience gained in the struggle.

After the overthrow of tsarism when the Party had the opportunity to be active in

local municipalities, it took full advantage of this, believing that, even though the socialist revolution was on its way, day-by-day work in the municipalities should not be scorned. "Our constituents have sent us here not only to be critical and to be in the opposition, but to carry on fruitful work, and to implement the broad municipal program under the banner of which we conducted our election campaign," stated the Bolsheviks at the first meeting of the newly elected Petrograd City Duma on September 1, 1917. They were also confident that "business-like cooperation would be quite possible with the socialist and sincere democratic elements in the city Duma."

All too little is known, unfortunately, about the fact that when the Leninist Party was preparing for armed uprising it began to put out a special journal *Gorod i Zemstvo*, which, as the sub-title indicated, dealt with "questions of the municipal economy," that a standing municipal committee worked under the Central Committee, that the Party was preparing to hold a congress of the Bolsheviks elected to the local government bodies, that the *Pravda* had a regular municipal section which dealt at length with the ways and means of improving the conditions of the working people. It is characteristic that the capitalist press, which was campaigning against the Bolsheviks, went to all lengths, as *Pravda* wrote, "to disparage our Party's positive program, and to prove, through misinformation and distortions, that the Bolsheviks promise a great deal but are unable to do anything." The Bolsheviks, however, continued their painstaking organizational work not only to form Red Guard detachments, but also house committees, workers' schools, etc.

In 1917 the flexibility of the Bolshevik Party, its broad approach to tactical questions manifested themselves most forcefully. When the objective conditions offered a real possibility for the peaceful development of the revolution, the Party fully utilized this possibility. Meetings and resolutions, propaganda and explanatory work from group to group and house to house, in every regiment and at every factory; appeals, posters, schools for agitators, Party libraries and reading-rooms—all these measures played a highly important role in the civil war that was being waged against the capitalists and landlords, and to isolate the parties of compromise that were supporting them. Lenin said at the time that as long as the ruling circles ". . . have not resorted to violence this civil war becomes, as far as

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 73.

we are concerned, peaceful, prolonged, and patient class propaganda."*

The Party held that the peaceful path requires that the Party organizations redouble their efforts, that mass work must be developed on a vast scale, that this path of struggle does not allow for passivity and indifference, that in this case, too, the masses are the decisive force and that only by enlisting their support can success be achieved.

But when the ruling classes resorted to violence against the masses and left the revolution only one choice—the path of insurrection—the Party brilliantly displayed its ability to lead armed mass struggle.

The entire pre-October history of the Communist Party, the history of the struggle to put into effect the program adopted by the Second Congress, conclusively shows that the Bolsheviks did not confine themselves to just one form of struggle in the revolutionary movement, that they recognized the most diverse forms, not of their "invention" but prompted by reality, by the given correlation of class forces. The experience of Bolshevism bears out Lenin's words that "Marxism never confines itself to forms of struggle possible or existing only at the given moment, for it recognizes that the changing social situation is bound to give rise to new forms of struggle unknown to the leaders at the moment."**

Architect of the New Society

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia meant that the Program adopted by the Second Congress had been carried out basically. The Program stated that the dictatorship of the proletariat is "the conquest of political power by the proletariat which will enable it to suppress all resistance by the exploiters."*** But at that time already Lenin saw yet another side to the power of the working class, its main content, namely, leadership of the entire mass of working people, of the whole of society by the working class.

The forms the dictatorship of the proletariat assumes depend on concrete conditions and, first and foremost, on how strong is the resistance of the overthrown classes, and the strength and influence of the working class in the country. All the forces of the old world that attacked the young Soviet state deliberately set out to portray it as a brutal, savage power buttressed by violence. Anti-communist propaganda is doing the same

thing now, alleging that this is a feature of all dictatorships of the proletariat.

But anyone who cares to make an objective study of the early steps of the Soviet state in Russia will be struck by the leniency shown by the new government to its opponents, the forbearance displayed where violence was assuredly called for. The first decree concerning suffrage (Decree on the Law Courts, No. 1, issued on November 24, 1917) established that courts shall be elected by the entire population, where "the judges shall henceforth be elected on the basis of direct democratic elections." Hence, the Bolsheviks had no intention of depriving anybody of civil rights; they were *compelled* to do so subsequently because of the civil war started by the bourgeoisie.

After the October Revolution the newspapers of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties continued to appear. It was only when the counter-revolutionary publications began openly to call for civil war that some of the papers were suppressed and even then as a temporary measure, the corresponding decree specifying that this measure would be "abolished by a special decree when things returned to normal." Thus, restriction of freedom of the press was an *emergency measure to safeguard the revolution*.

The Bolsheviks had no intention of nationalizing the medium-sized, let alone the small factories; they were ready to abide by what Lenin had said before October to representatives of the propertied classes who were shouting that the socialist revolution would "strip" them clean: "We will not 'strip' you, we will provide you with good food and clothing on condition that you work, which will be quite within your capacity."* But since the workers' power encountered sabotage it had no choice but to introduce nationalization to keep production going.

All sorts of stories are being circulated to this day about the red terror allegedly rampant after the revolution. But the Bolsheviks released all those arrested at the time, including Kerensky's ministers and even General Krasnov, who had staged a revolt, after they had pledged not to come out against the Soviet government. One is struck by the leniency of the early sentences passed by the Soviet court. The notorious monarchist and Black-Hundreder Purishkevich, for example, who organized a counter-revolutionary plot, was released five months after his trial (May 1, 1918) under an amnesty. Up to the end of

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 206.

**Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 186.

***The CPSU in Resolutions, Part I, p. 39.

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 329.

June 1918 not a single death sentence was passed. It was only when the overthrown exploiter classes, which regarded the humanism of the working class, its non-vindictiveness, as a sign of weakness, unleashed white terror that the Soviet government found itself compelled to take retaliatory measures.

And so, one by one the lie is being given to the far-fetched tales spread by capitalist propaganda regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat—this truly democratic power for the majority—which they turned into a bugbear to frighten not only the allies of the working class but the working class itself. The experience of the Russian revolution shows that it was the bourgeoisie who were responsible for the emergency measures the workers' power had to take, that given other conditions the dictatorship of the proletariat would have given full rein to the humane principles characteristic of it, and would have begun at once to carry out its main function—the building of socialist public relations on the basis of the rapid development of the productive forces.

After the Party became the ruling party new conditions arose under which, as Lenin pointed out, economic tasks took precedence over political tasks. The struggle for the fulfilment of the second Program of the Party, adopted in 1919, led to the complete and final triumph of socialism in the USSR.

At present the CPSU is successfully tackling the task of building a communist society set forth in the third Program of the Party, which is a direct continuation of the Party's first two programs. When the Leninist Party debunked the Stalin personality cult and took measures to overcome its harmful effects, anti-communist propaganda was jubilant. But the fact remains that this exposure was the most crushing blow ever sustained by anti-communism. Communism rid itself of everything that discredited it and was alien to it, and appeared before all as the most humane and just of social systems. Furthermore, exposure of the personality cult opened new avenues for making a more detailed study of

the historical experience of Bolshevism which in Stalin's time was frequently presented from dogmatic and sectarian positions.

As Lenin noted, "considering the wealth and versatility of the ideological content of Marxism there is nothing surprising in the fact that in Russia, as elsewhere, different historical periods bring out different aspects of Marxism."* The same applies to the revolutionary experience of Bolshevism, for the history of the Bolshevik Party is Marxism-Leninism in action. "This does not mean," warned Lenin, "that it is permissible at any time to ignore one or another aspect of Marxism. It only means that the *predominant interest* in one or another aspect depends on a complex of historical conditions and not on subjective desires."**

In our age, the age of mass democratic and national-liberation movements which are paving the way to socialism, of particular significance is the experience of the Bolshevik Party which reveals the role of the Party as organizer of the masses in the fight for democracy and socialism under the leadership of the working class, as the party which has mastered all forms of the struggle and is fully equipped to pass over from one form to another.

In the experience of the CPSU, as in the experience of other Communist parties, there is much that stems from the particular country and the historical situation. But in all essentials the experience of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the experience of socialist construction and transition to communism is of a universal character because it reflects the basic laws of development characteristic of the same socio-economic formation. That is why the 1960 Meeting of the 81 Parties unanimously recorded in its document that "the experience which the CPSU has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world Communist movement."

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 53.

**Ibid., p. 54.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Policy Statement of the Communist Party of Germany

THE recent Congress of the Communist Party of Germany endorsed a policy statement entitled "Save Peace, Defend Democratic Rights, and Win Social Security." Below we publish extracts from this statement.

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The Communist Party of Germany presents this statement to the people of the Federal Republic at a time when the "positions of strength" policy is going through a deep crisis. We Communists have always exposed the danger of this adventurous policy, which has brought with it not security but the growing threat of war, not prosperity for all but fabulous profits for Big Business; it has brought the working people the burden of ever-increasing arms expenditures and growing insecurity. Far from bringing about reunification, it has further deepened the rift between the two German states.

With the workers and peasants in power in the German Democratic Republic and socialist production relations established there, a new socialist era has begun for Germany. The GDR is the safeguard of peace and of a socialist future for the entire German nation.

Even if many still fail to realize it, the achievements and rights won by the working people of the GDR are already a big help to the working class and indeed the entire population of the Federal Republic.

Since 1945 the aggressive forces of monopoly capitalism have re-established their economic and political power in the Federal Republic, where state-monopoly capitalism is the predominant feature of the social system. The Federal Republic is dominated by a handful of millionaires and multi-millionaires, by men of the big firms such as IG Farben, Flick and Thyssen, or of the Siemens and AEG electrical monopolies; it is dominated by the oil, coal and steel barons, and by big bankers. The monopolies have brought the state completely under their sway, making it their instrument for exercising their power and gaining profits, an instrument of their policy of rearmament and war. State-monopoly capitalism has step-

ped up the militarization of the country's economic, political and public life, as well as the drive towards expansion.

One of the ways in which these desires of monopoly capitalism are expressed is the Common Market.

The arms race and the growing rivalry in the capitalist market increase the economic difficulties. While business activity has, until now, been rather high in the Federal Republic, a certain insecurity is now being felt. The rate of industrial expansion is falling. A number of industries are stagnant. The iron and steel industry is not working to capacity. Shipbuilding is suffering from a shortage of contracts. Workshops are coming to a standstill. There is a growing threat of unemployment. Agriculture is in a state of protracted crisis.

The militarists dominant in the FRG have re-embarked on their old policy of rearmament and violence. In order to carry through their schemes of revenge in the changed conditions that followed the Second World War, they have become subordinate to U.S. imperialism and have joined NATO. But German imperialism is achieving growing authority within NATO. The West German militarists already possess the largest armed force in Western Europe and have won a leading position in NATO.

So that they can continue their program of atomic armament and their militarist policy of violence without let or hindrance, the Bonn rulers are now bent on scrapping the Constitution and, with it, basic democratic rights. With the help of emergency laws drafted on the same lines as Hitler's law giving his government emergency powers, they seek to establish a naked dictatorship capable, at any moment, of abolishing freedom of speech and of the press, the right of assembly, and the right to strike; in fact, capable of suppressing any movement for freedom.

A policy that truly corresponds to German interests should not continue the "positions of strength" policy that leads to nuclear war but should be a policy of national responsibility, of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and the

peaceful settlement of the German question. This is the only way that the danger of fratricidal war can be removed, that the security of the population of the FRG can be assured.

A policy prompted by the interests of Germany calls for good-neighborly relations with all countries and observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence in foreign policy.

No real step towards the reunification of Germany can be made without a policy of peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

The Communist Party calls for the establishment of a German confederation, a state union between the Federal Republic and the Democratic Republic which could also be joined by the free city of West Berlin, as has already been proposed by the GDR and the national-minded circles in the FRG. In such a confederation the two German states could co-operate very closely in all spheres.

The Communist Party calls on the working class, on all democrats, to do everything to save the Federal Republic from a destructive nuclear war and from the danger of another reactionary-militarist dictatorship.

It is well known that in the parliamentary council our Party had denounced the Constitution of the FRG as a document aimed at perpetuating the division of Germany, stressing, however, that it would defend the people's constitutional rights. Today the Communists are in the front ranks of those who defend the constitution and the people's democratic rights from all attempts to whittle them down.

A truly national economic policy would mean defending the German economy against the attacks of the U.S. monopolies and preventing the outflow of West German capital. Those branches of the economy which are threatened with crisis should be given every backing in order to keep people in work, which is in the interests of the nation and of the national economy. It is in the interests of the people, both socially and economically, that the Federal Republic should finally accept the proposals of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries and make use of the vast trading possibilities that exist, by signing long-term trade agreements with these countries. Relations with the newly-formed states in Asia and Africa should be on a basis of equality and aimed at promoting their industrialization.

The working class bears the main responsibility for accomplishing a great historic task: to fight for the application of the policy of peaceful coexistence, and to defend and extend democratic rights. The basic class interests

of the workers are at one with the interests of the nation.

The unity of action of the working class is the guarantee of the success of the democratic forces, the precondition for any serious change in the political situation in the FRG in favor of peace, democracy and social progress.

Working-class unity is still hindered by the disruptive policies of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders and by anti-communism.

The left tendency of the Social Democratic movement is developing. Some groups of this trend are inside the Social Democratic Party, and others outside it. Their ideological and political views are still very different. Alongside the Marxists there are sectarian groups as well as groups influenced by anti-communism. On the whole, however, the desire for an independent working-class policy is predominant in the Social Democratic movement, and we take this desire as our starting point from which to work towards close cooperation.

The trade unions are of the utmost importance in developing united working class action. Trade union unity is a major achievement. The development of unity together with increasing trade union membership is the common task of trade union members and leaders, Social Democrats, Communists, Christians and non-party people alike.

The Communist Party calls on the working class to fight vigorously to carry out the decisions of the Sixth Trade Union Congress and of many autonomous trade unions which are demanding an active policy aimed at improving living and working conditions, at defending existing trade union rights, at giving the workers a bigger share in the national revenue, as well as longer holidays, a more comprehensive insurance scheme, and higher pensions.

The working class and its unions should fight for the equality of women and mobilize large numbers of women workers for the fulfilment of the common tasks and for strengthening the trade unions.

The desire of the more active young workers to see progress made is reflected in the decisions of the youth conferences organized by the Association of German Trade Unions and the metalworkers' union. By leading the young people in their demands and fighting for them, the trade unions will attract more young workers into their ranks.

Production councils and trade unions — especially in the monopoly-owned enterprises — should win the right to participate in running the enterprise, and use this right to solve production questions and such issues as wages,

hours, hiring and firing, social security and holidays, and in determining investments, shares, dividends and interests.

The workers and their unions in the FRG and in the GDR are closely linked by their common interests. In order to attain peace and accord on German soil, the working class and its unions should be the first to fight for this goal. That is why trade unionists should insist that contacts be established with the trade unions of the GDR, that through an exchange of delegations the working people in the two German states objectively inform each other of the conditions of their work, their living standards, social security and health service, education and promotion, rights in the enterprises, of the way power is exercised in the economic and political life of the state.

Apart from the working class, the peasantry is the most important social force, and the cause of peace, democracy and social progress can only triumph if the working class and the peasantry work together.

The Communist Party insists that farming should be protected by a national agrarian program. Our Party demands that all measures leading to the ruin of the peasants should be stopped immediately.

In order to modernize their farms the peasants should form cooperatives along democratic lines. These cooperatives, organized for the purpose of the joint ownership of agricultural machinery, for buying the means of production, and for selling their produce, should become an effective means of self-aid in order to withstand monopoly pressure. The establishment and development of cooperatives should be supported by the state.

The Communist Party supports the close alliance of the working class and the intelligentsia. The working class and its unions should back the demands of engineers and technicians, support the demand of professional people for peace and creative freedom, and make its own the progressive intellectuals' cause of resisting militarism and clerical patronage.

Common interests also link the working class and middle-class sections of the urban population. The vast majority of artisans are finding it increasingly difficult to carry on owing to heavy taxes, to the fact that they are heavily indebted to the banks, and being forced to submit more and more to the orders of the monopolies in price fixing. The share of the 400,000 retail trade enterprises in the total volume of trade is steadily falling. The protest of the small and medium shopkeepers against

the government's policy which is harmful to the interests of the middle-class sections, must be supported by the working class.

In its struggle for peace the working class also takes account of the growing contradictions and differentiation among the bourgeoisie. It is in the interest of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie to develop civilian industry and mass consumption and to increase trade with the socialist countries. They therefore tend to have a realistic assessment of the world balance of forces. There are even sections of the big bourgeoisie which, in the face of the real political facts, consider the "last risk" policy to be too dangerous to play with.

In the struggle for common aims, Communists set no preliminary conditions for joint action with people or groups of different political views or a different world outlook.

The people's resistance to the encroachments on their rights and their way of life is to be seen in many forms and is developing in the trade unions, in the Social Democratic movement, in the peasants' union and rural societies, among professional people and in the universities, among Evangelist and Catholic leaders and believers generally, in youth organizations and women's groups, in the Easter Ban-the-Bomb marches, and in other peace movements and organizations. The desire to find an alternative to the "positions of strength" policy is also expressed by the German Peace Union which seeks to unite all who support a policy of agreement and neutrality.

The paramount task of a people's united front will be to fight for the nation's most sacred right — the right to live in peace. They will fight to ensure that no war breaks out on German territory. Aware that peace is the condition of reunification, the people's movement will work for peaceful coexistence between the two German states and for disarmament.

The struggle of the workers and their unions, in all its varied forms, will exert a growing influence on the attitude of members of Parliament. Parliament should include members nominated by extra-parliamentary movements, who will speak for the people. Under the impact of the struggle waged by the working class and the people, the balance of forces will change in the Federal Republic, the extremist and militarist forces will be swept aside, and the foundations of a new policy laid. In this way, the road will be opened to the establishment of a government without revenge-seekers and states of emergency, a government composed of Social Democrats, trade unionists and bourgeois peace supporters, which would re-

nounce the "last risk" policy and would be prepared to take the course of international détente and agreement, would place its relations with the GDR on a businesslike foundation, carry out a policy of peaceful coexistence, and respect and guarantee the constitutional rights of the people.

Thus, the movement of the people will become a struggle to deprive militarism and monopoly capitalism of their power, a movement for a peace-loving and democratic government. The development and consolidation of working-class unity, the alliance and struggle of all popular forces, will basically change the composition and functions of Parliament, and lead to the formation of a people's government.

The *peaceful and democratic system* arising out of the people's movement against militarism and monopoly domination will be brought about by those classes and sections of the population that constitute the overwhelming majority of the people: the working class, the peasants, the intellectuals, the middle-class sections of the urban population, and those circles of the bourgeoisie that want peace.

The Communist Party maintains that this new democratic system should carry out far-reaching social changes which would basically undermine the big monopolies and their power. This system should carry out the social reforms which the overwhelming majority of the people have demanded since 1945, which are proclaimed in the program of trade unions and recorded in the constitutions of some provinces (laender). The big industrial concerns, banks and insurance companies will be nationalized and brought under democratic management and control.

There will no longer be any difficulties in the way of reunification between a peaceful and democratic Federal Republic and the socialist and peaceful state of workers and peasants, the German Democratic Republic. Thus, the supreme national goal, reunification, to which the German people as a whole aspire, will be reached.

The Communist Party is in favor of the peaceful path of socialist transformation in the FRG. And the possibilities of bringing this about increase as changes in favor of socialism grow both in Germany and in the world.

The teaching of Marxism-Leninism, which is the guide of millions of people throughout the world, enables the Communist Party to give the West German working people a scientifically-grounded orientation both in the strug-

gle for the immediate interests of democracy and peace and in the struggle for socialism.

The Communist Party of Germany considers that it has the task of improving the political and ideological level of its members and party workers, of popularizing the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and deepening the class-consciousness of the West German workers.

The Communist Party fights against the demoralizing influence of reactionary bourgeois ideology in the working-class movement, and all tendencies of opportunism and revisionism. The latter seeks to divert the Communist movement from its Marxist-Leninist path. In the Federal Republic revisionism strives to sow mistrust for the GDR in the ranks of the Party, to break the inseparable link between the Communists and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. It denies the role of the Communist Party as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the West German working class. With equal determination the Party fights Left opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism, which retard the broad development of work among the people. Left opportunism hides behind a barrage of radical phrasemongering but shuns really militant tasks. Dogmatism and sectarianism especially hamper cooperation with the Social Democratic masses; they prevent explanatory work being carried out in accordance with the new level of consciousness of the working people, prevent new flexible forms of mass work being used.

The entire course of developments in recent years has demonstrated how important for the working class and all peace-loving Germans is the existence of a legal Communist Party working in conditions of complete freedom.

The struggle for the repeal of the unlawful ban of our Party is an inalienable part of the struggle for the people's democratic rights and is the common cause of all workers and all democrats.

The strengthening of the Communist Party is in the best interests of the working class and the people as a whole. Industrial and other workers, especially young people who have come to realize that the CPG persistently and selflessly fights on behalf of the people, should be recruited to our Party. The stronger the Communist Party the stronger the working class and the more powerful the people as a whole. The stronger the Communist Party the stronger will be the cause of peace, democracy and social progress in the Federal Republic, the sooner shall we see the victory of the people.

From the Experience of the Communist Party of Indonesia

(Some Problems of Party Building)

THE experience gained by the Party in executing both the First and the Second Three-Year Plans for Political Education and Organization show that the question of implementing a plan is far from being a purely technical matter.

Referring to the conditions necessary for the successful implementation of a plan, Comrade D. N. Aidit said at the Seventh National Congress: "The decisive thing and the thing which must therefore be firmly held to is the *method of leadership* as laid down by the Sixth Congress, namely, welding general appeals with concrete directives and linking leadership closely with the masses." He added: "The method of leadership must be linked up with a *correct style of work*, that is, welding theory and practice, having close links with the masses of the people, and self-criticism."

The Sixth National Congress of the Party also pointed out that the implementation of the Plan cannot possibly succeed without collective leadership and mass work.

On the basis of these directives, Party committees at all levels must, in order to ensure successful implementation of the Plan, be collectively responsible for fulfilment of the plan in their regions; for this reason, discussions about plan implementation are held first and foremost within the Party leadership at each committee level, and then in the Party organizations. In keeping with the method of leadership laid down by the Party, the purpose of these discussions is two-fold:

firstly, to reach a thorough understanding of the objectives of the Plan, of the connection between the Plan for building the Party and the continued implementation of the Party's political line, and the perspectives of the Plan taking into account the favorable objective and subjective conditions;

secondly, to establish correct directives for the implementation, on the basis of a general plan, which covers detailed Plan targets for each committee under the leadership of the provincial committee, for each Party body within the committee in question, and even for each Party cadre, the special points which need stressing in accordance with the concrete situ-

ation in each respective committee, and concrete directives for the fulfilment of each Plan target.

The Party's Second Three-Year Plan is a Party-building Plan which places the main emphasis on the Marxist-Leninist education of Party cadres and members. One of the targets of the Plan is, therefore, that all Party cadres at all levels as well as the majority of Party members should receive education in a Party school.

The Party maintains that education should be closely linked up with Party tasks and with the struggle to eliminate alien influences. In keeping with this line, the following subjects are taught at the regional Party schools: (1) Marxist-Leninist philosophy; (2) problems of the Indonesian revolution, which includes problems of Indonesian society; (3) problems of the united national front and Party building; (4) the international workers' movement; and (5) the history of the development of society, which includes Marxist political economy.

The choice of subjects taught at Party schools shows how the CPI is striving to weld the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, to weld proletarian internationalism with working-class patriotism, to strengthen the standpoint, outlook and method of the working class in the ranks of the cadres and members in dealing with every question that arises in the course of the Indonesian revolution.

The correctness of the measures taken by the CPI in Marxist-Leninist education is further proved by the Party's method of teaching in the schools and by all the study activities of Party cadres and members. The students at Party schools are trained to apply the Marxist-Leninist principles they have studied in undertaking social research into their social environment and to draw conclusions from their experiences.

From this, Party members know why the tactic of the united national front is correct; they know that in order to consolidate the united national front, the Party must work to further the alliance of workers and pea-

sants, to strengthen NASAKOM* unity and to work well in the National Front; they know why the Party accepts Pancha Sila, the 1945 Constitution and the Political Manifesto, all of which are a basis for unity.

As a result of the success achieved in the method of teaching theory closely linked with the Indonesian revolution, theoretical problems arise during studies that directly concern the actual practice of the revolution. For example, one problem that has been raised is the basic aspect in the contradiction between the Indonesian proletariat and the bourgeoisie at the present stage of the national democratic revolution. Discussions of this problem among Party cadres and members have clarified the leading role of the Indonesian working-class at the present stage of the revolution and the tasks that have to be carried out by the Party in order to consolidate this role.

As a result of intensive Marxist-Leninist education, the ideological level of the Party has been greatly strengthened. Unity within the Party, which has its source in unity of thought, has become stronger. Contradictions within the Party due to serious differences of outlook regarding policy can be said to be non-existent.

In view of the pressing political problems facing us at the present time, the Party considers its paramount task to be the following: with the Triple Banner of the Nation (Democracy, Unity and Mobilization) and the Triple Banner of the Party (the National Front, Party Building, and the August 1945 Revolution), to execute the Triple Task, namely, to consolidate the victories already scored, to tackle the economic difficulties and to resist neo-colonialism.

Political freedoms are essential if the unity of the people is to be consolidated. The Seventh Party Congress pointed out that unfurling the Triple Banner of the Nation is a question of the utmost importance for the Indonesian people in order to effect consistent democratic changes in the political system and in the field of political liberties for the people or, concretely, to lead to the *repeal of the state of emergency and the establishment of a Gotong Royong Cabinet*.

This is why, while loyally executing the line for building the Party according to the details drawn up in the Second Three-Year Plan, Party committees have also had to concentrate their efforts on expanding democracy, unity and mobilization. The successes achieved in executing this political task have a bear-

ing upon the successes scored in executing the Plan.

In the struggle for democracy, the Party committees face the specific problem of waging a struggle for democratic changes in the system of government. This struggle is basically aimed at preventing the establishment of one-man rule in regional administration. For this purpose, the Party advances the demand that the local Legislative Assembly should be given its proper place as the local representative of the people whose voice is treated with respect; that the Regional Executive Administration should be activated in its role as assistant and as the body which provides considered opinions regarding the policy of the Chief Administrator; and that the leadership of the Regional Legislative Assembly and state institutions in the region should be built on the NASAKOM principle.

The struggle for democracy is also a struggle for removing from the state apparatus those elements who are anti-democratic and anti-Nasakom. This struggle can, generally, be successful if it is waged by the broad masses, that is to say, if it is a struggle for the consolidation of unity. Therefore, the consolidation of unity for the struggle for democracy and the struggle for democracy for the expansion of unity are inseparable from each other.

In the process of implementing the Triple Task, the Party is concentrating on surmounting the economic difficulties which are becoming more and more critical. On the basis of the Statement issued by the Political Bureau of the C.C. on October 10, 1962, mass actions have taken place, demanding that mismanagement in the economic apparatus be swept aside as a step towards the attainment of the conditions necessary for expanding production. As a result of constant activities in bringing to light facts about mismanagement, which is the cause of all the present economic difficulties, more and more people have come out in favor of the Political Bureau's Statement.

An active and offensive stand in ideology, inspired by the five more's — more daring, more skill, more vigilance, more tenacity and more perseverance — is decisive in implementing the Movement of the Four Increases.

In the course of the seven months following the Seventh Congress, short-term movements have been organized in Central Java that are linked up with historic occasions. There were the May Movement, welcoming May Day and the 42nd anniversary of the Party which fell on May 23, 1962; the August movement welcoming the anniversary of the August 1945 Revolution; and the November movement wel-

*NASAKOM expresses the unity between the three main political trends in Indonesian society: **Nas**, Nationalists, **A**, Religious groups, and **Kom**, Communists.

coming the Great October Socialist Revolution and the first national uprising against imperialism (November 12, 1926). These movements took as their targets the four plan items contained in the Movement of the Four Increases, though each time there was a different emphasis. For example, the May movement placed the stress on recruiting new Party members among the workers, and increasing the membership of the mass workers' organizations. The August movement's stress was on Political Schools and People's Courses. The November movement laid the emphasis on more and better Political Schools, People's Courses and expansion of the membership of the Party and of the mass organizations.

These movements have made it possible to preserve a spirit of high enthusiasm among the cadres and members. Another thing necessary in order to maintain a spirit of high enthusiasm is to carry out effective control of the implementation of every decision, and in order to carry out such a control, the committee must organize teams of activists in such numbers as are required by the size of the region and the number of committees under the leadership of the provincial committee. These teams are sent out to the lower organizations to control implementation of the movements there, with the slogan: *help the lower organizations*. Below the Section Committees, these teams of activists are even more important. They are sent out to the basic Party organizations and stay there for several days to assist these organizations in implementing the tasks of the movement.

By means of these short-term movements, the greatest possible energy can be concentrated on attaining specific Plan tasks. This is in tune with the capabilities of the lower cadres and the members in general at the present time. Experience shows that if these movements are convincingly explained to Party members, it is possible to attain very gratifying results, and the successes achieved in these movements strengthen the conviction that the Plan targets will definitely be accomplished.

On the basis of the results already known to have been achieved, it is clear that some Section Committees have already succeeded in reaching the most important targets, and some of them have even surpassed the targets set for certain plan items such as Political Schools, People's Courses, and recruiting to the Party and to some mass organizations. Many Section Committees have achieved as much in a one-month campaign as they achieved previously in one year or more. This reaffirms what the Party has said, namely, that in actual fact the objective situation is favorable for the further execution of the task of Party-building. The question is whether the Party leadership in each place is capable of carrying out the method of leadership by making use of these favorable objective conditions in order to make the Plan successful.

Completing the implementation of the Second Three-Year Plan, Party members are resolved to attain still greater results and pass over to the Four-Year Plan now being drawn up.

REWANG

EXPERIENCE OF A COMMITTEE

IN THIS article we would like to demonstrate, from the experience of a sub-section committee, how the Movement of Four Increases, i.e., for the completion of the Second Three-Year Plan, is being carried out.

The committee functions in a district in Djakarta with a territory of about 3-4 sq. kilometers and a population of 56,000, most of whom are workers and office employees, while only a small section are small shopkeepers. At the time of the Sixth Congress of the Party, the organization in this district numbered only 240 members. By the time of the Seventh Congress in 1962, the membership had risen to 312, an increase of only 72 members. After the "final spurt movement" began, the membership increased by 50 per cent within the space of less than a year. This important success was registered in difficult objective conditions:

first, the emergency law which restricted the democratic rights of the people was still in operation, and second, living conditions in the country had greatly deteriorated in recent times, which could not but affect the organizational activities of our leading cadres and the rank and file.

Moreover, thanks to the reactionary influences which were until recently strongly felt in the district, part of the cadres are not in a position to give a correct assessment of the changes which have taken place in the balance of forces and are hesitant to carry out certain activities, while other cadres who are not experienced enough cannot do the work rapidly and correctly. Thanks, however, to the correct method of leadership on the part of the sub-section committee these difficulties have been successfully overcome.

In the initial stage of the movement, it held a meeting of all Party activists and cadres engaged in the various bodies, particularly in the national front and people's cooperatives, to whom the political line and the practical tasks of the Movement of Four Increases were thoroughly explained. When the movement got under way, the activists met and helped each other, discussed their successes and the difficulties they encountered in implementing this decision. At meetings the leading cadres made regular reports of the work they had done.

Heated discussions were held in the branches on how to carry out the Four Increases and to overcome the difficulties that arise. The policy of the Party and its views on how to overcome the difficulties experienced by the people were also explained to the mass of the working people.

The committee contacts the people when the need arises to organize mutual aid in such cases as floods, fires, delays in the supply of prime necessities, etc. In this way, the committee draws increasing numbers of Party functionaries and rank-and-file members into the fulfilment of the diverse tasks facing the Party in this district, and each worker is in a position to display his initiative in each under-

taking. This activity of the committee has the support of the people.

The experience gained by the sub-section committee has also demonstrated that in carrying out the Movement of Four Increases, its principal link — the Political Schools and People's Courses — should never be lost sight of. The work of these schools and courses heightens the political alertness of Party members and representatives of the people and facilitates the fulfilment of other tasks.

Analyzing the experience of recent times, the sub-section committee has arrived at the conclusion that, first, the Party cadres have enhanced their knowledge, becoming more mature in deciding the questions that arise and in combining the various methods of Party work; second, the Party organizations have grown stronger; third, the Party has extended its influence among the masses who have become still more closely rallied around the Party; fourth, the political consciousness and militancy of the people have grown, and fifth, the instigating activities of the reactionaries are having less effect on the masses.

Such is the experience of work of one of the sub-section committees in Djakarta.

P.I.

PARTY BRANCHES ARE BECOMING MORE ACTIVE

AN important means of activizing the work of primary Party organizations is heightening the activity of Party groups, through which the primary organizations unite all members under their leadership and explain the policy of the Party and its practical tasks. Here much depends on the abilities of the leadership of the primary organization.

In Indonesia, where the cultural and educational level is exceedingly low owing to the long rule of the Dutch colonialists, most of the functionaries of the primary organizations have had little schooling. They, therefore, find it difficult to follow written instructions, and prefer to have things explained by word of mouth. We therefore often arrange meetings and discussions attended by representatives of a higher body. This greatly helps to raise the level of leadership in the primary organizations.

Furthermore, we organize collective readings of important Party documents and of topical articles printed in *Harian Rakjat* and Party journals. The necessary explanations are given in the process of reading. Needless to say, letters and instructions of the higher Party committees to primary organizations should be

written as simply as possible, in a manner easy to understand.

In order to maintain close contact with the people, the primary Party organizations send their members to visit workers in their homes, where they carry on explanatory work, and enlist their support for practical actions under the Party's guidance. In the towns these actions are aimed at improving the conditions of the workers, preventing dismissals and the demolition of houses and business premises belonging to small shopkeepers and the urban poor. In the countryside they are aimed, for example, at increasing the peasants' share of the distributed crop, lowering rents, achieving a more equitable distribution of water, etc. These actions are important not only from the socio-economic standpoint but also from the standpoint of deepening the political consciousness of the people.

Recruiting Women into the Party Is a Major Task

Being the basic unit of the Party, it is the direct task of the primary organization to recruit new members. One of the major tasks confronting us today is winning more women

members into the Party. As Lenin said, no revolution can be victorious without the participation of women. The truth of this has been confirmed on more than one occasion. It is easy, for example, to paralyze the actions of the workers if women workers take no part in them, or if they are not supported by the wives of the workers.

Women in our country not only do not get equal pay for equal work; they are not adequately provided by legislation with health protection in industry, during pregnancy and childbirth. There are other injustices engendered by the existence of feudal and other obsolete traditions which place women in an inferior position. This explains why women in Indonesia have made slower progress than men.

The measures designed to increase the membership of women in the Party are aimed at recruiting above all working women, i.e., women workers and peasant women. These women and their families, who directly have to shoulder the burden of daily cares, have come to see that the Party protects their interests. The explanatory work carried out at meetings and during visits to their homes is an important means of drawing women into our ranks.

The difficulties which we encounter in our work are many. The majority of women are illiterate, have large families, earn low wages. Their life generally is insecure. We still have no democratic legislation on marriage, and the woman is completely at the mercy of her husband. Because of all these factors it is difficult to get women to attend meetings or to hold frequent talks with them, especially if they happen to live far away. Hence we find that the best form of explanatory and educational work among women is visiting them at home, organizing short meetings of women residing in the neighborhood. These talks are usually followed by actions to win the more urgent demands.

Another highly important measure is the setting up of groups of women Communists. In choosing the leader of the group preference is given to the most experienced of them, even if she is still illiterate. What is particularly important is to find the most rational way of activating the groups, especially in view of the fact that the women have a very high opinion of these groups. These groups provide the basis for the education of Party cadres from among them. The very fact that a woman heads the group enables her to develop her abilities and talents. Given the proper support and help by the Party committee, she can in time become a regular Party functionary.

How We Tackle the Task of Raising Party Funds

The growth of the Party organizations extends the sphere of the Party's activities. In view of this the problem of the Party's finances is a very topical question. The Party needs large sums for election campaigns, building recreation houses and holding congresses. Party dues do not always cover these needs. The bulk of the funds is obtained as a result of the production activity carried out by the Party committees, including sub-section committees and branch committees. This production activity includes such forms of work as tree planting, poultry breeding, building fish ponds, tilling the fields, etc. Take the production activity of one of the branch committees in Blitar, where the Party has two fields. Initially the sowing and tilling of the fields was done collectively without breaking the workers into teams, and the fields soon became neglected. After discussing this question the local Party committee decided to organize work-teams which take turns in maintaining the fields in good order. The committee establishes the sequence for the teams according to the schedule of farm work. The teams are composed of the best members and candidate members of the Party, who make up the core of the workers responsible for field work. They invite their friends to take part in the work on a voluntary basis. Women members and candidate members also have to prepare meals for the teams working on the fields.

After discussing the matter the local committee decided to distribute the crop raised on the fields in the following way: 30 per cent goes to the branch committee, 20 per cent to the subsection committee, 15 per cent to the section committee, 10 per cent to the provincial committee and five per cent to the Central Committee.

Whom does the land belong to? Many Party workers are of peasant stock and own small plots of land. But all their time is taken up with Party assignments. If the Party functionary rented out his land, he would be a landlord, but he has no time to till it himself. So the best way is to hand the land over to the local Party committee. That is where the land in question comes from.

This form of Party activity is, needless to say, one of many of increasing the Party's funds. Donations and collections also help to solve the problem. Like other measures of the Party this kind of activity, besides being im-

portant economically, is of profound political significance as a means of rallying the members round the Party committees, and demon-

strating to the people that the Party is capable of surmounting all difficulties.

Siti AMINAH

Discussion - a Feature of Ideological Life of the Italian Communist Party

EVER since the war, ideological and political discussion has been one of the principal levers for promoting inner-party democracy in the Italian Communist Party. It is this method that makes it possible to achieve political and ideological unity. It helps to establish the proper relations between the leaders and membership, relations founded on a conscious Party discipline and not a discipline imposed "from above."

In the years of the reactionary offensive, which was defeated by the democratic upsurge in 1953, ideological discussions naturally receded into the background for a time. They were resumed on a broad scale on the eve of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the Eighth Congress of the Italian Communist Party (1956). It is thanks to this that the Italian Communists were prepared for the major political and ideological debates touched off by the Twentieth Congress and were able to smash all the arguments of the revisionists who became particularly active in 1956-57.

As a method of Party activity, ideological discussion came into its own at the Ninth Congress of the Italian Communist Party (1960) on the basis of the experience gained in the period following the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. "The Party," state the theses of the Ninth Congress, "can preserve and strengthen its mass character and ensure the steady influx of new members if it succeeds in organizing the political and ideological education of the members and drawing them into political activity. To ensure the broadest participation of the Party membership in drafting and implementing Party policy, in the choice and distribution of their work assignments there must be full inner-Party democracy at all levels." And further: "The practice of holding meetings and political discussions in the branches and sections, and the principle of collective leadership with the distribution of Party work among the largest possible number of members should help to increase the number of leading cadres and improve the quality of their work."

Although much still has to be done in this respect we may say that the method of poli-

tical and ideological discussion combined with the deepening of democracy within the Party have resulted in a high standard of unity and discipline in its ranks — discipline founded on the Leninist principle of carrying out decisions adopted by all Communists — and enabled it to wage a successful struggle under exceptionally adverse conditions, and, moreover, to achieve some very substantial results.

Since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU (we refer to this Congress because it was a turning point which influenced the entire international working class and Communist movement) our Party has examined a great many political and ideological questions. Three national congresses and thousands of meetings of sections and branches have been held in this period. And there has not been a single problem of national or international importance that has not been subjected to thorough discussion. The Italian Communists have focussed particular attention on questions of peace and war and the strategy of the international Communist movement, on the position of the Italian Communist Party on the question of a democratic and socialist transformation of the economic and political structure without necessarily resorting to armed uprising. They have examined questions connected with differences within the international Communist movement, the relations between the fraternal parties, the autonomy and unity of the parties. The cult of the individual and its causes, the methods of combating its consequences which sometimes manifest themselves in the sectarian positions of some sections of our party, has also been widely discussed.

All this work has been extremely rewarding, especially in the three years since the Ninth Congress. It should be remembered that whereas immediately after the Twentieth Congress and our own Eighth Congress the Party was chiefly concerned in mobilizing the support of the membership for the basic line of the new strategy and tactics, as time went on the need arose to digest the important changes that had taken place, and are still taking place, in our country and the world at large, under

the influence, among other things, of our own movement. We have in mind, for instance, problems associated with the collapse of colonialism, the sharpening of contradictions in the capitalist world, the process of economic integration in Western Europe. Also the economic and social transformations of recent years in Italy, the new political situation which has emerged (mainly the creation of the so-called Center-Left government), the new and more serious danger of "Right" and "Left" deviations in the Italian working class movement.

Comrade Togliatti, summing up the work done in this sphere in his report to the Tenth Congress, said: "After the last Congress an exhaustive and far-reaching discussion on questions of national and international policy began in the Party. The theses submitted to this Congress reflect the results of this discussion; they represent the consistent development of our strategic and tactical line of advance to socialism in conditions of democracy and peace."

Observing that a large number of comrades are taking an active part in drafting and carrying out Party policy, Comrade Togliatti pointed out that there still are a good many Party members who, though they actively fight for the cause, take little or no part in drafting its policy. "This is something that has always to some extent existed," he said. "But it has to be overcome, and the best way to do this is to improve and broaden ideological work in our ranks . . . It should be clear that by ideological progress we do not mean the ability to repeat stock phrases; we mean a thorough knowledge of our principles, the ability to demonstrate convincingly the correctness of our political line, to explain its class foundations and its democratic and socialist content, the ability to understand the development of that line in relation to the changed situation."

Besides regular meetings of branches and sections on current questions, ideological propaganda is conducted at various conferences which examine urgent problems of the working class movement and the situation in our country and discuss important questions of ideology. The annual celebration of the anniversary of our Party or of the October Revolution traditionally held in towns and countryside are also the occasion for ideological work. A highly successful feature was a series of lectures on fascism and the Resistance Movement. Lectures of this kind sponsored by our Party and with the participation of its leaders were held in most of the leading cities and in

dozens of towns and were enthusiastically received especially by the youth. Much interest was aroused also by a series of lectures and conferences devoted to the centenary of the unification of Italy. By challenging the traditional interpretation (chiefly idealistic) of this question it was possible to popularize the ideas of Gramsci and other Italian Marxists concerning the application in Italian conditions of Lenin's theory of revolution, the state and the revolutionary party of the working class.

An important role in popularizing the discussions is played by the Party press: *l'Unità*, the national weekly *Via Nuove*, the numerous weekly and bi-monthly newspapers published in the various districts and provinces, as well as the factory papers. Special mention should be made of the weekly political and ideological journal of the Party, *Rinascita*. It has a bigger circulation than any other journal of its kind in Italy. In February 1963 the first issue of a new theoretical journal, *Critica marxista* (Marxist Criticism), appeared. There are other Marxist or near-Marxist publications dealing with problems of culture, literature, history, pedagogics, law, as well as the problem of the South and other parts of the country.

Besides reflecting the political orientation of the Party and educating its members, our newspapers and journals have also become an important medium for debate, for collective research and elaboration of Party policy. They lend their columns to a confrontation of ideas, thereby facilitating the attainment of joint decisions on important issues. In preparation for the Tenth Congress the *l'Unità* and *Rinascita* launched a "pre-Congress forum" in which hundreds of comrades — leaders of branches, sections, federations and other organizations — participated.

Particularly lively was the discussion in *Rinascita* on problems of philosophical research from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist theory. Many comrades engaged in research work, students and political leaders took part. The discussion revealed the need for a comprehensive study of a number of problems vital to the development of philosophical thought not only in Italy but on an international scale as well. As Comrade Natta, member of the Secretariat of the Italian Communist Party, noted, "the discussion is prompted by the imperative need, on the one hand, to take steps to 'rejuvenate' other philosophical concepts through the agency of Marxism or to draw new theoretical and political conclusions arrived at on the basis of Marxism, and on the other hand, to advance Marxism a stage further, overcoming the dangerous tendencies

both toward dogmatic defense of abstract purity as well as the contagion of eclecticism."

The discussion method is widely employed also in the Party study centers. The Gramsci Institute, for example, conducts series of lectures on a university level, organizes theoretical conferences on modern capitalism, on the state, and on many other questions. The materials of some of these conferences are subsequently published. Courses for leading Party functionaries have been set up at the central Party schools. Lectures and independent study are combined there with discussion of current problems facing the Communists, the working class and the Italian people as a whole. Similar methods are employed on an increas-

ing scale at hundreds of short-term courses for Party workers in industry, for Communist school teachers, for the youth and the women.

This type of activity will be considerably expanded. It is proposed to draw more rank and file members into active Party work based on a higher political consciousness in order to facilitate the task of promoting new leading cadres from the ranks. This is what Comrade Togliatti had in mind when he spoke of the need to bridge the gap between those who take an active share in drafting and implementing Party policy and those who as yet do not participate in this important work.

Gastone GENSINI

Meetings of Central Committees

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

A PLENARY meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, attended by over 2,000 Party and cultural workers, including non-Party writers and artists, was held from June 18 to June 21.

The meeting discussed a report by L. F. Ilyichov, Secretary of the Central Committee, on the current tasks facing the Party in ideological work and adopted a resolution on this question. It also adopted a resolution on the forthcoming meeting with representatives of the C.C. of the Communist Party of China.

At the present stage the significance of the Party's ideological work is heightened by both internal and external factors. Today the imperialists realize that they can no longer destroy the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries *by force of arms*. The high rate of the economic development of the socialist world system, and above all of the Soviet Union, leaves them no hope of winning *the economic competition*. So imperialism's experts on strategy and ideology are now counting on subversive ideological activities aimed against socialism. In *Strategic Psychological Operations and American Foreign Policy*, recently published in the USA, we find that whereas in the past the foundation of strategy was to encircle the enemy, now the main strategy is to penetrate into foreign territory and stir up the population. This means that the imperialists have promoted "psychological warfare" to the rank of state policy. *Aussenpolitik*, an influential West German journal and the Bonn mouthpiece on theoretical matters concerning foreign policy and "psycholo-

gical warfare," recently wrote: "We must make use of all the possibilities of modern propaganda, of all the effective methods of psychological warfare to implant our ethics and ideology in the minds of the people of the socialist camp. We must make the most of national differences, religious prejudices and human weaknesses, such as jealousy, women's vanity and a desire for a good time, to develop indifference to the aims of communist leadership."

In other words, the imperialists themselves do not believe that peaceful coexistence is possible in ideology. Indeed, there can be no peaceful coexistence in this sphere, for the working class and the working people generally, and also the Communist parties, will never cease their struggle for socialism and against the capitalist system. And this means above all exposing the reactionary nature of capitalism, the moral political and ideological isolation of imperialism, and demonstrating the advantages of socialism vis-à-vis capitalism. Speaking at the meeting of the Central Committee, N. S. Khrushchov said: "Those who advocate peaceful coexistence in ideology must inevitably take the path of betraying socialism, betraying the cause of communism."

In keeping with this line, the Central Committee declared in its resolution: "The CPSU considers it its primary duty to the Soviet people and its international duty to the working people of the world to conduct a relentless offensive against the misanthropic imperialist ideology, to guard the working people against its pernicious influence, to be more active in

bringing the masses to understand the great ideas of communism, to safeguard continually the purity of Marxist-Leninist teaching, to develop and enrich it."

Having outlined its program for the transition to communism, the CPSU is now mobilizing all the people to carry it out. Its fulfillment depends mainly on the political consciousness of the Soviet people, on their ardent desire and ability to build a new life. Here much depends on the success of the Party's ideological work.

Proceeding from the general tasks of the Party, the meeting resolved "to concentrate the efforts of the Party, of state bodies, trade unions, the Young Communist League and all other public organizations on the following *main directions* of ideological work, which are in keeping with the present stage of Communist construction in the USSR and the class struggle throughout the world:

—the development of a communist world outlook among the working people; overcoming survivals of the past in the minds and behavior of the Soviet people; education, through labor, of active and conscious builders of communism; raising the educational and cultural standards of the people; educating the people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism; a resolute struggle against anti-communism and all forms of bourgeois ideology."

Soviet patriotism is by its very nature international in character and incompatible with any tendency towards national narrow-mindedness in whatever forms it is manifested. "To foster Soviet patriotism and love of our socialist country and of the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union constitutes our primary task in ideological work," stressed the resolution.

It pointed out that "the fostering in each Soviet man of *love and respect for socially useful labor* must be the core of the ideological work of the Party, the Soviets, trade unions and the Young Communist League.

"All means of ideological influence should be used to foster the communist attitude to *public health*, to eliminate the tendency, still current among some people, of regarding socialist property as someone else's property or no one's property, to stimulate the desire to multiply the country's wealth, produce goods of the highest quality, lower production costs, wage an uncompromising struggle against mismanagement and waste, against instances of **untruthful reporting and the breaking of pledges** and to promote communist criticism and self-criticism.

"The Soviet people should be daily educated in a spirit that respects *the collective*, for this is one of the basic principles of socialism and communism, and the educational role of the collective should be heightened in every possible way."

The meeting recommended to all Party committees, local Soviets of Working People's Deputies, trade unions and the Young Communist League to launch a campaign for a communist spirit in home life and higher cultural standards in the home, and for the expulsion from home life and family relations of all harmful vestiges of the past.

Attention was drawn to the need to wage a persistent struggle against survivals of a religious outlook, and to step up scientific atheistic activity.

The education of young people is particularly important. Speakers at the meeting exposed the myth about the conflict of generations that is sometimes said to exist in the USSR. Soviet young people are cosmonauts, they are the hundreds of thousands who tamed the virgin lands, who built the industrial giants in Siberia, the millions of collective farmers who work under the leadership of the Communist Party and continue the great task of building communism, whose foundations were laid by the older generation. At the same time, the meeting pointed out, there is a certain unhealthy approach to things among some sections of the youth and a tendency to shirk work. The meeting urged Party organizations and the Young Communist League to educate all young men and women in the spirit of devotion to the cause of communism, to inspire them to give all their strength to the construction of the new society.

Specifying the tasks of educational work, the Central Committee indicated how it could be further improved. This could be done by stepping up the efficiency of the Party's entire network of cultural and educational work: schools and public education generally, the press, radio and television, literature and the arts, Party propaganda and agitation. This could also be done by improving the educational activities of all mass organizations: trade unions, Soviets, cooperative and collective farm organizations, the Young Communist League, etc. The meeting noted a certain gap in school teaching between instruction and general education. It recommended that instruction and education should be more closely linked in the entire school system, both in the secondary schools and in the colleges and universities. In view of this, the Central

Committee outlined the tasks of social science workers. The resolution says:

"The major tasks facing the *social science workers* are to generalize the activity and historical experience of the masses in the struggle for building communism, boldly and creatively to develop revolutionary theory, to uphold its ideological purity, to conduct creative discussions on basic philosophical, economic, historical, legal and other problems.

"Special attention should be devoted to the complex study of problems concerning the transition from socialism to communism, raising labor productivity, improvement of the scientific organization of management and planning.

"Our scientists should make a deeper analysis of the processes of the struggle between the two world systems, the collapse of the capitalist system and the upsurge of the revolutionary working-class and national-liberation movements; they should study how to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries and the general laws of their development."

The meeting described the press, radio, cinema, and television as the shock brigade on the ideological front. In this connection the meeting stated in its resolution: "The main tasks of the press, radio, cinema and television are to help develop a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and communist ethics among Soviet people; to popularize systematically and thoroughly the work of the Party and the entire people to fulfil national economic plans, raise labor productivity and improve Party guidance in production; to deal with problems of cultural development; to develop sharp and high-principled criticism and self-criticism in regard to apathy, bureaucracy, wastefulness, parasitism and other anti-social phenomena; to give wide publicity to good examples."

The meeting paid close attention to the further development of literature and art. It noted that over the years the country's writers had created a great Soviet literature, the pride of socialist society. The Soviet theatre had won world renown. Many films had won applause not only in the Soviet Union but also far beyond its frontiers. Soviet intellectuals worked sincerely together with the whole people in building communism. The meeting pointed out at the same time that the increased confidence the Party and the people showed in the artist presupposed an increased responsibility to society on the part of the artist. However, some artists, on the pretext of combating the consequences of the personality cult, had begun to question the need of Party leadership in art, to sneer at any mention of the socialist

duty of the artist and the educational mission of literature and art.

As we know, at recent meetings with intellectuals Comrade Khrushchov and other leaders of the CPSU justly criticized these erroneous tendencies. This criticism was fully supported by the overwhelming majority of writers and artists. It was supported by the entire Soviet public; in tens of thousands of letters sent to newspapers and magazines, the Soviet people criticized individual writers and artists who had forgotten about their duty to the people.

The meeting recommended that Party organizations should carry on the fight against those who advocated the peaceful coexistence of bourgeois and socialist ideologies. At the same time it stressed that the Party had complete trust in the Soviet intelligentsia. N. S. Khrushchov said at the meeting: "The Party is proud of the Soviet intelligentsia, it is ready to defend it and will always stand up for it." "Is there any need to dramatize the situation?" he asked. "I think there is no need for this. We in the Central Committee believe that we have a very small number of people from among the intelligentsia who have been swayed by the bourgeois idea of non-partisanship in ideology. The absolute majority of our Soviet intelligentsia in general, and artists of all fields in particular, are inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and are working alongside the Party and under its leadership for the triumph of these ideas."

The meeting noted that the Party sharply criticized writers and artists who had committed mistakes and strayed from the right path. But these artists are Soviet artists, who as a rule are politically close to the Party. They should not be "excommunicated," but helped to understand their ideological and artistic errors, to place their talents fully at the service of the people and the cause of communism. It would not be in keeping with the policy of the Communist Party to consider artists or writers who had committed mistakes as being in the category of the hopeless and the incorrigible. The meeting stressed the need to avoid any kind of prejudice, to remember that the fight is not against people, but for people and against bad ideas.

It was pointed out that to effect a radical improvement in ideological work it was essential that all Party bodies from top to bottom should constantly concern themselves with questions of the communist education of the people and the ideological training of cadres. The meeting stressed that the growing amount of voluntary work done in this field should

not cause Party leadership of mass organizations to slacken. On the contrary, this means that stronger leadership and constant attention should be given by the Party organizations to all forms of public initiative in ideological work.

The meeting stressed the need for improving ideological work in the countryside. It called on the Party bodies, ministers and economic organizations to take steps to reinforce all organizations responsible for ideological work in the countryside with trained personnel, to give rural Party and Young Communist League organizations and leaders of collective and state farms more responsibility in the work of cultural and educational establishments and of raising the political, educational and professional level among state farm employees and collective farmers, especially among young people.

The meeting instructed the leading Party and government bodies to draw up a plan for the construction of cultural facilities from 1964 to 1970. This should cover the wide-scale development of all the necessary material and technical facilities and the training of staff to work in education and other ideological spheres. It should also ensure the correct territorial distribution of educational establishments and cultural institutions.

* * *

After hearing the speeches of M. A. Suslov, B. N. Ponomarev and Y. V. Andropov, secretaries of the Central Committee, on the forthcoming meeting of representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the plenary meeting unanimously approved the political activity of the Central Committee's Presidium and of N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for the further consolidation of the world communist movement. It also unanimously approved the practical steps taken by the Presidium of the C.C. of the CPSU in its relations with the Central Committee of the CPC.*

It noted with approval that the Presidium of the Central Committee, headed by N. S. Khrushchov, has been steadily carrying out the decisions unanimously adopted by the

Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960.

The meeting instructed the Presidium of the Central Committee to be guided at the meeting with the representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China by the following: "To adhere unswervingly to the policy decided on by the Party at its Twentieth, Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Congresses, and at the meetings of the Communist Parties, the policy expressed in the Declaration and the Statement of the Communist Parties, which subsequent events, the experience of the international Communist movement and the trend of international developments have shown to be correct.

"The C.C. of the CPSU is pursuing and will consistently pursue the policy of uniting the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, overcoming existing differences on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and the historic documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings.

"The C.C. of the CPSU will continue to work to strengthen the fraternal friendship and relations between the great peoples of the Soviet Union and of the People's Republic of China, between the CPSU and the CPC and the other fraternal parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and in the interests of the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement, in the interests of the struggle for our common cause—the victory of communism.

"The C.C. of the CPSU emphatically rejects as groundless and slanderous the attacks of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on our Party and other Communist parties, on the decisions of the Twentieth, Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU, on the Program of the CPSU drawn up on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practical experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the international revolutionary movement. The decisions of the Congresses and the new Party Program, which has been unanimously approved by the Soviet people and the international Communist movement, have proved to be a great rallying force in the building of communism in the Soviet Union.

"The C.C. of the CPSU has proceeded and will proceed on the basis that open polemics should not be conducted in the Communist movement, and expresses the hope that the Central Committee of the CPC will, for its part, adhere in deeds and not merely in words to an agreement to cease open polemics.

*As we went to press, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published its Open Letter to all Party organizations, all Communists of the Soviet Union, setting forth the CPSU's standpoint in connection with the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of June 14, 1963, on major issues of the international Communist movement.—Ed.

"The meeting instructs the Presidium of the Central Committee to set forth and uphold at the forthcoming meeting the standpoint of the CPSU on the cardinal problems of the world Communist and working-class move-

ment, and to explain the Party's attitude on the fundamental principles of communist construction in the Soviet Union, principles confirmed by experience and unanimously approved by the fraternal Communist parties."

WMR COMMENTARIES

Africa in Search of New Paths

THE conference of the heads of state and government of the independent African countries held in Addis Ababa over May 22-25 at once made a deep imprint on the international scene. It may be assumed that its decisions will, at least for some time to come, determine the stand of the African states on the basic world political issues.

The Addis Ababa conference was of signal international significance for many reasons. *First*, it was an all-African assembly in the full sense of the word. It was attended by the spokesmen of 31 independent states (out of a total of 32) representing nearly 80 per cent of the territory of the continent and a population of more than 200 million. Besides, the representatives of 20 parties and organizations carrying on the liberation struggle on territories still under colonial rule were present as observers.

Second, it posed problems of the most vital importance for Africa, examined them in the light of the general international situation and in most cases worked out solutions for these problems in an anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist spirit — a fact which undoubtedly is of cardinal significance for the struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy and progress.

Lastly, the conference did not confine itself to African affairs alone but declared for the solution without delay of such vastly important international problems as disarmament, non-involvement in military blocs, abolition of foreign military bases on the continent and for proclaiming Africa an atom-free zone. The African states thus made a strong bid for a bigger role in world affairs.

The Main Thing Is Unity

The main emphasis was placed on African unity. And understandably so for solidarity among the peoples of the continent is an imperative need dictated by their struggle against the colonialists, who, guided by the divide-and-rule principles, arbitrarily carved up and

parcelled out African territories and thereby planted the seed of border disputes.

Conflicts of this kind already mar the relations between the newly-emerged states. Although it is still to win its independence, Kenya is engaged in a dispute with Somalia over the northern part of Kenya inhabited by a Somali population, while Somalia presented claims to Ethiopia from the rostrum of the Addis Ababa conference, etc. Needless to say, such disputes can only play into the hands of the colonialists and dismay the real friends of the African peoples.

Politically, independent Africa is not homogeneous. One of the distinct alignments is the so-called Brazzaville group comprising all the former French possessions south of the Sahara with the exception of Guinea and Mali. This group of 12 states trails in the wake of their former metropolis in many issues and is bound to it by political and economic commitments.

The broader Monrovia group, which includes, besides the Brazzaville countries, Nigeria, Liberia, Ethiopia, Tunisia, Togo, Somalia and Sierra Leone, is mainly concerned with economic and cultural cooperation while side-stepping anti-colonialist issues.

Then there is the Casablanca group (United Arab Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Algeria and Morocco) which has declared for active joint struggle against colonialism and imperialism, united action on the world arena, effective cooperation in all fields, and African unity.

The different political orientations of these groups naturally made themselves felt when the question of establishing a single organization of African states came up at the conference. Two different approaches to African unity were clearly manifest. The spokesmen of the Casablanca group advocated the formation of a closely-knit political and economic bloc capable of speedily completing the eradication of colonialism in Africa and raising the prestige of the African states on the

world arena. The Brazzaville group, on the other hand, advocated a loose association with only a superficial semblance of unity. Its representatives went out of their way to underscore the difference between the various countries and called for gradual, stage-by-stage progress towards unity while preserving the present alignments. Setting forth the Brazzaville view, President Ahidjo of Cameroon argued that African unity could hardly be achieved at once inasmuch as the continent could not ignore the "friends" it had inherited from its colonial past.

These "friends," i.e., the former colonial rulers, are averse to African unity except in the framework of, say, some military bloc under their wing. But they are fully aware of the strong sentiment for unity among the African peoples, of the loathing of these peoples for colonialism in all its manifestations and of the power of African public opinion the pressure of which even the notoriously pro-Western African government leaders cannot ignore. Since these leaders are not in a position openly to champion Western policies and imperialist schemes for Africa, the U.S. imperialists, for instance, did their utmost to influence the decisions of the Addis Ababa conference and tried to palm off on it an "African variant" of the Organization of American States. The initial draft of the Charter of the Organization of African and Malagasy States was drawn up with the participation of a Chilean lawyer employed as an expert by the Organization of American States and bore a marked resemblance to the statutes of the latter.

The Charter of the Organization of African Unity adopted by the conference dealt a severe blow to the imperialist plans. Although it reflects to a certain extent the different political trends represented at the conference, it nevertheless is essentially an anti-imperialist document and inaugurates an organization founded on the principles of the sovereignty and equality of all African states, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiation, total support for the complete liberation of territories still under colonial rule, etc.

The Charter is a solemn "affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs," and as such is a significant success for the African states which are already pursuing this policy.

Struggle Against Colonialism Above All

The significance of the Organization of African Unity is all the greater for the fact that it

is spearheaded against colonialism, against the last remnants of colonial rule in Africa. This line was championed at the conference above all by President Nkrumah of Ghana, President Modibo Keita of Mali, President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, Prime Minister Ben Bella of Algeria, Prime Minister Obote of Uganda and some others.

"The Charter will remain a dead letter," Ben Bella said, "if our brothers in Mozambique, Angola and the Republic of South Africa are not given the immediate and unconditional support to which they are entitled."

The conference resolution on decolonization demands unconditional independence for all African territories still under colonial rule and outlines concrete measures in support of the freedom fighters. These measures include founding a special fund to support the national-liberation movement, steps at *governmental level* to promote the recruiting of volunteers to render assistance to embattled peoples, and setting up a special committee to coordinate the aid rendered by the independent African states to the national-liberation movement. This committee was made up of the representatives of Ethiopia, Algeria, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, Tanganyika, Congo (Leopoldville), Guinea, Senegal and Nigeria. Its headquarters are in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika.

An examination of the conference resolutions which are permeated with the spirit of anti-colonialism suggests the significant conclusion that the *national-liberation movement is becoming an important element of the governmental policy of the independent African states, a fact which imparts to it a new quality and marks a substantial step forward in its development.*

It should not be assumed that all participants in the conference held identical views on aid to the national-liberation movement. It is an open secret that at times a sharp struggle flared up between the patriotic forces, on the one hand, and the reactionary pro-colonialist forces, on the other. For example, the discussion of the draft resolution on decolonization was marked by heated debates. Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula of the Congo (Leopoldville), supported by the delegates of Tunisia, Sierra Leone and Liberia, fought tooth and nail against the inclusion of the point on extending maximum aid to the fighters for African freedom.

Another group of delegates, headed by Ben Bella, advocated the removal of all obstacles to the transportation of volunteers and arms through the territories of independent states

to help the freedom fighters in the dependent territories, primarily Angola. Their proposal was supported by the conference.

The question of how to aid the peoples fighting for their freedom is a cardinal issue in Africa. Twenty territories on the continent and the off-shore islands are still under the colonial yoke. More than 40 million Africans are still virtually slaves, 10 million of them in the Republic of South Africa alone.

The national-liberation movement is not equally advanced in all the dependent territories, and the forms of struggle vary. But it should be noted that the obstacles to liberation emanate not only from the Portuguese or British colonialists, or from the tyrannical regime of Verwoerd. Regrettable though it is, by no means in all of the dependent territories is there unity among the organizations combating the colonialists. Suffice it to mention that at the Addis Ababa conference, too, Angola, Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa, the main seats of colonial oppression, were each represented by two rival organizations. True, they are not equally influential. The Pan-African Congress (Republic of South Africa), for example, has degenerated into a mere handful of chauvinistic conspirators with nothing in common with genuine freedom fighters. In other cases the situation is more complicated and the masses at times find it difficult to decide which organization to support and follow.

This state of affairs plays into the hands of the colonialists, who are doing their utmost to split the freedom fighters and to smuggle agents into their midst. The lack of unity is taken advantage of also by some African leaders who allow political bias and their own selfish interests to govern their attitude to one or another organization. Vacillation and the lack of a clear-cut political line, moreover, provide ingress for ultra-revolutionary slogans and extreme nationalism from without which at times find a favorable soil in the local conditions. All these factors tend to retard the national-liberation struggle and weaken its link with the masses.

Africa Enters the Arena of World Politics

The Addis Ababa conference showed that many African leaders are aware that the liberation of the whole of Africa and the achievement of economic independence by its various states are possible only in the conditions of *peaceful coexistence* and friendly cooperation with other countries.

In a resolution on general and complete disarmament the conference declared for an

atom-free zone in Africa and called for the abolition of military bases on African territory, termination of nuclear tests and a ban on the manufacture of nuclear weapons; it urged an end to the arms drive and the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict international control. This resolution shows that *the struggle for peace and for general and complete disarmament is one of the cardinal principles underlying African unity and the growing national-liberation movement.*

The conference made it clear that the African states have entered the world arena not as mendicants but as active participants in the shaping of international policy. There was a time when the destinies of the African peoples and the boundaries of their territories were decided around conference tables in Berlin and Versailles and in the ministerial sanctums of London and Paris. Today the African states have issued a *warning* to the British government in connection with the latter's racist policy in Southern Rhodesia. They have also *warned* the governments of Verwoerd and Salazar that if they continue to oppose freedom for the colonies and to cultivate racism, *all* the independent African states will sever diplomatic relations with them and declare an effective boycott of Portuguese and South African goods. Portugal and the Republic of South Africa are facing a tangible threat of being expelled from all international organizations, perhaps even from the United Nations. African solidarity in the international arena will have a powerful anti-colonial and anti-imperialist impact, provided of course that it will consistently serve the interests of the African peoples.

In another resolution the heads of states reaffirmed their desire to strengthen the United Nations as an instrument of peace and security, and insisted on greater representation for Africa in the Security Council and other U.N. bodies.

This is a legitimate demand. For the fact remains that the composition of the U.N. bodies and personnel does not correspond to the actual balance of strength in the United Nations. It should be borne in mind, however, that the weight of one or another member or group of members of the U.N. is determined not only by the number of posts it holds in this international organization, but by the position it takes on the cardinal world problems, by its contribution to the constructive solution of these problems. In this respect the African group in the United Nations has not yet asserted itself as it could have. It is to be

hoped that the Addis Ababa decisions will serve as a compass for this group and that its position will be decided not by mechanical majority vote but by genuine concern for the future of Africa and world peace.

A Continent at the Crossroads

Much attention was devoted to economic cooperation and eradicating the economic aftermath of colonial rule. It was decided to set up a preparatory committee to study problems of major interest, such as the establishment of a free trade area, a joint fund for stabilizing raw material prices, etc. The conference declared for the founding of an African Development Bank and an Institute of Economic Development and Planning, and supported the convocation of an International Trade Conference.

Understandably enough, most of the economic and social problems taken up remained at the exploratory stage. For they are not easy to solve. The solution of these problems depends on finding the right answer to the basic question of what path of development should the newly-emerged African states choose, and the use their leaders make of their right to order their future themselves with a view to doing away with economic backwardness and raising the people's standard of living.

Political liberation gave a certain impetus to the productive forces of the African countries and thereby facilitated their economic progress. But this in itself did not chart the path that would bring Africa to a level with the industrial countries. The choice of the way forward depends in the final analysis on the forces in power in a given country.

Capitalism has discredited itself in the eyes of the masses and of many of their leaders. It is associated with the hated colonialism which crippled the African economy. It does not offer the continent a future radically different from the past. More and more African leaders are coming to see that independence alone is no way out of the existing situation *unless it is accompanied by radical economic and social change*.

This is evident if only from the example of Ethiopia, which has been independent since the 13th century, if not earlier, but which still is one of the most backward countries in Africa. It has vast tracts of fertile lands, but these mostly belong to a handful of feudal chieftains and the church. Agriculture is primitive and industry embryonic. Although it has a population of nearly 22 million, Ethiopia has only 150 enterprises, mostly of the semi-handi-

crafts type. To this day the fetters of feudalism prevent the implementation of any appreciable social and economic reforms, although efforts in this direction are already being made.

No wonder, then, that anti-capitalist trends are increasingly asserting themselves in independent Africa. The governments of a number of countries — Ghana, Guinea, the United Arab Republic, Mali, Algeria and some others — have already declared for the socialist way. This is due above all to the powerful influence of socialist ideas, and also to the urge towards socialism evinced by the peoples.

Some are frankly sceptical of the socialist concepts advanced by African leaders, while others accept them without reservation. The scepticism is largely due to the fact that the proponents of these concepts place the emphasis on the "originality" of African socialism, stressing its purely "African character" and in effect repudiating scientific socialism. The origin of these views is easy to see. First, theories of this kind bear the imprint of a specific type of ideological nationalism which has sprung up as a reaction to the ideology the colonialists persistently implanted in Africa for years. Second, present-day African society and the processes under way in it are indeed so unique that people not versed in the Marxist-Leninist ideology are apt to regard them as something to which the sum of previous human experience cannot be applied and which can be understood only in the African context.

Such socialist doctrines are of course a far cry from scientific socialism as Marxists understand it. Nevertheless the far-reaching economic and social reforms being effected in a number of newly-emerged African countries (Ghana, Mali, etc.) suggest that their leaders are *firmly steering a course towards non-capitalist development*. Therefore the avowals of these leaders that socialism is their ultimate aim may be seen as a pledge for the future.

The choice of the non-capitalist way does not necessarily mean choosing the socialist way. Nevertheless, socio-economic changes of a non-capitalist order pave the way to socialism, especially in countries where capitalist relations are not yet deeply rooted. Under these circumstances the *decisive role* is played by an external constant — *the socialist world system, the powerful impact of its example and the steadily growing aid it renders the under-developed countries*.

As a rule, in the African countries striving towards the non-capitalist path the power is

in the hands of mass parties uniting various sections of the population and unquestionably expressing the interests of the broad masses. Their programs reflect the desire of the overwhelming majority of the population for a higher standard of living, social justice and collective forms of economic endeavor. These programs, of course, do not rest on a Marxist foundation. But one can envisage the *possibility* of the influence of the growing working class increasing in these parties and turning them into mass parties of the Marxist-Leninist type.

Socialist concepts are advanced in Africa not only by progressives who are sincerely searching for new ways leading to a better future, but also by reactionary ideologists who represent the bureaucratic top crust and who are associated with colonial interests (such as President Leopold Senghor of Senegal). The demagogic "socialism" of the latter kind is in effect nothing but a smokescreen designed to conceal the substitution of neo-colonialism for the "classical" type of colonial exploitation. But this does not warrant rejecting offhand all the theories of socialist progress advanced in Africa even if they do not as yet accord with the Marxist outlook.

It would be naive to assume that the imperialists will reconcile themselves to the anti-capitalist trends and yield to them without resistance. A number of African countries have taken to the capitalist path because of their dependence on their former colonial masters, a dependence which the latter have worked to consolidate by means of new economic and political fetters. The people in the saddle in these countries have been trained and educated by the colonialists to form an "elite" who as often as not regard independence merely as a stepping stone in their political careers and a means of lining their own pockets. These people are ready to hurl imprecations at the Portuguese and British colonialists and to weep crocodile tears over the racist outrages in the Republic of South Africa so long as this does not directly affect their European patrons. The colonialists see a prop for themselves in this "elite" divorced from the people and hence back it in every way.

Another noteworthy development — one connected with U.S. imperialist policy vis-à-vis the new Africa — is the attempt made to impose the Latin American path of development on the African countries. I have already mentioned the attempts to set up an Organization of African and Malagasy States patterned after the Organization of American

States. A similar "Latin-Americanization" scheme is being hatched for Africa in the economic sphere as well. At the Addis Ababa conference the delegates and pressmen covering the meeting were handed documents of the U.S. Economic Commission for Africa, in particular a project for an African Development Bank as well as certain proposals for African economic integration. These projects contain some positive aspects which can hardly be dismissed out of hand. Nevertheless one cannot escape the fact that the authors of these documents try to serve up the "success" of the Inter-American Development Bank as an example and voice regret at the lack of an African variant of the Alliance for Progress. An attempt is made to draw a parallel between the plans for African and Latin American integration. In a word, it is taken for granted that Africa has *already* chosen the capitalist way as Latin America did 150 years ago. The architects of such projects are clearly not in step with the times.

One should not close one's eyes to the difficulties confronting the African countries, even those whose leaders are gravitating towards the non-capitalist road. Their productive forces are extremely backward, and economically they are still largely dependent on foreign capital, which greatly hinders attempts at planning, state regulation of the economy and economic reform, especially where there is no political stability. The difficulties are aggravated by a lack of trained technicians able to take charge of the economy in the event of the expropriation of foreign property. Moreover, one can hardly speak of any *appreciable* growth of the national income through "internal" accumulation when the overwhelming majority of the population consumes what it produces. Under those circumstances, friendly cooperation with fraternal African states on the basis of genuine continental unity, as well as with all other countries that are sincerely interested in the progress and well-being of the African peoples, is of extremely great importance.

The social and economic conditions in Africa are complex and varied. They cannot be fitted into any one pattern or viewed in isolation from the overall context and the general laws of social development. Only creative Marxism can correctly and objectively assess the processes and problems involved and give the right answers to the multitude of questions confronting the African peoples.

Mikhail KREMNYOV

Unity for the Sake of Peace

THE World Congress of Women, which met in Moscow from June 24 to 29, was a political event that reflected the main trends and basic features of contemporary development. The entire work of the congress was imbued with the spirit of our times when socialism, which assures women full equality, has become the decisive factor in human progress, when the mounting national-liberation movement has laid the cornerstone of woman's complete emancipation in the former colonial and dependent countries, when the broad women's movement in the leading capitalist countries for a democratic solution of major socio-economic issues and the successes scored in this struggle are the earnest of the equality of women proclaimed in these countries.

Attended by nearly 2,000 women from 114 countries, this congress was the most representative in the history of the international women's movement. This fact speaks of the profound socio-economic changes that have taken place in the world in recent years. Delegates from Africa, Asia and Latin America noted that this was the first time women from these countries were taking part in an international forum of this kind, and that this indisputably testified to the successes won by the women of all continents in their fight for their emancipation.

The congress was convened on the initiative of the Women's International Democratic Federation. It is noteworthy that it was attended by representatives from international and national women's organizations not affiliated to the Federation, among them the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom, and national women's organizations in the United States, Canada, Mali, Sudan, etc. The congress represented women who in one way or another, on a national or international scale, are fighting for peace because they realize that peaceful coexistence is essential to the success of the movement for social progress, democratic freedoms and complete equality for women.

The representative character of the congress and the discussion showed how the political thinking of women has changed, how they are more and more influencing the common struggle of all progressive and peace-loving forces. It offered fresh proof of the changing alignment of world forces in favor of democracy and progress, and the increasing impact of genuinely progressive ideas. It showed that

women everywhere regard their struggle for equality as part of the general struggle for peace, democracy and socio-economic reforms.

No matter what the forms of their struggle the ultimate aims are the same: social progress, economic and social rights for all working people, liberation from the colonial yoke and from neo-colonialism, genuine national independence, disarmament and peace. And women all over the world realize that only by achieving these aims can they win their rights.

But the crucial issue is preservation of peace, a policy of peaceful coexistence and the prevention of a thermo-nuclear war.

In her speech the representative from India noted that people on all continents, in all parts of the world have in recent years become alive to the danger of a thermonuclear catastrophe and that this has led to qualitative changes in the progressive world movement and in the various women's organizations. Indeed, the democratic women's movement is gaining ground in all parts of the world; more and more democratic women's organizations are making their appearance which regard the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence as their chief aim and, in pursuance of this, are stepping up the struggle for disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons. The struggle to prevent a new world war *unites* women of different races and different beliefs.

The activity of various national women's organizations on *all continents* bears this out.

Thus, in the United States the "Women, Strike for Peace" movement, organized in the autumn of 1961, held a protest demonstration against nuclear tests. In Canada the "Voice of Women" movement, started in 1960, urged the government to join the Non-Nuclear Club proposed by Sweden, demanded the conclusion of agreements prohibiting nuclear tests and campaigned against propaganda to build atomic shelters and the establishment of nuclear bases on Canadian soil.

In Australia the women are carrying on a big campaign against the building of U.S. bases for Polaris submarines and U-2 planes, and for an atom-free zone in the southern hemisphere.

In Britain a large contingent of women joined the Aldermaston marchers.

In France the women were most active in the struggle to restore peace in Algeria, and at present they are combating the policy of the de Gaulle government which has refused

to participate in the disarmament talks and is helping to arm the Bonn revenge-seekers with nuclear weapons.

In Italy the women organized various mass campaigns for the immediate cessation of nuclear tests and for complete disarmament under international control.

In Spain the women campaign for the removal of all foreign bases from Spanish soil, and against the threat of a nuclear war. In Greece, Iceland and other countries of Europe women are active in the movement for dismantling U.S. military bases on their territories. The women of the Baltic countries annually meet in the German Democratic Republic during "Peace Week in the Baltic."

The women of Japan, two of whose cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, suffered the horrors of the atom bomb, are playing a tremendous role in the mass movement for peace in their country. They were most active in the movement against the conclusion of the U.S.-Japanese security treaty in 1960. They are just as active now in the movement against the **U.S. military bases in their country**, against Polaris submarines touching at Japanese ports, and against the Japano-South Korean talks.

As was stated at the First Conference of Women of Asia and Africa, held in Cairo in January 1961, it is the common goal of the women of Asia and Africa to further the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, to defend and consolidate national independence, to fight for the equality of all nations, to help build up a strong solidarity movement among the peoples of Asia and Africa, to fight for complete and general disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons and cessation of nuclear tests. The women of Africa are joining the ranks of their sisters in Europe and America, are taking an active part in the biggest mass movement of our time — the peace movement.

The women of India played a notable part, shoulder to shoulder with the entire people, in accelerating the liberation of Goa, this last citadel of Portuguese imperialism in India. The same is true of the Indonesian women's organization Gerwani which was in the front ranks of the struggle to liberate West Irian from Dutch colonial rule and to foil the war schemes of the U.S. and Dutch imperialists in this area. At present it is active in the broad movement against the formation of the Federation of Malaysia which threatens national independence and peace in South-East Asia. In their struggle against imperialism, for national independence and world

peace, the women of Indonesia are guided by the idea that the weakening of the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism strengthens the positions of peace.

In Cuba the women are in the van of the defenders of their country, and they are being given every support by the women of Latin America and elsewhere who realize that the struggle of their Cuban sisters against the aggressive forces of imperialism is at the same time a struggle in defense of world peace.

Thus, in the resolution adopted by the Congress of American Women, held in Havana in January, the women of Latin America emphasized that the struggle for peace and disarmament is linked with the struggle for national liberation and sovereignty.

And so, women all over the world, irrespective of the color of their skin, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, are uniting their efforts on the common platform of *struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence and against the threat of a nuclear holocaust.*

This was particularly apparent at the Moscow congress. Its appeal, addressed to the women of all countries, reflects the deep concern felt by women for the future of peace, their awareness of the great responsibility that devolves on them in the defense of their rights, the happiness of their children, peace on earth and the right of all peoples to independence. The Chinese and Albanian delegates were the only ones to vote against this document.

"We have united to rally all forces and set them in motion against the danger of war," states the Appeal, "to ensure a lasting peace on earth. *If we will it life will triumph!*"

The congress demonstrated that the women of the world realize that peaceful coexistence requires before all else calling a halt to the cold war waged by imperialism on a world scale, and to imperialist aggression in South Vietnam, Laos and other countries, that peaceful coexistence greatly weakens the positions of all reactionary and aggressive forces and strengthens the positions of the forces of democracy and progress in every country, irrespective of its level of development and socioeconomic system. In other words, the policy of peaceful coexistence is, in present-day conditions, an effective form of combating the aggressive forces of world imperialism.

Speaking of the connection between the struggle for disarmament, peaceful coexistence and the struggle for national independence, Mme. Fuki Kushida, President of the Japanese Federation of Women's Organizations,

said: "The struggles for complete national independence, for the removal of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of troops stationed on foreign soil, against aggressive military alliances, are an important composite part of the struggle for the consolidation of world peace and the achievement of general disarmament. On the other hand, the struggle for peace and disarmament, which is waged in various concrete forms in different countries, greatly helps the struggle for national independence by isolating and weakening the imperialists who follow a policy of war and aggression."

The need to wage a struggle for peaceful coexistence is being voiced by women all over the world. In their speeches the women of Europe, Africa, Asia and America stressed again and again that the struggle for peaceful coexistence is the *firm basis on which to unite the women of the world*, to draw more and more women's organizations, both national and international, into this movement, and that this unity will inspire them in their struggle for complete equality and recognition of their human and civil rights.

The unanimity demonstrated by the women at their congress is a sure guarantee that they will achieve unity on a world-wide scale. The objective basis making for this unity exists. This objective basis is their common love for their children, their common abhorrence of war which threatens to destroy everything precious to man. N. S. Khrushchov's words addressed to the World Congress of Women that "... the ashes of the dead cry out to the living to wage a resolute struggle to bar the road to a new world war" cannot but evoke response in the heart of every woman.

The stand taken by them at the Congress in support of the idea of peaceful coexistence, the awareness they showed of the responsi-

bility that devolves upon them in the fight for peace, eloquently demonstrated that the true meaning of the policy of peaceful coexistence cannot be distorted and that it cannot be qualified as a policy of compromise with imperialism and less so as betrayal of the interests of the people who are battling for their national independence.

The delegates enthusiastically applauded Dolores Ibarruri, outstanding personality of our time, when she said: "Let us unite our efforts in the struggle for general and complete disarmament which is not, as some women mistakenly think, an obstacle hindering the struggle of the peoples for national independence but is, on the contrary, the earnest that these peoples will win their freedom and independence. So let us unite our efforts in the fight for peace and friendship among peoples . . ." In these words Dolores Ibarruri voiced the determination of the congress delegates to fight for peace and happiness on earth.

The results of the World Congress of Women are truly encouraging. The congress showed that the women of the world constitute a great creative force capable of preventing, together with other movements of our time, the outbreak of a new world war and beneficially influencing social development. The most notable feature of the congress was the *unity* displayed by the women of all nationalities and beliefs, certain differences notwithstanding, in the fight for peace and national independence, for disarmament and peaceful coexistence, for the happiness of their children and for the complete equality of women in society and in the family.

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Communications and Comment

Disarmament - the Keynote of the Peace Movement in France

THE Assembly of the States General for Disarmament was held in Paris on May 18-19. Although the idea of convening the States General was first broached last July, the actual preparations began in October 1962, and for the next seven months meetings and demonstrations were held all over the country, various statements, appeals, leaflets, posters, etc., were printed and circulated, seminars were held and film shows on behalf of peace and similar activities organized.

On the day the assembly closed some 50,000 people gathered at the Sport Stadium in St. Ouen. They had marched to the stadium in three large columns through the streets of this Paris suburb carrying posters and slogans calling for disarmament.

It is difficult to estimate exactly how many people took part in discussions on disarmament in the course of the preparations for the States General, one can only say that nothing like it has occurred since the Stockholm Appeal. It was the first time in many years that the question of disarmament had been posed so sharply, or that demonstrations in favor of disarmament had assumed such proportions.

It might be worthwhile mentioning some of the circumstances that made these actions possible. In the first place, following the Stockholm Signature campaign, the peace forces in France, and especially the Movement for Peace which was the initiator and inspirer of the States General, had to exert much effort before being able to reach agreement through negotiation on a number of outstanding problems.

For many years France was the scene of mass actions of various kinds aimed at ending the war in Vietnam and Algeria and securing a peaceful solution of the German question. The peace forces in our country rightly believed that everything must be done to help the people of Vietnam and Algeria to win the peace and national sovereignty for which they had fought with such courage and determination.

Throughout this period (and it took a long time before the French rulers were finally

forced to recognize the independence of Vietnam and Algeria) the popular effort for disarmament was not commensurate with the gravity of the situation.

However, throughout this time — and this is the second reason for the success of the States General — the peace forces of France, and especially the Peace Movement, were not inactive, they were accumulating experience, gaining prestige and strengthening themselves organizationally. And when Algeria gained her independence they were ready to pass on to new major action for disarmament.

This was precisely the moment — and here you have the third reason — when the world situation and that in France was (and indeed still is) such as to demand a special effort on the part of the peace fighters to avert the danger hanging over mankind. The arms race on an international scale still continues, and has, if anything, been stepped up. Instead of seeking the necessary international agreement the French government is pursuing a policy which dangerously exacerbates the situation. All this lays a special responsibility on all French citizens.

It was for this reason and taking into account the results of the World Congress for Disarmament and Peace held in July 1962 in Moscow which clearly demonstrated the need and possibility for broad action against the arms race, that the members of the Peace Movement in France proposed to convene the States General for Disarmament. It wanted in this way to help to unite "without reservation or restrictions, and irrespective of any differences of any kind, all who consider disarmament to be the demand of our epoch and who seek to work for it on a jointly agreed basis."

This was particularly necessary in view of the government propaganda in the press, radio and television in favor of a national "strike force." A vigorous stand had to be made against these plans and against the false idea that a nuclear "strike force" is essential to French security and an earnest of world peace as an element of the so-called "balance of fear" strategy, which is nothing more than

an attempt to justify the unjustifiable, inasmuch as there is not nor can there be any balance in the matter of armaments.

The States General, which are rooted in French tradition, constitute a nationwide forum to ascertain the demands of the population at all levels and to summarize (as was done on May 18 and 19 in Paris) all the proposals and mandates originating in the towns, villages, factories, offices, schools, colleges, etc.

The resolutions and proposals on disarmament were adopted at meetings, discussions and rallies which afforded an opportunity to exchange opinions, to expose the deadly peril of the arms race and the danger and costliness of the "strike force" alleged by the government to be an essential defense item that will lay no burden on the country's economy.

All this prepared the ground for the holding of the States General in Paris. After two days' debate, a list of national demands in the sphere of disarmament was drawn up taking into account the suggestions and proposals from all parts of the country. This was accompanied by two days of demonstrations in Paris with the participation of numerous delegations from all departments.

To ensure the success of the enterprise full freedom had to be guaranteed from the outset; everyone had to be given an opportunity to take part in the discussion with no obligations other than that of working together for a common cause.

In order to win the widest possible support, it was necessary to make it clear from the start that people of diverse views were eager for discussion and joint action. Moreover, the discussion could not be limited to one particular question, nor could the action be restricted to any one form in preference to another.

That is why the Peace Movement proposed that a preparatory committee be set up open to all political parties and groups, philosophical and religious associations, representatives of all classes, and that the main subject of discussion should be general disarmament, leaving full freedom for initiative as regards organizational forms.

Long before May 18-19 it was clear that the undertaking would be crowned with success and that the principal objectives would be achieved.

The first indication was that the preparatory committee was formed without a hitch, and the diversity of views represented testified to the interest aroused by the idea of a broad discussion on disarmament.

The Committee was composed of more than 300 members, among them MPs from various parties, members of the clergy, personalities from the literary and art world, trade union functionaries, members of the free professions, etc.

An Appeal was issued and signed by leaders of many organizations and movements, including: the General Confederation of Labor, the trade unions of higher educational workers, scientists and actors; the National Students' Union of France, the Union of Higher Schools, the Jewish students' organization, the Communist Youth Movement, the French Servicemen's Association, National Association of Veterans of the Resistance, the Republican Federation of Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers of the Reserve, the Republican Association of War Veterans, Ex-Servicemen's Association, Former War Prisoners, Association for General Disarmament and Social Progress, Movement Against Nuclear Armaments, Federalist Union, New Life, the Young Republic, Union of French Women, the French section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Federation of the League of Rights of Man (Seine Department), the National Union of Engineers, Technicians and Cadre Workers, Workers' Sport Federation, the miners' organization of the eastern districts of France, etc.

The campaign began with a demonstration for the peaceful use of the atomic power station in Pierrelatte; 15,000 people marched along the streets adjoining the power station. A similar demonstration against the use for military purposes of an atomic power station originally designed for the production of electric power took place in Chinon (department of Indre and Loire) with the participation of 3,500 people.

Meetings were held in nearly all the big cities of France, including Grenoble, Bordeaux, Lyons, Toulouse, St. Etienne, Orleans, Le Mans, Vierzon, etc., and at many factories as well. One such meeting was held at the Renault-Billancourt works on the initiative of 150 workers and specialists of various political affiliations. States General were held in the many cantons and departments.

A good many General Councillors signed appeals or attended meetings on disarmament. Declarations in favor of disarmament, and in some instances endorsing the holding of the States General, were adopted at meetings of General and Municipal councils.

Evidence of the impact of the movement against the arms race is the position taken by the mayors. In the Dordogne department,

for example, nearly 500 mayors, or about four-fifths of all the mayors in that department, signed a joint appeal for disarmament. More than half the mayors in the Bouche du Rhone department and upwards of 50 in the Loire department did likewise. The number of mayors and municipal council members who have taken part in meetings or signed appeals runs into the thousands. This is hardly surprising, since all these people, being in daily contact with their voters, are keenly aware of the needs and requirements of the population; moreover they have learned by their own experience what a heavy burden military expenditure lays on local finances.

To date it is still impossible to estimate exactly how many meetings on disarmament were held all over the country, but in some departments hundreds of such meetings took place, beginning with small gatherings of people living in the same house, discussions attended by audiences ranging from 30 to several thousand, and ending with Sunday morning rallies in the local market place or large open-air meetings at the factory gate after work.

Every possible channel for informing the population and rousing them to action was utilized. Among other things, the peace movement arranged travelling poster exhibitions showing in figures the destructive power and the cost of armaments; anti-war films were another feature.

A play condemning the nuclear weapon was written especially for the opening of the States General. Actors of stage and screen, theatrical producers and critics issued a public appeal to support the States General. A similar appeal was issued by 60 Paris lecturers in the exact and natural sciences. Many writers and painters, sculptors and doctors gave their support to these appeals. An exhibition of the work of some three hundred sculptors and painters was arranged as a token of their solidarity with the States General.

It may be safely asserted that when the delegations at St. Ouen placed on the platform the municipal and departmental volumes containing the demands and recommendations of the French communes they represented a substantial section of the French population, that section which unequivocally condemns the present arms race in France and the rest of the world.

* * *

The preparation and conduct of the States General point up a number of conclusions, all highly promising as regards the possibilities

for extending the movement of disarmament and peace in France.

In the first place it must be said that the efforts aimed at uniting people of different views have been most fruitful. Real unity was achieved; true, not to the same extent everywhere, but on the whole far exceeding anything achieved hitherto. This proves that disarmament is a truly universal objective, one that is capable of bringing together people of widely differing outlooks.

Especially noteworthy was the success of the campaign among Socialists and Catholics. Many active Socialist Party members and deputies in a number of departments and communes signed appeals and took part in actions for peace.

Among the Catholics the response was even more general due, undoubtedly, to the recent Papal encyclical "Pacem in Terris." It is symptomatic that the opening speech — of a political character — at the St. Ouen stadium before an audience of 50,000 people was delivered by the Reverend Father of Liege on behalf of and at the request of the Preparatory Committee.

The campaign also highlighted the fervent desire of all the participants to unite, to act together and to preserve and develop the contact established. The striving for large-scale united actions was evident everywhere. This is a noteworthy fact for it is evidence of an urge for action that can only be prompted by a real awareness of the danger. There is every ground for assuming that the number of people who are genuinely alarmed by the present situation and determined to work to avert the danger is far greater than is sometimes thought.

What was the political basis for the agreement reached, and what made it possible? The two dominant issues which in most cases found unanimous recognition were: 1) the urgent need for an international agreement on disarmament, and 2) the equally urgent need for opposition to the plans for a nuclear "strike force."

The fact that the trend of government policy is not towards disarmament and the settlement of outstanding issues by negotiation accentuates the urgency of this opposition. That is why France's absence at the disarmament talks in Geneva has been so strongly condemned.

The States General also highlighted the important role played by the Peace Movement, by its department councils, local committees and committees at the enterprises. The Peace Movement was not only the initiator of the

campaign, it was the leading spirit throughout and is now playing the main role in carrying its decisions into life.

There is no doubt that the States General would have been impossible without the existence of a movement with branches in the departments, the localities and at many factories, and hence able to initiate actions on a countrywide scale. This makes strengthening the Peace Movement and increasing the number of its committees an essential condition for promoting the fight for peace and disarmament.

This should be borne in mind also because the Peace Movement has proved itself capable over a long period of time (and the States General too confirmed this) of solving the two basic organically inter-connected tasks of the day. The first is the conduct of campaigns in its own name, drawing on its own steadily growing resources (it already now unites people of the most diverse political views). The second task is to bend every effort to build a common front of all peace forces, for the Peace Movement has no monopoly of the struggle for peace and does not claim to have.

This is the keynote of the States General decisions urging "all organizations and movements, while retaining their specific character, to redouble efforts for peace and disarmament and thereby promote the common cause."

These highly timely and realistic decisions call for a close link between all movements and organizations fighting for peace, and the setting up of committees to study problems connected with disarmament.

* * *

It is now necessary to follow up the States General with further action. The States General was only a stage in the struggle, and while it signifies an important step forward, there is still a long way to go.

The preparation and conduct of the States General demonstrated the will of the French people for peace and the vast opportunities for broad actions in behalf of disarmament. But it should be remembered that there are still millions of peoples in France who have neither said nor done anything, and who have not yet been reached by information that would open their eyes to the facts and bring them into action for peace.

An important part — but only a part as yet — of the population has been alerted to the problem of disarmament. Some measure of unity has been achieved, but it is still far from universal. Much has still to be done before this promising beginning can develop into a mighty movement of public opinion; the value of the States General lies precisely in having shown that such efforts can be fruitful.

The success of the States General permits us to hope for a successful continuation of the campaign for peace and disarmament in France; it has stimulated the people's will to fight, and revealed the tremendous opportunities existing for joint actions for disarmament. It proved the effectiveness of the explanations, the debates, and the persevering search for a basis for agreement in conducting the point actions without which peace cannot be assured.

Andre SOUQUIER

Political Dilemmas and Political Diversions

THE political diversion has always been a favorite device of ruling class politicians. When things are not going too well at home, when the rumblings of internal revolt become louder and more threatening, something spectacular is needed to divert the indignation of the populace from the real culprits to an imaginary or to an invented enemy.

At the present moment the nearly 20 million Negroes in the United States of America are in a ferment of revolt. Twenty million American citizens of black skin, tired of asking President after President for the Bill of Rights of the white men, are now in full march on the streets not only in cities in the

Deep South, but also on streets of New York, Washington, Detroit and Chicago. And marching with them in united ranks are white men and women who, proud of their great country, are determined to force their President and his all-white Government to end, at long last, the racialism which has brought shame on the United States.

Even the *New York Times* in an editorial on June 3 put the issue squarely before the President when it suggested that, in view of the situation in the country, "President Kennedy himself, as the man charged with supreme responsibility for the enforcement of Federal law," should accompany the Negro

students to see that they are enrolled in the University of Alabama.

The President, however, preferred not to go to Alabama. And when a group of Negro leaders repeated the suggestion to his brother Robert, the Attorney General, the latter, according to the *New York Times*, "laughed at the idea."

But, something had to be done to divert the attention of a worried public from the revolt of the Negro population at home to things abroad. Hence the loudly advertised and spectacular grand tour of Bonn, West Berlin, Dublin, London and Rome.

In West Berlin the President, seemingly intoxicated with the heady atmosphere of ex-Hitler politicians, ex-generals, ex-Gestapo officials and the death-camp murderers of millions of civilians—Jews, Poles, Czechs, Frenchmen, Russians and people of other nationalities—throwing diplomacy to the winds, noisily denounced Communism and whipped his receptive audience into a frenzy of delight.

Mr. Kennedy who boasted that they have no brick and mortar walls in Washington to keep people in, was silent about the well-nigh impenetrable State Department's visa "wall" that has kept, and keeps, many people "in" in the United States.

It was hard to believe that this was the same man who only two weeks earlier, addressing the American University in Washington, recalled that "no nation in the history of battle ever suffered more than the Soviet Union in the second World War." Twenty million Russians, he recalled, lost their lives "and countless millions of homes and families were burned and sacked." The President's plea then was for a peaceful accommodation with the Soviet Union or, as we would say, for peaceful coexistence.

But now in West Berlin, addressing many of those who had aided and abetted Hitler in "burning and sacking" the millions of Russian homes, the President advertised his delighted eagerness to work with them, and proclaimed his inability to "work with the Communists."

Carried away by his anti-communism, the President evidently forgot what everybody else remembers about the grim last winter of World War Two, when Hitler in a last desperate endeavor to throw the Allied troops back to the channel coast, succeeded in making difficulties for the American forces in the Ardennes. In the alarming situation caused by the Hitler threat, an urgent request came from the Anglo-Americans to the command of the Soviet Army if possible to relieve the

enemy pressure by stepping up offensive operations in the East. The Communist response was immediate: operations would be stepped up. And so the valiant resistance of the American troops at Bastogne was reinforced by the massive operations in the East. Thus Hitler's last offensive in the West petered out because Communist and Anglo-American troops did "work" together at a moment of grave danger to the United States. General Eisenhower could, from personal experience, fill in the gaps which seem to exist in President Kennedy's memory, could tell him about the ease of working with Communists, about the fruitfulness of this work, when the work is for noble aims.

Evidently the President forgot also about the 1945 cooperation of the Soviet Command with the Americans in the military operations in the Far East against Japanese imperialism. This cooperation, also requested by the Anglo-Americans, was readily forthcoming.

We see, therefore, that it was possible to "work" with the Soviet Union during the war. So why did President Kennedy in time of peace invent a Communist danger? Can it be that, in addition to the attempt to take the Negro revolt out of the headlines in the world press he displayed an excess of zeal in his rivalry with General de Gaulle for the wrinkled hand of what Mr. Khrushchov has aptly described as the aged widow of Bonn.

But the Negro revolt is only one of the dilemmas facing Kennedy. The other is the sorry state of his NATO Grand Alliance. De Gaulle is as truculent as ever, Macmillan is deep in the shadows — so much so that Washington is now contemplating transferring the "special relationship" from London to Bonn — and, biggest blow of all, the Italian electorate, by voting heavily for the Communist Party, upset all NATO calculations.

Many people found it passing strange that President Kennedy had to travel all the way to West Berlin to act in what many in the West regarded as the undignified role of rabble-rouser. The twenty million Negroes in his own country would be only too pleased if their President had addressed even one of the dozens of freedom demonstrations held in the past few months throughout the United States.

No matter how spectacular his whirlwind tour of Western Europe, Kennedy cannot escape from his terrible dilemma of unfreedom for 20 million citizens. It stares him in the face every morning of his life as he looks out from the White House window. Right in the

capital, on his own doorstep, the man with enough money to buy a house in the more exclusive residential areas is presented with a document which reads, word for word, almost like the notorious race laws of Hitler's days: the said house, it runs, must not be sold, leased or let to "Negroes, or any person or persons of Negro blood or extraction, or to any person of the semitic race, blood or origin, which racial description shall be deemed to include Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Persians and Syrians."

"The recent spectacle in Alabama," said Senator Wayne Morse (Democrat), "would disgrace a Union of South Africa or a Portuguese Angola."

Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, painfully conscious of the grave damage done to U.S. prestige abroad complained: "Our voice is muted, our friends are embarrassed."

Morning, noon and night, ever since his being installed in the White House, President Kennedy has preached freedom, eulogizing America as the land of the free. Well, his words have been taken up by the 20 million black fellow Americans, who in one voice have declared that they have had enough of being reviled and insulted; and now, determined to end their dilemma, they are marching and fighting for freedom, and in their fight they have the sympathy and support of forward-looking people everywhere.

As for the Communists they, as mentioned above, ably demonstrated their ability to "work" with the other members of the anti-Hitler coalition during the last war, are ready now to "work," and to "work" wholeheartedly with the United States and all other countries to save the world from the danger of nuclear incineration. *John GIBBONS*

Political Tension Grows

(Letter from Guatemala)

THE situation in our country in the past few months has been one of mounting political tension. On March 30 President Idigoras Fuentes was removed from the post of President in a military coup and banished from the country. The reactionaries gleefully hailed the seizure of power by the military. A new cabinet was formed headed by Colonel Peralta Azurdia, Minister of Defense in the Idigoras Fuentes government.

What induced the military to depose a President who could hardly be suspected of democratic leanings and who was considered to be a loyal servant of the U.S. monopolies?

By the end of this year presidential elections were scheduled to be held, and in March 1964 a new president was to have taken over office. The Guatemalan reactionaries, though they toyed with the idea of elections, were secretly opposed to them for fear that the democratic forces would win. And when it was learned that ex-President Juan José Arévalo, with whose name the Guatemalan people associated ten years of democratic government, was planning to run for president the reactionary apprehensions were confirmed. It was not Arévalo's politics that worried the U.S. imperialists and the Guatemalan reactionaries, for it was known that the former president's position had undergone a drastic change over the years and that he now favors rap-

prochement with the United States and with the more conservative elements at home. What did alarm them, however, was that the broad masses began to unite around Arévalo who still symbolized for them a champion of democracy and an enemy of U.S. imperialism. To exclude all possibility of any democratic shift taking place after the elections, the reactionaries engineered a coup.

At its meeting in November 1962, the Guatemalan Party of Labor (GPL) had predicted that the reaction would resort to a coup if it would not be in their interests to hold elections. On February 1 of this year the *Verdad* (organ of the GPL) warned the masses that Colonel Peralta Azurdia was about to take over the presidency, and on February 23 the paper declared in so many words that the reactionary top military "who control the government and head the army are plotting a coup d'état," and appealed to the people to take immediate action to prevent such a contingency.

The March 30 coup was a surprise only for those who had reposed all their hopes in the coming elections and were not prepared to employ other forms of struggle. The confident assertion of the Arévalists that the presence in Guatemala of Arévalo himself would guarantee the normal conduct of the elections and that the military "would respect democratic institutions" misled the masses. The people lost

their bearings. But not for long. Soon after the military coup the masses launched a struggle against the dictatorship. That struggle takes a variety of forms, ranging from protest demonstrations of students and strikes of middle school pupils, all the way to armed action. At the present time guerilla operations are being conducted by members of the "Alejandro de Leon-November 13," "October 20" and "April 12" organizations, chiefly young soldiers, workers, peasants and students.

The Guatemalan Party of Labor has issued appeals to the people exposing the anti-popular character of the coup and urging the masses to fight the military dictatorship. The April Meeting of the Central Committee noted that the establishment of a military dictatorship is proof of the inability of the reaction to govern the country with even a semblance of democratic freedom, a sign of its fear of revolution. The Meeting adopted a decision to step up the struggle against the military dictatorship, stressing that to this end it is necessary to extend the Party's ties with the masses, strengthen democratic unity, draw the Arealists into revolutionary struggle, organize popular resistance to the reactionary regime and render every possible assistance to the armed struggle which has begun in our country.

The military coup does not solve any of the vexing political and economic problems facing Guatemala; on the contrary, it only makes their solution more difficult. True, the military, headed by Colonel Peralta Azurdia, has managed to unite all the reactionary forces, but such "unity" cannot last. There are already signs that the army itself is being rent by contradictions between different trends reflecting the interests of the reactionary groupings laying claim to leadership of the country. It is not unlikely that the imperialists will take advantage of the strife among the ruling classes of Guatemala to install a new government by means of elections, a govern-

ment no less reactionary and pro-imperialist than the present but with the advantage of having come to power through elections and not through a military coup. The U.S. imperialists believe that such a government could be more flexible and hence able to pursue the policy they need with greater success.

In order to remain in the saddle, the present government is resorting to repressions. All political parties have been banned, the Constitution has been suspended, a series of repressive laws have been adopted, civil cases are tried by military courts, etc. Many democrats and others in opposition to the military dictatorship have been banished. The prisons are full, and trade union and student leaders arrested some time ago are still held in custody.

Not long ago ten men in the military zone of Puerto Barrios were shot on a false charge of belonging to a guerilla detachment. Five captured partisans who were condemned to death, appealed for clemency, but at this writing no decision has been handed down and they are liable to be executed at any moment. All these facts, however, speak not of the strength but rather of the weakness of the Peralta Azurdia government.

The events in our country show that the Guatemalan reactionaries are deliberately aggravating the tension in order, through terror, to wreak vengeance on the progressive forces and entrench the positions of the oligarchy and the North American monopolies. Our people want democracy, genuine national independence and revolutionary changes, but they are being forced by the reaction to adopt non-peaceful forms of struggle. To achieve the goals for which they are fighting the Guatemalan people depend on the help and active support of all the peoples of the world who cannot but brand the repressive actions of the reactionaries and give their backing to the struggle of our fraternal people. C. TZUL

We Shall Carry on the Fight

(Letter from Spanish Guinea)

SIX months ago the People's Idea (PIEG), the political party of the Spanish territories of Rio Muni and Fernando Po in Equatorial Africa, sent a note to the Spanish government demanding political independence for these territories. This just demand, however, was rejected. The Spanish colonialists

and their agents in Rio Muni and Fernando Po maintain that the people themselves do not want to be liberated from Spanish domination, and to "prove" it they refer to the protocols bearing the signatures of the inhabitants of the said territories. What they omit to mention, however, is that these signatures

were obtained under crude pressure on the part of the authorities. Government officials toured the countryside forcing the peasants to sign at the point of a gun. The document was then presented to General Franco as "evidence" of popular support for the regime.

It is over 150 years since Spain gained possession of the territories in the Gulf of Guinea which she calls her "provinces."* Throughout this period these areas have made no social or economic progress whatever. The Spanish colonialists have been too preoccupied with plundering our natural wealth for anything else. And now, if official statements are to be believed, Spain has performed a miracle — within three months it has accomplished what it failed to do in one and a half centuries! The Governor-General, submitting the protocols to General Franco, declared that within the past three months tremendous strides had been made in our territories and that further progress was envisaged.

That the governing circles in Spain and their representatives in our country support the actions of the colonialists does not surprise us. We know that they are anxious to retain possession of our territories as long as possible. After all, the biggest shareholders of the companies exploiting our forest resources are such prominent Spanish government officials as Luis Carrero Blanco, Minister Under-Secretary of the Presidency, and Diaz de Villegas, Director for the African territories and provinces.

The Spanish rulers like to talk about their "peaceful intentions." But how can they talk about peacefulness when the truth is that the Spanish "provinces" have never known any peace, not to mention elementary social and

*In 1960 an administrative reform was carried out in Spanish Guinea "abolishing" the colonial status of Rio Muni and Fernando Po and proclaiming them "mainland provinces." The purpose of the reform was to reinforce the colonial regime in Spanish Guinea under a different guise.

political equality. Here is one of many examples. A Spaniard who may be altogether illiterate and who occupies the humblest position in his own country, has only to come to Spanish Guinea to be assured a life of ease and comfort. But never has a single African, whatever abilities or education he might possess, been able to obtain a position of any responsibility. Wages seem to exist only for the white settlers. The salary paid to a single white settler is five times as high as the total wages of 15 African workers. And all this is explained by the "inferiority" of the indigenous population.

Our people are quite capable of managing their own affairs. We are not afraid of the "storms" at which the colonialists are constantly hinting, implying that with their departure our people would be left in the grip of anarchy. We are not afraid of the colonialist threats and we shall continue to fight for national liberation.

If you see a report in any Spanish or other foreign newspaper or journal to the effect that tranquillity reigns in the Spanish colonies of Fernando Po and Rio Muni, do not believe it. Spanish domination in our country rests on brute force against the defenseless inhabitants, and no one will believe the colonialists that this is necessitated by the "alarming activities of the native population directed against the Spanish government."

In this day and age nothing can save the rotten regime of colonial barbarism. Spanish colonialism too is beginning to feel the blows of the national liberation movement. Notwithstanding all its subterfuges and brutalities it will not be able to escape its doom. The days of Spanish domination are numbered. The rising tide of popular struggle for national liberation in Spanish Guinea is proof of this.

The Unity of Revolutionary Forces

WE HAVE received a letter addressed to the Chief Editor from H. W. Edwards in Ghana raising a number of questions concerning the review published in our March issue of the discussion "The Socialist World System and the National Liberation Movement."

The letter reads in part: "After more than fifteen years in the U.S. Negro community and a year and a half in Ghana, I find the sub-

ject of deep personal and political interest. Of course, my remarks will be based upon my own experience and will deal largely with Africa, since that is what I know. But I assume that my thoughts can be applied in one degree or another to the national-liberation movement as a whole . . . What I wish to say concerns the orientation of the article as a whole. Perhaps it may be well to start from a springboard within the article which seems

to lead to my conclusions, and that is the question of why certain theories, like 'African socialism' or 'Arab socialism' are arising in today's world. Of course, what was said is true: these phenomena do reflect the vast influence of socialism on all countries. But is that all they reflect? Is this even their main motivation?

"Personally, based on many discussions with Africans and Afro-Americans living in Africa, I think there may be another major reason for these 'types' of socialism. It lies in the burning desire of these peoples for true independence *now*. They want to assume full responsibility for their own destiny, including what they feel is their right to make their own mistakes. For this reason, they often openly express their determination not to *imitate* other Marxist-Leninist parties or paths. Centuries of degradation, humiliation and brutal oppression led them to this position, in which lies hidden a great compass which Marxists could, if they would, use as a guide to the proper approach to such people . . ."

Further the author of the letter says that after reading the summary of the discussion she was left with the impression that in the relations between the socialist world and the national-liberation movement "*all aid and benefit between these two world sectors moves in one direction only*; that is, from the socialist world to the national-liberation movements. There is no hint that the reverse may also be true." The letter goes on: "An African once said to me, 'There is too much of charity in aid from the socialist countries; and we Africans hate charity'. (He was not an anti-communist; far from it.) I could not help recalling that remark in reading the WMR discussion. For by noting only the contributions of socialism to the national-liberation movements, it thereby in a way confirmed this judgment of 'charity'."

The letter also asks for more light on a number of other questions. Below is an answer by our Chief Editor, A. M. Romyantsev.

Dear Friend,

The questions you raise in your letter are, in my opinion, important from the standpoint of both theory and practice. I therefore decided to reply through our journal.

I am pleased to note that your appraisal of the seminar on the subject "The Socialist World System and the National-Liberation Movement" which was reviewed in our March 1963 issue is on the whole favorable. At the same time, however, you make some observations which deserve attention.

First of all I should like to dwell on the nature of the relations between the socialist world system and the national-liberation movement. You quote what your African friend said about there being "too much of charity" in the aid rendered by the socialist countries to the newly independent states and say that this judgment was in a way confirmed by the discussion. Being condensed, our report of the seminar does not of course throw sufficient light on all aspects of the subject. We intend to publish the discussion in full in book form, and when this is done I am sure that many of the questions you pose will simply not arise at all. But even the abridged report given in our journal surely leaves no doubt that there is a close connection between world socialism and the national-liberation movement and that the two are interactive.

The socialist countries do not extend any humiliating "charity" to the newly-emerged sovereign states. No one has ever posed the question thus or expected any tokens of gratitude. The aid given to the national-liberation movement by the socialist system is an expression of objectively necessary comradely cooperation among all forces combating imperialism. In the course of this cooperation the national-liberation movement in its turn aids the socialist states by dealing telling blows at imperialism and colonialism. The socialist states respect all peoples irrespective of nationality, color of skin or race and consider them equal. This principle stems from the very essence of world socialism and the nature of its relations with the national-liberation movement, which is a component of the single worldwide revolutionary process of man's transition from capitalism to socialism. In 1919 Lenin wrote that "the socialist revolution will not consist only or mainly in the struggle of the revolutionary proletarians of each country against their bourgeoisie; no, it will consist in the struggle of all the colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, the struggle of all dependent countries against international imperialism."

The victory of the socialist revolution first in Russia and then in a large group of countries in Europe and Asia was the principal and decisive fact which ensured the success of the national-liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies. Only when socialism had become a powerful force exerting the decisive influence on world development could such epoch-making events as the liberation of more than 1,500 million people from colonial

rule and the establishment of more than 50 sovereign states on the ruins of the colonial empires take place.

However, the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples would not have achieved such results had not the necessary socio-economic and political prerequisites matured and the social forces capable of fighting for their liberation emerged in these countries. Independence does not come of itself. It has to be won in long and difficult struggle. And in order not to carry on the fight blindfolded but clearly to see the perspectives and aims of the struggle, it is necessary to know the laws of social development. Marxism-Leninism provides this knowledge. Marxism, which above all defines the general laws governing human development, calls for the assessment of the *particular* aspects on the basis and in the light of the *general*. Hence it is not a question of *imitating* other Marxist-Leninist parties, but of independently solving the concrete issues of struggle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. You quite correctly say that the victories of the national-liberation movement are an important factor strengthening the positions of the socialist world system. The national-liberation movement should not be regarded in isolation from the socialist system and its powerful influence on world development. In order correctly to understand and assess a social phenomenon, it must be approached not from national or race but from class positions.

There are three basic revolutionary forces in the world today: the socialist world system, the international working-class movement, and the national-liberation revolutions. The interconnection and unity of these forces is the guarantee of success in the struggle against imperialism. Any attempt to drive a wedge between them or to counterpose one to the other, whatever the guise in which may be done, can only weaken the united anti-imperialist front. Limiting the "storm belt" of the world revolution to the colonies, former colonies and semi-colonies in effect means relegating to the background and minimizing the importance of the revolutionary struggle of the socialist countries, the international proletariat and other forces opposed to the imperialist monopolies. Unity of all revolutionary forces is the guarantee of success in the anti-imperialist struggle.

You also mention the so-called "national socialisms" and say that their emergence is not only a reflection of the vast influence of socialism on all countries. But no one poses the question thus. It goes without say-

ing that the rise of diverse "socialist" theories in the Asian and African countries testifies primarily to the mounting urge evinced by the masses towards socialism, the power of attraction of which has vastly grown. It should be noted, however, that this is a new and exceedingly complex question requiring a differentiated approach taking into account the great variety of historical, economic and social conditions encountered in the various countries.

An examination of the so-called "national socialisms" of Asia and Africa shows that these theories and views are of many varieties and shades. But one thing is unquestionable: these "socialist" theories, notwithstanding their inconsistency and contradictoriness, have taken shape under pressure from the masses, who reject the capitalist path of development, correctly identifying capitalism with the colonialism which has meant national and social enslavement for them. It is not by chance that many leaders of countries that have won their freedom from colonial rule speak of socialism as a tangible way of overcoming age-old backwardness and entering the ranks of the industrially developed countries within a historically brief space of time. It would, however, be a mistake not to see that some spokesmen of a certain section of the national bourgeoisie use socialist slogans as a smoke-screen to conceal the essentially capitalist development of their countries.

I should like to draw your attention to the fact that we often encounter simplified interpretations of this complex question. Socialism as a progressive social system whose members are the joint owners of modern means of production and know no exploitation, is possible only on the foundation of large-scale industrial and agricultural production, the latest technology ensuring a high productivity of labor and, consequently, the maximum satisfaction of the needs of all members of society, and extensive intercourse between nations. The socialist ideal is not equalization of consumption at the existing low level of development of the productive forces, but the creation of conditions making it possible to achieve, in a society where exploitation and its foundation — private property — have been abolished, a productivity of labor higher than under capitalism and capable of ensuring an abundance of the material and spiritual good things of life for all and leading to the harmonious, all-round development of each.

This is not a narrow, zonal definition of socialism, but the genuinely scientific, uni-

versally valid Marxist definition; to speak of some special "Afro-Asian socialism" which allegedly needs no developed industry and can be based on agricultural production alone, a "socialism" stemming from the villages and not the towns, is to distort the substance of Marxism. Since no up-to-date mechanized agriculture can be created without modern industry, the proponents of such views would ground socialism on backward farming thereby reverting to the ideas of "egalitarian communism" which Marx and Engels severely criticized.

In the present conditions such "agrarian socialism" divorced from the socialist world system will either remain a utopian pipe-dream of a completely isolated economy perpetuating its backwardness or become simply an agrarian adjunct of the imperialist monopolies. Needless to say, each country working for its economic and cultural regeneration should make the maximum use of all its internal resources. But this has nothing in common with self-isolation within national boundaries.

Today all countries are encompassed by a universal system of international economic ties — the world market. The question is not of whether to become a party to these ties or not. The question is how and orienting on what contemporary forces is international economic cooperation to be effected. Such cooperation is essential not only to overcome economic backwardness but to ensure continued progress. For in our day no country can advance if it isolates itself from the world and does not draw on the best that has been created by the labor of the peoples of the

industrially developed countries.

All-round close economic cooperation between the peoples of the formerly dependent agrarian countries and the socialist states delivers the former from the need to choose between the frying-pan and the fire — bondage to the imperialists or perpetual backwardness; it opens for these peoples already now the tangible prospect of non-capitalist development. Relying on the steadily growing strength of world socialism, the peoples of the countries which have freed or are freeing themselves from colonialism are able to stand up to imperialism and to choose the path according with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation. Herein lies the lasting significance of the socialist world system.

A final point. You are quite right in saying that Marxist scholars from the newly emerged or emergent countries, in particular from Africa, were insufficiently represented in the discussion. The editors of *World Marxist Review* propose to organize a symposium to deal especially with the pressing problems of the present stage of the African national-liberation movement. Such a symposium would afford an opportunity to make a deeper study of many questions pertaining to the socio-economic and political development of the young African states.

We hope that besides Marxist theoreticians, representatives of the broad democratic and progressive public of the African countries will take an active part in the coming exchange of views.

Respectfully yours,

A. RUMYANTSEV

Reviews

The Only Choice — Peaceful Coexistence *

THE above is the essence of a most penetrating 48-page booklet by Gus Hall, leading Communist in the United States of America.

It has been said that at every critical period in human history men come to the fore who possess the faculty of seeing farther and deeper than others, of judging events and

developments in their essence and not by their appearance. They have the ability of providing the leadership needed to achieve social advance. The American working class and progressives generally have produced such a leader in the person of Gus Hall.

The vital choice confronting humanity at this period of history is either peaceful coexistence or a devastating nuclear war. It has been described in popular terms as being a choice

*The Only Choice—Peaceful Coexistence by Gus Hall, New Century Publishers, New York, 1963.

between life and death. It would appear that such a choice would not be debatable. What sane, common sense person would hesitate to choose life over death? Yet, incredible as it may seem, there are forces in the world which are bent on unleashing a nuclear war. There are some misguided souls who fall prey to the anti-communist slogan "Better dead than red." There are some who go to great lengths to concoct various theories seeking to convince people that a nuclear war is unavoidable and victory will be achieved by the side which strikes the first blow. Hence they advocate a "preventative war." There are certain self-appointed "experts" who maintain that a nuclear war would not be so terrible. It may result in the death of 800 million people, but this they claim will assist in the solution of the "population explosion." There are even some who infer that it is possible to raise the edifice of socialism from the ashes and ruins of nuclear war. Gus Hall deals with these and other related problems most penetratingly, with iron logic and common sense and puts forward the point of view of Marxism-Leninism as seen from the citadel of world reaction — American imperialism.

Anyone seeking rational answers to the complex questions of our time, anyone seeking an outstanding example as to how the science of Marxism-Leninism should be used as a guide to action in this epoch will find this booklet a most valuable contribution.

Gus Hall examines the main world developments and more particularly the main developments in the USA and through a searching scientific analysis draws the conclusion that we are living in the "Age of Change." We are living in the period of the most revolutionary transition of human history. The social system which had achieved world domination — capitalism — is now in decline and is being replaced by a superior social system — socialism.

"In our society, all forces who recognize this as the Age of Change will labor to make it also an Age of Reason. The forces in our country who deny that it is an Age of Change are also the forces which will set up road blocks and promote chaos and violence. They would replace an Age of Change and Reason with an age where mankind crawls from modern achievements into the graveyard and wasteland of nuclear disaster."*

The above statement very vividly describes the positions of the contending forces in the present phase of the struggle and the choice confronting the people of the USA.

It is indicative of the nature of our times that millions of Americans in all walks of life are probing and searching for answers to the main question of our epoch. As an instance, Gus Hall takes up the four questions under the ten-year study by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (a Research Center financed by big business):

A. Can man in this new age control the surge of technology for the good of individual freedom and general welfare?

B. Can man prevent total nuclear war which could destroy civilization?

C. Can man provide a more abundant life for all without crippling losses of individual liberties?

D. Can man open up the resources of mind and spirit that could raise human life to the highest level of its potential?*

The answers of the American Communists to these questions are in the affirmative. The author of the booklet under review sets out to prove most convincingly that these goals cannot be reached under capitalism. They can only be fully reached under socialism. Pending the achievement of socialism the American Communists are prepared to cooperate with all forces to "win for the people whatever is possible in the old system of capitalism."** To achieve these goals requires a stubborn struggle against the "will of the titans who control the capitalist system."***

In assessing the process of change the author points to the fact that the pace of change continues to accelerate; "because of this, there seems to be no end to the ever new combinations of political phenomena, to novel developments and even to surprises."**** It follows logically that Marxism-Leninism must at all times take into account the far-reaching changes and elaborate its strategy and tactics to reflect the new objective reality. It is from this starting point that the author deals forthrightly, calmly and with scientific precision with the clash of ideas among Marxists. The issues under dispute are not of an academic character. No Marxist can sit on the sidelines and await developments. The issues involved must be argued out and resolved. They concern the policies and tactics of every Communist Party in the world. The American Communists intend to defend their position against all attacks. The American Communists have elaborated their own policies at their conventions. While the policies they pursue in their country have been elaborated inde-

*Ibid, p. 3.

**Ibid, p. 5.

***Ibid p. 5.

****Ibid. p. 5.

*The Only Choice—Peaceful Coexistence, p. 4.

pendently based on the interests of the working class and the nation it is of course not unimportant that they coincide with the policies elaborated by the world Marxist movement. The American Communists refrained from issuing any public statement on the clash of ideas among Marxists until their policies were publicly challenged and attacked. The American Communists intend to continue the discussion within bounds, because it is their responsibility to do so in the interest of the American working class and the people and because it is their contribution to international working class solidarity, to unity of the world Communist movement and to the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and its creative development.

The policies and tactics of the American Communists are based on objective reality. Marxism-Leninism is a science and if it is to continue as a science it must reflect reality at every given stage of human development. The author points out that the struggle against dogmatism is a struggle to preserve and develop Marxism-Leninism as a living science" . . . "this struggle must determine that Marxism does not become fettered and shackled, a book of sterile abstract phrases to be handed down through the ages, continually drying up, having less meaning to reach new generations which face life's problems and realities." Marxism as a science is a generalization of accumulated experiences of man's actions in society. This explains not only the main reasons for the differences, it at the same time provides confidence that the differences will be resolved. ". . . the very same processes of life which have given rise to Marxism will help to cure any mistaken concepts in its vital body of thought. The science is deeply anchored in objective reality and in the struggle of the working class and it will continue to grow and develop."*

The people of the world are confronted with complex and rapidly changing historic events. The historic changes require profound scientific analysis. It is only on the basis of such an analysis that clear perspectives can be elaborated. It is not a contest of reciting more and better quotations and formulas from the past. Creative Marxism rejects both revisionism and dogmatism. To enrich and extend the science of Marxism-Leninism it is necessary to study practice and to generalize the phenomena of real life, the facts, even if such findings do not fit into the well-memorized, customary formulas. The processes of real life

are changing and are often slow and imperceptible. If science fails to take into account the major changes in phenomena it ceases to be a scientific guide for action. It becomes fixed, it does not any longer reflect the new, it becomes a dogma, a dead pattern.

The viewpoint of the dogmatic approach refuses to take into account the new developments of the present epoch, which imparts new generalizations to the science of Marxism-Leninism. While admitting in words that great changes have taken place in the world in the past decade, the adherents of this viewpoint refuse to draw the necessary conclusions. The dogmatists cast doubt on and reject the strategy and tactics elaborated by the world Communist movement based on the main character of the present epoch. Our epoch is not simply the epoch of imperialism, and war, it is the epoch of the disintegration of imperialism, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and the formation and strengthening of the world socialist system. This is the new reality and it calls for new conclusions.

On the basis of this creative analysis a new conclusion was arrived at by the world Communist movement, namely, that as a result of the emergence of the world socialist system war is no longer a fatal inevitability. Those who challenge this new conclusion fly in the face of reality and objectively hamper the struggle of the working class against imperialism and war.

The author, pursuing the logic of his searching analysis, subjects state monopoly capitalism in the USA, the still strongest capitalist country in the world, to the most sober and penetrating examination. In examining the body politic and economy of the USA he does so within the framework of the developing competition between the two social systems, which provides an understanding of the internal processes in both worlds. "On the one hand all the internal processes which are the features of the system of socialism move in the direction that guarantees and spells out increasing growth and strength for the present and for the future." "On the other hand every process in the capitalist world leads to continued failure in meeting the needs of the people and to further weakness of the system itself."*

In dealing with the growth of monopoly in the USA he points out that 30 years ago one per cent of the adult population owned 60 per cent of all corporate stocks, now one per cent owns close to 80 per cent of all corporate

*Ibid. pp. 7 and 8.

*Ibid. p. 10.

stocks. "There is no future strength for capitalism in this trend,"* concludes the author.

The same trend can be seen in the development of state monopoly capitalism in the USA. The interlacing of the state with monopoly is continuing at a rapid pace and by virtue of this development narrows its base and conversely widens the economic and political base of the anti-monopoly struggle.

But the fact "that the state must and does intervene points up the weakness of capitalism and indicates the imperative need for a socialist solution to the contradictions which are inherent in capitalism."** The author draws the logical conclusion that the contrast of the trends of development in the two world systems provides the evidence to prove that socialism is becoming stronger than capitalism and that the time has passed when capitalism can determine the course of history.

These conclusions also flow from the development of the violent convulsions and contradictions within the capitalist world. "Not long ago the capitalist world superficially appeared to be a united entity, neatly tied together by the strings of NATO, SEATO, CENTO, OAS and the Common Market. U.S. imperialism pretended that it had to be asked to become the leader of this 'Grand Alliance'. We, who have the use of Marxism knew, of course, that there were other inner processes at work and that this 'Alliance' under U.S. imperialism was not so 'grand'."***

On the basis of the objective analysis of world and U.S. trends of development the author elaborates the policies and tactics being pursued by the American Communists and proves that these policies and tactics conform with and are a reflection of the real situation. Gus Hall deals with all aspects of Communist Party policy in America and ably discloses the connection between the fight for peaceful co-existence and against the arms race, on the one hand, and the development of the national-liberation movement, on the other. He deals with the question of polemics and indicates his agreement with the proposal advanced by Nikita Khrushchov at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic. He calls for the discussion to confine itself to the basic questions "... free of subjective and slanderous name-calling such as the utterly irresponsible charge of 'Munich' made against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."**** He, however, insists on the right and the necessity of

discussing the issues and the policies concerning the work of the Communist Party in the USA.

He vigorously advocates that the peddling of nonsense on the part of the dogmatists be stopped and the discussion be conducted on a sound basis. "In recent writings the dogmatists have accused the world Marxist movement of supporting imperialism, of going from class struggle to class collaboration, of being opposed to all national liberation revolutions, of supporting monopoly capitalism, of cowardice, of selling out to imperialism, and of becoming social-democrats. Such utter irresponsibility and disregard for the facts is certainly shocking."*

He deals with the Cuban events of last October as seen by the American Communists and rejects as slander and irresponsibility the accusation made by the dogmatists that "a compromise of this sort can only be regarded as 100 per cent appeasement, a 'Munich' pure and simple."** He points to the real significance of the outcome to the Cuban crisis. "This was a signal victory for the heroic people of Cuba, for the might of world socialism, and for the partisans of peace throughout the world. It was a victory for the forces that now determine the over-all direction of history."***

He deals with the fight for general and complete disarmament and with the role of the diversified peace movement in the United States and considers these movements and struggles most important. He rejects the charge that these struggles are creating illusions amongst the masses.

He deals with the new trends in the trade union movement and the fight against the consequences of automation. He points to the very significant and determined strike struggles for the right of the working class to earn a living. He greets these developments and rejects the accusation that all the trade union leaders are demagogues, "agents of imperialism, advocates of the cold war and sell-out artists."

He deals with the tactics of the Communists and the Left in relation to electoral policy. He calls attention to the historic involvement of the two-party system and more particularly the important developments taking place within the Democratic Party. He points to the possibility of the emergence of peace candidates in 1964 and emphasizes the need for the development of independent elec-

*Ibid. p. 13.

**Ibid. p. 17.

***Ibid. p. 10.

****Ibid. p. 22.

*Ibid. p. 24.

**Ibid. p. 24.

***Ibid. p. 29.

toral work in forms applicable to the concrete conditions in the USA. He indicates the likely road through which there will emerge in the future a People's Party based on Labor and the Negro people.

He stresses the correctness of the policy which differentiates between the Kennedy Administration and the ultra-Right. "Not to take note of these differences, and to assume that the entire Administration and all public spokesmen for American capitalism are part of the ultra-Right is to do a disservice to our class and people. This leads to hopelessness and a dead end. It is not correct nor is it realistic. In such an outlook there is no room for openings or for levers by which to mobilize sections of our people. This does not lead to struggle or movement."*

He deals penetratingly with the significance of the militant struggle of the Negro people as an essential component of the unfolding mansided struggles of the American people as a whole. "There is a new quality as well as quantity to the struggles and movements to end all forms of discrimination and inequality against Negro Americans. The mass struggles of the Negro people continue at a steady pace. These struggles have won some very impressive electoral victories in the last elections. This new quality is seen in the great militancy and determination which pervades the Negro people's movement for equality. And now it is seen in the new awareness and awakening amongst white Americans as shown in the very militant struggles of the youth and now in the ranks of the churches. This is, indeed, very encouraging."**

He deals creatively with the possibilities of the development of the peaceful, revolutionary path to socialism. The American Communists will do everything in their power to achieve the transformation of capitalist America to a socialist America by peaceful means. This is-

*Ibid. p. 30.

**Ibid. p. 36.

sue will be decided by the relative strength of the contending forces and the world situation. Analyzing the relation of peaceful coexistence and the class struggle, he rejects the theory that there is any contradiction. He provides abundant proof to show that the concept of peaceful coexistence is compatible with and facilitates the class struggle. "The world Marxist movement has developed policies and tactics based on an assessment of the balance of forces in the present-day world. These are policies and tactics of class struggle, of national liberation, and of the struggle for socialism in the period when the scales of history have tipped to the side of socialism and progress."

"The policy of peaceful coexistence is the result of a changing objective world reality, of accumulated experiences of class struggle, of realism and of good common sense."*

"The concept of peaceful coexistence has enriched Marxism because it has added new and additional avenues, possibilities and tactics for the class struggle."**

The American Communists are convinced that Marxism will triumph. As Gus Hall puts it in his concluding paragraph.

"We are convinced that the test of life will prove the Marxist outlook correct. If, in the process of this test, we will find out that we have erred to one degree or another, we will openly and frankly study the errors and make corrections. This is how all sciences grow."***

It is not possible in a brief review to deal fully with all the questions and answers given in this remarkable, comprehensive Marxist-Leninist booklet. The purpose of this review is to call the attention of our readers to this timely booklet and to urge them to read and study it. We are confident that everyone will find it stimulating and instructive.

N. FREED

*Ibid. p. 25.

**Ibid. pp. 26-27.

***Ibid. p. 48.

A Plea for the Future or the Past?

CONSPICUOUS among the spate of books and articles that have appeared recently dealing with the immediate prospects of social progress is a work bearing the highly promising title *A Plea for the Future*. Written by L. Armand, (in collaboration with M. Drancourt) one time Director of the National Railway Company of France and the first Presi-

dent of Euratom, it has evoked a good deal of comment in the bourgeois press. *A Plea for the Future* is noteworthy not because it opens any new horizons. Its value lies not in the solutions it offers but in the problems it poses, in the understanding, or rather the awareness, of the inevitable major socio-economic changes confronting a large part of

mankind, changes which the authors would like to direct into the, to them, familiar channel of capitalist relations.

**Monkey at the Typewriter or Where
"Structural Inertia" Leads . . .**

The future with which the authors of this book are concerned is the future of the "Western world." For it is that future which they believe to be threatened by the discrepancy between the level of technical development of the "Western world" and its organizational and social structure.

The modern age, they aver, is an age of profound and irreversible social change. The scientific and technological revolution has completely altered the technological foundations of human society, especially at the present stage. And they cite facts and figures showing that the changes are indeed great and that a new stage has been reached in the development of the production-technological basis of society.

Marx, stressing the decisive role played by changes in the material conditions of life, said that "steam, electricity and the self-acting mule were revolutionists of a rather more dangerous character than even the citizens Barbes, Raspail and Blanqui." (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. Edition, Vol. 1, p. 359. English Edition.) In modern society atomic energy and automation, electronics and synthetic materials, aircraft and rocketry are the "revolutionaries" who are surreptitiously gnawing at the roots of existing relations, changing the very foundations of international exchange and division of labor. The scale, complexity and independence of modern technology is such as to necessitate socialization of production capacities and coordination of effort on a colossal scale. Modern technology does not tolerate national or any other kind of exclusiveness. The productive forces, thus, become universal, they transcend national boundaries, and cooperation itself becomes a new productive force, the only force, incidentally, capable of solving production problems on the level of modern requirements. On the other hand, the technological and scientific potential accumulated by the industrially-advanced countries is so great that were it used to assist the underdeveloped countries, the living standard and general development of the world's population could be evened up and an era of abundance ushered in throughout the world within a relatively brief historical period.

So much for the trends and potentialities.

These processes, however, take very different forms in the socialist countries and in the countries of the capitalist system. In the latter, as the book under review reveals, the changed technological basis of society has not been accompanied by corresponding changes in economic organization, administrative forms, methods, etc. As a result, the boundless possibilities afforded by technological progress are unused, and the productive forces are wasted. "One has only to see a monkey pounding a typewriter," the authors observe parenthetically, "to get a picture of some 20th century societies." (p. 20)

Hence the crisis of social structures, the loss of equilibrium which "everyone feels today." (p. 87.) The real danger lies in the "inertia of structures" that emerged during the industrial revolution of the 18th-19th centuries (p. 87), and which must be radically changed to meet the demands of the present. Failure to realize this leads to a state of "permanent crisis."

Some aspects of this crisis find vivid reflection in the book. Despite all the talk about the arrival of the "era of abundance," the disappearance of class distinctions, etc., the authors are obliged to admit that "there still are some who possess excessive wealth and far too many poor people" (p. 141), and that two out of every three people in the world are constantly undernourished.

The book shows how the interests of society are sacrificed to personal gain; how private companies in their drive for profit ignore the social consequences of their actions; what pernicious effects the existing system has on public thinking, on education, the press and other information media.

The administrative set-up in some capitalist countries, specifically France, is likewise criticized as being ill-adapted to modern technological requirements, inflexible and paralyzed by "verticalism."

The list of the unhealthy manifestations of the discrepancy that has developed in the West between the technological basis of society and the social structure is long indeed. The authors have no illusions as to the probable consequences of this discrepancy. If the organizational structure of society is not brought up to the level of modern technology, they declare, there will be an "explosion" (pp. 87, 194, and elsewhere), and the "greater the delay the more terrible" the explosion. Attempts to preserve the "past" inevitably lead to internal conflicts which break down the existing structure, in other words, to the masses "rebellious against authority" (p. 231).

Armand and Drancourt naturally intended their book to provide something of a program of escape from the crucial situation, a means of avoiding revolutionary perturbations. What does it consist of?

The "Last Reformists" or How to Reconcile the Irreconcilable

When one examines the program offered by the authors of *A Plea for the Future* one is involuntarily reminded of a statement made last June by J. Bidgegain at the congress of the Association of Young Employers — an organization of capitalists who are vigorously boosting the idea of European integration and rationalization of industry. "We are the last reformists," he said. "After us, if we fail, will come the revolutionaries." (*L'Express*, June 21, 1962.)

This indeed appears to be the leitmotif of all the sentiments expressed by Armand and Drancourt in their book.

They propose, first, that France reorganize her social structure in conformity with the principles of team-work and planning implicit in modern technology; and secondly, build her economy within the framework of a united, integrated Europe. Moreover, the reorganization should be effected simultaneously and in conjunction with European integration since the association of the European countries is in itself a result of human evolution toward "collective" organization and the new dimensions of technology. And this, the authors believe, can be more easily effected in a "Europeanized" France than if France were to "go it alone." "Europe," they write, "is the measure of contemporary reality, and not France, however rich she might be . . ." (p. 247). If France taken separately is not on a par with modern technological requirements, in an integrated Europe she would become part of a force equivalent to or approximating that of the United States or the USSR with their human and material resources, and would "measure up" to the requirements essential for the full development of the modern technological potential which could create an abundance of material benefits in a brief space of time.

"Regulation" of the economy, planning and co-ordination of economic activity on a national, and what is most important, on an international plane; multi-lateral (not bilateral) economic ties — these in the authors' opinion constitute "one of the essentials of organization in the modern world" (pp. 113-114). Evolution, they maintain, is moving towards "col-

lective organization" which springs from the very nature of the "technological age."

Armand and Drancourt are keenly aware not only of the crisis of the modern bourgeois world; they see, too, that the general trend of human development is toward a planned, collective social organization. However, their appraisal of the problem of the discrepancy between the productive forces and production relations in modern capitalist society is far from scientific. Theirs is a much more superficial and narrow approach: they deal only with the technological basis of society, the level of scientific and technical progress, on the one hand, and the "organization" of socio-economic life, on the other. They detach themselves completely from the *class relationships* and are concerned solely with the administrative organizational relations in bourgeois society. This explains the abstract juxtaposition of technological potential and the existing requirements and the assumption that the regulation of social development with an eye to the maximum collective benefit and the fullest realization of the technological potential can be left to the conscience and intelligence of the "organizers." The only obstacles to this are ignorance, inertia and lack of information, the authors declare, forgetting that there are other more formidable obstacles such as social relations and class interests. And if the problems arising from technological development and from the character of modern productive forces are not spelled out in terms of political and class struggle, the result is that professional cretinism, that blind faith in the omnipotence of technology which one *L'Express* reviewer has described as "technicist optimism" (See Review of *A Plea for the Future* published in *L'Express* of November 30 and December 7, 1961). Why should the American farmers not produce more grain and other agricultural products, the authors ask; after all, these products are badly needed by the starving people in other parts of the world, and it is only a matter of organizing their distribution properly! The fact that there exist certain social obstacles to this project — mainly the predatory nature of capitalism and the profit motive — appears to have escaped their attention completely.

The same applies to the authors' plans for simplifying and rationalizing the organizational structure of capitalist economy. They blandly overlook the fact that in this sphere too any change affects the class interests of people, and they seem to forget that they are not living in a world where problems are solved by knowledge alone, simply by "dream-

ing up" the most rational plan of organization. One cannot, for example, rationalize management and do away with the bureaucratic machine by a mere stroke of the pen, since this involves the question of social privileges and sinecures for certain sections and classes of capitalist society. Bureaucracy is a contemporary social form in which parasitism (the parasitism of private property) exists in bourgeois society. On the other hand, the cumbersome and unwieldy bureaucratic machine is created and reproduced by the monopolies as an instrument of control over the socialization and concentration of production in modern society, as a means of preventing these processes from eluding their power and of making them serve their interests. There can be no monopoly without bureaucracy, i.e., without an unwieldy and inefficient organization. Yet the authors are not concerned with the monopolies at all.

Laying the emphasis exclusively on technology and management, the authors see an integrated Europe merely as a new major "dimension"; they do not see the monopolies, i.e., the old socio-economic structure, which is least of all suited to the new technology. They hide the fact that integration is an attempt to squeeze the new processes into the old structure, that instead of collectivism, which is inherent in the nature of modern productive forces, it is the class solidarity of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the solidarity of anarchy and cutthroat competition, that is being affirmed. Capitalist France will not measure up to the requirements of modern social productive forces, either inside the Common Market or outside it. On the other hand, the establishment of exclusive economic blocs (and that is what Europe united under monopoly aegis will be) means preserving the old social structure also in the sense that it does not accord with multilateral economic ties and the universal character of the productive forces. For one thing, it can only delay the technological revolution in the underdeveloped countries, i.e., the establishment of a "global" economy, the very thing which Armand and Drancourt are advocating.

Thus, having raised the question of replacing the old social structures, Armand and Drancourt in effect end up by defending the old against the new. In the final analysis, most of the measures they call for are in one or another form advocated by all those who believe in the "transformation of capitalism," "human relations" and other such concepts; in the establishment of "mutual understanding between state and citizen and the removal

of the antithesis between them" (p. 208), "collective discipline" (p. 100), preferably voluntary and conscious; and good relations between workers and management.

Propounding the idea of combining the capitalist principle of giving "maximum scope to initiative and risk" with "effective planning" (pp. 102, 103), — and they lay special emphasis on the advantages for the West "of combining planning with initiative" (p. 171)—the authors maintain that such a system would serve to overcome the "antinomy" of capitalism and socialism.

They make it quite clear, however, that the system they have in mind is a capitalist system, with private ownership of the means of production, profit, competition and other attributes of capitalism. All that has to be done, they maintain, is to see to it that private property, profit, competition, etc., do not become the "sole criteria" (p. 123), that they should be free of "distortion", "excesses" or "abuses" (pp. 120, 121, 123), and should not be turned against economic progress and the public interest. "The criterion of profit" must be associated "with the criterion of collective usefulness." (p. 171.) This is the only way in which private enterprise can "play an important role in future societies, where the interests of the collective will predominate." (p. 171.)

That the interest of the community will predominate in the society of the future can hardly be disputed. But social usefulness is not and cannot be the determining factor for a capitalist enterprise. The determinant here is profit.

Any attempt to make private enterprise serve the interests of society and subordinate it to effective planning is an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable, a reactionary illusion which is actually a thinly-veiled apology for the capitalist system.

Serving the "Past"

To give the authors of *A Plea for the Future* their due, the title of the book at any rate indicates their awareness that major socio-economic changes are inevitable in the capitalist world. And they would have their readers believe that they are speaking in the name of the future. Could the past not be saved, perhaps, by painting it to look like the future?

Hardly. All the modern theories about "transforming capitalism" have in one form or another sought to prove that this could be done by performing a simple surgical operation: lopping off the negative features

of one socio-economic system and grafting on elements of another in their place. Thus, capitalism without ceasing to be capitalism becomes "people's capitalism," a planned system administered exclusively for the benefit of society . . . The untenability of such eclectic operations was repeatedly demonstrated—in theory by Marx and his successors, in practice, by the many years' experience of state monopoly capitalism, the Right-wing socialist parties, and especially those in power at present or which were in power for a number of

years.

A Plea for the Future is one of the many contemporary utopian attempts to find a way out of the crisis of the bourgeois world by changing its organizational structure. This is a transformation based on an idealized concept of state monopoly capitalism and a cosmopolitan association of the Western countries.

A more appropriate title for the book would have been: "A Plea for the Past."

Svetozar EFIROV

Against the Persecution of Democrats

PARAGUAYAN LEADER MURDERED BY STROESSNER CLIQUE

STROESSNER, dictator of Paraguay, has committed another shameful crime: Wilfredo Alvarez Jara, member of the Political Commission of the C.C. and National Organizer of the Communist Party of Paraguay, was murdered on June 8.

"The terror and crimes perpetrated by this dictatorship of assassins are designed to intimidate our people and paralyze their struggle," says a manifesto issued by the Communist Party after the murder of the Communist leader.

On June 8, fifteen policemen raided the home of Wilfredo Alvarez Jara while a group of Communists were meeting there to discuss Party work for the political education of the masses. The gallant freedom fighters faced the police with armed resistance. During the shooting Wilfredo Jara was wounded in the leg. Unable to leave the house with his comrades, he told them to go and himself remained to cover their escape. The others managed to get away. Wilfredo Alvarez then destroyed all the documents which might damage the Party if they fell into the hands of the police. In his blood he wrote on the wall: "Long Live Communism!" "Long Live Democracy!"

The police could only break into the house when the hero had run out of cartridges. They seized the wounded man and stabbed him to death. Later, in a cowardly attempt to cover up their traces, the police alleged that Wilfredo Alvarez had committed suicide. "This is a lie," says the manifesto of the Party, "he was treacherously murdered by the police

when they captured him after he had been wounded."

That was how this glorious son of the people, one of the leaders of Paraguayan Communists, met his death.

Wilfredo Alvarez Jara was born in 1924 in a petty-bourgeois family. In 1946 he joined the Communist Party and took an active part in the youth movement in Asuncion. In 1947 he was arrested and remained in prison until 1949. He was then elected secretary of the Communist Youth Union in absentia. Since 1949 he had been a member of the Central Committee and of the Political Commission of the C.C., and since 1957 National Organizer and Secretary of the Central Committee.

Wilfredo Alvarez was always in the front line of the struggle against the Stroessner dictatorship, for the freedom of the people of Paraguay, for democracy and peace, for a better future of man, for communism.

In its manifesto in memory of Wilfredo Alvarez Jara, the Communist Party declares: "The heroism, integrity and iron will of Comrade Alvarez are an example to all democrats and patriots, to all the Paraguayan people in their heroic struggle against the Stroessner dictatorship of assassins and traitors."

The foul murder of the glorious patriot has evoked the wrath and indignation of the Paraguayan people and shocked public opinion throughout the world. The assassination of Wilfredo Alvarez was part of a sinister plan elaborated by Stroessner and his associates for the extermination of Communists and democrats. Last June the police arrested and

shot without trial Juan Carlos Riva, a leader of the Young Communist League. The lives of Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas, A. Maidana Palacios, Alfredo Alcorta, Mario Esteche and other political prisoners are in grave danger.

Indeed, not only political prisoners but practically anyone who is not to the liking of the ruling clique is in danger. With increasing

frequency Stroessner's armed gangs raid people's homes and have already arrested hundreds of patriots in Asuncion. But no terror can intimidate the people of Paraguay or make them give up their fight for freedom which will finally put an end to the Stroessner dictatorship.

Liborio VASQUEZ

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF SPAIN

SOLIDARITY with the people of Spain, fighting courageously and with growing force against Franco's fascist regime, was the theme of an international campaign launched in many European countries between June 7 and 15, in accordance with an appeal made by the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In its appeal the WFTU called on all working people throughout the world, both organized and unorganized, on all working-class organizations affiliated to the various international associations, to support the struggle of the Spanish people.

For all who follow the situation in Spain it is clear that important changes in the balance of forces have taken place, showing that there is a real possibility of abolishing the Franco regime and restoring democracy. Franco's dictatorship has been seriously weakened by the growing political and economic struggle of the working class in which agricultural laborers and peasants are also taking an active part. As the struggle grows sharper, the forces of opposition to the regime are being joined by new groupings, including Catholics. The question of replacing Franco is being raised openly by most political groups, including those represented in the government. The struggle of the working class and of all the Spanish people has placed Franco in increasing isolation.

The strike organized in the spring of 1962 — the biggest mass action since the Civil War — had important political repercussions both in Spain and outside it. Hundreds of thousands of workers struck, supported by the most diverse sections of the population. Alongside the economic and social demands the workers also put forward important political demands concerning trade union rights and civil liberties.

During the preparations for the international solidarity campaign, Franco's cutthroats murdered the great patriot Julian Grimau. This crime aroused a wave of indignation in all countries. Millions of men and women of

varying political opinion affiliated to different international trade union centers or to independent trade unions protested against his execution. At many meetings, demonstrations and strikes progressive people throughout the world protested against the murder of Grimau and against the bloodthirsty Franco regime.

Despite the police terror, the workers of many Spanish towns protested against Grimau's murder in many ways and declared their determination to carry on the fight for which Grimau gave his life.

In many countries trade unions belonging to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) or the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (ICCTU), autonomous trade unions and with them unorganized workers, took part in the protest movement against the Franco regime alongside the WFTU and all other democratic forces.

In France 50,000 people of different political parties and trade unions attended a protest meeting at the Paris Labor Exchange. This meeting was organized by the General Confederation of Labor, the Force Ouvriere, the Confederation of Christian Workers, the National Teachers' Federation, the National Union of Students, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party (SFIO), the United Socialist Party (PSU) and the Radical Party. Similar meetings took place in many other French towns.

In Italy, particularly in Rome, the different trade union centers unanimously called for token strikes and mass demonstrations.

British TUC leaders and active trade unionists expressed the indignation of the British working class in letters and telegrams of protest addressed to Franco.

In Latin America workers and trade unions of various affiliations protested vigorously against this new crime of the Franco regime. Workers in Scandinavia, North Africa and Asia also denounced the Franco authorities. The execution of the gallant Spanish patriot

aroused the indignation of all the working people in the socialist countries.

The way in which public opinion throughout the world has come out against Grimau's murder has shown most clearly that the progressive forces of the world denounce the Franco regime, that there is a real possibility of rallying the working people on such issues as the struggle against fascist dictatorship and of achieving the unity of trade unions in all countries whatever their international affiliations may be.

The preparatory work for the week of international solidarity with the people of Spain took place at a moment when the progressive forces of the world were coming out against Franco's fascist regime.

Working people and trade unionists of the ICFTU, ICCTU and autonomous unions took an active part in the solidarity campaign sponsored by the WFTU.

Had the leaders of the ICFTU and the ICCTU accepted the proposal of the United Trade Union Center of Chile that all international trade-union associations should hold one joint day of international solidarity, the results would, of course, have been better still.

Millions of working people throughout the world expressed their solidarity with the Spanish people. Unity was the keynote of many meetings and demonstrations.

In several departments of France workers affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor, the Force Ouvriere, the Confederation of Christian Workers and the National Teachers' Federation signed joint petitions, organized token strikes, held meetings and sent deputations to the Spanish Embassy and consulates.

At the end of June a wave of solidarity swept Italy.

On international solidarity day the big TUC unions in Great Britain — upholsterers, steel smelters and rolling mill workers — expressed their support for the people of Spain.

On the same day builders and other workers in Athens, themselves the victims of brutal repression and persecution, demonstrated their solidarity with their Spanish brothers.

Mass meetings were held in Vienna, Gratz, Linz and other Austrian towns. In Latin America the solidarity campaign was supported by many autonomous trade unions such as the National Confederation of Industrial Workers of Brazil as well as ICFTU organizations.

In North Africa the struggle of the Spanish people was supported by the autonomous trade union centers of Algeria and Morocco

(the General Union of Algerian Working People and the Moroccan Union of Labor). Canadian unions also took part in the campaign.

A particularly widespread campaign in support of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people was organized in the socialist countries.

* * *

Thus, international solidarity day can be considered an important step forward in the growing campaign of international working-class support for the Spanish people's struggle. This campaign should be continued and taken yet a step further.

It is more important than ever today to widen and strengthen the movement of solidarity with the Spanish workers, for they are engaged in a bitter fight against the Franco dictatorship, and many of their leaders, in particular Ramon Ormazabal, leader of the Basque workers, are in grave danger. The activity of the working people of all countries should now be coordinated in order to make their militant solidarity still more effective.

In view of the stand taken by the international trade-union associations (the WFTU, the ICFTU and the ICCTU) and their national centers against the Franco regime and for democratic and trade union rights in Spain, in view of the way in which the working people of all international trade union associations came out in protest at the murder of Julian Grimau, and the unity achieved during the international solidarity campaign, the WFTU puts forward the following question: is it not time for the leaders of the international and national trade union centers (the WFTU, the ICFTU and the ICCTU) as well as of the autonomous unions to come together to work out the basis for joint action in order to give still more effective aid to the fighting Spanish workers?

The WFTU would warmly welcome this meeting, considering it to be of great importance, since it accords with the aspirations of the working people throughout the world who are convinced that powerful united action could lead to the isolation of the Franco regime.

From the results of international solidarity day we can already foresee the establishment, in the near future, of a world trade union solidarity committee, open to all centers and international associations, which would seek to organize and coordinate activity for international solidarity with our Spanish brothers.

The door is open for the establishment of such a committee since representative local and regional solidarity committees have al-

ready been formed in many countries. The WFTU warmly welcomes the formation of these committees and calls on all trade unions to strengthen the existing committees and to set up others. The task of these committees is to give guidance to and coordinate all ac-

tivity throughout the world in support of the Spanish people's struggle.

The vigorous activity of working people everywhere will help the Spanish people to overthrow the Franco regime and establish a truly democratic movement. R. HERNIO

McCARTHYISM IN HONDURAS

(Letter from Tegucigalpa)

THE results of the San José meeting at which heads of government of the Central American countries held discussions with President Kennedy, are already being felt in Honduras, a country of so-called "representative democracy."

At the end of April the civil guards arrested several workers in the port of Tela. They were Feliciano Portillo, Leonardo Ferrera, Juan Pedro Càlix, Teodor Lemus and Ramon Salgado.

The next day Eugenio Hernández, Luis Midence, José Paz, Benjamin Andrade and Antonio Guardado were unlawfully arrested in the same port. Both groups were taken to San Pedro Sula, where they were subjected to long interrogations and tortured by members of the security police, who had been trained by the Yankee diplomat-policeman John Donney sent to Honduras specially for the purpose. Especially brutal was the treatment reserved for Feliciano Portillo, an outstanding fighter and democrat. He went through the "water torture" and the "electricity torture."

The sadists hoped their victims would tell them of the work of the Communist Party, give the names of leaders, and so on. But despite the torture, the democrats showed courage and dignity, refusing to give their comrades away or to sign false statements.

Shortly afterwards the Voice of America radio station announced to the world that the Communists had plotted against the President of Honduras but that the criminals were already in prison. In other words, the United States rushed ahead to accuse the prisoners of conspiratorial activity before the official case was published. It is significant that during the interrogation no mention was made of any "Communist plot with a view to making an attempt on the life of President Villeda." But this provocation launched by the U.S. radio station and taken up by the Honduras government did not deceive anyone.

In an attempt to calm the indignation of

the people when the facts about the torture became known, the authorities issued an official statement on May 10 in which they first denied that the security police had used Gestapo methods of interrogation, and then even denied the very existence of Feliciano Portillo, Leonardo Ferrera, Ramon Salgado and others who were subjected to torture. The statement says that these names were "invented" with the sole purpose of provoking disrespect for the President and that these persons were "unknown." It is hard to imagine a more cynical reply.

All honest people throughout the country are indignant at the behavior of the government and its police. The democratic press and radio have exposed the growing repression instigated by the U.S. boss who issues orders to his local flunkies.

The government has endorsed an unconstitutional decree, formulated in fascist fashion, to ban the importation and distribution of all printed matter that the authorities consider to be "subversive communist literature." As in the time of the Inquisition, this law provides for the burning of all progressive books and publications or indeed of anything that the government does not like. The police confiscate not only Marxist literature but also works by liberal and even conservative writers. This is explained by their ignorance and by the ideological nature of the repression which is aimed at stifling the slightest expression of democratic culture and banning all literature that does not directly support the idea of imperialist domination in Honduras. All that can be sold is pro-American literature extolling the "blessings" of capitalism, the "Alliance for Progress" and the "American way of life." Such literature preaches racial discrimination and neo-colonialism; it encourages the spread of gangsterism and prostitution.

Books by North American "educators" published specially for our countries are distributed in state schools. Many progressive and

democratic teachers and professors have been charged with supporting "communist ideas" and dismissed from state colleges and bodies of the Ministry of Education on orders from the U.S. Embassy and the local ultra-reactionaries.

Nor has the National Autonomous University, which has always played a progressive role and upheld the national traditions, been spared such McCarthyist attacks. Today the reactionaries are seeking to turn it into an anti-national and anti-communist bastion designed for the élite.

Access to state colleges and universities is closed to young people suspected of "communist ideas" or of being "sympathizers of the Cuban revolution." The reactionaries never give up trying to corrupt the youth, by using bribes and encouraging criminal activity of a fascist nature, such as the attacks in San Pedro Sula. In the big towns, especially in the north, this activity is led by agents of the U.S. consulates, by falangist and pro-imperialist priests who are hand in glove with the bourgeois elements and the state security police.

The democratic, undenominational education system won by our people in the last century

is also in grave danger. The Minister of Education has made morning prayers obligatory in state primary schools. Despite the protest of teachers and parents, the Minister has not given in; his position is strong, since he is supported by the forces of colonialism and reaction, by those Catholic priests, mainly foreigners, who seek to gain control of education and restore its colonial rights to the Church.

Last year Monsignor Turcios y Barahona, Archbishop of Honduras, was dismissed from his post because he refused to take part in the anti-communist crusade, because he denounced the policy imposed by the U.S. clergy on the Church of Honduras, and declined to oppose the democratic groups in Honduras. Monsignor Turcios had to emigrate to Costa Rica. This shows, firstly, how the foreign clergy are trying to force the Church of Honduras to take up a militant crusade, and secondly that there are serious and deep-seated contradictions within the Catholic Church of Honduras.

Such are the first fruits of the "Alliance for Progress" which the people of Honduras are being forced to swallow.

May 1963

Hernán Midence PAZ

BREAK THEIR CHAINS!



THE prison of Averof towers over the center of Athens. Here a group of women are imprisoned together with the other political prisoners, heroes of the anti-fascist resistance movement. Most of these brave women are serving long sentences, and have already been in jail for very many years. Among them are Chryssoula Callimani, Polyxeni Chryssochoidou, Roula Coucoulou, Evangelia and Aspasia Doudoumi, Elli Eryhtriadou, Chryssoula Gogoglou, Alexandra Iconomacou, Elli Ioannidou, Fofi Lazarou, Avra Vlassi-Partsalidou and Vasso Skoupidou. Ketti Zevgou, who was recently released under mass pressure, spent over 20 years in jail.

The story of their struggle, the story of their life which they have devoted with unswerving fidelity to their country, their people and their party, is told in a pamphlet called *Break Their Chains*. This stirring booklet has been published by Greek patriots who are demanding amnesty for all the fighters of the national resistance movement.

Under the fascist law many of these courageous women were sentenced to death, but after several years this sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

Neither the threat of death nor the torture they have suffered have been able to break their will, although any one of them would have been released immediately had she been willing to betray her comrades. Only a few words renouncing her convictions, her comrades and her friends would have sufficed. But not one of the prisoners has spoken. Neither will they ever do so. The torturers cannot break the spirit of these courageous Greek patriots who hold high their heads and proudly meet the people's gaze. For this is how they were steeled by the Communist Party. And they remain loyal to their party. Their fearless voice rings out from the prison to join the mighty chorus of those who seek a better life for the working people.

Many of these women have children who

have grown up without a mother's care. The separation is terrible for a mother whose heart aches when she thinks of the fate of her child. Many of these women were quite young when the prison gates closed behind them. The long years spent without fresh air, sunlight and freedom have worn away their youth and wrecked their health. Practically all of them are ill, and many seriously. By the inhuman prison conditions, the authorities have doomed them to a slow death.

The Greek resistance movement appeals to democratic organizations throughout the world, to all honest people regardless of their political convictions, to all women and mothers to protest against this terrible injustice and save the lives of the women patriots.

THE ACCUSED ACCUSES

THE scene is a court-room. A case is being tried. It concerns the Nazi generals accused of monstrous crimes during the Hitler regime. But it bears no resemblance to the Nuremberg trial. The roles have been reversed: it is not the assassins who are in the dock but a patriot who dared to fling the truth in the face of the Nazi criminals. He is Lorenz Knorr, a former leader of the "Falcons," the Social Democratic youth organization, a member of the executive of the progressive German Peace Union and the son of an anti-fascist tortured to death by the Gestapo. At a meeting held on June 22, 1961, to commemorate Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, Lorenz Knorr said that the Bundeswehr and NATO command included generals responsible for millions of deaths during the Second World War.

The judges are those who, a quarter of a century ago, administered "the law" in the name of the "fuehrer" in Hitler's special courts. The presiding judge is a former Nazi named Laudes, and the indictment was drawn up by the Prosecutor General Reuter, who figures in the list of war criminals for Czechoslovakia under the number "A-38/87." Held recently in Solingen (West Germany), the trial is, in some ways, reminiscent of Georgi Dimitrov's trial in Leipzig in 1933. The aim is the same — to whitewash the warmongers who first set the Reichstag afire and then flung Germany and the whole world into the flames. And the proceedings are the same: the accused accuses while the judges have to

defend themselves.

Lorenz Knorr told the court that he considers generals Heusinger, Speidel, Foertsch, Ruge and Kammhuber to be the organizers of wholesale murders. At this the presiding judge went over the attack: "The words, 'organizers of wholesale murders,' might be libel," he said. "Yes," replied Knorr, "they might — if they were not true." "In certain circumstances they might be libel even if they were true," said the chairman.

Knorr produced documents, including the materials of the Nuremberg trial (which the prosecutor sought to prevent being read in court) to prove that these generals were, indeed, criminals who had escaped punishment. The prosecutor interrupted him: "We cannot put the plaintiffs on trial here, can we?" he said. "Were not these documents known to the Allies?" "Some of them only became known after the Nuremberg trial," explained Dr. Ammann, Knorr's counsel for the defense.

Here again is the endless list of horrible crimes, reminding us of the crematoriums of Buchenwald and Maidanek, the ruins of Warsaw and Coventry, the children of besieged Leningrad dying of hunger. No, Herr Heusinger, the people have not forgotten this! There is no point in pretending you have been libelled.

You zealously carried out Hitler's orders. According to the "Directives to the Detachments of Extermination" issued by Heusinger, all captured partisans, "including women" were to be "shot or hanged after a brief inter-

rogation." And this is what Heusinger wrote on the request for shooting 100 civilians: "I agree with the measures proposed." Speidel alone was responsible for the destruction of Oradour. Witnesses for the defense, Nordmann and Soragna, both French resistance fighters, said that many Frenchmen were thrown into concentration camps and exterminated there on orders from Speidel, former Chief of Staff of the Nazi occupation army. Admiral Ruge was responsible for the death of seamen from torpedoed merchant ships for he gave orders that they should be left to drown. Indeed, an order was even issued to sink all life-boats. General Foertsch, former Chief of Staff of the 18th Army, gave orders for the destruction of Leningrad "... so as to make it unnecessary to supply food to the population." Kammhuber, former commodore of the Nazi air force, was responsible for the bombing of the German town of Freiburg; this raid was carried out in order to create a precedent and thereby "justify" the ensuing bombings of French and British civilian populations. During this raid German planes killed 87 Germans, including 20 children.

"These gentlemen have not changed," Knorr told the court. "They have remained militarists, just as they always were." Replying to the prosecutor who said that it was wrong to harm German prestige by these revelations about the leaders of the Bundeswehr and of NATO, Knorr declared that Germany would never regain prestige with the help of Nazi generals.

The trial stirred world public opinion. Letters of solidarity were sent to Lorenz Knorr by Lord Russell, Pietro Nenni, leader of the Italian Socialists, the leadership of all trade union centers in France, the Mayor of Coventry, resistance fighters of Belgium, Holland and France, and other supporters of peace in the USSR, Brazil and Japan.

And yet the court found Lorenz Knorr guilty of "libel" and sentenced him to a fine of 300 Marks or 30 days' imprisonment. Such are the laws of the "free world."

Democrats and peace supporters are persecuted in West Germany. The indignation caused by the trial of the Association of Vic-

tims of Nazi Persecution and by the scandalous affair of *Der Spiegel* had hardly quieted down before the Bonn authorities again resorted to violence. Almost at the same time as the Knorr case came up, they arrested a group of journalists from the German Democratic Republic; violating the most elementary civil rights they levelled against them a trumped up charge of "anti-state activity concerning information."

Meyer-Buer, a Communist, veteran anti-fascist who has spent years in Nazi concentration camps, was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment in this "free" country only because he put forward his candidature in the elections to the West German Bundestag. During the election campaign he spoke in favor of peaceful coexistence and a peace treaty with the two German states; he opposed atomic armaments for the Bundeswehr and demanded the establishment of a really democratic parliamentary system in the Federal Republic.

At present the West German legislative bodies are discussing drafts of undemocratic "emergency laws" which essentially do not differ from the 1933 law that gave Hitler unlimited powers.

At the same time the Bonn "judges" are doing their utmost to acquit Nazi hangmen under the pretext that their crimes were committed too long ago. At a trial in Bielefeld the Bonn authorities seized upon this pretext to whitewash a former SS leader Timann, now a lawyer at the Bielefeld court, who took part in the mass shootings of Soviet people near Gorlovka in the Ukraine.

The practice of prosecuting the anti-fascists and exculpating the war criminals reflects the policy of the Bonn authorities, the faithful servants of German and U.S. imperialism, who are reviving the practices of the Hitler regime which brought the country to catastrophe. This policy is a threat to world peace. The true patriots of Germany tirelessly expose the schemes of the Bonn reactionaries and appeal to people throughout the world to fight alongside the German people against the resurgence of militarism in the heart of Europe.

R. VALKE

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