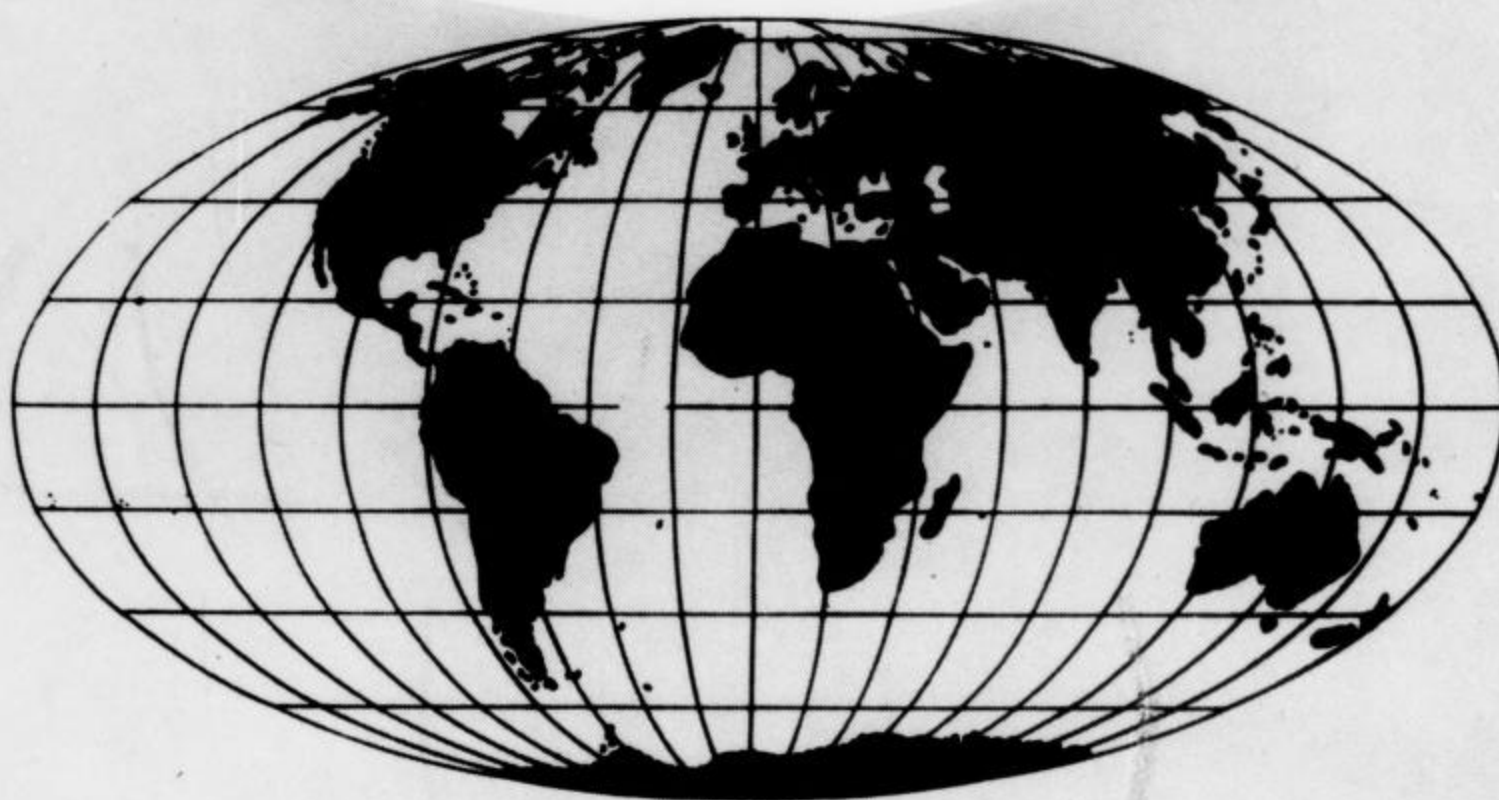


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

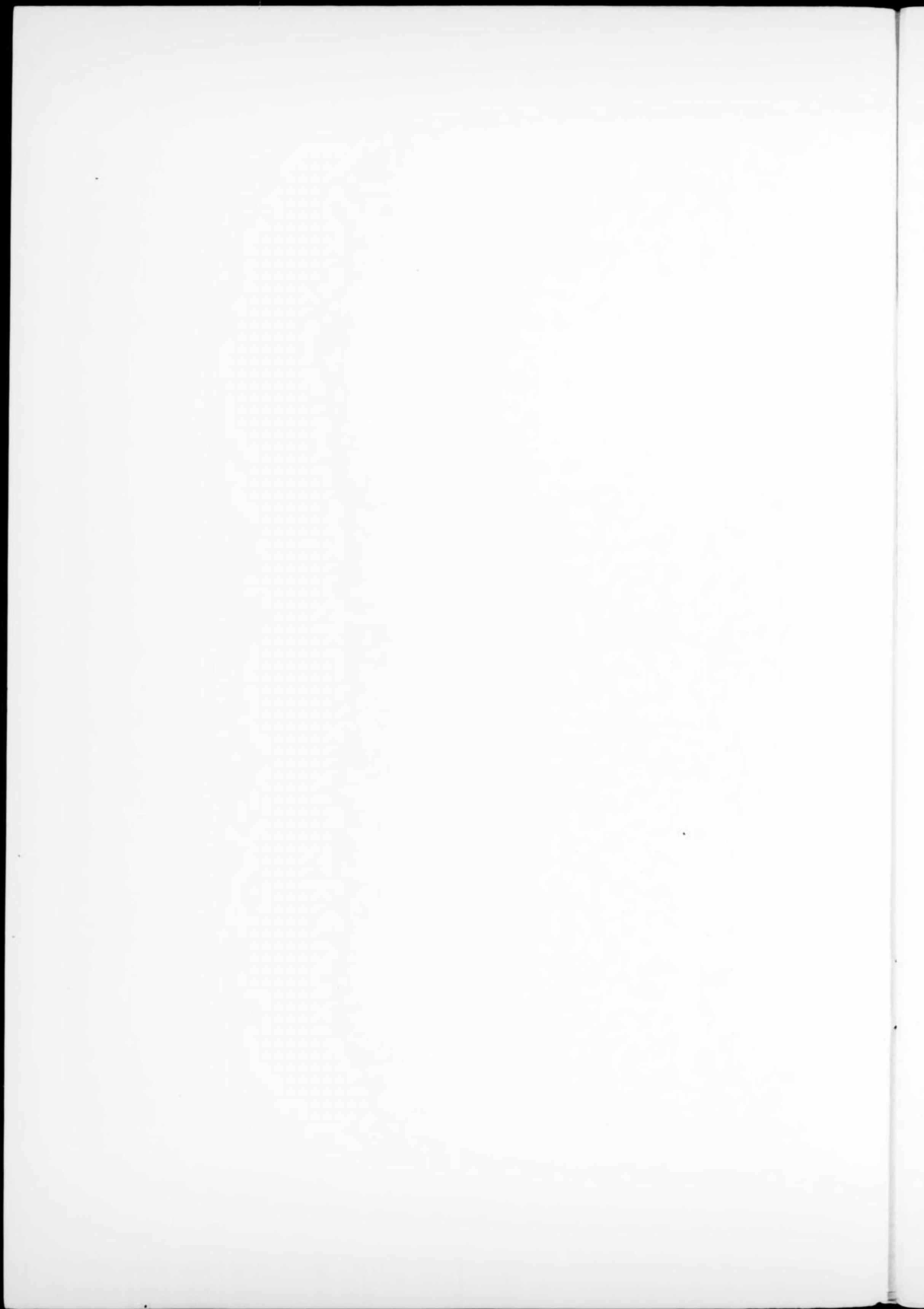
In This Issue:

The Youth in the USA

—D. Rubin

New Features of the National-Liberation Movement

—P. Keuneman



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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New Features of the National-Liberation Movement

Pieter Keuneman

THE process of the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism has now reached its final stage. In less than two decades, the national-liberation movement has shattered colonial empires that took the imperialists centuries to put together. On their ruins more than 60 independent national states have sprung up.

"The complete disintegration of colonialism is imminent," the 1960 Statement of the fraternal parties says. "The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the rise of the socialist world system."

In our time the national-liberation movement has acquired new features.

The national-liberation struggles of earlier times were directed against one or other imperialist power. The national-liberation movement of our day is world wide in scope and is directed against the entire colonial system as such. The national question itself has been transformed from a partial, internal problem into a cardinal international problem.

Another new feature of the national-liberation revolution is that it has produced new sovereign states which, although still within the world capitalist economy, so far as the overwhelming majority of them are concerned, are no longer part of the political system of imperialism and exercise an independent role which, objectively, favors peace and the struggle against imperialism and the capitalist monopolies.

A third new feature of the movement is that it has confirmed Lenin's prevision of the integration of the national-liberation movement of subject peoples with the international proletarian revolution into a single world revolutionary process. Only a few decades ago, the national-liberation movement was no more than a potential reserve of the world socialist revolution. It has now become a vital component of the entire process of revolutionary reconstruction on a world scale from capitalism and imperialism to socialism and communism.

A fourth new feature is that the contemporary national-liberation revolutions go far beyond the limits of the aims pursued by the

bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the past which cleared the way for capitalism. As Lenin reported to the Third Congress of the Comintern on July 5, 1921: "... in the coming decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the world's population, originally aimed at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism."

Of course, the disintegration of the colonial system cannot be equated with the disintegration of imperialism itself. Monopoly capitalism — and especially state-monopoly capitalism — in the metropolitan countries has still to be overthrown. There are some 40 million people who have still to win their national independence and also some newly-free countries where pro-imperialist regimes still exist. In various ways, ranging from armed attack to different forms of political subversion and neo-colonialist penetration of their economies, the imperialists still seek to rob the newly-free peoples of the fruits of their victory. While all this has to be fought and overcome, it nevertheless remains true that for the national-liberation movement as a whole a new stage has opened when the struggle for economic independence, social progress and deep-going socio-economic changes has become the Number One problem. In a sense, the economy has become the main battlefield of the national-liberation movement as a whole at the present stage.

All this is fully in accord with Lenin's teaching that the national-liberation movement does not end with the winning of political independence. If the national-liberation revolution does not solve all the urgent tasks of national renaissance and lead to profound changes in social and economic life, political independence itself will be unstable and can be undermined or turned into something nominal.

The peoples of the new national states know that they owe their success not to their own efforts alone but also to the world revolutionary process as a whole. The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 began not only the revolutionary advance from capitalism to socialism on a world scale—the basic content of our epoch—but also the process of the disintegration of the colonial system. This pro-

cess was accelerated by the defeat of fascism in World War II and especially by the rise of the socialist world system, which is winning over capitalism in the conditions of peaceful economic competition between the two social systems. Not only the Communists, but also the revolutionary democrats and even the anti-imperialist sections of the national bourgeoisie in the newly-independent countries realize how closely the future of these countries is linked with the progress made by the socialist world system and the support of the socialist countries, especially the USSR, and of the revolutionary proletariat in the developed capitalist countries.

Had there been no socialist world system, with its growing influence on the development of society and had there been no CPSU or Soviet Union, which, steadfastly adhering to the principles of proletarian internationalism, are rendering the national-liberation movements moral, political, technical and even military aid, imperialism would surely have drowned the national-liberation revolutions in blood.

Unity between the new national states and the socialist world system is particularly essential now when the main task of most of the new countries is to consolidate national independence, achieve economic independence and social progress, and when wide opportunities have opened up before the peoples of many of these countries to go ahead toward socialism without going through the capitalist stage of development.

The idea that, with the help of the countries where socialism has been established, economically backward countries advance to socialism without going through capitalism was clearly stated by Lenin in his report to the Second Congress of the Comintern on July 26, 1920:

"This is how the question was posed: is the capitalist stage of economic development inevitable for those backward nations which are now winning liberation and in which progressive trends are to be observed since the war? We said no. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, while the Soviet governments come to their assistance with all the means at their command—in that event it would be wrong to assume that the capitalist stage of development is inevitable for the backward nationalities."

Time has borne out the truth of Lenin's words. The experience of the Central Asian Republics of the USSR, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Cuba

have shown that in our day former colonies and semi-colonies do not necessarily have to go through the capitalist stage of development or the stage of mature capitalism before reaching socialism.

The non-capitalist way for former colonies and semi-colonies was impossible at the time when imperialism and capitalism held sole sway in the world arena. Though still difficult, it became possible after the victory of the October Revolution when socialism existed in one country encircled by capitalism. But the rise of the socialist world system and its increasingly decisive role in world affairs has created the broad possibility for a non-capitalist transition to socialism for a large number of newly-liberated peoples. Thus the possibility of the non-capitalist way for economically backward countries has grown with the advance of socialism on a world scale.

This possibility arises from the combination of favorable external and internal objective factors. The rise of the socialist world system, the beginning of comprehensive Communist construction in the USSR, the intensified disintegration of the colonial system, the entry of world capitalism into the third stage of its general crisis and, lastly, the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence, are the favorable external factors. The weightiest of these is the existence of world socialism and the growing political influence and the economic and military might of the USSR.

The internal factors are found in the qualitatively new stage of the national-liberation movement in our epoch and also in the political and socio-economic processes taking place in the new states.

From the viewpoint of the internal factors and the possibility of non-capitalist development, the new national states fall broadly into two groups.

In the first group are the countries with no developed capitalist relations. Their economies are dominated by foreign monopolies and the main occupation, agriculture, is a mixture of feudal, semi-feudal and even pre-feudal relations. Many of the new national states in Africa belong to this group, which can most easily take the non-capitalist way.

In the second group are the countries in which there are capitalist relations. Their economies are semi-colonial and semi-feudal, with more or less developed capitalism in some branches. Foreign monopolies occupy strong strategic positions in the economy. Most of the new national states of Asia and some in Africa are in this group.

But even in this group of states there are good possibilities for a non-capitalist development. Although capitalist relations exist, they

do not predominate. Agriculture, still the basic occupation and affecting the lives of the vast majority of the population, is in the main a non-capitalist agriculture.

The national bourgeoisie in these countries is generally weak, lacks adequate resources for independent development and depends heavily on state patronage and assistance. Capitalism is not popular with the people, while the ideas of socialism enjoy great prestige.

The experience of the last decade has shown that the attempts by bourgeois governments to develop the new states along capitalist lines has produced a rate of economic growth that is wholly insufficient to eliminate the economic backwardness of these countries and enable them to catch up in a historically foreseeable time even with the present levels of the advanced capitalist countries. At the current rates of economic growth, it would take the new states centuries to catch up. In point of fact figures show that the absolute gap between the developed and underdeveloped countries is widening, not diminishing. According to data of the United Nations Special Fund, per capita income in the new states has risen in the past decade by only one dollar a year compared with \$30 in Great Britain and \$50 in the USA.

Thus the non-capitalist way can be the practical, effective and speedy way for the new states to solve the urgent problems of national renaissance and advance through the various transitional stages from pre-socialist, and often pre-capitalist, formations to socialism.

That is why so many fraternal parties, including the Ceylon Communist Party at its recent Seventh Congress, have concluded that the non-capitalist way is suitable and appropriate for their situation. This way will enable these states to halt the growth of capitalism, avoid the agony of passing through all its stages, to restrict and ultimately oust capitalism and turn to socialism, without going through the stage of mature capitalism.

It should be emphasized that non-capitalist development is not the same as socialist development, the objective conditions for which have not yet matured in the new national states. The non-capitalist way is the way of revolutionary democratic reconstruction in the life of the nation which fulfils its historical function of completing the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, of preparing the material and social pre-conditions for socialism—a function that capitalism fulfilled in earlier times.

The non-capitalist way has nothing in common with the reformist concept of a gradual

evolution into socialism. It involves bitter class struggles against imperialism and domestic reaction, dislodging them from one position after another. Non-capitalist development is possible only to the extent that the masses are drawn into active struggle to deepen, extend and complete the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution.

Closely linked with the non-capitalist way is the question of the state of national democracy, first advanced in the 1960 Statement of the fraternal parties. It is to the credit of the Communists that they were able to suggest this solution to a problem posed by life. The concept of national democracy arises from the realization that victory in the fight for the non-capitalist way depends on the national patriotic forces, including the working class, being able to take over the state management of society. National democracy is a new form of state structure corresponding to the level of development of the contemporary national-liberation movement.

Of course, national democracy is not the only or the invariable form through which the tasks of non-capitalist development can be fulfilled. And it may be that the specific forms assumed by national democracy in different countries will vary according to the level of their social and economic development, the alignment of class forces, the position of the national bourgeoisie, the degree of working-class organization and consciousness, and other factors.

Our Party has paid some attention to this question and, at its Seventh Congress in April 1964, accepted it as being appropriate to our conditions. We hold that the thesis of national democracy, like that of a non-capitalist way, has great significance for countries like ours where political independence has been substantially secured but where the objective conditions for the socialist reconstruction of society have not yet matured. National democracy is our answer to the crisis of bourgeois democracy and to the attempts by foreign and domestic reaction to exploit the disappointment and impatience felt by the masses at the failure of bourgeois democracy to deliver the goods.

The thesis of national democracy is based on and continues Lenin's teachings on the state and revolution, and specifically on the revolutionary significance of the struggle for democracy in paving the way to socialist reconstruction. In 1916 Lenin wrote: "We stand for democracy not 'in the name of capitalism' but in the name of clearing the road for our movement. . . ."

National democracy is seen as a state of the national-liberation revolution. Its transi-

tional nature and special form consist in its being neither the state nor the dictatorship of a single class, such as the bourgeoisie or the working class, or of two classes, such as the workers and the peasants. It does not arise from a struggle to overthrow one class and set up the dictatorship of another, but from the joint struggle of various classes and social groups against a common enemy—imperialism and colonialism. National democracy will, therefore, be a state that reflects the will and interests of a bloc of democratic and anti-imperialist classes and social strata—in other words, a state of the patriotic part of the whole nation in which political independence, the main gain of the national-liberation revolution to date, is used to deepen and extend this revolution to ensure economic independence and development on the basis of broad democracy and social progress.

National democracy will be characterized, on the one hand, by a fairly long alliance between classes and social strata and, on the other hand, by competition and struggle between them in the cause of genuine national renaissance. The competition and struggle taking place inside the alliance will be directed towards winning general acceptance for the standpoint of the most advanced class, the working class, and to prevent, say, the national bourgeoisie from placing their narrow class interests above the national interests. In the course of this struggle the positions of the various classes in the alliance and their social role will, understandably, change. Another transitional feature of national democracy is that it will be possible for different democratic forces to guide its line of march. While the leadership of the working class in alliance with the peasantry is an essential prerequisite for socialist reconstruction and also the guarantee of steady and unswerving progress along the national-democratic and non-capitalist way, it may be that other participants in the bloc of democratic forces will act as the guiding force in the initial stages.

The fight for a national-democratic state involves a continuous struggle for certain political, economic and ideological preconditions.

The defense of peace and peaceful coexistence is an essential external condition for this development. The possibility of establishing a national democracy is a corollary of peaceful coexistence, and that is why a national democracy must be a peace-loving state that rejects entanglement in imperialist military blocs and foreign troops on its soil, and pursues in foreign affairs a policy of peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

Relations of friendship with the socialist

world system is another essential external condition for the state of national democracy. This is necessary in the fight against the old and the new colonialism and to break free from the unequal exchange which the new states experience within the world capitalist economy and which holds up their development. The extensive and many-sided aid of the socialist world system is a powerful factor furthering development along a national-democratic, non-capitalist way.

In the economic sphere, the national-democratic state should nationalize the enterprises owned by foreign monopolies; resist neo-colonialism and steadily restrict privately-owned home capital; develop national industry and a state sector that will become the foundation for independent development; it should abolish feudal and semi-feudal relations in the countryside; carry out radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry; curb private property trends; and encourage agricultural cooperation.

Extending and consolidating the state sector are special tasks of national democracy. In fact, the state sector can be described as the economic base of national democracy. It develops through confiscating or buying out foreign enterprises, through restricting private capitalist development; starting new state-owned industries, especially basic industries, through state control and ownership of banking and insurance, state intervention in the controlling and, eventually, in a monopoly of foreign trade and internal wholesale trade. Only through the state sector can foreign and even domestic capital be combated successfully, through planning used to advantage and through representatives of the working people being trained for economic administration.

The state sector, its development and extension, becomes the arena of sharp class battles between reaction and progress in many of the new states. Reaction tries in every way to oppose and compromise the state sector, and even to plunder it for the benefit of private capital and speculators. Very often plans are not ensured adequate finance, raw materials, equipment and skilled manpower. Top officials in the administration closely linked with political reactionaries or capitalist firms also indulge in economic sabotage in the state sector. This has been our experience in Ceylon, and our Party and the people have had to fight many battles against this.

In many of the new states the state sector has a state-capitalist character. But in the qualitative sense it differs from the state-monopoly capitalism in advanced countries where the monopolies use the state to advance

their interests. In the new countries the state sector is generally directed objectively against imperialism and private capitalism. Here the state sector, generally speaking, arises from the objective need to struggle against the dominance of foreign monopolies and to build an independent national economy. It should be borne in mind that while the state sector can be a major economic lever to ensure national-democratic and non-capitalist transformations, everything depends in the final analysis on whose interests the state serves and who wields political power, depends on the correlation of class struggle. Where mass struggle is weak, the national bourgeoisie can succeed in using the state sector for its own narrow interests. Vigilance and the ceaseless activity of the masses are therefore essential for the state to become the economic foundation of national democracy.

The non-capitalist way in agriculture, retail trade and small-commodity production is likely to be more complicated and to take a much longer time. It will be necessary to proceed carefully in these spheres and, after abolishing feudal and semi-feudal relations and carrying out a radical land reform in the interests of the peasantry, to encourage cooperation through propaganda and the force of example, with full respect for the voluntary principle. But the national-democratic state will have to undertake this task as well, for small-producer economy is fertile soil for breeding capitalism. State power should be used to regulate the operation of economic processes and restrict the growth of private property relations. In these spheres development will generally take the form of mutual cooperation, economic ties, competition and even assistance aimed at influencing these sections economically and transforming private property relations.

Raising the standard of life is fundamental to the success of a state of national democracy. The plain fact is that in most of the new national states there has been very little improvement in the economic conditions of the people. In some cases, it is possible to say that economic conditions have worsened. It is essential therefore for Communists in the new states to pay close attention to economic questions and their solution, to elaborate both long-term and short-term economic programs, and to mobilize the masses to realize these programs.

The political base for national democracy is the united anti-imperialist national front. This includes workers, peasants, intellectuals bourgeoisie, whose objectively progressive and anti-imperialist sections of the national role in these countries is still not exhausted.

A peculiarity of the present stage of development in the new states is that in most of them a working class has not yet taken final shape. Non-proletarian social strata, particularly the peasantry, constitute the bulk of the population. Only about 85 million out of the total population of more than 1,000 million in non-socialist Asia (i.e. a little over eight per cent) are workers. The figure for Africa is 15 million out of 270 million (5.5 per cent). The biggest proportion is in Latin America, where 30 million out of 214 million (14 per cent) are workers.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working class has increased nearly fourfold since the Second World War and now numbers over 130 million. A feature of this growth is that it has taken place largely in the expanding state sector. Hence the young working class taking shape in these countries is, in a sense, emerging free from exploitation by private-property capital. The working class in these countries is not only the decisive and uncompromising enemy of all oppression, but also the least subject to the divisive influences of feudal, tribal, religious and caste differences. It imparts militancy and clearly-defined goals to the national-liberation movement which often uses specifically proletarian methods of struggle ranging from strikes to armed uprisings. The fact that the working class is becoming an influential force on these continents is seen in the rise of the strike struggles, in its growing class consciousness and degree of organization, in the development of working-class unity and the appearance of Communist parties.

The political tasks of the state of national democracy are to safeguard and consolidate political independence against all encroachments by old and new colonialism; to democratize social life and the state administration; to ensure a broad inner democracy for the people; enable them to take part in shaping and determining state policy; and to draw them into active participation in building the new life.

The state of national democracy has also to establish ideological foundations which are an essential part of the preparations for socialist reconstruction. It should combat imperialist and capitalist ideology among the people, rebuff anti-communism, expose obscurantism and superstition, abolish illiteracy, promote national culture and scientific education, and popularize scientific socialism.

At present, it is not only the Communists who speak about socialism in the new national states. Even large sections of non-proletarian strata and their political and other organizations put forward socialist slogans

and ideas. In some cases, this is designed to deceive the masses. But mostly their socialist theories are variations of utopian and petty-bourgeois socialism. Although these theories are a long way from being scientific socialism, Communities should adopt a positive attitude to these developments and seek to guide them in the right direction. We should bear in mind that this phenomenon arises both from the impact of the example of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and from the realization that capitalism cannot ensure a rapid development of the productive forces. That is why socialism is the declared aim of official policy in many of the new states. Many of the theories of so-called national socialism were engendered in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the search for the best methods of ensuring national development. We should therefore search out and support all that is democratic and rational in these theories and use them to help the progressive forces in the fight for revolutionary social, political and economic reforms and for strengthening contact with the socialist world system.

It would be foolish to imagine that all the conditions and hallmarks of a state of national democracy will mature and appear at one and the same time. They will crystallize in the course of a series of struggles over a long period. It is possible that there will be several stages in the process of establishing a state of national democracy in which the character of the tasks and the nature of the functions of the state will vary from one stage to another. But the main line will be that of carrying through the national-liberation movement to the end and preparing the conditions for the transition to a society in which socialist relations will predominate.

It is with this understanding that the Ceylon Communist Party is active on many fronts to secure conditions that will permit non-capitalist, national-democratic development in our country.

* * *

We have formed a front with other parties of the Left on the basis of a concrete program of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic demands the realization of which would mean carrying through the national-liberation struggle to the end; we have expressed our readiness to extend this front into a united front of all progressive forces, including those in Mrs. Bandaranaike's government. The formation of this front led to a polarization within the government, with a majority led by Mrs. Bandaranaike publicly acknowledging that no further progress was possible without

the cooperation of the working class and proposing the formation of a coalition government with the Left. But unfortunately, due to powerful opposition from the Rights in the Cabinet and certain opportunist decisions and mistaken tactics on the part of one of the parties in the United Left Front, the coalition government included only that particular Left party. The United Left Front was thus weakened. The imperialists and the domestic reactionaries have made full use of this weakness to mount a campaign against the government. The demand of our Party that the other two Left parties, including the Communist Party, should be included in the coalition government, meets with growing support not only in the working-class and progressive movement but also in the government.

While fighting to overcome contradictions and vacillations in the government's foreign policy, we support all that is positive and valuable in it—peaceful coexistence, universal and complete disarmament, and close and friendly relations with the socialist countries.

The fight for a democratic public life and for a democratic state administration has had success in the shape of democratic electoral reform, and steps to break the powerful press monopoly. A recent development is the acceptance in principle of forms of working-class participation through the trade unions in supervising the work of public sector enterprises. We are campaigning also for the removal of reactionaries from top-ranking positions in the armed forces, the police, and the state sector. We want Ceylon to be declared an independent republic.

In the economic sphere, we are fighting for the nationalization of the foreign banks, plantations and other enterprises. This fight made some headway recently with the nationalization of the insurance system and the distribution of oil products in Ceylon. One of the conditions for the formation of the coalition government was an agreement to nationalize import trade and wholesale trade in essential goods. Public-sector industries have been started with the generous aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and mutually beneficial trade with the socialist countries has been extended with the signing of a new trade agreement with the USSR. We are campaigning for radical agrarian reform and the harnessing of our rivers for purposes of irrigation and generation of electricity.

Virtually all the private schools have now been taken over into the system of public education. This is a step forward in realizing our Party's demand for a unified state system of free education that would be national, democratic and scientific in content.

These are some of the ways in which our Party is working to create conditions that will permit a non-capitalist, national-democratic way of development. We realize that much remains to be done and many difficulties to be overcome, including powerful opposition from the foreign monopolies, domestic reactionaries and the Rights in the government. Among these difficulties was an unprincipled and systematic attempt, aided and encouraged from Peking, to split and confuse our Party—an attempt that, fortunately, we were able to resist and smash.

The growth of the national-liberation movement poses new problems of theoretical and practical significance. Many of them can be solved only by the collective efforts of Marxists of the different countries, the more so since of late different views on questions of principle have emerged. We should not be afraid of debate and differences of opinion. We cannot close our eyes to the realities. However, discussion is fruitful only if its purpose is to search for positive solutions.

Even when viewpoints differ, discussion among Marxist - Leninists should help to cement the unity of our movement and to find the correct solutions to the problems.

Guided by these considerations, our Party has declared for an international conference

of the fraternal parties. All international democratic organizations should meet from time to time to reach agreed decisions on questions of common interest, without allowing differences of opinion to disrupt their unity.

Differences should not be a reason for refraining from a meeting. On the contrary, an international meeting is the normal and correct way to overcome differences. The 1960 Statement says: "The Communist and Workers' parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to share experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultation and coordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals."

We hold that the existence of differences indicates the need for frank discussion of the issues. Difficulties can only be overcome by the collective initiative and effort of all parties. Hence our Party cannot agree to let things drift. It would be naive to think that all difficulties will disappear of themselves.

Joint elaboration, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the experience accumulated by the international Communist and working class movement, of the new theoretical problems that have come up since the 1960 Meeting will help to cement our unity.

Some Problems of the Battle of Ideologies

Vladimir Koucky

LAST SUMMER a booklet was published in Britain on the foreign broadcasts of the BBC with the object apparently of persuading influential organizations and individuals of the need for more money for propaganda beamed to the socialist countries.

The laconic but apt comment of *The Times* was that stepping up the propaganda drive would no doubt please the anti-communists in Britain but it would hardly make an impression abroad since "sustained and deliberate propaganda is not likely to win over the Communists."

We do not know, of course, what the new Labor government thinks on this score and whether the sober view taken by *The Times* will be reflected in the practical actions of the Government. But we do know that the opinion of *The Times* is not shared by the men who rule the roost in the capitalist world. For these men ideological pressure and intensified dissemination through all possible media of capitalist propaganda are among the principal means of combating socialism. Nor has this attitude been changed in any way by the recent talk about the need for "peaceful coexistence of capitalism and socialism" in the sphere of ideology which spokesmen of the bourgeoisie hold to be a condition for peaceful coexistence generally.

So much has been written in the West in support of this theory that it would seem logical for the advocates of ideological "reconciliation" to back their words with deeds and work to put an end to the hostile propaganda against the socialist countries. But nothing of the kind is happening. On the contrary, western reactionary circles have latterly been placing increasing emphasis on the export of capitalist ideology, steadily stepping up their anti-communist propaganda. Suffice it to mention the money spent by organizations and offices in the capitalist countries whose sole purpose is ideological subversion. For instance, expenditure of the U.S. Information Agency has risen from about \$85 million in 1953, at the height of McCarthyism, to \$130 million in 1962 and \$161 million in 1963.

Thus we see that while some capitalist

spokesmen indulge in talk about the need to end the struggle between the capitalist and socialist ideologies, others are doing their utmost to intensify it. An American writer, W. Dizard, author of *The Strategy of Truth*, has pointed out that the United States recognizes no national frontier when it comes to ideological struggle; it has always exported its ideology. The purpose of this export was explained by John Richardson, President of the Free Europe Committee, as the need to undermine "faith" in Marxism-Leninism.

This emphasis on stepping up the ideological struggle against communism, against the socialist countries, stems from the experience of the exploiting classes the world over. They have learned that they cannot keep the working people under their thumb without influencing them ideologically, without combating the revolutionizing influence of the ideas of communism.

As they see it, the end justifies the means, even the foulest. This is evident from the book about the so-called "Eastern despotism" by K. Wittfogel, a Washington university professor. Since the Slavs, according to this gentleman, are a "threat" to Western civilization, the West must take resolute action to prevent what he describes as the "Eastern system" from spreading all over the world and replacing "Western freedom." It cannot be said for our worthy Professor that his idea is very original; for this is the same race theory preached by Hitler and Goebbels in their day. And the people have not forgotten the suffering which the Herrenvolk brought upon millions of men and women.

Anti-communism is by no means a sign of the strength of its preachers. It is a reflection of the deep crisis of the ideology of contemporary capitalist society, of the reactionary character of its program. But this should not be taken to mean that all ideological trends in bourgeois society are of this nature. There are also many researchers and thinkers who are sincerely convinced that capitalist society can be regenerated and who hold progressive views on one or another issue. We, needless to say, draw a very clear distinction between the former and those who

make a business of tawdry anti-communism, those for whom genuine freedom, the perspective of a world without wars, social progress and humanism are only so many words to be bandied about. It is not by accident that Walter Lippmann, commenting on the U.S. President's reference to Americans not having preserved faith in either tomorrow or themselves, wrote: "The 'virtuous despair' comes from being uprooted, homeless, naked, alone and unled. It comes from being lost in a universe . . ." And Lippmann concluded: "The modern conservative has to work in unprecedented ways for an undefined future."

This hardly calls for comment. It is a frank admission that capitalist society has reached a spiritual impasse. At the same time the ideologists of this society shout from the housetops that communism cannot solve the vital issues confronting man. The revolution carried out in the socialist countries could not of course solve overnight all the problems—from the material conditions of life to social relations. Socialism—the stage reached so far by all the countries of the socialist community—is still a far cry from full communism. But the progress made so far has won the admiration of millions in the capitalist countries, and especially in those countries which have just thrown off the colonial yoke, for this progress points the way for all humanity.

This explains why everything we do and above all why the ideas by which we are guided are subjected to a ceaseless barrage of anti-communist propaganda.

Particularly heavy fire is concentrated on our socialist internationalism, on unity and cooperation between the socialist countries. Western propaganda experts closely follow the development of trade and cooperation between these countries and the growing aid they are rendering to the newly independent countries. But they do so not so much to keep the public informed as misinformed. By tendentious commentaries on the news, these "experts" insinuate that the price of cooperation with the other socialist countries and of the aid to the newly-free peoples is a lower living standard at home.

Generally speaking it should be noted that the bourgeois propaganda is now somewhat camouflaged. Only recently it loudly proclaimed hostility to socialism and communism. Today things are somewhat different. Especially is this evident in the propaganda of the emigre "experts." Many of these "news analysts" or "professors," profess to be "genuine socialists," that they stand for "real socialism," against "distortions" and that they support the "healthy revisionist forces" in our

country and in the other socialist countries.

But these self-appointed "defenders" of the Czechoslovak people are least of all concerned with our welfare. The purpose of these "well-wishers" is to counteract the deep-seated internationalist sentiment of our people, to weaken the link between the Party and the people. This is their *raison d'être*.

Month in and month out the capitalist press carries a spate of commentaries and items claiming that cooperation among the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid brings them no benefit. Seizing on the slightest differences of opinion between socialist countries as regards specific economic matters, they offer their "expert" advice on the need for the government and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to abandon cooperation as something not in their interests.

Fostering chauvinist sentiment is one of the trump cards of the anti-communist propaganda. It calls for making the most of "centrifugal" trends in the international Communist movement and is doing everything to encourage them.

Alas for their efforts! Neither the new-fangled theories nor the old-time anti-communism finds the response which our adversaries so ardently desire. More than that, the healthy processes under way in the socialist countries ever since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU are cutting the ground from under the feet of the "experts." This explains their search for a new approach.

Recently the subcommittee of the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee for Europe published a report notable for its exposition of proposed changes in the campaign to combat socialist ideology. Compiled by 30 experts ranging from connoisseurs of modern art to Harriman, Assistant Secretary of State, it admits that it is now much more difficult to counteract the "danger" presented to the West by communism, and that communism may become increasingly attractive to the non-aligned countries.

As regards U.S. policy in the sphere of ideological struggle, the subcommittee advances a number of guiding principles for the renewed offensive. First, the USA, it suggests, should support those elements in Eastern Europe which, as the authors of the report put it, are moving towards "liberalization." Second, the U.S. government is urged to re-examine the existing program and policies towards the countries of the "bloc" and to search for ways and means of strengthening capitalist influence. According to the experts, travel and circulation of printed matter are only two of the many ways in which the USA

should spur on the desired changes in the "Soviet bloc."

From this and other similar examples we can see the kind of changes taking place in the strategy of the bourgeois ideologists. By and large there is a shift from primitive anti-communist smear propaganda to propaganda through literature, films, and scientific papers designed to eulogize the "ideals" of capitalist society, its morals, and an idealistic outlook justifying the contemporary policy of international capitalism.

The Trojan horse tactics are not fortuitous. In recent years Marxists both in the socialist and in the capitalist countries have made headway in exposing and refuting the bourgeois theories. But although Marxist theoretical activity has become more vigorous and dynamic, the lag that developed during the period of the personality cult has not been made good in a number of areas.

Formerly the most influential trends in Western literature, art, philosophy, political economy and sociology were either ignored or schematically labelled. This approach played into the hands of the capitalist ideologists: in the first case they were given a free hand, and in the second, they had no difficulty in refuting the superficial arguments advanced against them.

Bourgeois philosophy and aesthetics, as we know, distorted Marx's theory of alienation. Discarding the materialist foundation of the concept of alienation, they defined it as being the natural corollary of any "modern industrial society," moreover, one which they said was most strikingly manifest not in the "ar-fluent" society of capitalism but in the socialist countries.

Bourgeois propaganda, motivated as it is by class interests, often has recourse to falsification. But in the sleight-of-hand performed with alienation it perhaps did the greatest violence ever done to a scientific category. In doing so the propagandists were being true to type. As regards Marxist scholars, it must be said that they took an exceedingly hesitant position, although they could have wiped the floor with the falsifiers simply by making a scientific analysis of contemporary socialist practice which is aimed at the gradual and consistent abolition of the very substance of alienation. Many similar instances could be cited. The untenable theory of the "free enterprise society" in which we are told class contradictions are disappearing is a case in point.

Needless to say, bourgeois ideology cannot be combated without knowing it, without being aware of the issues on which people

are searching for answers. This is the crux of the matter. Otherwise we shall not be able to keep in step with the times.

Despite the variety and contradictoriness of the conclusions drawn by our ideological opponents it is not difficult to expose the superficial, unscientific nature of their writings and their empirical, subjectivist approach to social phenomena, an approach which stems from their political servility to the exploiting classes, especially when their pseudo-scientific efforts boil down to lauding so-called "political realism," i.e., to pragmatic justification of capitalist violence at home and abroad, to invoking the "mentor state" theory to justify neo-colonialism, etc.

Bourgeois propaganda contrives to use not only new "theoretical discoveries" but also classical doctrines which were objectively progressive in their time. Should we, for example, be silent when the works of thinkers like Hobbes and Locke are used to support the claim that modern imperialism is the embodiment of "natural justice," of "progressive trends," and that its preservation is in the interests of humanity?

It is worth noting that among influential purveyors of neo-capitalist doctrines we find churchmen, who have been quick to realize that the "technological" trends or the theory of the "third force" hold no revolutionary danger but can be used far more effectively than the old Church dogmas to influence believers.

Although not one of these theories holds water from the standpoint of science, they can and do affect the thinking of millions.

Dissemination of socialist ideology calls for contrasting the Marxist-Leninist principles and their practical realization in the socialist countries with the bourgeois views on the fundamental problems of society, from the problem of ownership of the means of production to democracy, freedom, ethics and aesthetics.

Needless to say, it is imperative to avoid oversimplification. For not only our socialist ideology but also socialist reality, the ways of solving the basic social problems and the results of their solution in the socialist countries, will stand up to any comparison. Therefore in ideological struggle, too, it is essential to eschew embellishing the facts. Embellishment, far from doing any good, merely gives the bourgeois propagandists an opening to question our veracity. Socialism, notwithstanding all the imaginary "defects" attributed to it, is an incomparably more humane, democratic and free system than the most democratic capitalism.

Bourgeois theories cannot be successfully combated without properly organized sociological research, to which we are now paying much attention. This is particularly apparent when it comes to resolving problems connected with the education of youth. Our young people born, say, at the end of the war are not only inexperienced in life but they know little about capitalism. Hence our approach to the youth should be different from our approach to older people who know what capitalism means from their own experience. More facts must be made available to young people and more arguments adduced; they must be helped to perceive the more profound interconnections between social phenomena, the essence of these phenomena, and they must be entrusted with responsible tasks in building the new society.

One of the most difficult things in the ideological struggle, as our experience has shown, is the correct utilization of the best in Western art and science. In recent years our scientists and cultural workers have paid more attention to keeping abreast of Western science and art. But it is no secret that in some cases people have tended to be carried away by the outward originality of one or another fashionable theory without giving thought to the world outlook they represent and asserting that Marxist-Leninist thinking can be enriched by drawing on them.

Eclectic works have also appeared which not only have nothing in common with a scientific world outlook but actually facilitate the ideological conciliation of Marxism and contemporary capitalist ideology, which is just what the bourgeois propagandists and cold-war men want.

It would, of course, be simplest of all to sound the retreat in face of the difficulties involved in combating these erroneous and harmful tendencies. But to do so would only lead to stagnation. Erroneous concepts should be effectively refuted and the correctness of the Marxist view on the problems in question proved in practice. This is one of the conditions for the creative development of Marxist thinking and the growth of Marxist influence.

In this respect the December 1963 meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was of signal importance. Assessing the urgent needs in the sphere of ideological work, it adopted a number of decisions aimed at enhancing its efficacy.

We place special emphasis on creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. Profound dialectical examination of the facts of social life is of the utmost significance in

realizing ideas. Only on the basis of the objective assessment of social relationships is it possible to develop socialist democracy, to extend the role of the public in the conduct of political, state and economic affairs, with a view to accelerating the process of gradual transition to communist self-administration. In the light of this, with an eye to our practical activity, we are preparing for a theoretical conference to be held next spring to discuss the current problems of socialist democracy. Harmonious combination of theoretical and practical work reinforces our socialist convictions and is the best way to combat bourgeois influence.

Aware that the development of economic theory is an important condition for the success of our socialist economy, we are getting ready to introduce a new system of economic management. We are convinced that this system will enable us to make proper use of the potential released with the triumph of the socialist relations of production, that it will enable us to demonstrate the superiority of socialism over capitalism. In the final analysis this has a decisive bearing on the dissemination of socialist ideas. In this connection our Central Committee recently discussed the role of education in socialist society.

We are not suggesting that all our economic problems will be solved with the adoption of the new system of management designed to utilize value and market levers to ensure the maximum efficacy. A number of new research centers, for instance, the mathematical methods laboratory of the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences, are working on such problems as the laws of socialist extended reproduction, the optimum structure for our industry, raising the standard of living, international socialist economic cooperation, etc. And at the same time we are making a close study of the latest developments in the capitalist economy.

In our time combating the ideology of war is a cardinal task. The problems of war and peace occupy the minds of millions on every continent, they have become the concern of every individual, not only of the general staffs or the "wild men." It is no exaggeration to say that the aggressive forces know full well that to be able to unleash another war it is not enough to have nuclear bombs, rockets, tanks and submarines; people, too, must be brainwashed. This is the object of both the anti-communism and of the theories designed to depict the positions-of-strength policy, which could lead to nuclear war, as a perfectly "natural" policy. East-West relations

are likened to a poker game in which there are only two possibilities—either you win or you lose everything. The comparison, incidentally, is the product not of the tortured mind of a certified lunatic but of “scientific thinking” on the part of the Princeton professor Oscar Morgenstern.

The purpose of the war propaganda of the “wild men” is to create the psychological pressures which would induce hundreds of millions to fall in with their aggressive designs. Indicative in this respect is a report of the U.S. National Security Council which declares point-blank that the USA must at once ensure its military capability in space 160-800 kilometers from the earth's surface, that a “free” Cuban government must be set up and U.S. support given to guerrilla warfare against the Cuban Republic, that the “liberation” war should be carried into the enemy camp, that disarmament is out of the question, and so on. These aggressive postulates are accompanied by exhortations to extend aid only to allies “worthy” of it and to make more effective use of the United Nations in the cold war, without allowing it to interfere with U.S. actions.

This line, which the people of the United States rejected in the presidential election, can be foiled by awakening public opinion to the danger. Any attempt to minimize the fearful consequences of a nuclear conflict tends to prevent democratic public opinion from finding active expression. Today, when there is little doubt as to what a thermonuclear war would mean, it is impermissible to argue that the whole truth about nuclear war might give rise to a fatalistic mood and weaken the revolutionary spirit of the peoples. Experience teaches the contrary: the more the people know about what is involved the harder they will work for peace.

The fight against bourgeois ideology which is the internationalist duty of all Communists, in no way contradicts advocacy of peaceful coexistence. The ideological struggle is a component of the class struggle. The way is open to the triumph of socialism wherever the internal conditions have been created for the abolition of capitalism. Hence we reso-

lutely oppose any “export of counter-revolution” to save discredited regimes.

Socialism influences world development by its achievements, by its progress in the material and intellectual spheres, and by its foreign and domestic policies. There is no need for us to issue calls for the overthrow of one or another government, no matter how reactionary it may be. Human society forges ahead by virtue of the inner forces of class struggle which can neither be conjured up nor destroyed by words alone.

Our Party endorses fully and without reservations the ideas of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU and the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings, and is guided by them in its ideological work. The December 1963 meeting of our Central Committee stressed that we rejected every attempt to extend peaceful coexistence to the relations between classes and between the two world systems in the sphere of ideology. The Central Committee decision declares: “Successes achieved in peaceful competition must not be allowed to give rise to erroneous ideas and illusions concerning modern imperialism, nor should its latest tactics be allowed to find support in pernicious tendencies to embellish life in the capitalist countries and to underestimate the need for all-round ideological vigilance and preparedness. Moreover, we must eschew schematism and oversimplification, constantly enrich our knowledge by drawing on the latest experience, and search for more effective forms of Party influence.”

We proceed from the premise that the emergence of Marxism marked a revolutionary turn in the development of ideology. The substance of this turn was the creation of a truly scientific ideology. We hold that creative Marxism-Leninism is superior to all other ideologies, that it alone can provide the correct answers to the vital issues facing humanity. We have learned from the mistakes committed during the period of the personality cult and we want to carry on the ideological struggle, elaborating new problems, consistently exposing anti-communism and creatively helping mankind's progress to communism.

The Fatherland Front — the Embodiment of the Unity of the People

Vladimir Bonev

A FEATURE of the revolutionary struggle in Bulgaria was the creation of the Fatherland Front as the political embodiment of the militant alliance of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. Its establishment on the initiative of the Communist Party and Georgi Dimitrov personally, substantiated, in the specific conditions of our country, the thesis first elaborated by Marx and Engels, and later developed by Lenin and put into practice by the Communist and Workers' parties, that in its struggle against the forces of capitalism and for the victory of socialism the working class can and must unite around itself the vast mass of the people. This alliance, the social basis of which broadens as the people advance to socialism and particularly in the course of the building of the new society after the socialist revolution has been accomplished, is absolutely essential under all circumstances although it might take different forms.

1.

The establishment of the Fatherland Front in our country was made possible by the long years of struggle waged by the people and their Communist Party. Immediately after the fascist coup of 1923 the Party posed the question of broadening united front tactics and to this end made concrete proposals to the leadership of the Agrarian People's Union, the Social Democratic Party, the Trade Union Federation, the cooperatives and other mass organizations. Although this initiative was supported only by the Agrarian Union, it laid the cornerstone for united action.

The September insurrection of 1923 was one of the most important stages in the struggle of the Bulgarian Communists to unite the popular forces against the reaction, fascism and war. Although the uprising was crushed, the blood shed by its fighters cemented the militant alliance of Communists and Agrarians.

After the Seventh Congress (1935) of the Communist International the Party once again

proposed to the Agrarian Union, the Social Democratic Party, the Radical and other democratic parties, to set up a broad anti-fascist front and begin a joint struggle for civil rights and for the economic and other demands of the working people. The leaders of these parties, however, rejected this proposal. The Communists thereupon established direct contact with the members of these parties locally and worked jointly with them both in the illegal revolutionary trade unions, in government-sponsored organizations for workers, in educational, cooperative and sports organizations and in various legal societies (physicians, agronomists, lawyers, etc.). A big achievement at the time was the agreement on joint action reached between the leadership of the youth organizations of the Communist Party, the Agrarian Union and the Social Democratic Party. The leaders of these two parties were compelled, as a result of pressure from below, to agree to joint action with the Communists in the fight for democratic rights and liberties, for free parliamentary elections, a Constitutional government, etc.

These steps paved the way to the establishment of a broad anti-fascist front.

Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union gave added momentum to the movement for unity. The changes on the international arena, also the organizational and political work carried out by the Party, created a new situation, a turning point in the fight to unite the anti-fascist patriotic forces.

On July 17, 1942, appeared the program of the Fatherland Front, comprising the Communist Party, Agrarian Union, Social Democratic Party, Zveno People's Union and the Radical Party. All the democratic forces in the country subscribed to this program: the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, etc. The program set as its principal aims the expulsion of the Hitler forces from Bulgaria, the overthrow of the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, the formation of a genuinely national government

which would join the anti-fascist coalition. The program was essentially a people's anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, patriotic program.

In the conditions of Bulgaria the Fatherland Front was the most suitable form for uniting the masses. Soon Front committees made their appearance throughout the country, and the Front rapidly grew into a powerful nationwide movement which helped to lay the social foundation for the democratic revolution.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Fatherland Front initiated the resistance movement and on September 9, 1944, overthrew, with decisive support of the Soviet Army, the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and established the power of the people, thus clearing the way for socialism.

After the revolution the Fatherland Front became the broad support of the new power, the organizer of the masses in the struggle to consolidate the people's democratic state and build a socialist society.

It played a notable role in organizing the new machinery of state; it helped to bring the fascist criminals to justice; it organized the masses during the elections to the new organs of state power, put forward a single list of Fatherland Front candidates, thus helping to overcome the traditional election struggle between parties and to bring still closer the democratic parties united in the Front. It won a resounding victory in the referendum for a republic and against the monarchy and also in the subsequent general election.

The Front played a big role in putting the national economy on its feet. With its help there was carried out in 1947 the nationalization of industry, the banks and mines, and later of large-scale private property. The Front committees actively helped to restore and develop agriculture. The agrarian reform was carried out under their control.

With these fundamental changes which laid the basis of socialist production relations, the situation in the country changed. The Fatherland Front reorganized its work accordingly. As a result, many of the functions performed by it in the early years of people's rule were gradually taken over by the respective organs of the latter.

At its Second Congress in February 1948 the Front was reorganized into a *nationwide socio-political organization* with its rules and program. Assessing the role of the Front in the new conditions Georgi Dimitrov said that it had played and would continue to play a vital part in public life.

After the Second Congress the Front did much to bring the various parties still closer and to coordinate their actions on the main issues. In the course of the Party's joint work

with the other parties in the Front, mistrust, prejudice and suspicion gradually gave way to mutual trust. Kimon Georgiev, leader of the Zveno People's Union, wrote in this connection: "Thanks to the Fatherland Front even political parties and organizations which did not formally share Marxist, socialist views, were able to draw closer to the socialist ideology and assure themselves of its inestimable value. Step by step all sections in the Fatherland Front came to realize that the future development and vital interests of the Bulgarian people called for the establishment of a socialist society in our country." In 1949 the Zveno People's Union and the Radical Party merged with the Fatherland Front and ceased their existence as independent political parties since the Front program fully corresponded to their programs. The Social Democratic Party had already merged with the Communist Party. The Women's Union, the General Agrarian Union and many other organizations also joined the Front.

The alliance between workers, peasants and intellectuals in the Front, between the members of the Communist and other parties and non-party people is steadily growing stronger in the endeavor for the happiness and well-being of the people, for the building of socialism.

The internal and external enemies of unity, of people's rule, attacked the Fatherland Front, tried to undermine it from within, for they saw in it an obstacle to their nefarious designs. The Front was attacked also by Left dogmatists who wanted to turn it into a purely administrative body, an amorphous auxiliary of the local councils and, in effect, to liquidate it as an independent socio-political organization.

At the Fifth Congress of the Front in March 1963 Todor Zhivkov said: "Formed by the great son of Bulgaria, Georgi Dimitrov, the Fatherland Front has fully justified its historical mission. No blows, whether from the Right or the Left, could smash it. It has stood the test."

The Fifth Congress charted the course of the Front's further activity in the spirit of the Eighth Congress decisions of the Communist Party; tirelessly to strengthen the moral and political unity of the people; to unite the working people around the Party's policy; to educate them in the spirit of socialism and communism, in the spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism; to rally all the forces of the people to fulfil and overfulfil the national economic plans; actively to participate in consolidating and broadening socialist democracy and in building socialism; to raise still higher the banner of Bulgarian-

Soviet friendship and friendship with all the countries of the socialist camp, to promote the ideas of friendship and fraternity among peoples.

2.

Progress in building socialism made it possible for the Party to adopt a 20-year development plan at its Eighth Congress in 1962.

The plan envisages for industry a nearly sevenfold increase in output, for agriculture a more than doubled output while investment in the closing five years of this period will be up 3.5 times compared with investment in the current five-year period. National income is scheduled to increase approximately fivefold, and purchasing power of the population more than fourfold.

Building socialism and the gradual transition to communism call for redoubled efforts to cement the unity of the people, for new communist relations between people. The Fatherland Front has played a big role in this respect. It is the largest socio-political organization in the country. It is made up of workers, peasants, intellectuals, Communist Party members and people of no party, the bulk of the former bourgeois democratic parties, former handicraftsmen and shopkeepers. It is being joined also by citizens who in the past had supported the Opposition. At the moment its membership exceeds 3.5 million — 65 per cent of the electorate.

The Fatherland Front actively helps to put into effect all important government measures, fully supports the program of the Communist Party aimed at accelerating economic development and raising the standard of living.

With economic activity being the pivot of the effort to build the new communist society it is only natural that the Front should concentrate on economic tasks. Although it has no organizations in the enterprises (its committees are based on the territorial principle) it sends members to explain to the workers the importance of timely fulfilment of production plans, of finding ways and means of increasing labor productivity, lowering costs and improving quality.

The socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the reorganization of the individual peasant farming into large-scale cooperative farming was not an easy matter. Agriculture is still the bottleneck of our economy. The Party centered its attention on the timely and effective organization of cooperative farming, on consolidating the cooperatives and on increasing agricultural output. The Front renders the Party every assistance in this matter. The Front also popularizes, jointly with the Min-

istry of Agriculture, the new techniques in agriculture, and the experience of the best farmers.

The Front is actively helping the Party to accomplish the task of rapidly expanding the irrigated area. It rallied the local population, sent to the village many urban teams working on land-reclamation jobs. In the space of a few years over 3,000 small reservoirs and ponds and many kilometers of irrigation channels were dug, thus extending the area of irrigated land from 35,000 hectares before the revolution to one million hectares.

3.

The Fifth Congress of the Front stressed the importance of work to educate the people in the spirit of communism. Its activities in this sphere are diverse. Question and answer meetings and debates are held monthly in the branches; it has helped to organize lecture bureaus and also people's universities which were attended last year by more than 1,300,000 members. At weekly discussions the basic policies of the Party and the government are explained in popular form and linked with the tasks of the local organizations.

The community meetings in residential districts and the social evenings in the villages are highly popular forms of mass work. These gatherings help to build up a community spirit, to shape the new communist relations among people.

The public reading-rooms — traditional cultural-educational centers in Bulgaria—now work in close contact with the Fatherland Front. In 1962 alone the reading-rooms loaned a total of 20 million books. The reading-rooms also have amateur art groups which stage plays, give matinees and concerts. Their satirical sketches, which poke fun at the shortcomings in work, are most popular.

The Front numbers 1,650,000 women among its members. Of this number 90,000 have been elected to its leading committees.

All in all it can be said that the Fatherland Front, by involving millions of people — men, women and youth — in all kinds of social and political work is a kind of nationwide school, a school that is shaping the man of the new society.

4.

In accordance with the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Party, democracy is steadily being advanced in all spheres of life. The Fatherland Front, too, is taking part in this process, in drawing the masses into the work of running the country, enriching the content of such new features of our life as

the comradely courts, committees of public control, etc.

The Front works tirelessly to strengthen the elected bodies. It arranges meetings at which the deputies report on their work to their constituents. The Front also has 76,000 of its activists cooperating with the sub-committees of the local councils.* In many instances decisions on planning, municipal services, public health, education, are adopted at joint meetings of the local councils and the respective Front committees.

The Front enlists the help of the population in combating manifestations of bureaucratic indifference to the needs of the people, in organizing efficiently functioning services. This is done mainly through the committees of public control. These committees are elected by the Front and consist of 3-7 people known to the residents of the particular district or village. Their activity is guided by the corresponding bodies of the Front, and they report on their work to their organizations and to general meetings of the working people.

Every committee is assigned to a definite area with its shops, public dining rooms, municipal services, and so on; their job is to see how these establishments cater to the public. Together with the local councillors these committees verify complaints about mismanagement and take the corresponding measures. In cases of grave violation they refer the matter to comradely courts or to the militia.

In keeping with an Eighth Congress decision a uniform Party and state control body has been set up. At a meeting of the Central Committee last May it was decided that this new control body should rely on the other forms of public control, and primarily on the public control organized by the Fatherland Front.

With the extension of democracy, public opinion and the moral factor are beginning

*Local government.

to play quite an important role in social life. Forms of coercion are gradually being replaced by forms of public censure and example. The People's Assembly therefore adopted a law in 1961 according to which comradely courts can be formed in places with upwards of 50 inhabitants — in villages, state farms, producers' cooperatives, enterprises, offices and colleges. As a result many of the functions that formerly came within the competence of judicial organs, are now performed by these courts, especially as regards petty offences. Their main purpose is not to punish but to educate and reform people.

More than 5,700 comradely courts are functioning at the present time.

The courts are elected at general meetings of the residents of the respective district or village, or by workers in factory or office.

An amendment introduced in the criminal code in 1961 makes it possible for Fatherland Front organizations to send their prosecutors and legal advisers when it is a case of a public nature. The Front's organizations also handle cases of persons who shirk socially useful work, and juvenile delinquency.

* * *

The Fatherland Front is, then, the embodiment of the moral and political unity of the people, the broadest social support of the people's government, the link between the Party and the people, the powerful lever that directs the popular efforts in building socialism.

In 1964 our country celebrated the 20th anniversary of the democratic revolution. This anniversary coincided with the 22nd anniversary of the establishment of the Fatherland Front. For us the anniversary celebrations of the revolution were a kind of nationwide review of our forces, a stage towards the further consolidation of our ranks in the great effort for the well-being and happiness of our people.

The Trade Unions and the Political Scene in Africa

Ibrahim Zakharia, Cuthbert Magigwana

The freedom struggle of the African people began from the moment the colonialists first set foot on African soil and has been going on ever since. Today the greater part of Africa has been delivered from direct colonial domination. For millions of Africans the winning of political independence has been a stimulus to extend the struggle not only for full political but also for economic freedom from all forms of colonialism.

An important role in broadening and deepening the national-liberation revolution on the African continent at the present time is played by the rising working-class movement. The revolutionary activity of the African proletariat and its organizations determine in large measure the character, scope and rate of the revolutionary process in one or another African country.

Trade union activity figures prominently in the political life of Africa today, for owing to the specific nature of the development of the African working class the trade unions are as yet the principal organizing force of the working masses in most countries of the continent.

In order to understand and appreciate the place occupied by the trade unions in the national-liberation revolution and to resolve the tasks facing the trade union movement in the African countries it is necessary to examine some of the conditions in which the working classes and the trade unions are developing.

I.

At the present time Africa has a total of about 20 million wage-earners (7-8 per cent of the population of the continent). About four million are industrial workers, of whom 2.4 million are employed in large and medium enterprises (chiefly in mining and processing), and the remainder at smaller enterprises.

The bulk of the African workers are agricultural laborers and persons engaged in the services, transport, trade and government offices. Until recently the typical proletarian in most African countries was the migrant peasant or worker. Tropical Africa alone has a migrant labor force of no less than five million which is renewed every two years on

the average. From the standpoint of their position in society and their political consciousness they may be classed as semi-proletarians or "near-proletarians."

Owing to the uneven economic development of the various areas of Africa, the formation and development of the working class has been similarly uneven. For example, the South African Republic, a country of developed capitalism with over three million wage-earners, has the biggest contingent of industrial workers in Africa (about 700,000), concentrated mainly in the mining and processing industries. The working class in this country has long since had its organizations—the Communist Party and militant trade unions. Other African countries with big contingents of workers are the United Arab Republic (over three million), Morocco (about one million), the Congo (Leopoldville — 1.2 million), Zambia and Southern Rhodesia (over one million), Nigeria (nearly one million), Ghana (over 500,000), etc. In most African countries, however, a working class is only beginning to take shape.

In many West African countries wage-earners make up less than eight per cent of the labor force, and in countries like Upper Volta, Chad, Dahomey and Niger, a mere two per cent on the average. There are no factory workers as yet in these countries. In most countries south of the Sahara the working class does not have its own political party. The predominant form of labor organization there are the trade unions.

The relatively small numbers, especially of permanent factory workers, the predominance of seasonal and migrant workers dispersed in the numerous small enterprises, racial and national distinctions, a high percentage of partial or total illiteracy—all these features of the African working class, engendered by the specific forms and methods of imperialist exploitation, have retarded the growth of the working class and, consequently, of the working-class movement and the trade unions.

On the other hand, there were factors which promoted the development of the working-class movement. One of these was the steady numerical growth of the African

proletariat, especially in the past few decades. The total number of workers in Africa has approximately trebled in the past 20 to 25 years. It is noteworthy that in Africa the working class emerged before the national bourgeoisie, and in nearly all the African countries its growth has been considerably faster than that of the national bourgeoisie. This is due, firstly, to the recruiting of new contingents of workers for the mines, factories and plantations owned by foreign companies and, secondly, to the fact that in some countries the national industry is now developing mainly through the expansion of the state and not the private sector (e.g., in the UAR, Algeria, Mali, Ghana, Guinea, etc.).

Another important reason for the upsurge of the working-class movement was the economic position of the proletariat. In addition to direct capitalist exploitation the worker employed in a foreign-owned monopoly enterprise was subjected to diverse forms of semi-feudal oppression and racial discrimination. Colonial exploitation here far exceeded the "normal" bounds of capitalist exploitation. Workers toiled 12 and more hours a day for a miserable pittance paid sometimes in kind. Forced labor and the contract system were practised. Thus the very conditions of existence drove the workers to fight for their emancipation.

Being exploited mainly by foreign capitalists, nearly all the economic actions of the African workers developed into a political struggle against the entire system of colonial and national exploitation, for national emancipation. The overall trend has always been anti-imperialist, and the working class and trade unions have always been inseparably linked with the national, anti-colonial struggle.

II.

The first actions of the African proletariat date back to the beginning of the century. However, until the Second World War an organized labor movement existed only in the North African countries and in the UAR. The numerous trade unions which appeared shortly before the war in some British colonies (e.g., in Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia, Sierre Leone), were virtually semi-legal and had no possibility of carrying on work on any appreciable scale among the workers.

In most countries of the African continent the working-class movement began to assume major proportions only after the Second World War, when with the general upsurge of the national-liberation movement influential trade unions made their appearance. In 1945 the Trade Union Congress of Ghana,

and in South Africa the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, the forerunner of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), were founded. In 1947 a union of African miners was formed in what was then the colony of Northern Rhodesia. Despite the resistance of the colonialists and their repressive measures, trade unions appeared also in the Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Senegal, and in many other countries.

Substantial aid in organizing the trade unions and in promoting the movement in Africa was rendered by the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and some other trade union centers. This was a concrete manifestation of the solidarity of the international working class with the struggle of the African proletariat and of the link between the world working-class and national-liberation movements.

By 1960 the number of organized workers in Africa exceeded 3 million. Africa now had such big trade union centers as the Moroccan Labor Association with 700,000 members, the Ghana Trade Union Congress (300,000), the National Confederation of Workers of Guinea (about 200,000), the General Federation of Sudanese Trade Unions (180,000), the General Confederation of Algerian Workers (150,000), and the National Union of Workers of Mali (35,000).

The growth of these organizations gave added impetus to the working-class and national-liberation movements and hastened the winning of political independence by many countries. In Ghana the demonstrations of unemployed war veterans in 1948 and the general strike of 1950 added to the influence of the Convention People's Party and contributed in large measure to the achievement of independence.

In Nigeria the miners strike in Enugu in 1949 and the general strikes of 1945 and 1950 did much to strengthen the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), and the Nigerian national-liberation movement as a whole.

The powerful strikes in the "copper belt" in 1940, 1952, 1955 and 1956 caused a sharp upsurge of the national movement throughout the territory of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and in Nyasaland.

The African labor movement has been under constant attack by the colonialists from the very beginning. The colonial authorities not only resorted to repressions and outright terror, banning trade unions and especially working-class parties that might have armed the African workers with proletarian ideol-

ogy; they have also tried to split the trade union movement from within. In many countries, particularly in the British colonies, special labor departments were set up with permanent advisers on trade union affairs whose chief function was to prevent strikes, maintain "class peace" in industry, resolve conflicts between workers and employers through arbitration, and prevent active participation by the trade unions in the national-liberation movement. African workers and active trade unionists were told that the unions should keep out of politics, and that in the economic sphere they should collaborate with the employers.

The African trade union movement as a whole did not take the reformist path onto which it was being impelled by the colonialists. Leading the struggle of the working masses for their vital economic demands, the African trade unions took an active part in the national-liberation movement, frequently playing a vanguard role in the struggle for independence. It is thanks to this that they have become a political force on the continent. It would be a mistake, however, to close one's eyes to the influence of bourgeois-reformist ideology among a number of African trade union leaders, an influence which has retarded the fuller development of the African trade union movement.

III.

The role of the unions in the revolutionary process in one or another African country as well as the paramount tasks of the African labor movement differ greatly depending on whether the given country is independent or has remained a colony, whether democratic or pro-imperialist forces are in power, whether or not progressive socio-economic reforms have been carried out, etc. For example, for the trade union movement in the majority of the politically independent countries of Africa the problems today are economic and social: achieving economic independence, ousting the imperialist monopolies from the economy, choosing the further course of development, etc.

However, these common problems do not take the same form in all countries. In some the most urgent problem is that of extending the social base of state power and drawing the unions into management of the economy (e.g., in the UAR); in some, it is the struggle for democratic trade union rights (Senegal); in others, the relations between the trade unions and the national parties in power (Kenya, Tanganyika and in other East African countries).

In those countries where colonial regimes

still exist (Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and a few others) the task of the working-class movement is to win political independence as soon as possible.

Several approaches to the economic, social and political problems can be observed at present in the trade union movement. The first is marked by preserving close links between the tasks of the trade union and national-liberation movements, by the unity of the trade union with all the national, patriotic forces in the general struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for broadening and deepening the revolution. This tendency is manifested most strikingly in the trade union movements of countries that have embarked on the path of radical socio-economic reform and are working for the reconstruction of society along socialist lines. In Algeria, for example, the trade unions are active in building the independent national economy, in rallying the masses to fulfil the tasks set by the National Liberation Front. They take part in drawing up production programs and national economy plans, and in managing the enterprises. In Mali the unions are in the vanguard of the forces advocating the non-capitalist way for their country. In the Sudan the unions are represented on the management committees in the key state-owned enterprises, and together with representatives of the Sudanese Union Party exercise control over the private sector on behalf of the working people. The Sudanese Union Party and the Mali government, with the help of the trade unions, strive to draw the working class into active participation not only in running the enterprises but also in determining the nature and rate of the economic growth of a given district, area and on the scale of the country as a whole. This is done by setting up committees including union representatives from the enterprises and offices concerned.

The experience of the trade unions in Algeria, Mali and other countries shows that the proletariat is the most active proponent of the non-capitalist way and a staunch champion of the revolutionary gains. It is noteworthy that in Algeria, Mali, Ghana and elsewhere the unions have organized resistance to the repeated counter-revolutionary sallies of the local reactionaries and imperialists against the progressive policies of the government of these countries. In Mali, for example, the trade unions held public meetings and demonstrations in reply to the attempt of the reactionaries to stage anti-government actions in July 1962. In Algeria the unions vigorously supported the steps taken by the government to suppress the

counter-revolutionary insurrections in 1963 and 1964.

It would, however, be a mistake either to underestimate or exaggerate the role of the unions, to regard them as the sole vanguard force of the national-liberation revolution in Africa. The "vanguard theory" current among some African trade union leaders causes the artificial isolation of the unions from the other forces participating in the national-liberation revolution; moreover, it engenders sectarianism which can only weaken the united national front. As the experience of many African countries shows, the unions are exerting an increasing influence on social and political life not by counterposing themselves to the other patriotic forces fighting for national and social progress, but by their close alliance and cooperation with the latter in the common struggle for economic emancipation and the non-capitalist way.

Another tendency in the African trade union movement is to restrict the unions to defense of the narrow craft interests of the workers. This tendency is typical mainly for the trade union movement of the newly independent African states where imperialist influence is still strong, viz., Nigeria, Senegal and the Congo (Leopoldville). Some union leaders are influenced by the Western reformist trade union confederations, such as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU). This influence is manifested in the desire of the union leaders in some countries to restrict the role of the unions purely to economic functions (action for wages, better conditions, etc.). Some union leaders, who were appointed to top government posts after liberation, argue that this policy of theirs is based on the unity of African society which, they claim, is a society without class distinctions, in which the interests of the working class and the government fully coincide. But the establishment of a national government does not mean, as some people think, that it fully expresses the interests of the working class and that, therefore, the proletariat should regard it as their own government. There is a tendency on the part of some people to idealize African society, to overlook the fact that a differentiation of class forces and interests is taking place within that society, and that the class struggle is growing sharper. Although Africans are in power in most countries, they are not yet in full control of the economy. Strong positions are still held by the foreign monopolies, which often call for an increase in labor productivity in order to squeeze out bigger

profits for themselves. In these circumstances, higher productivity does not mean a higher standard of living for the workers.

Under the impact of certain internal and external factors the revolutionary movement in many African countries has made notable progress of late. Reality is exposing the reformism of some trade union leaders. Under mass pressure the leadership of the unions is being compelled to advance political demands, as is evidenced by the wave of strikes which swept Africa in 1962-64.

In many of the mass actions organized by the unions in this period in the Congo (Leopoldville), Nigeria, the Malagasy Republic, Mozambique, Angola and elsewhere, economic demands (higher wages, better conditions, social insurance, etc.) were advanced as a rule together with political demands. The nature of these demands was determined by the specific conditions in one or another country. For example, the mass actions in Cotonou (Dahomey) in October 1963 were held under slogans calling for democratic rights and freedoms; the dockers in the East African countries demanded establishment of workers' control in the ports and transport, nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, etc. The miners in the former colony of Northern Rhodesia in 1962-63 and plantation workers and miners in Swaziland went on strike to demand the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination and the granting of independence. The National Confederation of Angolan Workers (NCAW), which calls for a united national front of struggle for independence, is taking an active part in the guerrilla movement against the Portuguese colonialists.

In some countries the initiative of the organized workers has had a decisive influence on the political development of the state. The October 1963 events in the Congo (Brazzaville) are a case in point. Public demonstrations which began with a mass meeting and march of workers and unemployed in Brazzaville sponsored by the trade unions, developed into an uprising against the pro-imperialist policy of President Youlou, caused the overthrow of the old and the formation of a new government which included representatives of the unions. The new government announced that important socio-economic reforms would be carried out. The Brazzaville uprising was followed by workers' actions in Dahomey against the reactionary policy of the government. Under pressure from the unions the government agreed to draft a new constitution that would include a clause on the workers' rights. The unions are now in a better position to influence the

policy of the government, and the democratic forces in the country have made headway.

In the countries of Tropical Africa the trade unions have succeeded in uniting the workers of different tribes, which is something no political party or government had been able to do.

A study of the changes that have taken place in the African trade union movement shows that the unions are advancing to the forefront in many countries. In some (e.g., the Congo, Dahomey, Chad, Swaziland) they are an important factor accelerating the revolutionary process. The experience of the Congo (Brazzaville) shows that in certain situations the unions can lead the struggle of the masses to broaden and deepen the national-democratic revolution.

IV.

United action is perhaps the most important and the most difficult problem confronting the labor movement in Africa. The difficulties are caused by both internal and external factors. One of the internal causes is the extraordinarily diffused nature of the unions inherited from the colonial period, the existence of a large number of small unions and of rival trade union centers in one country. For example, in Nigeria until quite recently there were 131 unions with 143,000 members. In Kenya 33,000 organized workers belonged to 18 different unions. In Southern Rhodesia six of the 19 unions had no more than 250 members each.

Another reason for this diffuseness is the extremely heterogeneous nature of the African proletariat, the marked national and racial distinctions existing in some countries. In some cases this has led to the spread of racist and narrow nationalist sentiment. In the South African Republic, for example, a section of the white minority who call themselves Afrikaaners, have succeeded in antagonizing white workers against their African fellow-workers. They have persuaded the Afrikaaner workers that their interests coincide with those of the Afrikaaner financiers and capitalists. In a broader sense this is responsible for the whole idea of apartheid. It has been used to confuse the white workers and to turn them against the majority of the working class, making them willing executors of the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

The lack of unity was conditioned also by the policy of the colonialists and the activities of the ICFTU. In the guise of the so-called principle of free trade unions, the ICFTU has invariably sought to split the African unions, to create all kinds of "autono-

mous" and "independent" unions, supporting them financially and corrupting their leaders. With the direct support and encouragement of the ruling circles in the West and aided and abetted by the colonial authorities, the ICFTU has succeeded in some cases in placing its own men in the leadership of the trade unions and, in some countries, in causing a split in the trade union movement.

However, with the growth of the political maturity of the African proletariat, the ICFTU policy of splitting the ranks and adapting the African unions to the interests of the foreign monopolies has encountered the resistance of the politically conscious section of the working class and the militant unions.

The growing desire for unity led to the formation on May 25, 1961, in Casablanca of the All-African Trade Unions Federation (AATUF). It was joined by 15 of the most influential organizations totalling over two million members. The formation of the AATUF was a big victory for the democratic forces. It proclaimed the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, against the international capitalist trusts, to be its main task. Its program provided for trade union struggle for national independence, against new forms of colonialism and the policy of subordination of African states to non-African associations, and in defense of democratic and trade union freedoms. The efforts of the African unions to unite within the framework of the AATUF met with the support of the international working class.

The All-African Federation had no sooner been founded than the leadership of the ICFTU and their backers in the West set about trying to undermine it. In January 1962 another trade union center — the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC) — consisting of 21 trade unions affiliated to the ICFTU and 12 to the IFCTU, was founded in Dakar, representing a membership of about 800,000. The idea was to use this new body to counteract the AATUF and split the African trade union movement. But thanks to the growth of revolutionary activity among the African proletariat and to the national-liberation movement as a whole, to the influence exerted by the idea of African unity, (especially after the conference of 32 independent African states in Addis-Ababa), and also to the rank-and-file pressure, the leaders of the new body evinced a tendency towards rapprochement with the All-African Federation and towards African trade union unity. In October 1963 representatives of the two bodies met in Dakar where they agreed to form a new trade union center on a con-

tinental scale and to function as a single, democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial body independent of any international trade union center.

An important step in the direction of consolidating unity was the Second Congress of the All-African Federation of Trade Unions held June 10-14, 1964, in Bamako. Despite the difficulties encountered at the preparatory organizational stage, 37 unions from 36 countries took part in the conference which endorsed the basic principle of the AATUF program, namely, independence and unity of the trade unions both on a national and a continental scale. The resolution unanimously adopted by the Congress pledged "unconditional support and effective solidarity with trade union organizations which are still waging a struggle against colonialism and racism, for independence and freedom." The Congress urged these organizations to heighten the political consciousness of the masses by investing their struggle for national emancipation with a social and revolutionary content.

The resolution defined the tasks of the trade unions in the countries that have won political independence and pledged its support for trade unions which "... serve the state, the workers and the peasants and, in accordance with revolutionary political structure, assume responsibility for management, constant improvement of production, training of cadres in the political, economic and social spheres and the education of the working class." At the same time the Congress urged the working people to be vigilant and to rebuff the reactionary and opportunist leaders who, under cover of revolutionary phraseology, are seeking to use the working class for their own ends.

The joint conference of AATUF and ATUF representatives in Dakar, and especially the Second Congress of the AATUF, were a big contribution to the development of the African trade union movement and to its unity. However, they did not solve all the problems. The appeal to the African TU centers to free themselves from international bonds was actually aimed at severing organizational ties with the ICFTU and ending dependence (mainly financial) on that body. Many African unions have already done this or are about to

do so. In 1963, prior to the Dakar conference, the Algerian unions, and some Nigerian unions withdrew from the ICFTU. The unions in Zanzibar, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda have also decided to break with the ICFTU. However, some trade union centers in other African countries are refusing to follow the recommendations of the joint conference or are still undecided, thereby delaying realization of the conference decision to merge the AATUF and the ATUF in one center. The continued existence of several trade union centers in many African countries is another obstacle to trade union unity.

In recent years a tendency has appeared to isolate the African trade union movement from the struggle of the international working class. However, this view is not shared by the majority of the African unions, which hold that the unity of the Afro-Asian trade union movement can be consolidated not by isolating the African unions from the working class of the world but, on the contrary, by closer union with the international working-class and trade union movement. "The AATUF has no intention of isolating itself from the workers of the world," Boubacar Diallo, Secretary of the National Workers' Union of Mali, declared on behalf of the AATUF at the Second Congress in Bamako. "It will cooperate on the basis of solidarity and proletarian internationalism with the working people of the world, with all international trade union organizations." "In our African struggle," states the Charter of the AATUF, "any manifestation of an isolationist spirit would ring false and would be sectarian in character. Our struggle is the struggle of all democratic forces of the world. And just as the forces of oppression and exploitation know no frontiers and nations, so our tasks are the tasks of the workers of the world irrespective of race and sex."

The working-class and trade union movement in Africa is a component of the revolutionary international movement of the working class. The more the African working people are guided by the spirit of proletarian internationalism and strengthen contact with the international working class and the general anti-imperialist movement throughout the world, the sooner will they achieve unity and win their economic and social emancipation.

New Roads to Unity, Democracy and Progress

Joost Morrien

BIG changes are taking place in the Dutch working-class movement, changes which open the way to closer working-class unity. These changes, closely linked with those that have taken place on the international scene and in the political life of the country, afford, on the one hand, new possibilities for joint action and, on the other, show the need for this action.

The change in the balance of forces on the world arena, the outcome of the rise of the socialist world and the success of the fight for peaceful coexistence, has strengthened the conviction that the socialist system is solidly for peace; hence the cold war policy and its anti-communism are meeting with defeat. The disintegration of the colonial system under the blows of the national-liberation movement, which is supported by the European working class and the socialist countries, has also helped to change people's thinking.

The big popular movement in Holland, which in large measure prevented a colonial war from being unleashed in New Guinea (West Irian), was instrumental in the peaceful transfer of this territory to Indonesia; it demonstrated the power of unity and was an inspiring example.

Any obstacle in the way to an international detente is therefore viewed with disquiet. Hence the anxiety felt in connection with the actions of the West German militarists who are bent on getting their hands on nuclear weapons with a view to using their economic and military might in the interests of the monopolies. They want to use the proposed MLF as a stepping stone to nuclear weapons of their own. We hold that West German militarism, which also relies on the Bonn-Paris axis in its schemes, is the main threat to peace. This threat is keenly felt in our country and the realization is growing among all sections of the population and particularly in the working-class movement that Holland must not become a party to these schemes, that West German militarism must be combated.

The struggle against monopoly exploitation has also made for closer unity. Thanks to

joint actions by Socialists and Communists big gains were made in the fight for higher wages in the autumn of 1963. This has won for us the support of the Christian trade unionists as well. Resistance to the policy of the monopolies, and to the government which is controlled by the former, is growing among the farmers, the middle sections, the intelligentsia and small employers. In an attempt to stem the tide the monopolies have stepped up their attacks on Parliamentary democracy and are aiming to replace the existing electoral system with a reactionary one.

Socialists and Communists are drawing closer together in the fight for the vital interests of the working people, in defense of democracy and against the threat of a nuclear war, in the first place. In short, the sentiment of the people is changing.

* * *

But these joint actions did not begin of themselves, automatically, simply as a result of the changed relations between the parties. They were made possible by the active and constructive work carried out by our Party.

Thus, at its Twenty-First Congress, held last March, the Communist Party, taking into account the changes in the working-class movement, adopted a new political course in all spheres of its activity.

There are times when parties find it necessary to chart a new course. In the 45 years of its existence our Party has been faced with such a necessity once before. That was about 30 years ago when German fascism began to rear its head. Overcoming the mistakes and confusion of the past, the Party resolutely changed its policy and concentrated on organizing a joint struggle against fascism. The Party united with the other democratic forces in the country, even though the latter did not agree with the Communists on all issues. The purpose of the Party's new policy is to give every support to the growing movement in the country against arming West Germany with the nuclear weapon.

The new course signifies that the Party is

taking full cognizance of reality, focussing its attention on national issues, on the problems facing the working people. We should like to see the similarity of views existing between our Party, the Labor Party and the Pacifist Socialist Party on many of the questions agitating the working people develop into broad joint actions by these parties. This is an urgent problem.

The relations between Socialists and Communists in the enterprises have greatly improved in recent years. They have joined forces in the fight for higher wages, against the government's colonial policy in relation to New Guinea and in the fight for peace.

This new approach can be explained in part by the new trade union policy which the Party has been pursuing in recent years. Communists are now working to strengthen unity in the Netherlands Trade Union Federation (NTUF). Prior to this, Communists and other militant workers had been members of the Trade Union Center which acted as a separate body. This new union policy was adopted despite the opposition of the Gortzak-Wagenaar revisionist group. It has made for greater unity and militancy in the NTUF, has increased the influence of the progressives in the enterprises and helped win the struggle for higher wages.

The Right-wing union leaders, it is true, still, whenever possible, expel Communists and militants from the TUF. But the latter continue to fight for trade union unity and in defense of the workers' interests. Their militant stand has won them the support of trade union members who frequently elect them to various bodies in the enterprises.

These joint actions in the NTUF have helped to stimulate trade union democracy. Thus, the union meetings held to discuss new collective agreements were attended by practically the entire membership and displayed a militant spirit. Unlike previous years, the leaders of the dockers' and builders' unions, for example, discussed in advance the clauses of the collective agreements with their members.

This greater democracy in the unions is not a purely formal or organizational matter. It indicates that the union membership has become more active, that it is participating in the struggle against the policies of the monopolies and the government.

At its Twenty-First Congress our Party again stressed the need to carry out its trade union policy. The stronger the TUF, the stronger will be the positions of the working class in the struggle against the

monopolies. It is therefore essential that all discriminatory measures against Communists should be abolished. The Congress clearly stated that Communists want to be active in the TUF as trade unionists. Political differences can be solved outside the trade unions. Whatever his political views, every worker should have the right to be a member of the TUF.

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At a conference held in December 1962 the Party spoke of the new situation taking shape in the working-class movement in Holland. This conclusion was prompted by the report issued by the Dutch Labor Party Committee on the question of war and peace in the atomic age. This report also reflected the views of the committee's minority group: "When we, the undersigned, assess the results of 15 years of the cold war we see, on the one hand, that despite all the military efforts, security in the world has decreased and that the West, contrary to its intentions, is engaged in rooting out democracy and rejecting the very human values which it sought to protect. On the other hand, we are compelled to state that the might, influence and prestige of the Soviet Union have grown during this period. We, in the West, failed to get down to the root of our problems. Instead, in the face of growing nationalism, we touched on them only superficially. Despite the repeated warnings over the years that we were mistaken in thinking that the Russian challenge constitutes a military threat, we persisted in this belief. Because of this fatal mistake the West looked for the answer mainly in the military sphere. As the undersigned see it, things will not change as long as this state of affairs continues. And if they do they can only lead, in their opinion, to disaster or to the loss of the Western concept of freedom and human dignity."

The majority of the committee rejected these views. Still, they, too, had to change their tone. They declared a realistic and positive attitude to peaceful coexistence, although they spoke in the same breath about the need to "resist communist expansion" and made much of NATO being essential to the "cohesion of the Western world."

The minority suggested that Holland should make its own contribution to an international detente by disarming.

The minority view was rejected by the Dutch Labor Party Congress in January 1963, but it decided to set up a standing

committee to study the question of war and peace. Representatives of both the majority and the minority were included in the committee. Last February the committee published a new report which the Labor leadership endorsed, saying that it hoped the report would be a positive contribution to the discussion on certain world issues. The report is indicative of the big changes taking place in the Labor Party.

The committee holds that any proliferation of nuclear weapons would be a grave danger to peace and security. In its opinion, the partial Test Ban Treaty should be regarded as the first step towards averting this danger and that its operation should be extended as quickly as possible to underground nuclear tests. The committee also considers it important to conclude without delay an agreement whereby the nuclear powers would pledge not to give nuclear weapons to countries that do not possess them, while the latter would give an undertaking not to manufacture them.

The committee expressed itself unreservedly against the setting up of French and West German nuclear forces. Concerning the ambition of West Germany to become a nuclear power the report states: "The other NATO partners should vigorously rebuff these ambitions, should insist that West Germany continue to abide by the 1954 agreement which prohibits that country from manufacturing nuclear weapons and, as heretofore, should refuse to supply West Germany with nuclear weapons for its national nuclear force."

The committee also declared against creating a multi-lateral nuclear fleet and a West European nuclear force.

These plans are a threat to peace in Europe and the world. In our view the Chinese leaders are therefore wrong in taking a positive view of de Gaulle's policy only because it is directed against the United States. There are serious contradictions in the imperialist camp. The Chinese leaders seem to forget that when Hitler and his accomplices—like Petain and other spokesmen of the French monopolies—established a fascist dictatorship they, too, fulminated against the USA.

West Germany's striving to become a nuclear power is a grave danger. Communists agree with the committee's conclusions that proliferation of nuclear weapons "would be disastrous." They also agree with the committee that this would add to the danger of a nuclear war.

Although there are differences between the

Communists and Socialists on basic issues and assessments, their views coincide on such major issues, as, for example, the question of a West European and multilateral nuclear force. This clears the way for joint action against the activity of the West German militarists and the Gaullists who are following their lead.

The first step in this direction has already been taken. On April 4, the Dutch Peace Committee, the 1961 Peace Committee and the Volkel Committee, organizations which in the past have sponsored separate peace marches, this time jointly called on the people of Amsterdam to demonstrate against the Bomb.

The Communist Party's policy of unity contributed to the success of this demonstration which made an impact throughout the country. The Social Democrats too, played their part in making the demonstration a success.

The new feature in all this is more than just a matter of numbers. It was not only a question of uniting forces which were formerly divided, but of drawing into the struggle people who until then had not actively opposed the Bomb. Communists, Socialists, and pacifists marched side by side in the anti-Bomb demonstration. This demonstration should be seen as an inspiring beginning, one which has roused many sections of the population to action.

* * *

At its conference in December 1962 our Party suggested that the formation of a united parliamentary opposition consisting of the Communist Party, the Labor Party and the Pacifist Socialist Party, and also trade union unity within the framework of the Trade Union Federation could be the first steps towards forming a government of the working class. An analysis of subsequent developments shows that things are moving in this direction.

There is growing anxiety in the Labor Party in connection with the drive against democracy. Since 1958, when the Labor Party was ousted from office, the reactionaries have been excluding its representatives from various official posts. Anti-Labor Party discrimination can be seen in the appointment of burgomasters and other local officers. (In Holland burgomasters are not elected.)

At present the Catholic party is elaborating plans designed to hamstring democracy. It wants to replace the present electoral system, based on proportional representation, with the constituency system which existed

in our country up to the end of the First World War and which was abolished under pressure of the revolutionary movement. The monopolies want, through this system, aimed primarily against workers' organizations, to strike at the labor movement and democracy. It is becoming increasingly evident that any concession to the reactionaries merely whets their appetite.

The need for joint action in defense of parliamentary democracy is recognized also in Socialist and bourgeois-democratic circles. This is added proof of the importance of the struggle which the Communists are waging in defense of democracy and for its regeneration. The Party considers the fight for democracy an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

Changes are taking place also in the Pacifist Socialist Party. Its members and electors are beginning to assess the new situation more clearly. The results of the last general election, at which it did not register any substantial gains, and the sharp criticism of its passive attitude to the struggle for higher wages, have compelled this Party to revise its policy, to abandon its "modernized anti-communism," although it has not yet, it is true, defined its attitude to the West German danger.

Everywhere, in Catholic and Christian circles, in the trade unions and among the intellectuals, forces are emerging which are taking an active stand against the danger threatening democracy. People show a growing interest in Marxist ideas.

In Parliament the Government's policy has encountered joint opposition on repeated occasions. Thus, the Parliamentary groups of the three parties opposed the law on higher rents and took a common stand in the debate on the tax amendments submitted by the representatives of the Right-wing parties in the interests of the big proprietors. Some observers even referred to the opposition as a "Left" or "Red" bloc. The three parties and the trade unions also supported the demand of the old-age pensioners for higher pensions, and organized a public demonstration in this connection.

Thus, judging by everything, possibilities are maturing for forming a united opposition. That is why the Party at its Twenty-First Congress declared itself in favor of forming a new majority in the country and in Parliament, a coalition composed of representatives of working-class parties and the peace-loving and democratic elements from among the Confessionals and in the trade union move-

ment. This coalition could be the basis for setting up a widely representative government of the working people.

* * *

With a view to promoting joint action by the entire working-class movement, including its organizations in the communes and provinces, the Party has proposed a broad exchange of views between the various parties at all levels. This exchange, which would greatly help to strengthen our forces, should be confined at first to those questions on which points of view coincide.

Before we can get rid of the poison of distrust that has accumulated over the years and restore the confidence needed for joint struggle we must go back to the reasons for the split in the working-class movement.

In his report to the congress Paul de Groot, chairman of the Central Committee, said: "The time has come to sum up the results of the split in the working-class movement which has lasted 70 years, and to examine the question of reuniting the workers' party."

The first split in the Dutch working-class movement took place in 1894 at the congress of the Social-Democratic Union, the first workers' party in Holland. Later it widened because of the break between the Communists and Social-Democrats, especially during and after the First World War.

In our time unification of the working-class movement is an historical task. In addition to joint action to achieve this, it is also necessary creatively to develop the theoretical aspects of socialism and democracy, drawing on the experience of the working-class movement.

The road to unity is a difficult one, but the Party intends to take this road, confident that unity can be achieved. To this end it will, as Henk Hoekstra stated at the last congress, display new initiative, proceeding from a realistic assessment of the situation. As the Party sees it, at stake is the progress of the working-class movement and the ultimate triumph of democracy and socialism, which are the concern of all working people.

National tasks can be accomplished and political unity achieved only if autonomy is strictly observed in the relations between the Party and the international Communist movement.

In defining its task the Party must base itself on the concrete conditions and the possibilities. In its work it is responsible wholly to its membership and to the Dutch working class.

A feature of the Party's new political course is its emphasis on autonomy. The relations of our Party with the other Communist parties were carefully defined at the congress. This was done for the purpose of depriving reactionaries of any grounds for slandering us, and also for the purpose of eliminating any unclarity for those joining our Party. International solidarity in the fight against imperialism is as essential as ever.

We are associated with the world Communist movement also in the sphere of devel-

oping Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of a creative study of the changes taking place in the world.

The Communist Party of the Netherlands celebrated its 45th anniversary this year. It has rich traditions of struggle against colonialism and fascism, and for peace and a better life. Despite all the difficulties, it has preserved and strengthened its contact with the working class. As stated at the Twenty-First Congress if the Party is to do justice to its new political course it must above all else extend its influence.

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The Youth in the USA: Their Conditions and Perspectives

(Socio-Economic and Political Aspects of Unemployment)

Daniel Rubin

HISTORICALLY, the capitalists have resisted every measure of social welfare beneficial to youth, including public education, laws to protect child labor, etc. The creation of special burdens for youth, making their entry into the adult world more difficult, has been a peculiar feature of American capitalism. However, big changes have taken place recently. More and more, capitalist industries required the entry of youth who had a certain minimum standard of education, health and skill. This objective process has made it easier for the labor movement, youth organizations and other progressive forces to wrest concessions of benefit to the youth.

Still there is cause for alarm. A generation of young people is growing up in the USA who have never had a steady job and who have no prospect of ever working unless radical steps are taken.

So serious is the plight of youth and so concerned is the country about this problem that the late President Kennedy and President Johnson referred to it as a "crisis." In his annual State of the Union Message in 1963, Kennedy described youth unemployment the number one domestic problem: "We need to strengthen our Nation," he said, "by investing in our youth. The future of any country which is dependent on the will and wisdom of its citizens is damaged, and irreparably damaged, whenever any of its children is not educated to the fullest extent of his capacity, from grade school through graduate school. Today, an estimated four out of every 10 students in the 5th grade will not even finish high school—and that is a waste we cannot afford. In addition, there is no reason why one million young Americans, out of school and out of work, should all remain unwanted and often untrained on our city streets when their energies can be put to good use."

A year later President Johnson's Message sounded a similar note, after recognizing that poverty affected at least one-fifth of all

people in the USA: "To help that one-fifth of all American families with incomes too small to even meet their basic needs, our chief weapons in a more pinpointed attack will be better schools and better health and better homes and better training and better job opportunities to help more Americans, especially young Americans, escape from squalor and misery and unemployment rolls. . . ."

Unemployment

Large-scale unemployment has been a mass phenomenon among workers, and especially young workers, for many years. This situation has existed throughout the economic cycle, whether production was rising or declining. In December 1963, among the youth aged 16 to 24, 1.2 million were officially unemployed. This is an unemployment rate of 12.2 per cent compared to 5.7 per cent for workers of all ages. Youth are one-third of all unemployed workers. Labor Secretary Wirtz has said that the 1.2 million figure grossly understates youth unemployment. He concedes that at least 350,000 youth are not counted because they have given up actively seeking work. Another 350,000 are on part-time work mainly because of inability to find full-time employment.*

Recently, Professor Theobald, economist, characterized the unemployment situation confronting youth in the following way: "Unemployment among young workers is perhaps our most serious problem. The official overall youth unemployment figure in this country has climbed above 17 per cent or just under one person out of every five. . . . A society in which one youth out of five cannot get a job, one Negro youth out of three cannot get a job, and one Negro youth out of two in the ghetto cannot get a job, is not a viable society. Such a society is in the process of breakdown."**

The social impact of mass youth unemployment can not be fully appreciated without

*1964 Presidential Manpower Report.

**Robert Theobald. Spring Issue, New University Thought.

realizing that such unemployment has been present for many years. Many young people are growing up in communities in which they and all their friends are unemployed and in which everyone they know, up to 10 years older than themselves, has also experienced long-term unemployment. The following table gives us an idea of this:

Unemployment Rate*

Year	All Ages	Ages 16-24
1954	5.6	9.7
1955	4.4	8.0
1956	4.2	7.7
1957	4.3	9.0
1958	6.8	13.3
1959	5.5	11.0
1960	5.6	11.3
1961	6.7	13.0
1962	5.6	11.7
1963	5.7	12.2

Those who do not finish high school (drop-outs) have a much harder time finding work. In 1963, one in every 3.5 dropouts aged 16 to 18 was unemployed.** This compares with a national unemployment figure during the Great Depression of the thirties in which one in four was out of work.

Poverty

While unemployment is the central problem of U.S. youth, it is closely connected with a number of other problems, including the widespread poverty.

The Department of Labor says that a family of four requires an income of \$5,370 to \$6,567 a year, according to the area of the country, to have a "modest but adequate" budget.*** Former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, Leon Keyserling, says that any family unit with an income under \$4,000 a year lives in poverty and families with incomes under \$6,000 suffer economic deprivation. In these two categories are 77 million families or two-fifths of the nation. Again, youth are hardest hit. In the 2.3 million families whose heads are under 24 years old, 49.7 per cent earn under \$4,000 a year, 31.7 per cent earn under \$3,000. President Johnson sets \$3,000 a year for a family as the poverty level. And yet approximately 35 million families have an income of \$3,000 or less a year.

Statistics, of course, can give only part of the picture of the social impact of unem-

ployment and poverty. One of the country's largest unions, the 1.5-million-strong automobile workers (UAW), in a resolution from their 19th Convention said: "The plight of our unemployed youth can be summed up in one tragic cry: 'All I know is I need work and I haven't been able to find it.'" These were the words of the son of a UAW member.

Interviews with young people around the country tell more of the story. A Youngstown, Ohio, youth says: "Sometimes I feel so low I think I never will get a job. It's going to be tough for me for a long time and I don't know what to do about it. I spend all my time on this street corner because there's nothing else to do. I guess nothing can be done." A South Bend, Indiana, wife who is the sole support of her unemployed husband and four children on \$55 a week complains: "Next month? I don't know how I'll make it. Next month is in the hands of God."

Unemployed youth are almost bound to experience poverty conditions. They will live in slum housing. They will be unable to enter training programs or apprenticeships in order to gain the skills that are required for those jobs that are available in a developed capitalist country.

Recently, the decline in the health status of U.S. youth has been publicized by the military. They complain that they must now reject one in two young men for military service because they cannot meet the mental or physical qualifications. Thus, the crisis in the conditions of young people is also reflected in their health trends.

Rural Youth

Among those facing the sharpest economic problems are rural youth. Only one in ten of these young people are able to earn a living on the farm. The rest will move into city or rural town slums in search of non-existing jobs. "Still the most neglected of all youth in our country, the children of migrant farm workers, deprived of proper clothing, housing, food, and education, are scarcely protected by federal or state law. They follow their parents from crop to crop and shack to shack and are permitted to work at any age. . . ."

Education

The education crisis in the U.S. affects unemployed and poverty-stricken youth and particularly Negro youth hardest. Central to

*1964 Presidential Manpower Report.

**Judge Mary Conway Kohler, June 1963 at *Jobless Youth: A Challenge to Community Organizations Conference*.

***Manpower Research Bulletin No. 3, May 1963, U.S. Dept. of Labor.

*United Automobile Workers (UAW) 19th Convention Resolution on Youth.

this school crisis is the issue of integration. In the South, 10 years after the Supreme Court order to desegregate schools, 98.9 per cent of all Negro pupils continue to be forced to attend all-Negro schools. Typical of the de facto situation in most Northern cities is the segregated pattern of schools in New York City. In 1961, 123,000 out of 257,000 Negro and Puerto Rican elementary school pupils were in schools consisting on the average of 97 percent Negro and Puerto Rican pupils. Out of 316,000 white pupils, 183,000 or 58 per cent attended schools that were 97 per cent white.*

Segregated Negro and Puerto Rican schools are inferior in equipment, size and quality of teaching staff. But this is not the only point. Segregation is profoundly anti-democratic. White youth, being educated in all-white segregated schools, are mis-educated by that very fact in white supremacist notions.

Another problem is the financial crisis of public and higher education. As a result primarily of the arms race, there is a shortage of 135,000 classrooms and the schools need one-third more teachers, while in many states expenditure on education is actually decreasing. This is occurring in the face of a rapidly expanding school-age population. Universities need \$2.3 billion a year for physical plant but are receiving only \$1.3 billion from all sources.**

Resulting in part from the poor quality of education, education through high school that seldom prepares a young person to enter productive life, a million young people a year do not complete high school. A great many also drop out because they cannot afford lunch at school or decent clothing to go to school. Often they leave school in search of work so they can make a contribution to the family income or have a little spending money.

There are today 23 million people over 18 years old who have not completed eight years of school.*** This compares with a publicly proclaimed educational standard of 12 years of education through high school.

Economic barriers to a university education are considerable. Due mainly to lack of funds, 30 per cent of the high-school graduates who are in the 80-90 percentile educationally do not go on to college.

*New York Communist Party School Integration Plan, *The Worker*, July 1, 1964.

**U.S. Commissioner of Education, Frances Keppel, June 1963 at *Jobless Youth: A Challenge to Community Organizations Conference*.

***U.S. Commissioner of Education, Frances Keppel, June 1963 at *Jobless Youth: A Challenge to Community Organizations Conference*.

Industrial training programs for youth have also been declining. Registered apprenticeships have also been declining steadily — from a high of 188,408 in 1955 to approximately 165,000 in 1963. A number of factors are operating here. Automation is reducing the need for skilled craftsmen. The owners are finding it cheaper to train a worker in a low-job classification to do a specific skilled operation without upgrading him, than to train a journeyman craftsman.

Negro Youth

The plight of Negro youth can hardly be overemphasized. It has been said that when whites are suffering an economic recession, Negroes suffer a depression. Youth unemployment figures bear this out.

"The rate of increase in non-white, mainly Negro unemployment since 1955 has been twice that of white teenagers. In 1963, about three of ten non-white workers between the ages of 16 and 19 were unemployed. The unemployment rate among Negro high school graduates is twice that of white graduates.*

Even more shocking are the estimates made by the educator Conant in his study of youth unemployment "Social Dynamite in Our Large Cities." In one large city in the Negro community, 59 per cent of the males aged 16-21 are out of school and unemployed. In another Negro community of 125,000 in a large city, 70 per cent of the youth 16-21 years of age are out of school and unemployed.

Non-white girls have a much higher rate of unemployment than any other group in the entire labor force.** For them, the special conditions of oppression under capitalism are compounded by the special oppression of Negroes and the special oppression of women.

Educational and job training opportunities are closely related to employment and poverty. There are eight million people in the USA who have had less than five years schooling. In a complex society such as ours, education experts consider this illiteracy. Among this eight million are 22 per cent of the non-white (mainly Negro) and 6.2 per cent of the white population.***

Another illustration of the Negro plight is the fact that 12 per cent of the white population is able to enter universities but only 5.4 per cent of the non-white population.****

*1964 Presidential Manpower Report.

**Manpower Research Bulletin No. 3, May 1963, U.S. Dept. of Labor.

***U.S. Commissioner of Education, Frances Keppel, June 1963 at *Jobless Youth: A Challenge to Community Organizations Conference*.

****Ibid.

In field after field, the oppression of Negro youth could be documented.

The Future

Present trends indicate a much sharper situation for the future. The youth population is rising rapidly. At the same time displacement of workers through automation and cybernation is not compensated by a general expansion of the economy. Therefore, many more young people will be seeking fewer jobs.

For the decade of the sixties, it is computed that 26 million young people will enter the labor force. Seven and a half million of these will not have finished high school (drop-outs), 12 million will be high-school graduates and 6.5 million will have at least some college education. Nearly all the school drop-outs will join the ranks of the unemployed since even the small number of jobs available will require education and skill that they do not have.

There are many estimates of how many new jobs will be required to reduce unemployment or even to maintain it at present levels. Secretary of Labor Wirtz said in 1963 that 16,000,000 new jobs would be required in the next five years just to prevent the present high level of unemployment from increasing. Thus we need 3.5 million new jobs each year and yet the annual rate of new job openings declined from a 900,000 average in the period 1947-57 to 500,000 a year from 1957 to 1962.*

The Presidential Manpower Report for 1963 reveals that between 1947 and 1957 jobs grew only in trade, contract building, services, finance and in government employ industries. Since 1957 there has been a slowing in the growth rate for trade and an absolute decline in contract building. Service industry grew at the same rate, while the rate of increase in finance slowed. Only government employment continued to grow. During this latter period, private non-farm employment increased by 175,000 employees a year and most of these were part-time jobs.

According to UAW calculations, the excess of new young workers entering the labor force over those leaving it through retirement, death, etc., will be 1,300,000 a year during the sixties. Each year 2,340,000 workers will be displaced by technological change—automation. This means 3,640,000 new jobs a year are required to hold unemployment at present levels, a figure close to that of

Secretary Wirtz. Even the most conservative estimates indicate that at present rates, an additional seven million will be unemployed in 1970 for a total of 11 million, or nine per cent of the labor force.

It is, therefore, clear that the position of young workers is going to get even worse in relation to the deteriorating conditions of the whole working class. For Negro youth the situation will be truly catastrophic. A large proportion of young workers first entering the labor market without skill, experience or seniority will not find work. One of the impacts of automation is failure to hire new workers, rather than to fire workers on the job, as the work force declines through retirement, etc.*

In a whole number of industries union contracts aim at protecting the workers on the job but exclude new workers from entry. This is true in the steel, longshore, and much of the communications industries.

The decline of employment becomes the general rule in the various industries. For example, railroad employment declined from 1,400,000 in 1947 to 730,000 in 1961 and produced a 70 per cent gain in output per man-hour, according to Professor Theobald.

Other figures testify to the same effect. In the steel industry more steel was produced by 400,000 workers in 1960 than by 540,000 workers in 1950. In auto, a rise of 64.7 per cent in vehicle output between 1947 and 1960 was accompanied by a 5.7 per cent decline in the number of production workers. In coal mining, 200,000 miners today produce nearly as much coal as did 600,000 a decade ago. In 1958, the tire manufacturing industry turned out as great an output as in 1947 with 30 per cent less workers and 29 per cent less hours worked. In the electrical industry, between 1953 and 1959, 20 per cent more goods were produced with 10 per cent less production worker man-hours. And so on, industry by industry. Even greater is the reduction of employment in agriculture: during the last decade output grew by 28 per cent while the number working on farms fell by 28 per cent.**

Thus, youth are being effectively excluded from much of basic industry such as manufacturing, mining, transport, etc. This is counteracted only when shops move out of old industrial centers and into new areas in search of tax benefits, cheaper labor, etc.

*The Nation, May 11, 1963; Robert Theobald, *Abundance, Threat or Promise?*

*The first to be discharged are young workers with low seniority. In many industries a worker needs 15 to 20 years seniority to keep his job.

**Hyman Lumer, *Is Full Employment Possible?* New York, 1962, p. 38.

Here youth are hired but under weaker union conditions and with lower wages.

The two industries in which the largest numbers of workers under 25 work are service and trade, with 28.8 per cent and 24.4 per cent of total youth employment respectively compared to 26.2 per cent and 19.7 per cent for all ages.*

There has been an increasing trend towards these types of employment for youth. In these industries and occupations, youth have wage scales considerably lower than for other kinds of work. Trade union organization is also a lot weaker.

Proposed Solutions—The Ultra-Right

A number of proposals are being advanced to meet the crisis conditions that youth face. That section of monopoly that follows ultra-Right policies takes an openly anti-youth position. The Right-extremists say youth are unemployed because they are lazy and shiftless. Often, this is a covert racial slur against Negro youth. Their solution is the discipline of the armed forces, police or military controlled camps for youth and tough police tactics.

There are also many big business representatives who stress minimal improvements in education and vocational training and psychological treatment for youth to rid them of their unemployment problems. They oppose any proposals to create jobs through public works projects as tampering with private property.

"War on Poverty" Program

Responding to pressure to do something about poverty, President Johnson announced a "War on Poverty" program. Aid to youth is a feature of this program.

The Johnson "War on Poverty" provides a billion dollars for a number of programs. The youth program includes a Jobs Corps doing conservation work in camps, a work-training program and a work-study plan for impoverished college students. Government loans are to be provided for some small farmers and businessmen. There would be job training with minimal wages paid to a certain number of unemployed fathers, etc.

The weakness of the Johnson program stems from the fact that the funds for the "War on Poverty" are simply inadequate. Secondly, the program does nothing to create jobs through public works projects and through reducing the work week without reduction in pay. These measures are avoid-

ed apparently because they involve a certain amount of basic challenge to the private profit system. (As a matter of fact, emergency public work projects are being curtailed.)

The philosophy of the "War on Poverty" has been stated by Walter Heller, chief economic adviser to President Johnson: "The cause of poverty here is not lack of jobs, but lack of the higher skills and productivity needed to yield a decent income."

The youth programs in the "War on Poverty" reflect this concept that more job training and education will produce jobs that do not exist. But even these programs are limited and will not solve the problem.

Trade Union Proposals

In contrast, the AFL-CIO Council, the national trade union center, while welcoming the idea of "War on Poverty" described the proposed measures as "hardly a first small step." It called for a "vast increase in federal outlays for job-creating public works projects" and for raising wages of the lowest paid workers through setting a \$2-an-hour minimum wage standard. It also favored limiting the work week to 35 hours with double pay for overtime. It called for vast programs of housing for low-income families, a school construction program, and programs for the aged and sick.

The UAW position on the economic problems of youth and on the "War on Poverty" is more advanced. In its Special Resolution on Youth, after detailing the conditions of youth, it calls for expansion of each of the Johnson Administration youth programs. It also favors extension of compulsory free public education to 14 years, together with financial aid to pupils to permit them to stay in school.

Attitude of the CP USA

In its response, the Communist Party welcomes the concept of "War on Poverty" as providing an avenue of increased struggle for masses of people but warned it would be an illusion to view it as a solution, as a means capable of effectively abolishing poverty and unemployment caused by the deep-laying vices of capitalism with its sharpest antagonism between labor and capital, with the subordination of the entire economy to the sole purpose—to ensure high and super-high profits to the monopolies. While indicating the basic causes of poverty and unemployment in the capitalist system and the need for a socialist reconstruction of society

*1960 Census Tracts.

for a full solution, the CP USA offered an immediate and longer-term program to benefit the working people.

Most of the measures that appear in the program of the unions also appear in the CP USA Economic Program which says that no significant anti-poverty steps are possible without reducing the arms budget substantially. Therefore, \$20 billion is proposed to be taken, as a start, from armaments and to be used to build schools, hospitals, etc., and thus provide employment. Special measures are enumerated to end the ghetto conditions facing Negroes and other minorities by providing extra funds in these communities for jobs, higher incomes, schools, health facilities, etc.

Longer-term measures aimed at curbing the power of monopolies by giving labor, the Negro people, youth, a say in decisions over automation, plant relocation, etc., are elaborated as proposals to nationalize certain industries with substantial control by these same sections of the people.

The special youth measures proposed by the CP USA are as follows:

"Secure the Future of America's youth.

"Enact a National Youth Act designed to meet all job, training, educational, recreational and health needs of American youth, with effective representation of youth, labor and civil rights organizations in its administration.

"As part of such a measure, enact the Administration's job corps, work-training and work-study proposals for unemployed youth and students, on a greatly expanded scale and with strict guarantees against undercutting union wages, against all forms of discrimination and against military control or influence over the proposed conservation camps.

"Provide federal aid to education sufficient to end all teacher and classroom shortages and to make possible extension of compulsory education through fourteen years of school by payment of living stipends to students.

"Make college education available to all through a national system of tuition-free colleges, with special aid to facilitate the attendance of Negro youth and complete enforcement of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

"Make all young people entering the labor force and unable to find work eligible to receive unemployment compensation.

"Expand apprenticeship training programs to twice their present size, with guarantees against displacement of older workers and

with preferential enrollment of Negro and other minority youth."

The Perspectives—Struggle

We have spoken about the crisis phenomena facing the youth in the USA, about the plight of millions of young Americans, both white and non-white. All this is taking place in the country that describes itself as the richest and most productive in the world. It takes place at the same time that 2,730 leading corporations report net income after taxes to be 10 per cent higher in 1963 than in 1962. And in 1962, there was a 13 per cent rise over 1961.* It takes place in a country that is, in fact, rich in its skilled working class, level of technology, productive plant and natural resources. A social system that fails so terribly in providing a secure future for its younger generation deserves condemnation on these grounds alone.

It is this disparity between the reality of youth's conditions and the possibilities in our country, together with the example of the socialist countries and of those struggling for national liberation, that have set large numbers of youth in motion in search of a progressive solution.

In the struggle to win significant steps to alleviate unemployment and poverty, a special role is being played by the civil rights movement of the Negro people and their many white allies. Increasingly, their demands center on job discrimination and lack of jobs and on basic economic demands. Young people are playing an extremely prominent role in these struggles. In the City of San Francisco, several thousands of young people, supported by nearly a thousand longshoremen, through picketing and sit-ins, forced the hotels to hire 1,500 Negro workers. This was followed by a similar victory against General Motors auto dealers.

Demonstrations in New York at the opening of the World Fair by thousands of Negro and white people, mainly youth, made the exhibits of giant corporations among their prime targets because of job discrimination in these companies.

In a dozen cities, one-quarter to one-half of the school students, ages 15 to 18, stayed out of school for a day in a boycott of the segregated schools that produce an inferior quality of education for all. These demonstrations were participated in by 500,000 school

*First National City Bank, Monthly Economic Letter, March 1964.

children in New York City, including more than 50,000 white children.

Most significant in these actions was the large participation of white youth. They actually constituted a majority of the demonstrators. Also highly important was the role played by socialist and Marxist-oriented youth in the Du Bois Clubs of America who overcame the chief weapon of the reactionaries—virulent anti-communism.

Organizations of the unemployed and especially of unemployed youth are beginning to be built. They are undertaking actions before governmental authorities demanding immediate relief, public works projects and the shorter work week without loss of pay. Several unions are beginning to organize the unemployed.

Often these groups and their struggles merge with the civil rights movement. On the other hand, increasingly, the peace organizations are working closely with those concerned with unemployment, poverty and civil rights. And increasingly, those striving

for civil rights, employment and anti-poverty programs are recognizing that no significant government spending in their behalf can be won without tackling the arms budget and disarmament.

From this sketch, it can be seen that a rising crescendo of struggle for jobs, against poverty, for civil rights and against spending on armaments can be expected. In it, the young generation that is so hard hit by these problems are playing a major role. In all these struggles, the CP USA is straining to lend its aid and to initiate new struggles in behalf of the interests of the people.

It is a deepening movement that is becoming ever more militant in its actions and demands. It is a movement that has not yet won any significant victories but has won enough secondary victories to feel its own power. Despite various internal difficulties in the movements of the people, the perspective is one of much greater unity for the period ahead, with the youth being among the most militant and dedicated sections of the struggle.

The Situation in Iraq and the Policy of the Communist Party

Mounir Ahmid

TEN YEARS have passed since Iraq obtained formal independence. But it is well to remember that until July 14, 1958, Iraq was a feudal monarchy with state power concentrated in the hands not of the national bourgeoisie but of agents of imperialism—the feudal lords and the reactionary bureaucracy. The July revolution ended the monarchy and brought the country political independence. Iraq was proclaimed a republic. A coalition government was formed which, besides the military leaders of the revolution, included representatives of the anti-imperialist parties and groups (with the exception of the Communists). In the first year after the revolution the government cooperated with the Communists and other national forces, and, thanks to the successes won in 1958-59, the possibility of developing the revolution further and taking the non-capitalist road began to take shape. But the possibility did not materialize. By 1960 the July revolution had degenerated into a military dictatorship isolated from the people and torn by bitter conflicts and antagonisms. The reactionary and imperialist circles took advantage of the situation to engineer a counter-revolutionary coup, overthrow the Kassem government and establish a fascist-type regime.

Under Baathist rule there could be no question of non-capitalist development for Iraq. The reactionary policy of the government was a mockery of the socialist ideas it professed. However, the weakness of the regime soon became apparent; shortly after the February putsch it found itself in an embarrassing situation. The democratic forces, having not yet fully recovered from the heavy losses inflicted by the Baathist coup and being not sufficiently united, were unable at this juncture to take the initiative and find a way out of the crisis. In these circumstances a group of army officers, former members of the Baathist Party, staged another coup d'état on November 18, 1963, and overthrew the Baathist government. That coup ended the fascist regime and created more favorable conditions for the struggle to consolidate national independence and enable Iraq to rejoin the mainstream of the Arab national-liberation movement.

The new government has taken some steps in the interests of our people. However, as the Communist Party, voicing its support for the progressive measures of the new government, has pointed out, its policy suffers from certain shortcomings which afford loopholes for subversive activities on the part of the imperialists and the home reactionaries. For example, it is delaying a settlement of the Kurd problem by refusing to satisfy the just demands of the Kurds. The prisons are still filled with patriots, and military courts are trying people wholesale. The people are denied political and trade union rights; they have no say in determining government policy and controlling its activity. On the other hand, reactionaries enjoy full freedom. The tense political situation is aggravated by the fact that the government encourages strife between the Shiites and Sunnites, and is trying to split the ranks of the patriotic forces. On the economic plane nothing is being done about agrarian reform and oil rights, and no effective steps have been taken to improve the steadily deteriorating economic situation.

The contradictory home and foreign policy of the government, its openly anti-democratic policy, and its attitude to patriots, and primarily the Communists, is due to the contradictory and heterogeneous nature of the rulers who represent different trends and groups. The present regime may be described as a military, non-democratic, petty-bourgeois, nationalist regime. The country is governed by men of despotic temperament who were involved in the February coup and in the crimes perpetrated against the Communists, against the Kurds and democrats but who later broke with the Baathists and set about repairing their relations with the independent Arab states and undertook some anti-imperialist measures. This regime is none too stable, it will be unable to counteract the intrigues of the reactionaries and imperialists unless it changes its policy and places its reliance on the masses. The present leaders will not be able to steer the country onto the path the UAR and Algeria have taken unless they drastically change their policy and unite all the progressive forces of the country. However, we believe that the struggle of the people

to consolidate national independence and carry out radical socio-economic reforms combined with progressive steps by the government, under the impact of the international situation and the changes in the Arab world, can lead to changes in the government's policy in a democratic direction. This can be achieved provided all the national forces — Communists, democrats, nationalists, Arabs, Kurds and other national minorities — unite on a common program of action. The choice of the non-capitalist path need not necessarily hinge on the removal of the present government. The transition could be effected by gradually changing the social structure of the government through support for those of its measures which conform to the interests of the people and by combating all anti-democratic moves.

The prime prerequisite for consolidating national independence, exposing the intrigues of the imperialists and reactionaries and overcoming the obstacles to social progress is the granting of democratic rights and liberties to our people, who are waging an indefatigable struggle against imperialism. We see no contradiction between our attitude to the present regime and joint struggle with all patriotic forces to establish a democratic regime that would enable the people freely to choose their representatives to parliament and set up a government accountable to them. The high level of political consciousness and militancy of our people and the influence exerted by the democratic forces on the political life of the country, make it possible for the patriotic forces to win their just demands for a democratic regime obedient to the will of the people, founded on a broad national coalition and solid mass support.

Our attitude to the present regime is a tactical problem that can be solved depending on the situation and on the position taken by the government. But whatever government is in power, we are committed to the policy of struggle for the non-capitalist path of development.

The possibility of the non-capitalist way for Iraq is an objective process that does not depend on the will or desire of anyone within or without the government. The movement in favor of taking the non-capitalist way is steadily gaining momentum, representing a social force which, despite the difficulties and obstacles, is capable of imposing its will.

The Communist Party is working to give to the slogan of the non-capitalist path a political impact powerful enough to influence any government in Iraq and compel it to adopt this path or step down. We Commun-

ists are not the only ones who advocate this idea. There are other organizations and groups who support it now or will do so in the future. The objective conditions in Iraq favor the formation of a broad front taking in all the basic political forces (including some sections of the national bourgeoisie) which support the non-capitalist way.

Iraq was and still is rent by contradictions which have found expression in bitter national and class conflicts, strikes and demonstrations, mutinies, revolutions and counter-revolutions. The immediate postwar years provided abundant evidence of this. Witness the wave of strikes by the workers in the oil fields, ports, railways and all the major enterprises; the repeated actions by the peasants for land; the life and death struggle fought by the Kurds for their legitimate rights; the numerous student strikes and demonstrations. The entire nation carried on a bitter struggle against imperialism and its local agents (the biggest actions were the uprisings of 1948, 1952 and 1956, culminating in the July revolution of 1958).

Nevertheless the chief contradiction was and remains that between our people and imperialism. The cause of national liberation was, therefore, the pivot of the great struggle of our people in which different social classes and groups and their political organizations took part. In many cases the economic struggle developed into a political struggle spearheaded against imperialism and its agents in the country.

Owing to the spread of the liberation struggle of our people and the aggravation of the crisis of the monarchy, on the one hand, and the part played by the army and military coups in other Arab countries on the other, political ferment set in among Iraqi army officers and patriotic trends gained ground in the army. The establishment of a national front of patriotic parties and forces in February 1957 provided the soil for the growth of these trends.

In July 1958 the officers emerged as a patriotic force capable of participating in the solution of the main contradiction and ensuring national independence. The development of the revolution was accompanied in the initial period by a growth of national consciousness and progressive trends in the army which spread to the rank and file. Until then the most active and politically conscious section of the army had been high-ranking officers who came from the small and middle bourgeoisie.

After 1959, when Kassem began to renounce the gains of the July revolution, he replaced a large number of patriotically-

minded officers with reactionaries. In this way the Rights and their supporters were able to seize control of the army. But the spirit of patriotism was still strong among the majority of junior officers and soldiers. This found expression in the November 1963 events which demonstrated their dissatisfaction with the Baath regime and its "national guard."

The events of the past few years have confirmed that the motive forces of our revolution have been the workers, the petty bourgeoisie (students and intellectuals) and, to a lesser extent, the peasantry. The greater activity of the petty-bourgeois groups in the towns may be traced to the growing influence exerted on these groups by working-class ideas and trends both in Iraq and on the international scene (the socialist world system) which are bringing them over to more progressive positions.

One of the features of the development of our country is that the industrial proletariat, being concentrated mainly in foreign-monopoly enterprises (oil companies) and enterprises belonging to the state sector (railways), has developed much faster than the national industrial capital. The working class has done much to awaken the national consciousness and draw other social classes and strata into the anti-imperialist struggle. It played a big part in advancing the correct slogans in the liberation movement and even in the actual leadership of that movement — through its political party — during the street battles and big mass actions, including strikes and the demonstrations by students, intellectuals and artisans that took place after the Second World War.

It is worth noting that no force in our country, whether progressive or reactionary, can afford to ignore the political party of the working class. There would be no militant tradition in our country were it not for the working class. Democratic "Left" tendencies could not have flourished among the students and intellectuals had it not been for the influence and the role of the revolutionary party of the working class.

While it cannot be said that the working class has been the only political vanguard of our national-liberation movement it has always been in the front ranks of the struggle, taking an active part in formulating and upholding the principal national slogans and demands.

The petty bourgeoisie, too, has played an active part in the national struggle but to a lesser extent than in some other Arab countries, the UAR for example. It would therefore be wrong to say that it has now become

the political vanguard of the national-democratic struggle of our people. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to cling dogmatically to appraisals that were correct at other periods. The alignment of political forces in our country in recent years has changed and under the impact of developments in the Arab world and on the international arena further changes are not excluded.

There are some other aspects of the political situation in Iraq that should be taken into account. One of the most important is that of oil, which is the chief cause of the antagonism between our people and imperialism. Income from oil makes up about half the national income. Oil profits cover more than two-thirds of budgetary expenditure. Thus any stoppage in the output of oil could seriously undermine the national budget and the economic position of the country. On the other hand, our oil resources cannot strengthen our independence so long as they remain in the hands of the imperialist monopolies. The problem of oil creates a critical and complicated situation in our country. At present it is hard to see how this problem can be solved. Clearly the government should take some steps within the framework of the existing agreements (for example, to secure for Iraq a bigger share of the oil profits, its participation in the capital of the oil companies, control over production, etc.) on the one hand, and implement the national oil company law, on the other.

No Iraqi government can promote the country's social progress and its advance along the anti-imperialist and non-capitalist road if it ignores the lawful national demands of the Kurds. But the Kurd national movement as such is becoming one of the decisive factors on the Iraqi scene. There are trends and political organizations in Kurdistan which reflect the interests of different social classes and groups. If the two main political organizations, the Iraqi Communist Party and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, were to form a united front, the front could become the rallying point for all the progressive forces of Kurdistan. As a result, the Kurd liberation movement would be an effective factor in developing and deepening the revolution throughout Iraq, ensuring social reforms, establishing a democratic system and granting the Kurds autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi republic.

Another feature of the Iraqi situation is the role of the state sector in the economy. The state sector came into being and developed before national independence, when it consisted of industries set up by the government as well as those formerly belonging to im-

perialist companies. Prior to the July revolution, the state sector included the railways, ports, airlines, post and telegraph, the basic means of transport in the capital and other cities, the central industrial and commercial banks, water and power supply, oil refineries and some other enterprises. The recent nationalization measures have substantially altered the balance between the state and private sectors in favor of the state sector. At present the state sector accounts for nearly three-quarters of all industrial production (with the exception of oil, which remains in foreign monopoly hands). This creates favorable conditions for Iraq's advance along the non-capitalist path.

The non-capitalist way, among other things, calls for a planned national economy. Economic programs in Iraq prior to the July revolution of 1958 and after it were not planned and were erroneous in principle. The country had no special organization to carry out the program adopted by the government, with the result that programs were only partly fulfilled. Planning should be put on a solid foundation; it should provide for an effective machinery to carry out the tasks of economic development, ensure the priority development of the petro-chemical industry and maximum utilization of the aid rendered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

* * *

The Communists are revising their methods of struggle for political alliances in the light of this non-capitalist perspective. The Party is working to unite all forces opposed to imperialism, for a broad front to include the Communists, democrats, all Arab and Kurd patriots interested in consolidating national independence, democracy and social progress. Expressing its willingness to conclude bilateral or multilateral agreements with other patriotic parties and groups, it is concentrating its efforts on building up the most effective forms of cooperation, especially with those organizations and elements working for socio-economic reforms and for non-capitalist development.

Differences and dissension in the national movement cannot serve the interests of the people. We Communists want to reduce these differences to a minimum with a view to removing them, and building up a front that would include all patriotic forces on the basis of a joint program founded on common objectives. While supporting all progressive and democratic views and trends in the national-liberation movement, we at the same time reject sectarian positions on the part of any

national organization or group whether it supports or opposes the present government.

The Communist Party is opposed to the one-party system in our country, or the monopoly by one party of the right to political activity. All patriotic parties and groups, nationalists and democrats, have the right to enjoy freedom of the press and political organizations, to participate in determining the country's policy and in solving its key problems. If all national organizations and groups were to join forces, Iraq would be able to rebuff the imperialist and reactionary intrigues, put an end to the martial law and overcome all obstacles to complete emancipation and to social progress. The Communist Party is ready to cooperate with the Arab Socialist Alliance in the fight against imperialism, for democracy and social progress, for solidarity and unity with the UAR and other fraternal Arab countries. At the same time we say that the Socialist Alliance must abandon its reactionary anti-communism as being incompatible with the interests of our people. We support the desire of all patriotic groups and elements to join in a single progressive political organization which would occupy a worthy place in the struggle of our people and all the Arab countries. However, we believe that this organization should not have a monopoly of the right to political action. We are confident that time will expose and isolate any reactionary elements who try to capitalize on nationalist slogans.

In the past the Communist Party held that the establishment of a popular regime under the leadership of the working class was an essential prerequisite for the realization of radical social reforms and for building socialism in Iraq. In the new conditions, with struggle for the non-capitalist way the general political line of our Party, we have changed our views on this question. We believe that at the given stage the best government in Iraq would be a coalition of all the patriotic forces fighting for complete emancipation and social progress. There are many obstacles in the way of such a government at the present time. But the greater the progress in searching for the best forms of cooperation with the various representatives of patriotic forces, the easier will it be to end the abnormal situation in our country and form a coalition government of all these forces.

The Communist Party rejects any sectarian underestimation of the possibility of cooperating with a non-coalition anti-imperialist government — not all at once, of course, but gradually.

The forms of our struggle are determined

by the objective — the non-capitalist way for our country. We are anxious to achieve our country's objectives by peaceful means. It would, however, be premature to rule out the possibility of the non-peaceful path inasmuch as this is dependent on a host of diverse factors, the chief being the attitude of the opponent who may compel the people to use force.

It can be confidently asserted that in view of the situation now shaping up in the world, in the Arab East and in Iraq, the possibilities of carrying on the struggle by peaceful means are steadily growing. Our country's basic problems cannot be solved by "palace" coups, which can only lead to anarchy, political disillusionment and economic difficulties and compound the difficulties.

The fact that opportunities have appeared for the non-capitalist way in our country does not mean that the Communists have lost sight of the goals for which our Party was founded and for which it has fought over the years. On the contrary, it means that experience has confirmed the correctness of these goals and the possibility of realizing them.

Iraq's transition to the non-capitalist way will be achieved only as a result of the struggle of the Communists and other progressive forces — the democrats, nationalists and Kurd patriots — for complete emancipation, for economic independence and social progress. It will require maximum effort to reinforce our Party, cement its ranks, consolidate its unity, reaffirm the Leninist principles of its work and extend its contact with the workers, peasants and the working population generally, to conduct ideological work against erroneous and opportunistic trends and concepts, especially against "leftist" sectarian ideas which constitute the biggest danger at present.

The struggle for the non-capitalist way makes it incumbent on us to reconsider our program in all areas of mass activity and to apply methods of work suitable to the new

conditions. This implies combining strict observance of principle with political flexibility, eschewing all arbitrary measures and sentimental impulses, ability to maneuver, persevering effort to win allies and enlarge the circle of friends, and at the same time relentlessly to expose enemies and isolate them.

For the success of this struggle it is necessary to intensify the mass actions of the working people in order to ensure that the government consistently pursues a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, for general disarmament and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, for support of the national-liberation movement of all peoples, for a resolute struggle against old and new forms of imperialist policy, for greater cooperation with our friend and ally, the Soviet Union, and also with all the socialist and newly liberated countries.

The fight for the non-capitalist way also requires greater mass action for the immediate fulfilment of such demands as the abolition of the hangovers of the Baath regime, release of all patriots, rejection of the policy of forcing patriots to break with the Communist Party, abolition of all the unlawful military courts, peaceful settlement of the Kurd problem and improvement of the economic situation. Satisfaction of these demands would be a step in the direction of ending the state of emergency and enabling the national forces to establish a government on a democratic foundation, carry out agrarian reform, guarantee our legitimate oil rights, strengthen the state sector and elaborate a plan for the advancement of the national economy.

The non-capitalist way is the way leading to a prosperous and democratic Iraq. We are firmly convinced that our people, the Communists and all progressive men and women in Iraq, possess the necessary political consciousness and resolution to achieve this objective and set the country firmly on the road to socialism.

In Memoriam: Leslie Morris

THE COMMUNIST, the labor and democratic movement of Canada and the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties have lowered their banners to half mast in tribute to the memory of Leslie Morris. The death of this outstanding Communist leader on November 13 is a heavy loss to the Canadian Communist Party, to the people of Canada and to the world Communist movement.

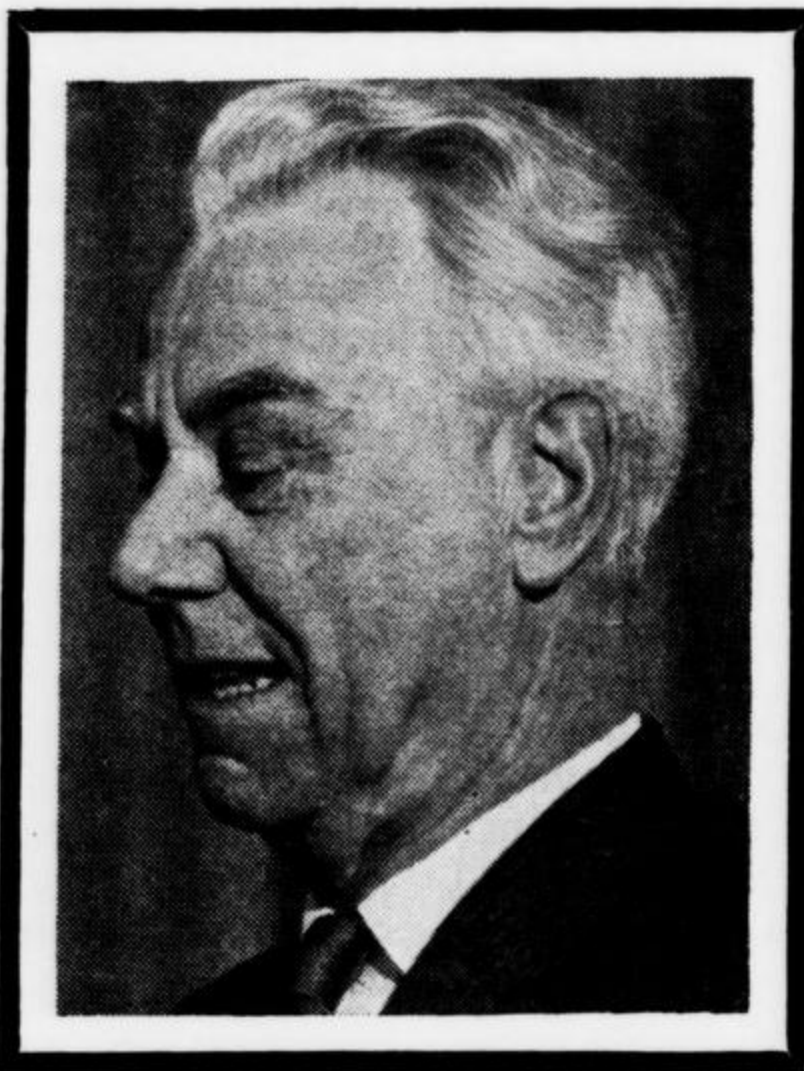
Leslie Morris was born on October 10, 1904, in Weston super Mare, in Somerset, England, of Welsh parents. The son of a worker he himself began work at the age of 12. He received his tempering in class struggle as a participant in the British railway strike in 1919 at the age of 15.

Leslie Morris came to Canada with his family in 1920. He immediately became active in the Canadian working-class movement. He became one of the leaders of the Young Workers League in Winnipeg. In 1921 he joined the Communist Party. During 1923-24 he was National Secretary of the Young Communist League. After filling many responsible positions he was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1962.

In 1929, on the eve of the great economic crisis, he was part of the revolutionary wing of the Central Committee under the leadership of Tim Buck which fought and defeated the Right-wing led by the then General Secretary Jack MacDonald, who had developed the erroneous theory of "American exceptionalism."

In 1956-57 he was again among those who fought and defeated the revisionists who wanted to abandon the fundamental teaching of Marxism-Leninism and to dissolve the Communist Party.

All the numerous tasks assigned to him by the Party Leslie Morris fulfilled with dignity and honor as a true revolutionary and loyal son



of the people. He played a leading role in organizing the farmers in Western Canada. He actively participated in the struggle against fascism and war prior to and during World War II. He was chief editor of the central organ of the Party. He was a Party leader during the period of illegality, 1931-1936, 1940-1943. But neither persecution nor prison could break his revolutionary will to fight on behalf of the working class and the democratic forces for the independence of Canada from U.S. domination, for peace, democracy, for equality for the French Canadian nation, and for socialism.

Leslie Morris was a talented journalist and writer. The author of numerous articles and pamphlets, he made an outstanding contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist science and its application to Canadian conditions. He was Chairman of the Commission which in 1952 drafted the Party program, "The Road to Socialism in Canada." Leslie Morris' last article "The Communists and the National Question—National and Democratic Revolution in French Canada" appeared in the September issue of *World Marxist Review*.

As General Secretary of the Party Leslie Morris fought resolutely for the unity of the World Communist and Workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. All his life he waged a principled fight against revisionism and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Leslie Morris will be remembered as an outstanding Marxist-Leninist, a staunch revolutionary.

At this moment of sorrow our journal shares the loss and grief of the Canadian Communists and the working people of Canada and expresses its fraternal solidarity with them.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

The CPSU Steadfastly Pursues the Leninist General Line

THE PEOPLES of the USSR, united around their militant vanguard, the CPSU, are going ahead with the building of communism in keeping with the general line elaborated at the Twentieth, Twenty-First and Twenty-Second congresses of the Party and set forth in its Program. These congresses initiated a new era in the life of the Party and the people. Ensuring the further deepening of democracy in general and inner-Party democracy in particular, the implementation of this line has given new impetus to the initiative of the Soviet Communists and the people generally.

In no way can the line of the CPSU be attributed to any individual. It would be futile, too, to try to counterpose the leadership of the Party to the rank and file and the people generally, for the people, having endorsed the line of the Party, are vigorously carrying it out.

The CPSU is guided by Marxism-Leninism, by the principles set forth in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Speaking on the occasion of the Forty-Seventh Anniversary of the Revolution, L.I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee, cited facts showing how the Soviet peoples are successfully building the material and technological base of communism. The combination of science, technological thought and practical production endeavor, he stressed, is advancing the USSR to leading positions in the key branches of science and technology.

Comradeship, fraternity, collectivity and confidence in the morrow, these, Brezhnev continued, are the features of life in socialist society.

Our state, he went on, a state of all the people, is a natural development stemming from the dictatorship of the proletariat. It gives expression to the will of all the people and upholds their interests. The participation of the working people in the administration and in public life is becoming more and more effective.

Soviet democracy is steadily developing, multiplying the forces of our society and placing in its service the collective minds of the people.

Socialism signifies also regeneration of spiri-

tual life. It places at the disposal of the working people all the achievements of science and culture. The USSR is a country of advanced culture and science. Nowhere do scientists, educators, writers and artists play so big a role and enjoy such great respect as in socialist society.

While noting the achievements, Comrade Brezhnev pointed out that the Party warns against complacency and urges the people not to close their eyes to shortcomings but to see life in all its complexity. This approach alone makes it possible to solve urgent problems in good time, to overcome the difficulties and to go ahead faster and more confidently. Against the background of the overall progress it is essential to see the problems the solution of which is of vital importance.

We know, Comrade Brezhnev said, that the quality of many of our products still leaves much to be desired, and that not everything is perfect as regards supply and public services. The economy still bears considerable losses because of slow returns on investments, tardiness in completing work on construction sites and in introducing new technology. Agriculture still does not fully meet the growing requirements of society.

Clearly, the people are vitally interested in solving these problems as quickly as possible. The Central Committee of the Party and the government are paying close attention to these questions. But to resolve them time and hard work on the part of the Party and the people are needed.

Economic policy should be directed at continued expansion of industry and especially the branches with the most promising future, comprehensive electrification and chemicalization, accelerated development of agriculture and growth of farm incomes, towards greater output of consumer goods and all-round improvement in public services.

Planning and management should be based on the solid foundation of objective assessments, exact information, proper observance of the economic laws of socialism and utilization of the achievements of science. Experience has

shown time and again that wherever a scientific approach is replaced by subjectivism, by arbitrary decisions, failure and mistakes are inevitable.

The economy should be advanced harmoniously with a view to ensuring the highest possible productivity of social labor and a steady rise in the standard of living. Heavy industry should be geared to ensuring the technological re-equipment of the economy as a whole, to the needs of national defense, and to promoting agriculture and the light and food industries.

The slogans of the October Revolution were socialism, peace and freedom. The Communist Party and the Soviet government, Comrade Brezhnev stressed, remain faithful to these slogans, and are consistently pursuing the peace policy initiated by Lenin.

Today the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism is being fought on all continents, and imperialism is losing position after position. The main achievement in this struggle is the rise of the socialist world system. This is one of the most important results of the revolutionary reconstruction of the world initiated by the October Revolution.

In their relations with the other socialist countries the CPSU and the Soviet people are guided by the principles of socialist internationalism, by the desire to strengthen fraternal friendship, cooperation and mutual aid on the basis of equality and independence and of harmony between the interests of each country and of the community as a whole.

All the objective conditions exist for the continued strengthening of the socialist commonwealth. Our peoples, Comrade Brezhnev said, are united by a community of fundamental interests: our economies rest on the same foundation—social ownership of the means of production; our state systems are of one type—government by the people headed by the working class; we have one ideology—Marxism-Leninism; we all are interested in upholding peace and the security of the nations, defending our revolutionary achievements against imperialist encroachment; we have one goal—communism.

The socialist countries, understandably, are interested in each other's experience in building the new society. At the same time we believe, Comrade Brezhnev said, that it would be a mistake to impose the experience of any one Party or country on other parties or countries. The choice of methods, forms and ways of building socialism is the sovereign prerogative of each people. We, he continued, hold that the variety of ways of building socialism should in no way hamper the development of friendly relations between the socialist countries. The correctness of one or another viewpoint as re-

gards concrete problems of socialist upbuilding should be tested in practice, judged by the results.

The socialist countries are building a new and better life for the working people in a great and powerful community. The socialist world extends for thousands of miles over the vast expanses of Europe and Asia. In the Americas socialism has won its first victory. The peoples of many African countries derive inspiration from its example. The influence exerted by the socialist world on the march of history is making itself felt more and more from day to day.

The CPSU and our government, Comrade Brezhnev said, consider it their sacred duty to do everything in their power to cement the unity of the socialist countries on the reliable foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is imperative to ensure maximum success in the building of socialism and communism in our countries, to ensure the triumph of our common cause everywhere in the world.

The CPSU unflaggingly supports the national-liberation struggle waged by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and all forms of colonialism. The CPSU, as its Program declares, considers fraternal alliance with the peoples which have shaken off the colonial and semi-colonial yoke to be one of the foundation stones of its international policy.

Wherever the battle against imperialist intervention is being fought—in Cyprus and the Congo, in Southeast Asia and in the Arabian Peninsula, in Latin America—the people feel the support we are giving to their just struggle for national and social liberation.

As before, the Soviet Union pursues the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This policy is aimed at preventing a world nuclear war, at settling disputes between states by means of negotiation, respecting the right of each nation to the social and state system of its choice, to decide all internal issues for itself.

Peaceful coexistence provides a basis for mutual understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation between countries irrespective of their social systems. At the same time peaceful coexistence facilitates the liberation struggle and the realization of the revolutionary tasks of the peoples.

The general foreign policy line pursued by the Soviet Union, a line defined by the decisions of the above-mentioned congresses and the Party Program, is consistent and unchanged. It is aimed at ensuring peaceful conditions for building socialism and communism, at streng-

thens the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, their friendship and brotherhood. It is a line of support for the revolutionary liberation movements and of solidarity and cooperation with the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, a line affirming the principles of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries and aimed at delivering mankind from the incubus of world war. This, the only correct course, is fully endorsed by the Soviet people and by the vast majority of people everywhere.

The unity of the international Communist and working-class movement is a guarantee of further success for the cause of peace and socialism, Brezhnev said. Our adversaries would like to weaken the Communist movement, to capitalize on the differences in it in order to damage the revolutionary forces. In these circumstances cementing the unity of the world Communist movement acquires particularly great significance. To this end effective steps must be undertaken to ensure greater cohesion. Differences of opinion must not be allowed to undermine the Communists' main source of strength—their unity in struggle against the common enemy, imperialism. Problems affecting the entire movement should be solved by

the joint efforts of all the fraternal parties.

Communists the world over have a clear-cut general line—the line worked out jointly at the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960.

They also have an effective method of overcoming differences of opinion between parties and of strengthening their unity. "The Communist and Workers' parties," the 81-Party Statement of 1960 says, "hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to share experiences, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and coordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals."

In our opinion, Comrade Brezhnev said, there is no better way to cement the unity of the world Communist movement. The need for a new international meeting of the fraternal parties has long been obvious. The purposes of such a meeting should be to ensure cohesion on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the unity of Communists in the struggle for our common goals.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will do everything in its power to achieve this unity.

From the Experience of the Guatemalan Party of Labor

UNDER THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

IMMEDIATELY after its founding in September 1949, our Party made proletarian internationalism, together with such basic political demands as struggle for the national interests and the vital needs of the people, an integral part of its activity. It combated the anti-Soviet slander of the reactionaries, hailed the victory of the Chinese revolution, popularized the example of the People's Democracies and the success of socialist construction in the USSR. It did this not merely because of its principles but also because these examples were instrumental in helping the Party to win the support of the workers, peasants, students and intellectuals in Guatemala.

Our Party has demonstrated more than once its fidelity to international proletarian solidarity. Two examples will illustrate the point. In 1951 our Party explained to the public the aggressive war in Korea unleashed by U.S. imperialism, and in the same year the President of the Republic, Jacobo Arbenz began to pursue an independent and peace-loving foreign policy. Arbenz declared that Guatemala would not

send troops to Korea. Our Party, known as the Party of Labor since its Second Congress in December 1952, wholeheartedly supported the Cuban revolution.

For their part, our working class and its Party have repeatedly seen expressions of international proletarian solidarity, especially at the time of the U.S. imperialist intervention in 1954 when the democratic Arbenz government was overthrown. People everywhere expressed indignation at the brazen aggression of the U.S. monopolies and government against our small country.

The counter-revolutionary Armas government installed with U.S. aid, declared that it would "uproot communism in Guatemala." But this was wishful thinking. Our Party emerged with flying colors from the trials and, overcoming the difficulties, has rebuilt its ranks and gained strength.

In 1960 in the difficult conditions of illegality our Party held its Third Congress. The Congress summed up the results of the work to reorganize the Party ranks and outlined the path of

the struggle to restore democracy, strengthen contact with the masses, win greater influence and a vanguard position in the new revolutionary process.

This process has its roots in the deep crisis which has bedevilled our national economy. Having its source in the neo-colonial domination of U.S. imperialism and in the obsolete semi-feudal structure of the economy, the crisis has engendered political instability among the reactionary ruling groups. The struggles against the Fuentes dictatorship in March and April 1962, in which an active part was played by students, workers and peasants, confirmed the forecasts of our Third Congress. In its assessment of these events the Central Committee pointed out that they heralded "a new period of sharper and more violent political battles." Shortly afterwards the military seized control of the Fuentes Government and then, on March 30, 1963, in order to check the rise of the democratic and popular movement, they deposed Ydigoras and installed Azurdia in the President's chair. But the crisis has not been resolved. State power transferred by the ruling classes to the military has no reliable basis.

The military coup was carried out on orders of the ultra-reactionary and aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism, which are aiding and abetting the Azurdia government in its policy of repressions and violence.

Against this onslaught and to drive the reactionary government out of office and establish a democratic regime, the revolutionary forces began an armed struggle which is being conducted in the shape of guerrilla warfare and armed resistance. Partisan detachments are being organized and consolidated; the Party of

Labor, supporting them, regards them as one of the main forms of the democratic struggle in our country.

The path of armed struggle taken by the revolutionary forces was imposed by the government's resort to violence and by the specific conditions of the struggle in our country.

The attitude of our Party demonstrates that armed revolutionary struggle is not at variance either with the thesis on the possibility of a peaceful victory of the revolution adopted at the 1957 and 1960 meetings or with the policy of peaceful coexistence and the struggle for peace. Peaceful coexistence and international detente favor the revolutionary mass struggle for full national independence, democracy and socialism in countries exploited by, or dependent on, imperialism.

In July 1963 the Central Committee of our Party approved a resolution which said that our views on the problems of the international Communist movement "coincide with the views of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, consequently, our attitude to these problems is identical."

The Party of Labor remains loyal to its internationalist duty and to the historical mission entrusted it by the people of Guatemala. As stated in the report of the Central Committee to the Third Congress, our Party "has a rich and valuable record of democratic and patriotic actions." But new battles lie ahead, in which the Party will strive to occupy the leading place by virtue of its efforts, self-sacrifice, correct application of national and international experience, and its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism.

J. M. FORTUNI

BUILDING A UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT: SOME PROBLEMS

In the struggle against the military dictatorship importance is attached to building a united front of all the democratic forces.

During the past year we have made important advances in this sphere.

An event of considerable significance was the establishment of the *United Resistance Front* (URF) which comprises all the democratic political groupings, including our Party. The URF, founded following the military coup of March 30, 1963 is a political alliance for the purpose of overthrowing the reactionary regime and forming a democratic government.

Another important event was the creation of the *Rebel Armed Forces* (RAF). The news of the formation of these forces had repercussions throughout the country. The RAF is a military political alliance uniting all political groups and movements which support or help the

armed struggle of the people. Our Party is making an active contribution to its cause. The armed struggle in Guatemala is waged under a *unified leadership*.

True, beginning with last July provocateurs who wormed their way into the "November 13" organization (one of the bodies belonging to the RAF) have been busy sapping the unity of the armed forces, trying to get their commander, Jon Sosa, to support their sectarian line which completely ignores the real situation in Guatemala.

This group launched vicious attacks on our Party in an attempt not only to seize the political and military leadership of the struggle but also to divide the revolutionary forces and isolate the Communists. Our Party is sparing no effort to uphold the unity of the RAF and the revolutionary forces generally, to

resolve the differences, and it urges commander Jon Sosa and other representatives of the "November 13" movement to discuss with us the differences which are bound to arise in the course of the struggle.

Efforts are also made to achieve cooperation and mutual understanding between the United Resistance Front and the RAF. As regards the Front, here, too, there are problems. In a way the Front is a united coordinating center of the democratic opposition. But in order to be able to fulfil its role, it needs a single concept concerning the ways and means of effecting the changes called for by the situation; and as the resolution of our Central Committee adopted on December 20, 1963, puts it, the Front should have a "ramified network of organizations in which all democrats, both members of the parties belonging to it and non-party people, would cooperate in the spirit of unity." Let us briefly examine each of these points.

Some of the parties belonging to the Front maintain that the overthrow of the military dictatorship necessitates a military coup. Other parties, ours included, believe that only through the armed struggle begun by the people in 1962 can the radical changes be effected. Hence it is unanimously held that things cannot be changed without the *overthrow* of the dictatorship, but there is no unanimity as to how to do this. Account should also be taken of the following: those parties which adhere to the idea of a military coup are not against the people's armed struggle since it has become an important political factor and is practically the only form of a militant reply to the blows and policy of the dictatorship.

We realize that time is needed to think about the ways of changing the situation. In the Front, we, as supporters of revolutionary changes, criticize in a friendly way the illusions concerning the military coup. But we never say that the differences should impair the existing contact and unity. Experience, the best teacher, is shattering the illusions and groundless hopes are being shed in view of the fact that the ruling classes, their internal differences notwithstanding, are united by fear of revolution and by their subservience to U.S. imperialism. The course of the struggle will exert the right influence on those democratic parties presently adhering to moderate positions.

Let us turn to another matter. After the coup d'état of March 1963, the functioning of all political parties was banned. The democratic parties, whose conditions had been unfavorable even before, were practically outlawed, not to mention our Party which for 10 years has had to work underground. The ban disorganized the democratic parties, and hence reorganiza-

tion of the Front is vital to the success of the revolutionary struggle. In view of the experiences of the past 10 years, and in particular the organizational state of the democratic parties today, the Front cannot be a political alliance of the type we find in other countries; it should have its own organizational structure from top to bottom, i.e., branches and leading committees in the towns and regions.

Revival of the democratic parties and reorganization of the Front in the form indicated above are closely interlinked; the revival of the parties would impart new strength to the Front and, vice versa, the organizational building of the Front would help the revival of the parties. It is along these lines that work is being done.

The obstacle in this respect is the negligent attitude of the leaders of the democratic parties to organizational matters owing to the hopes pinned on a military coup. However, certain advances have been made here too. Indicative in this respect is the experience of circulating the propaganda materials of the Front, in which all the affiliated parties take part. This activity is helping to restore inner-party life in the opposition groups; in measure as this work and other kinds of activity are extended, contact with members of the democratic parties in the various parts of the country will be restored, and the conditions gradually created for determining their organizational structure.

For a number of years now our Party has held that no one party or group is in a position to carry out a revolution in Guatemala, that this can be done only through an alliance of all the democratic forces. Therefore we are patient even when we encounter difficulties. However, our members, especially at lower levels, have not yet fully grasped the significance of the task of building the united front. The Central Committee of our Party has emphasized that the Front should be built mainly *from below*; however, little initiative is being displayed to achieve cooperation at grass roots of all patriots opposed to the dictatorship. Wherever this task was correctly understood sections of the Front were formed on the initiative of the branches of our own and other parties. This example should be publicized and made universal.

Account should also be taken of the fact that the building of a united democratic front is, in a way, a new thing. At times, for example during elections, our Party, despite illegality, entered into alliances and, together with the other democratic forces, took part in the political struggle; in doing so it seized on every opportunity for legal activity. Today, with the united front mainly illegal in character, and

its aim being the overthrow of the reactionary regime, concrete forms should be found which would *appeal to* all patriots and rally them in the spirit of unity; this should be done with great flexibility so as not to impose on people forms of activity which they do not like or for which they do not have the necessary qualities. What is needed is that each member of the united front should feel that "at all times there is something that can and must be done," even

when the repressions paralyze the activity of the legal organizations. Those who are resolved to meet this danger should join the Front branches, around which more and more patriots can be rallied including those who for one reason or another can make but a limited contribution to the common cause. These, then, are some of the problems of building a united democratic front in Guatemala.

José MILLA

STUDYING MARXISM-LENINISM

In the underground conditions of the past 10 years the political education of the members has been a difficult task. Another obstacle is the strongly pronounced trend among members and functionaries to confine themselves to purely practical issues, theoretical study is relegated to the background.

In the countryside the difficulties are even greater. Added to the police persecution and the hard conditions in which agricultural laborers and peasants live is the lack of education: the percentage of illiteracy is very high in Guatemala.

For a long time we believed that the study of Marxism should be confined to philosophy, political economy and political theory. But this approach did not correspond either to our possibilities or to the conditions in which we worked; we had no Party schools and those who went in for study had to be assisted individually. Here, too, we had difficulties, since for the study of philosophy, political economy and political theory books are needed, a liking for study and, of course, an adequate level of general education. As a result studies were conducted irregularly and the interest in education gradually petered out.

We have now changed the political education to bring it into line with our possibilities. We are not trying to solve at one stroke the problem of political and theoretical education, preferring to go more slowly.

In addition, the study of Marxist theory is combined with the study of the concrete problems posed by the realities of Guatemalan life and by the line of our Party. Since our Third Congress in 1960 we have paid more attention to *studying our country* — its economy, history, class structure, etc. — because it is in this context that we should apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. This combination of theoretical education and practical activity is indispensable for working out a correct policy.

Members study in the Party school founded at the end of 1962. The Education Committee under the auspices of the Central Committee

which runs the school, prepares the study materials. The school, of course, functions in conditions of strict secrecy.

There are four courses, and the guiding principle is the gradual deepening of the problems with each course. For example, 76 members attended the first course and then returned for the second course. At the end of this year or the beginning of the next they return for the third course of study. Thus, during roughly two and a half years over 50 members will complete the study.

The first course includes the subject: "*Guatemala — A Dependent Country*." It deals with the basic economic features of imperialism and other theoretical aspects of this problem, while the second part examines imperialist investments in Guatemala, the monopoly-capitalist penetration of our country. The subject is rounded off by an explanation of the *national*, anti-imperialist character of our revolution. The second course, a development of the first, examines in greater detail neo-colonialism and its relationship to Guatemala.

Another theme, "*The Fight for the Democratic Unity of the People*," provides a theoretical explanation of the building of the united front of the working class and other progressive forces, examines its various aspects and the role of the different classes. For a deeper understanding of the subject the course contains a section entitled "*The Worker-Peasant Alliance*" which gives valuable data on the position of these two classes in Guatemala.

Such subjects as the agrarian question, the strategy and tactics of our Party, revolutionary movements in Guatemalan history, and the country's economic development, etc., will be taught in the subsequent courses.

The educational committee also arranges classes for Central Committee members. Here the study is based on the manual "*Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*."

Some of the study material is published in pamphlet form. One of these pamphlets "*What Do We Mean by the National Democratic Revo-*

lution" was recently reprinted at the request of many readers including non-Communists.

A useful initiative was displayed by the Party Committee in the capital. Because of the difficulties encountered by rank-and-file members in understanding Marxist terminology, the committee puts out a pamphlet entitled "Thirty-Two Concepts" which explains things in a simple way.

In response to a request from the Patriotic Labor Youth organization and Party committees in other departments, this pamphlet was again reprinted. The Central education committee has circulated it to all Party committees. Another publishing venture was "Notebooks for Use in the Countryside." This pamphlet, designed as an aid to peasant members, discusses agrarian reform, the united resistance front, the rebel armed forces, and ways and means of organizing peasants. Written in

the simplest language, the "Notebooks" are circulated in the countryside. When they have been read, they are used as the basis for collective discussions.

Another form of political education is the discussion of the main documents of the Party (C.C. resolutions, etc.). This is usually done first in the leading committees which are also attended by members of the Executive. When discussing, say, the Political Commission resolution on the differences in the Communist movement, the Party committees assigned activists to help with the discussion in the branches.

These are some of the recent experiences of the educational work carried out by our Party. Good results have also been achieved in organizing propaganda and agitation, and in the press, but this is a special subject.

Sebastian CALDERON

FUND-RAISING CAMPAIGNS—A MEANS OF STRENGTHENING CONTACT WITH THE MASSES

In the past few years, usually towards the end of the year, our Party has conducted fund-raising campaigns. In 1963 the campaign bore a special character — it was held in conditions of a brutal military dictatorship, state of emergency, and armed struggle against the dictatorship.

This laid an imprint on the campaign, affecting not only the character of donations (money, food, medicines, clothing, arms) but also the level of activity among the masses. The fund campaign became an expression of the people's wrath against the regime. Therefore, despite the intensified repressions which made the work difficult, the targets fixed by the Party were overfulfilled, thanks to the revolutionary fervor of the Communists and the support of the people.

Those who made donations knew they were giving them to the Communists, thereby making a contribution to the struggle against oppression, for national liberation and democracy. That was why, although our members were the heart and soul of the campaign, it was the non-members who accounted for the bulk of the donations.

Party organizations and members organize fetes (which call for special precautions in the conditions of illegality), raffles, socials, outings and so on. In this connection a few words should be said about selling what we call "Party bonds." Such sales have been organized on more than one occasion, but they were limited to the capital and to Quezaltenango (the second largest city in the country) where there are more sympathizers; moreover, the bonds

were sold at a rather high price, which only well-off people could afford. While a raffle makes it possible for the ticket buyer to win something and is a kind of amusement, the bond gives nothing to its buyer apart from the satisfaction of knowing that he is helping the revolutionary struggle. This time, however, we arranged sales of bonds throughout the country, and the prices were fixed at 10, 25 and 50 centavos and 1, 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 quetzals (1 q. = \$1.00). This made it possible to approach people in all walks of life, all who are opposed to the dictatorship.

To make it easier for people to buy the bonds, some Party organizations introduced "instalment" buying. This, while it complicated the work, enabled us to conduct political work with those who help the Party in a more regular and systematized way.

Thus, the selling of bonds became the main form of our fund-raising.

The selling was well organized, all the difficulties notwithstanding. During similar campaigns in previous years there were always organizations which fell short of the tasks set. But this time there were no laggards. All organizations reached their targets even though the overall plan for this year was the highest ever.

Prizes were awarded to many organizations and members. The Guatemala Department committee, for instance, won the pennant awarded by comrades taking part in the armed struggle. Another award went to the Party organization in Zacapa (a province in the east of the country where armed fighting is under way)

which not only fulfilled the plan for finances but also recruited new members.

The thousands of quetzals collected for the Party are proof of its increased activity, of its success in establishing closer contact with the masses, and of its influence.

Another conclusion should be drawn from this campaign: it was closely linked with the recruiting of new members. Not all the organizations, however, came up to scratch in this respect. Summing up the results, the National Organizing Committee pointed out that the

branches, while concentrating on fund raising, had not done enough to win new members. True, it is difficult to work at one and the same time on two tasks of this magnitude. In future campaigns should be held at different times.

In summing up the results of the campaign, it was stressed that its most important outcome was the growth of the Party and of its contact with the people.

C. TZUL

Election Success of the Communist Party of Sweden

ON September 20, the people of Sweden went to the polls to elect representatives to the Second Chamber of the Riksdag. For more than 30 years now the two parties of the working class — the Social Democratic and the Communist — have exerted the dominant influence in the Riksdag. Throughout these years the Social Democrats have headed the government, sometimes in coalition with the Center Party (the former Agrarian Union), sometimes alone. During the Second World War all the parties, with the exception of the Communist Party, were represented in the Cabinet, the Social Democrats, however, retaining the key positions. From 1951 to 1957 they again headed the government, this time again in coalition with the Center Party.

In the general election of 1956 the bourgeois parties for the first time since the end of the thirties obtained a majority and the coalition fell to pieces. With the backing of the monarchy, the bourgeoisie tried to form a government but failed because of internal discord. This enabled the Social Democrats to remain in power, but without a Riksdag majority.

In 1958 their party, which is supported by the Communists on all basic issues, was defeated on the issue of a long-service pension bonus for all factory and office workers to be paid by the employers. The Riksdag was dissolved and new elections were held. These brought the Social Democrats substantial gains and they were able, with the continued support of the Communists, to consolidate their position. The 1960 general election further consolidated their position, whereas the bourgeois parties, primarily the Conservatives, lost heavily. The Communists retained their former seats.

In the 1962 local elections the Social Democrats gained appreciably both at the expense of the bourgeois parties and the Communists. Hence the interest displayed in the 1964 general election. The Social Democrats were confident that it would bring them fresh success. The bourgeois parties, despite the split in their ranks, anticipated repeating their 1956 success. Monopoly capital, it was officially reported, had spent five million kronor on the election campaign of the Conservative and Liberal parties.

The Communist Party, taking into account the lessons of 1962, decided on a new approach aimed at improving work among the masses and effecting unity with the Social Democrats in the enterprises and the trade unions. Our Party entered the campaign with justified optimism, for its platform rested on the policy statement of the Nineteenth Congress held in 1961, which brought out clearly the democratic character of the Communist Party, its profound striving for peace, for peaceful coexistence, its desire to retain the multi-party system in the country in a peaceful transition to socialism. The Twentieth Congress, held on January 3-6, 1964, continued the line of the Nineteenth Congress and gave concrete expression to it. It renewed the leading committees and to some extent renovated them. These measures were favorably viewed by the Social Democratic masses who were moving leftward.

The Twentieth Congress adopted a program of action for restricting and ultimately ending the domination of big capital in the economic life of the country, and for extending democracy. It formulated the following basic tasks:

"If Swedish policy is to be equal to its tasks the remaining period of this decade should be one of struggle against big capital

and for democracy. This is the principal question, the question that affects nearly all spheres, for it is the monopolies and the rich who stand in the way of establishing a just system. In the remaining six years of the sixties the conditions needed to end the power of big capital in the basic spheres must be created. To do this it is essential to extend democracy in the sphere of production—the bedrock of the existence and progress of society. To this end priority should be given to the following demands:

"Job security for factory and office workers; abolishing the right of the employers to decide all issues alone. State-owned and public-owned enterprises (the property of the communes or cooperatives—G.E.) should be the first to ensure the workers a say in production affairs.

"A 40-hour work week. Equal rights for men and women as regards wages and working conditions. Higher real wages in keeping with the growth of production, with special regard to the lower-paid factory and office workers.

"Society must take upon itself a greater share of the expenditure for child welfare and thus ensure that large families are not at a disadvantage compared with small families.

"The housing problem should be tackled by building more houses, by ending the speculation in land, by granting loans at low interest rates, by ending the monopoly in the production of building materials and by placing housing under public control.

"The public health service should be improved by training more medical personnel, by providing better salaries and better conditions, by making bigger allocations for research, medical control and health protection in industry. Provision of proper care of the aged. Dental treatment to come within the scope of health insurance.

"Bigger allocations for education and research thus ensuring more rapid progress. Education should be financed along lines that give equal opportunities to all.

"Planned development of the backward areas through building state enterprises and the proper territorial distribution of industry. The communes should be empowered to engage in production and other economic matters.

"State-owned enterprises should be enlarged and made more efficient. The part played by the state in the national economy should be enlarged. The big insurance companies, the sale of oil products and the manufacture and sale of medicaments should be brought under public or cooperative control as quickly as possible."

It was this political course, coupled with

improved work among the masses, particularly in the trade unions, and also the Party's slogan calling for the socialist renovation of government policy that brought the Communists success in the September elections.

The Communist Party was the only party to win a large number of new votes and to increase their percentage in proportion to the total vote. Thus the Communists polled 155,000 votes in the local elections in 1962, 190,000 in the election to the Riksdag in 1960 and 222,000 votes in the 1964 general election. In other words, 5.2 per cent of the electorate voted Communist as against 3.8 per cent in 1962 and 4.5 per cent in 1960.

It is significant that the Communist vote increased particularly in the areas of the iron and steel and machine-building industries. In many of these places they received from 15 to 20 per cent of the total vote. This shows that the Party's influence is spreading among the most important sections of the working class.

The election returns gave the Communists eight seats in the Second Chamber of the Riksdag in place of the former five. In the First Chamber where elections are indirect, through the Landsting (local) representatives, the Communists retained their two seats.

The vote of the Conservative Party, the main political bastion of monopoly capital, declined by 122,000, that is, 2.8 per cent of the total vote, and they lost seven seats. It is now the smallest parliamentary party of the bourgeois opposition. The bourgeois parties occupying an intermediate position — the Liberal Party and the Center Party — lost in the total vote and consequently in the percentage ratio, but, because of the anti-democratic electoral law, they succeeded in winning another three seats in the Riksdag (Liberals two and the Center Party one).

For the Social Democrats the election returns were most unexpected. They lost some 50,000 votes compared with the local elections in 1962, and more than 26,000 compared with the 1960 general election. In 1960 they polled 47.8 per cent of the vote, in 1962, 50.5 per cent, and in 1964, 47.3 per cent. The loss of one seat in each Chamber means that they no longer have their former majority when a joint vote of the two Chambers is taken after they have separately debated such issues as taxes, economic subsidies or new Bills.

Thanks to the success of the Communist Party the workers' parties now have a nine-seat majority in the Second Chamber as compared to the previous six.

This majority would have been bigger if we had a really democratic electoral system. Proportional representation would have given the

Communists 11 seats in the Riksdag instead of the present eight. Under the present electoral system the Communist Party needs about 28,000 votes to get one seat, the Social Democrats 17,000 votes and the Center Party about 15,000 votes.

The election results were a heavy defeat for monopoly capital, and no doubt they will aggravate the differences in the bourgeois parties and cause a crisis in the Conservative Party. The results were a victory for the political forces working for broader democracy, social progress, peaceful coexistence, prohibition of nuclear weapons and for disarmament. The Party's political line, endorsed by the Twentieth Congress, proved its worth in practice and carried the day.

In Sweden, as in other capitalist countries, bourgeois and Social Democratic propaganda claims that in the so-called "welfare states" with their high productivity of labor, economic progress and full employment the Communist parties have no chance of increasing their influence. The election results in Sweden are the answer to this propaganda.

Thanks to united action in the most diverse forms the working class of Sweden has won a

high standard of living. The majority of families have television in their homes, many have cars and a cottage in the country. But this by no means signifies that the working class is becoming bourgeois, that its class consciousness is blunted. The reverse is the case. The trend of developments is giving rise to new requirements which cannot be won without a struggle by the working class against monopoly capital and its political apologists.

The Communist Party of Sweden charts its policy in keeping with these conditions. It consistently explains to the public that if society is to advance the domination of monopoly capital must be broken, the rise in prices stopped, the housing crisis settled, taxes reduced and democracy extended. Our Party maintains that Sweden needs a policy which is directed *against* monopoly capital and not one that promotes the interests of the finance magnates.

The Party's correct policy brought it success in the 1964 general election; this policy has laid the groundwork for further success which will turn the slogan calling for socialist renovation into a reality.

Gunnar OEHMAN

The Youth in Socialist Germany

THIS year's Trinity Sunday saw the opening of an all-German youth rally in Berlin which was attended by 530,000 young people, including 25,000 from West Germany. The rally developed into a festival and review of socialism which has proved its ability to mould the new man—free, a man of dignity and profoundly aware of his being a full-fledged member of society. These features were demonstrated by the young people of socialist Germany, who will soon take over as the masters of their state.

A generation has grown up in the GDR which lives in harmony with its state and for which socialism is the symbol of everything that is good and just.

The youth contribute to the socialist cause and to the development of their socialist state chiefly by their labor. Young workers, engineers and scientists are in the forefront of the emulation for lowering production costs and raising the quality of the output to the level of the world's best standards.

Workers of the Dresden typewriter factory, who are taking part in this emulation, turned out in excess of the plan 1,250 typewriters for

export. It is due mainly to the young workers and specialists that the new portable typewriter "60-03" will be one of the best in the world and that its serial production will be started exactly on schedule. The machine was designed by a team of young engineers, and a socialist labor team, almost fully composed of young people, suggested improvements in the assembly process and put it on an assembly-line basis.

In many agricultural cooperatives young people are initiating industrial methods and are successfully mastering the new techniques and economics of modern agriculture.

On the eve of the rally the young people organized relay reporting to the Party Central Committee on their contributions to the building of socialism. This cemented still more the links between the Party and the youth.

During the rally thousands of discussions took place at which our young men and women discussed with their guests the FRG German problems and the responsibility of the working youth of the two German states. Most of the West Germans were sincerely interested in

the talks, but there also were provocateurs who had to be rebuffed.

Two excerpts from the Western press convey the impression formed by some Western observers. *Spandauer Volksblatt* wrote on May 20, 1964: "The youths and girls of Middle Germany (meaning the GDR.—K.R.) have acquired a sense of pride and dignity. They know well what they are doing and take seriously the (Party's) statement that they are 'tomorrow's masters of the house'. Of course, not all of the 530,000 were trained functionaries specially primed for a confrontation with their opposite numbers from the Rhine and Danube. They want to talk, but not in order to hear that they are slaves." In a talk organized by the West German radio on June 13, 1964, an Evangelical Youth spokesman from the Hessen union of youth organizations said that in the GDR he had met with young people who were "full of pride for what had been achieved. And these successes have really changed their attitude to their state. During the discussions, especially when criticisms were made, these young people clearly identified themselves with the state."

This spiritual growth did not come about of itself. It is a continuing process but it is already evident in the outlook of the younger generation of the GDR.

The thing the all-German youth rally demonstrated so convincingly was the fruit of the purposeful work of the Party. At the Sixth Congress of the Party Comrade Ulbricht called for better work among the youth. What we need for the comprehensive construction of socialism, he said, is not general speeches before young people but systematic encouragement of their initiative. This calls for their greater participation in management, for educating them in the spirit of labor and introducing scientific methods of management.

Of great importance is the new style of work which stems from the problems facing the young people, be it vocational training or of the purpose of life. This new approach provides both for discussions on the basic problems of economic development and for frank talks on sex and early marriage.

This approach, which is increasingly coming into its own, has enlivened the spiritual life of the youth.

Vocational training is perhaps a subject which interests young people most. Our young men and women are keen on learning all about the new technology. During apprenticeship many of them complete polytechnical ten-year schools, and the foremen in the workshops have to study too to be able to satisfy the young peoples' desire for knowledge.

The range of interests of our young people is very wide: from the purpose of life and the relationship between personal and public interests to such concrete questions as the application of the economic laws of socialism in the new system of planning and management in the GDR.

At the same time growing numbers of young workers, cooperative farmers and students are studying the writings of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. In these works they find a treasure-store of knowledge and learn from them to think independently.

In the Dresden area 14,000 members of the Free German Youth Union are enrolled in over 1,000 classes devoted to the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

Secondary schools are improving the organization of civic education, especially instruction in the rights and duties of citizens and their relationship to the state. In the past pupils were given an abstract ideal picture, or rather a schematic description, of a fully-rounded socialist society, while the concrete problems and difficulties of the transitional period remained untouched. Instead of fruitful creative knowledge, attempts were often made simply to hammer in abstract theses. As a result, a contradiction between the ideal and reality arose in the minds of some pupils.

Discussion of these problems led to the demand that fundamentals of social sciences be included in the instruction in civic rights and duties. After carefully examining the criticisms and suggestions made during the discussion scientists and teachers drafted a new study program.

The Ministry of Public Education tested the draft in 70 schools, and now it has been introduced in all schools.

A matter agitating many young people is how to make the best use of leisure time. In this area, too, much remains to be done to interest the youth at large in culture and sports, to teach them how best to arrange and spend their leisure time.

Our young people show a keen interest in good books. Very popular among them are *Trace of Stone* by Erik Neutsch, *The Adventures of Werner Holt* by Dieter Nolls, *The Split Sky* by Christa Wolf, *Egon and the Eighth Wonder of the World* by Joachim Wohlgemuth, to name but a few. Big audiences are attracted by poetry readings at which recitals by both well-known poets and young authors are often followed by debates on whether their works measure up to the demands of the new generation.

Many youth clubs are being opened and efforts are being made by the Party, the Youth

Organization and the National Front to make the clubs attractive. Responsibility for programs rests with the young men and women themselves and with their club councils. There are 37 youth clubs in Potsdam alone. In 1963 the club in Schopenhauerstrasse was visited by more than 10,000 people.

The achievements with which the youth greeted the 15th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic emphasized the great responsibilities our young scientists, engineers, workers and farmers have assumed. The numerous novelties on display at the Leipzig Fair,

whose development had in many cases been initiated by young people, show that our youth are keeping abreast of the new technology.

* * *

In sum, we can say that in the socialist Germany a generation is growing up for most of whom independent thinking is the rule and whose ideal is socialism. Here the interests of the old and the new generations coincide, and the spiritual life of the latter is part of the broad stream of the spiritual life of the entire society.

K. REUTER

The Party Group in a Mongolian Cooperative

LED by their Revolutionary Party, our people have made big strides in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture: a total of 294 cooperatives unite all the homesteads in our country.

Measures taken in recent years by the Party have resulted in the consolidation of the cooperatives—incomes are rising and so too is the standard of living of the cooperators.

The Good Life Cooperative situated in the Bayan-Tsagan District approximately 120 kilometers from the regional center was founded in 1957. At that time it united only 17 households.

At present there are 480 households totalling 1,746 people, of whom 600 are children.

The cooperative has 588,500 hectares and its 88,825 head of cattle are in the charge of four livestock-breeding teams and one auxiliary team. Every team looks after some 20 camps with approximately 90 households. In all, the cooperative has 92 camps with two or three households (four to six people) in each. The camps are five to 15 km distant from one another. Every camp is responsible for about 800 head of cattle or about 900 horses.

In the past three years the cooperative has invariably overfulfilled the plan. In 1962-63 it made the best showing in the region and was awarded a premium. In 1963 livestock increased by 10,840 head.

The 1963 income amounted to 1.5 million tukriks, for the current year it is expected to go up to two million, with cattle accounting for 97 per cent of the income. Personal incomes are also rising.

The part of the income distributed according to the number of workday units earned totalled about 657,000 tukriks in 1962 and 846,000 in 1963. The remuneration per workday unit grows

from year to year. For instance, in 1962 the herdsman Khorlo had 935 workday units to his credit and received 5,600 tukriks. In 1963 the herdsman Palan, Danzannyam, Choidog, Zhurmed, Chultemzhav and Zhamts earned from 900 to 1,000 workday units and received from 6,350 to 7,500 tukriks. The cooperators also have in their personal possession over 18,000 head of cattle, i.e., an average of about 50 per household.

In 1962 the cooperative made its first venture in crop raising when it ploughed up 200 hectares of virgin land. Other new pursuits include pig-breeding and poultry-farming.

Agriculture in Mongolia because of climatic conditions has strict seasonal time limits. In May we prepare for the breeding season, building enclosures, shelters and wells, stocking hay and taking other measures to ensure good fattening of the cattle. In January breeding begins, lasting till May.

Since the cooperative has not been able yet to provide for good fodder supplies and build premises for all the stock, the animals are driven from pasture to pasture.

The Party group in the cooperative has 28 members, 12 of whom have been in the Party for 10 to 15 years. About half the members are engaged directly in farm work.

Each team has a Party group which helps to ensure maximum efficiency. Party members carry on educational work in the team and popularize the experience of the best livestock-breeders. Membership meetings are held, as a rule, once a month.

The decisions of the membership meetings are reported to all the cooperators.

The winter of 1963-64 was a winter of heavy snowfalls throughout Mongolia, and a severe cold snap in the spring caused additional diffi-

culties. In the Bayan-Tsagan District, for instance, the snowfall averaged 15 to 20 centimeters and the frosts were 35° to 40° C. below. We had six blizzards in succession, some of them lasting for two days.

The Party group and the board of management took all measures for the cooperative to ride out the calamity. A dozen herds totalling 16,000 head of cattle were driven to other pastures. The camps were supplied with 1,200 tons of hay, 12 tons of concentrates, 14 tons of wheat bran and other fodder, as well as fuel and additional veterinary assistance.

The measures taken by the Party and the government, as well as help from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in overcoming the consequences of the calamity inspired the cooperative members to still better work. After fifteen gruelling days man's victory over the elements was assured. The selfless labor of the cooperators made it possible to save 97 per cent of the calves. Not a single calf was lost in 28 of the camps.

An important place in the activities of the Party group is occupied by transmitting the best experience. Much attention is paid to educational work among the cooperative members.

At present almost every family has a battery radio receiver. All families subscribe to newspapers and magazines. Volunteer distributors make a round of the camps twice weekly delivering newspapers and magazines.

The district center, which also serves as the headquarters of the cooperative, has medical and veterinary stations, and there is an assistant veterinary in each team. The district center also has a primary school for 120 pupils, a post office, hotel, kindergarten, power station, library, shop, public baths, a film projection outfit and other services.

The success of the Good Life Cooperative is an example of the advantages accruing from joint labor, a result of the conscientious work of all its members and the organizational efforts of the Party group.

B. MYAGMARZHAY

WMR COMMENTARIES

A Crushing Defeat for Goldwater

THE ULTRA-RIGHT bid for power in the 1964 Presidential election in the United States ended in crushing defeat. With the eyes of the whole world fixed on them, the overwhelming majority of the American people said a resolute No to Goldwater and all the Goldwater men. The significance of this election concerned not only the people of the USA but people everywhere.

The worldwide interest was understandable. The election was taking place in the most powerful country of the capitalist world, a country which by virtue of its economic and military strength exerts a tremendous influence in the world, a country which possesses an "overkill" of all-devastating atomic weapons and their means of delivery and if these weapons were ever used in a third world war they could destroy the greater part of humanity and the civilization built through the ages.

In our time people everywhere view with interest and even with anxiety developments in both the USA, the citadel of the capitalist world, and in the USSR, the bulwark of the socialist world. This, then, explains why the people of the USA and the people of the world were so apprehensive about the outcome of the 1964 election. And it explains also universal

relief felt throughout the world when the radio flashed the news of the crushing defeat suffered by Goldwater and his ultra-Right Dixiecrat-fascist alliance.

Johnson's triumph in 44 States of the Union compared to Goldwater's six was a record in U.S. electoral history. Out of a total of 538 electoral votes Johnson won 486. This was more than the number of States and electoral votes won by President Roosevelt in 1936. Johnson received over 42 million votes to Goldwater's over 26 million. In terms of percentages Johnson received about 62 per cent, his opponent about 38 per cent. The decisiveness of the victory can best be illustrated by comparing it with the 1960 result in the contest between the late President Kennedy and Nixon. The percentage popular vote then was, Kennedy 49.7 per cent, Nixon 49.5 per cent. The Johnson victory, clearly, was a landslide.

The many-sided opposition to Goldwaterism, to its extremist fascist-like ideology, to its policy of war and reaction was far wider and deeper than the support for President Johnson. This is not to deny that millions endorsed the policies in relation to peace and civil rights advanced by President Johnson, albeit in general terms, during the election campaign. There

was no other realistic alternative than to vote for Johnson when the main aim was to defeat Goldwater. Johnson, therefore, benefited more from the widespread opposition to Goldwater extremism than from any unconditional endorsement of the policies of his administration and his projected post-election policies. People in their tens of millions wanted above all to make sure that Goldwater would not be able to put his brinkmanship finger on the atomic trigger. And this attitude was shared by the millions who, while not ready to place their reliance on the Johnson administration and opposed to many of his policies and actions, nevertheless decided to vote for him and by so doing to ensure the defeat of Goldwater and to keep open the path of struggle to compel the Johnson administration to translate into action its high-sounding declarations about the achievement of the "great society."

Never in the history of the USA had a presidential candidate faced such unanimous opposition from the labor movement as Goldwater did. The opposition embraced all political trends, right, center and left. It included the AFL-CIO Council and its affiliated unions, and it included the independent unions.

For the first time unions which had refrained from endorsing a presidential candidate of one of the two capitalist parties decided this time to endorse Johnson although the endorsements were coupled with sharp criticism and even condemnation of his administration's many positions and actions at home and abroad.

The labor movement was in full agreement that the issues at stake were vital. War or peace, reaction or democracy, the defense and the extension of the economic and social gains or the wiping out of these hard-won gains, civil rights for the Negro people or continued segregation and gross discrimination—these were the basic issues. In fact the trade union movement realized that what was at stake was the life, liberty and well-being of the American people.

The opposition to Goldwater extended far beyond the organized labor movement. It embraced almost to a man the 20 million Negro people. Because of discrimination and gross inequalities, the majority of the Negro people of voting age could not exercise their franchise. Had all the Negro people possessed the franchise the scale of the popular vote received by Johnson would have been even more impressive. The Negro people from all classes and political currents realized that for them to be able to pursue, under the most favorable conditions, the revolutionary struggle for full equality, the Goldwater peril had to be decisively defeated.

In this election the real contest was not between the Democratic and Republican parties in the traditional sense. The fact that both candidates were chosen by the two main capitalist parties is true if viewed in a formal and superficial way. It is necessary to take into account the evolution of the two-party system in the USA. It cannot be viewed as resembling, in all respects, similar capitalist parties in Western Europe. The two major parties have, from their inception, represented coalition movements rather than monolithic single class parties. The multi-class character, with its conflicting interests of both parties, has undergone developments and changes reflecting the changing objective reality in the USA and on a world scale. In the 1964 election many new features came to the fore prior to the election campaign and in the course of it, both inside and outside the two parties. The progressive party of Abraham Lincoln of a century ago became in 1964 the vehicle of the ultra-reactionary forces. It was captured by the ultra-Right and attempts were made to knock together an extremist alliance with the aim of seizing state power. This challenge and peril brought into being a counter force, a broad people's coalition which found expression both inside and outside the Democratic Party. It would therefore be more correct to characterize this year's electoral contest as between two coalitions.

Both were composed of conflicting class, sectional groupings and currents. This is particularly true when examining the popular coalition which, by its unity and determination, despite differences, inflicted such a crushing defeat on Goldwater. Every coalition by its very nature and concept represents varied forces and currents and it finds the basis for unity when its immediate objectives coincide. What was undoubtedly specific and new was the way in which the popular coalition found expression. The way in which it took shape and the manner of its emergence in the election corresponded to the current level of the class struggle, to the period in which it emerged, to the issues involved and the concrete development of the people's movements for peace, democracy and social progress.

The people took the election machine into their own hands. The mobilizing political and organizational actions of the trade union movement, the Negro movement, the peace movement, the civil rights movement and many others in registering the voters and in door-to-door efforts to bring out the people to vote on election day, independent of the Democratic Party's election machine, was decisive in bringing about the defeat of Goldwater. Independent political action was at a high level and fur-

thered the broad unity forged in the election campaign.

The voting disclosed far-reaching political realignments, shifts and changing patterns away from traditional adherences and attachments. These shifts and changing patterns and changing political realignments have been going on for a long time. Highly significant, they are in harmony with the political realignments and changing patterns characteristic of the turbulent revolutionary processes taking place in our day. The political scene in the USA is no exception. The deep-going changes there reflect, in specific forms, the changes taking place on a world scale. These processes will continue and will assert themselves in determining the outcome of the struggles ahead.

The socio-political reasons which impelled people to vote for Goldwater were far from identical. It would be over-simplification to interpret the Goldwater vote as representing a complete endorsement of his reactionary policies, or to conclude that all who voted for him were racists and fascists. A big slice of his vote, it is true, came from the hard core of reactionary fascist-like currents. But part of his support was an expression of the genuine resentment and dissatisfaction with some aspects of the policies of the Johnson administration. This genuine resentment was exploited for reactionary purposes by the Goldwater cabal. Part of the vote represented the "normal" opposition to the party in power. Another part represented the "backlash" in the deep South—a white chauvinist reaction to the revolutionary struggle of the Negro people for equal rights. Support came also from those who are opposed to the growing power of the Federal government as against state and local rights. In assessing the Goldwater vote it is important to take into account these conflicting interests and motivations in order to avoid simplification and sweeping generalizations unrelated to the real sentiment of the people. This holds true also in examining Johnson's landslide victory. It would be wrong to interpret it as being of one mind or as a blanket endorsement of all the policies pursued by the Johnson administration. Much of the support for Johnson was more against Goldwater than for Johnson. Much of the support was critical and conditional.

The Goldwater ultra-Rights found it easier to capture the Republican Party than to capture the White House. Party-machine manipulations of all kinds, including bribery, enabled them to gain temporary control of the Republican Party. The aim of getting into the White House turned out to be more difficult because it came up against the democratic will and determination of the people.

It is worth noting that while Goldwater was crushingly defeated, Goldwaterism is not dead. In his formal speech conceding victory to Johnson, Goldwater, among other things, declared that the election showed that more time was needed to win. Hope, it would seem, springs eternal in the ultra-Right breast, and so the sights are now being fixed for 1968.

The voting disclosed many other features worthy of note. The so-called "backlash" from which Goldwater expected to benefit did not materialize, with the exception of the deep South. Anti-communism as a political weapon and smokescreen for reaction also suffered a setback. Goldwater tried to make it a major issue in the campaign by accusing Johnson of being "soft" towards communism and of pursuing a policy of "accommodating" the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. All unwittingly, he gave much publicity to the Communist Party in the election by trying to make it appear that the Party was the only force opposed to his policies and his election as president. The voters, however, gave him a clear answer. They refused to be taken in by anti-communist hysteria.

Actually the election result showed that the Communist Party was in harmony with the stand adopted by the overwhelming majority of the people. The Communists, together with other Left and democratic forces, emerged from the election stronger, more mature and more influential. The position advanced by the Communists that it was imperative and correct to differentiate between the Kennedy, and then the Johnson administration, and the ultra-Right was vindicated by the voting. The friendly criticism directed by the Communists towards those on the Left who advocated the sectarian line of a "plague on both houses" bore fruit. The result showed that Gus Hall, national spokesman for the Communist Party, was a hundred times right when he emphasized time and time again that the masses enter into action in their self-interest and display great initiative and strength around those issues which represent their self-interest. In the course of struggle they shed illusions and acquire more and more consciousness. And, furthermore, he emphasized that if the Left adopted a posture of sectarian "purity" and aloofness, of standing on the side-lines, they would become an isolated sect incapable of influencing the course of development. There is reason to believe that the lesson will be drawn by the Left in the USA. The election result has also delivered blows to the positions advanced by the dogmatists at home and abroad who advocated the theory of the "worse the better" summed up in the declaration "that it would be better if Goldwater won

the election." This false and utterly cynical theory was rejected by the electorate because it is contrary to common sense.

The election has refuted the pessimistic view expressed during the campaign that the USA was moving to the right. Favorable conditions exist now, after the election, for developing and strengthening the progressive trend. The task now is to carry forward the unity forged during the campaign. The popular coalition which took shape in the course of the campaign, particularly the independent political actions of the people, hold the promise of really great advances.

The American people, utilizing their new-found strength through unity, will find effective forms and methods of struggle to bring pressure to bear on the Johnson administration demanding that he abandon those aspects of his policies and actions at home and abroad which found favor with Goldwater. He has been mandated by the people to end the cold war and pursue policies of peace and of greater democracy and security.

In a recent speech Gus Hall declared: "The post-election USA is being shaped by the mass movements and our actions of today. A Left on the sidelines of the election struggle will not be a factor in the post-election picture. The Left will not become a political factor if it tends to paddle around in its own warm but stagnant pools of the backwaters of our political life. On the other hand, as a united force—but in the main currents and streams of our turbulent political waters—it can very quickly become an influence and in a short period a factor that will determine the course of our country.

"It is from these mass currents, mass struggles and movements around the elections that there will arise a consciousness, confidence and cadre for the independent political move-

ments in our country. To stand on the sidelines with the banners of abstract political purity, with slogans that the masses are not ready to fight for or accept, is to become isolated. Wishing and hoping for a more advanced stage of political development will never make it so. It will only emerge out of the present struggles, the present movements. As a result of the independent political movements that have taken shape in different parts of the country during these elections, there is a realistic possibility that a coalition of independent movements is going to take on national proportions. Should not the Left be with this development?

"The political mass currents of today are of such a nature that the Left has it within its power to write history in a way that will record these 1960's as a period when there emerged a broad people's democratic alliance that smashed the ultra-Right, fascist bid for power, and then moved on in the struggle against the monopolies, in the struggle to complete the civil rights revolution, in the struggle to end the aggressive policies against Cuba and Southeast Asia, in the struggle for economic security and world peace. Then history can also record that the American people were realistically moving along a path that will lead to the socialist transformation of our society."

The unity developed in the election campaign resembles a mighty tree with many roots in the earth and many branches uplifted to the sky. This is the kind of unity that has to be continued, strengthened and cemented. Some of the branches may fall away, but the many healthy roots in the earth will become stronger and will give birth to new branches looking skyward to the rising sun, heralding a new day for the American people.

Norman FREED

The End of the Military Dictatorship in the Sudan

ON OCTOBER 21 gunfire echoed in the streets of Khartoum as the police attacked a student demonstration protesting against the policy pursued by the government in the southern provinces. This proved to be the last drop that caused the cup of popular patience to overflow, and tens of thousands of people in Khartoum and other cities, outraged by the actions of the authorities, came out in the streets in solidarity with the university students. A general strike paralyzed the country. The popular movement assumed a scale and

degree of determination never witnessed in the Sudan before, and the fate of the military dictatorship was sealed. On October 29 a civilian government consisting of representatives of all the national forces took over.

The powerful movement against the military regime which culminated in the peaceful general political strike cannot be attributed to mere chance or to any "subversive elements" directed from without. It was the result of developments within the country.

When in November 1958 a group of higher

officers of the Sudanese army headed by General Abboud carried out a coup and concentrated all power in their own hands, they promised the people to strengthen the country's independence, to build up its economy, raise the living standard, root out corruption in the state machine, and to meet other demands. It soon became obvious, however, that the top brass in power were neither able nor willing to resolve the urgent problems facing the country, to redeem their pledge to the people. Instead of reinforcing independence and promoting the economy, they opened the doors wide to the neo-colonialists. The U.S., Federal German and other monopolies intensified their efforts to dominate the economy. The country grew increasingly dependent financially on the imperialist powers. At the same time the military government ignored the demand put forward by the masses for economic cooperation with the socialist countries, which could afford the Sudan significant advantages, helping it to build up its economy and consolidate national sovereignty. Nothing was done to resolve such urgent issues as agrarian reform and industrialization. As a result, the Sudan's economic condition deteriorated, unemployment spread, and taxes and prices of prime necessities soared. This could not but evoke the dissatisfaction of broad sections of the population.

Another important reason for the rise of the popular movement was suppression of civil rights and the most elementary democratic freedoms, the policy of violence and police terror. Throughout the six years of the military regime the country was in effect under martial law. Parliament was dissolved, the constitution suspended and all political parties and mass organizations of the working people banned. In March 1960 the government outlawed the Sudanese Trade Union Federation and made strikes and demonstrations illegal. Thousands of patriots, trade unionists, Communists and other democrats were thrown into prison. But the repressions did not strengthen the position of the military government. On the contrary, it found itself completely isolated.

The forces working to overthrow the regime consolidated themselves. Broad sections of the population increasingly came to see that the generals were steering the country towards disaster. The opposition was joined by broad sections of the people, including the rank and file of bourgeois political parties which had existed prior to the establishment of the military rule. Ferment grew in the army, especially among the soldiers and the junior officers. The working class and its vanguard, the Sudanese Communist Party, and the Trade Union Federation and the peasant and students' unions were the staunchest and most

consistent opponents of the military dictatorship. The general strikes of railway workers in 1959 and 1963, the numerous petitions, strikes and demonstrations of university students and high school pupils, the actions of agricultural workers and peasants in Gezira, the Northern Province and Gash, and also other forms of the popular struggle undermined the military dictatorship more and more.

The political crisis in the Sudan was aggravated by the sharp deterioration of the situation in the three southern provinces inhabited mainly by a minority nationality. A separatist movement has been spreading in recent years in this area. The attempts of the Abboud government to crush the movement by force of arms merely added fuel to the fire of the southern revolt. Armed uprisings of the tribes in this area had occurred almost continuously of late and the government dispatched substantial forces to cope with them. The problem of the South further complicated the general political situation.

The overthrow of the military regime, a major victory for the patriotic forces of the Sudan, was won under the leadership of the United National Front. This front, which came into being in the course of the struggle against the dictatorship, has united in its ranks members of all the mass democratic organizations and the political parties. The new provisional government headed by Khatem el Khalifa was formed chiefly of representatives of the Front. It includes representatives of the Umma Party, the National Unionist and People's Democratic parties, the Communist Party and the Trade Union Federation, as well as representatives from the southern part of the country.

The Khatem el Khalifa government is due to hold parliamentary elections not later than March 1965, and to ensure the restoration of democratic rights and liberties. An independent foreign policy based on non-alignment and resolute struggle against imperialism is one of the main points in the government's program.

The new Sudanese government has already begun to tackle the tasks facing it. It has been officially announced in Khartoum that the state of emergency has been lifted throughout the country. All persons arrested under the old regime for political offences have been released by decision of the government. A number of laws and decrees restricting the rights and liberties of the working people have been repealed. The government has begun to work for a settlement of the problem of the South, announcing that it will take full note of the views and aspirations of the inhabitants of the southern provinces. One of the most important

steps taken by the new government was the granting of full freedom, and particularly free speech and freedom of religion.

The el Khalifa government, supported by the United National Front and the popular masses, has rebuffed attempts by reactionary elements connected with imperialist circles to stage a counter-revolutionary coup. In reply to the intrigues of the reaction, the working masses, responding to the appeal of the United National Front, held mass anti-imperialist demonstrations and a general protest strike. The government ordered the arrest of the members of the former Supreme Council of the Armed Forces involved in the conspiracy. General Abboud was forced to resign from his post as head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

The fall of the military dictatorship and the first measures taken by the new government aimed at restoring civil rights and democratic

freedoms open favorable prospects for the Sudan's transition to the path of radical socio-economic reforms and social emancipation of the working people. In these circumstances the democratic parties and working-class organizations which played a major role in establishing the United National Front and in its victory over the military regime consider it their main task to strengthen the alliance of all the national patriotic forces in the Front, and to cement its ties with the broad sections of the working population.

The abolition of the military dictatorship in the Sudan has made it possible for the working masses and their democratic organizations to influence the policy of the government and the choice of the road the country will take in the future. This is the principal significance of the recent events in the Sudan.

M. AL-BUSTANI

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OUR ROUND TABLE

Finance Capital Today*

V. EXPORT OF CAPITAL: NEW DEVELOPMENTS

THE Leninist theory of imperialism calls for a profound examination of the role played by the export of capital, which is as typical of the period of monopoly as the export of commodities was of the epoch of laissez-faire capitalism. In our time it has acquired enormous dimensions, though the forms it takes have greatly changed.

In France the export of capital no longer takes the pre-First World War form of loans at exorbitant interest rates to the governments of countries like tsarist Russia or Turkey, *P. Boccara (France)* noted. Moreover, owing to the disintegration of the French colonial empire, the direction of the flow of capital has changed; we are now witnessing a "flight" of capital from a number of former French overseas possessions to developed industrial countries (chiefly to the Common Market countries). There has been a repatriation of capital from Indo-China and partly from Africa. Export of capital to the developing countries proceeds increasingly through government channels, while private investments abroad tend more and more to go directly into industry. At the same time France has had an influx of foreign capital, primarily U.S. and West German. This, in addition to aggravating inter-imperialist contradictions, is a threat to a number of key branches of her economy.

These changes are due to the shrinkage of the sphere of profitable investments as a result of the rise of the socialist world system and the disintegration of the colonial system. French imperialism is now in the grip of a crisis which has already passed through several stages of intensity. It is no longer the international money-lender it used to be, nor has it acquired a more progressive character as an industrial investor. French finance capital is as parasitic as ever, even if the monopolies have had to adapt themselves to the rapidly changing situation. One of the consequences of the new forms of export of capital is the accelerated coalescence of banking and industrial capital.

K. Nair (India), dwelling on foreign aid and foreign investments, which constitute one of the principal forms of the export of finance capital today, posed the theoretical question:

should the foreign aid given by imperialist countries to developing countries be qualified as state-monopoly capitalist export of finance capital? Since this aid sometimes helps to strengthen the public sector, thus running counter to the interests of the imperialists, the question is why do they give the aid?

Clearly, the answer is to be sought in the sum total of factors both economic and political, at work in contemporary capitalism. The imperialists find it difficult, if not impossible, not to extend aid, or to discontinue it, primarily because the funds channelled for the purpose are excess capital which they either cannot or do not want to use in their own countries. Moreover, there is a direct connection between foreign aid and foreign policy generally, economic policy included. Aid has become a prerequisite of "conventional" business transactions, trade for instance.

These questions, *Nair* stressed, should be approached dialectically and concretely. We should not be against all foreign aid, he said, but should make a distinction between aid to the public sector and aid promoting the private sector in countries like India. We should, as a rule, be against private capitalist investments and not foreign aid as such. This aid should come through government channels mainly in the form of capital goods for basic industries, at a low interest rate of, say, two per cent, which is what the socialist countries charge, or in the form of long-term credits. And it should be left to the recipient countries to decide how to use the aid.

Imperialist aid in the shape of "gifts" and non-repayable subsidies as distinct from credits and loans is not export of capital but an entirely new form of international financial exploitation. *S. Menshikov (USSR)* voiced the view that this kind of aid has sprung up on the basis of the export of capital and as a substitute for it. It came to be practised when, owing to the insolvency of the capital-importing countries, the leading imperialist powers could not extend credits to them on the usual terms but had to issue hand-outs. These hand-outs, however, had financial, economic and political strings attached which often made them far more onerous for the recipients than ordinary credits or loans. Imperialist "aid"

*Continued from WMR, No. 10, 1964.

should, therefore, be examined in conjunction with export of capital.

The bulk of the private capital exported to the developing countries is invested in industry, with a considerably smaller share going to foreign banks, including banks in these countries. There are, however, some exceptions. U.S. banks, for instance, have branches abroad, the developing countries included, but these branches play no appreciable role in the local structure of finance capital since they mainly serve the subsidiaries of U.S. industrial and commercial firms. Britain, too, used to have a ramified system of colonial banks and held strong positions in the banking world of India and in other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Latterly, however, these positions have been greatly weakened.

Export of capital earmarked for industry has been growing steadily since the war. Consequently, the finance capital of the leading capitalist countries is far more prominently represented in the developing countries by industrial monopolies than by banking monopolies. One of the ways in which the imperialist countries seek to bridge the substantial gap

between the export of bank capital and the export of industrial capital is through aid, credits and loans to the developing countries.

The geographical distribution of capital export has likewise substantially changed. In the late 40's and early 50's more than two-thirds of the annual foreign investments of the United States went to colonial and dependent countries. But in recent years the picture has changed: more than 70 per cent of the U.S. export of private capital goes to developed industrial countries and less than 30 per cent to the developing countries. This is an indication of the deep-seated crisis of the capitalist world economy. Even in countries where foreign-owned property has not been nationalized, the governments are taxing it more heavily and collecting bigger royalties on concessions. Where the U.S. oil monopolies, for instance, used to get away with a 50-per cent levy on their profits, the figure has now gone up to 75 per cent or more. The climate in the developing countries is clearly unfavorable for private investment. This is officially admitted in the USA and elsewhere.

VI. GROWING CONTRADICTIONS IN THE MONOPOLY CAMP

Bourgeois and reformist economists claim that, with the vast expansion of the productive forces arising from the technological revolution, state intervention in the economy and the rise of international or supra-national integrated associations of the Common Market type, Lenin's theses concerning inter-monopoly and inter-imperialist contradictions have become obsolete and that the centripetal factors in imperialism now outweigh the centrifugal factors.

Dwelling on this subject, *S. Menshikov* discussed the uneven development of the finance groupings in the USA and their rivalry. In the past 30 years big changes have taken place in the balance between the various U.S. financial groups as also in their internal structure. The peripheral groupings (as distinct from those in New York) are unmistakably coming to the fore. According to our estimates, *Menshikov* said, the principal financial groups in the USA controlled at the beginning of the 60's companies with assets totalling \$380,000 million, the assets controlled by New York interests amounting to \$182,000 million and by the peripheral, \$198,000 million.

The contradictions between these two sets of financial interests impinge also on the political scene. Some of the leaders of the peripheral groups are at loggerheads with Wall

Street and voice views differing from the current U.S. policy, foreign policy included.

Y. Rubinsky (USSR) spoke about the political aspect of the inter-monopoly contradictions on both the national and the international plane. With the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and especially with its expansion beyond the national boundaries, politics now plays a much bigger role. The contradictions between the various finance groupings can no longer be regarded in isolation from their relationship to their governments and interstate and supra-national organizations.

The disintegration of the old colonial empires and the emergence of integrated neo-colonialist groupings has not put an end to rivalry between these groupings, to their rivalry over markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of investment. On the contrary, this struggle, though it takes different forms, has if anything become sharper. Whereas formerly a handful of imperialist sharks could carve up the world through war, now, when there exists a powerful socialist camp and the former colonies have won political independence, the monopolies are compelled, in order to preserve or extend their influence, to have recourse to such means as export of capital, "aid," military-political support for one or another alignment aspiring to power in the developing countries, etc. As a consequence,

however, the balance between foreign monopolies in these countries is subject to sudden upsets. Inter-imperialist contradictions in the Congo are a case in point.

The correlation of forces within the integrated imperialist associations changes even more rapidly, primarily because of the greatly increased pace of technological progress which enables the less developed countries to catch up with the foremost within a relatively brief space of time by concentrating on the more modern branches and drawing on the latest scientific achievements. The contradictory impact of military production on the economy of the countries involved in the imperialist blocs and on the balance of forces within these blocs makes development even more uneven and spasmodic.

In the initial phase of the formation of imperialist blocs the military superiority of the leading power causes the satellites to gravitate towards it. But gradually the burden of the gigantic non-productive expenditure on maintaining the armed forces in combat readiness at a level dictated by the requirements of modern armaments undermines the economic organism of the dominant power, erodes its financial system and weakens its competitive capacity on the world markets. Although the dominant power seeks to shift part of the burden on to its junior partners, this becomes increasingly difficult from year to year. The longer the war machine of the leading imperialist power, stalemated by the powerful de-

fenses of the socialist camp, runs idle, the less the junior partners look up to it. And as soon as they have radically renewed their production facilities they seek to bargain their way into the higher policy-making and strategic councils in exchange for shouldering a bigger share of the military expenditures of the bloc.

The creation of an inter-state and especially a supra-national bureaucratic machine by the integrated imperialist groupings based on the coalescence of finance capital on an international scale does not put an end to friction and conflicts between the monopolies of the various countries. The greater the strength of this apparatus, the sharper the struggle waged to gear its internal structure to the interests of one or another member-country. The executive bodies of the imperialist associations have great difficulty in reaching agreed decisions and in ensuring their strict observance by all the governments concerned. For the monopolies exert every effort to retain control over their own state machine and to bring maximum pressure to bear on their partners through the agency of integration. As integration progresses from the economic sphere to the political, it becomes increasingly contradictory, explosive and painful. Even minor conflicts at the trade and economic level can cause grave political repercussions throughout the entire community. At the same time the political implications of discord in the central executive bodies make it more difficult to find compromise solutions to current economic problems.

VII. FINANCE CAPITAL AND SOME PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In the decisive struggle between capitalism and socialism, a big role is played by the growing social contradictions in the newly-free countries. Having thrown off the colonial yoke and won political independence the peoples of these countries are searching for a way out of the backwardness, poverty and hunger. Often this search leads them to the non-capitalist path. Needless to say, in the course of the searching the unity displayed in combating the colonialists during the national-liberation revolution is shaken and replaced by a new unity. Hence it is urgently necessary thoroughly to examine the socio-economic development of these countries.

Of all the Afro-Asian countries which have freed themselves from the colonial rule of imperialism in the postwar period, India inherited the most developed capitalist economy and the strongest national bourgeoisie, *K. Nair* said. An analysis of India's post-independence economic growth reveals a continued concen-

tration of wealth in fewer hands, growth of monopoly, integration of bank and industrial capital, accelerated capitalist development in agriculture and growth of state capitalism.

The national bourgeoisie is growing stronger. But there is a big difference between this Indian bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries. And even the Indian bourgeoisie is not all of a piece. It is divided into several groups with contradictory interests. In our opinion, *Nair* said, a clear distinction should be made between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie. As the contradictions in India's political life grow sharper, the dividing line between these groups is bound to become more and more pronounced.

As regards the Indian monopolies, they differ in many respects from those in the highly developed capitalist countries. They have no stake in the armaments drive. They are not in a position to engage in neo-colonialist exploitation and they export practically no capital.

They are interested in peace between nations. But on the Indian social scene they play a reactionary role, primarily because they want to maintain capitalist society based on exploitation in which they would hold the reins, secondly, because they are opposed to social progress, freedom, democracy and a better life for the majority of the population, and, thirdly, because the imperialists are seeking to strengthen their own foothold in the country, through closer collaboration with the local monopolies, which are interested in attracting more foreign investments. Hence the Indian monopolies are an impediment to progress.

Recent analyses by Soviet economists indicate that capitalist development in India, Turkey, Pakistan, the Philippines, Iran and some other relatively developed Asian countries has led or is leading to the formation of a specific type of national monopoly capital which seeks to establish its economic and political domination in these countries, *Y. Rozaliev (USSR)* pointed out. This type of capital takes shape in close contact with the imperialist monopolies of the developed countries.

The common feature of all monopoly groups in the developing countries is that they spring up in the conditions of a backward economy dependent on imperialism. Small commodity production predominates and survivals of feudalism are still strong in the agriculture of these countries, while the national bourgeoisie presents a highly heterogeneous picture reflecting the multiplicity of transitional stages in the development of national capitalism. In order to withstand competition with imperialist capital, the local monopolies seek to expand as far afield as possible, to establish themselves in the most profitable branches of raw-material production, to ensure themselves the most advantageous markets for their goods, a supply of cheap labor power, etc. The monopolies in the developing countries are exerting particularly persistent efforts to bring the national state machine under their influence.

The historical background against which monopoly capital emerges in the developing countries accounts for its special relationship with imperialism with which it comes into conflict as the junior and largely dependent partner but to which it at the same time looks as an ally and backer.

In most Asian countries accumulation of big industrial capital was, naturally, out of the question in the pre-imperialist epoch. And now there is neither the time nor the conditions for a normal process of concentration and centralization. Growing pressure exerted by the imperialist powers, sharp competition between the national bourgeoisie and the foreign

monopolies whose support is sought by the more reactionary section of the former, and the hypertrophic development of national merchant and usurers' capital—such are the specific conditions in which monopoly is taking shape in the developing countries of Asia.

In the East today concentration and centralization of banking capital often proceed faster and in more advanced forms than concentration and centralization of capital in industry, not to speak of agriculture. This is an expression of the distorted forms and unevenness of capitalist development in Asia. Whereas the monopolies in the developed countries represent, as Lenin pointed out, a super-structure resting on the old capitalism, in Asia monopolies are to some extent based also on the less advanced forms of capitalism and semi-capitalist relations.

As a natural result the contradictions between the Asian national monopolies and the small, middle and part of the big bourgeoisie assume particularly sharp and complex forms. The monopolies obtain their super-profits by exploiting not only the workers but also the middle strata and the semi-feudal peasantry.

The situation in India in many respects illustrates what Rozaliev said, *K. Nair* observed. Concentration and centralization of production and especially capital have already gone far in the Indian economy, he said. Industrial capital, banking capital and insurance capital do not exist independently of one another. A dozen top monopolies own or have established personal union with the banks and insurance companies. About two dozen managing agencies which in turn are controlled by a dozen big families control a very large part of the corporate sector, including the biggest banks, which monopolize more than two-thirds of all bank deposits in the country.

The monopolies not only exert strong pressure on the government, they have their men in the state apparatus itself. And when top civil servants retire the monopolies as a rule immediately take them into their service, paying them salaries exceeding the government salaries four or five times over.

Indian monopolies, while they maintain contact with foreign monopolies, are on guard against foreign capital establishing its control over them. It would be a mistake to say that they have sold out to imperialism or to assume that they are subordinated to foreign monopolies. Foreign capital now plays in Indian industry generally a far smaller part than it did in the colonial period. At the end of the fifties national capital in the state and private sectors taken together amounted to 75,885 million rupees and foreign capital to 5,710 million rupees

or less than one-tenth of the total investments. However, the positions occupied by foreign finance groupings cannot be measured by their investments alone. Foreign capital has retained its grip on a number of important branches of the economy and in some cases it has even strengthened its hold (in oil, for instance). The new forms of cooperation and competition between the local monopolies and foreign capital are particularly clearly visible in the establishment and functioning of mixed companies. The number of these has been increasing very rapidly; in 1957 there were 81 newly incorporated companies in which foreign finance capital participated together with the Indian monopolies, but in 1963 the figure was already 1,639.

Besides a highly stratified private capitalist sector India also has a state-capitalist sector. By and large the state sector now serves the interests of the entire national bourgeoisie. But Indian state capitalism differs from the state-monopoly capitalism of the USA or West Germany, which is deeply involved in militarization. State capitalism in the developing countries plays to a certain extent a progressive and even an anti-imperialist role. As Lenin points out, state capitalism can under certain conditions become the threshold of socialism. It is up to the working class and all other progressive forces to prevent the reactionaries from turning the state sector into a Frankenstein monster.

At present the state sector in industry embraces strategically important branches. This is a good thing since in this way headway is being made in laying the foundations of an independent national economy — witness the development of the steel, machine tool, oil and heavy engineering industries, transport, etc. None of this fits in with the desires of the imperialist countries. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has objected to the promotion of these branches within the framework of the state sector. The

USA, too, disapproved of these measures and refused to help with the building of the Bokhara steel mill because Nehru did not allow foreign private monopoly capital to participate. The socialist countries welcome the development of the state sector and are helping India to expand it.

P. Motta Lima (Brazil) dwelt on some features of capitalist development in Latin America. Brazil, he said, has no national finance capital in its classical form. Imperialist finance capital linked with foreign monopolies continues to operate in that country. The same can be said also of foreign bank capital, though it prefers to make use of local funds. Imperialism is continuing to penetrate into Brazil's economy, which it seeks to gear wholly to the export of such items as coffee, sugar, cocoa, iron and manganese ore, etc. The structure of U.S. investments is determined by this objective as well as the desire to capture the Brazilian home market.

But in spite of the imperialists, a beginning has been made in industrialization, thanks to conscious intervention by the public and the Communists.

As regards the role of the state bank in the economy, the speaker pointed out that the Bank of Brazil is more than the country's central bank. It performs numerous banking operations in the sphere of agriculture and industry, discount operations, etc., and issues credits to large state and private enterprises and the latifundists, especially coffee growers. Financial manipulations with the latter, incidentally, have often assumed scandalous proportions. The bank also subsidizes industry, thereby substantially contributing to its development. Investments in state industry are financed mainly through this bank and the state treasury. Brazil has five large national banking groups linked with the latifundists and imperialists, all of which owe their existence largely to the backing of the state bank.

VIII. THE STRUGGLE TO BUILD AN ANTI-MONOPOLY FRONT

Growth of finance capital leads to the concentration of enormous power, both economic and political, in the hands of a few monopolists and their agents. State-monopoly capitalism, with its new means of intervention in the economy, its highly ramified civil-service and police apparatus and huge military machine gives this insignificant minority practically unlimited power over hundreds of millions of people, over entire nations and continents.

But the trend towards reaction all along the line, the concomitant of imperialism has given rise to a powerful democratic, emancipatory,

revolutionary counter-trend. The most diverse opposition forces are rallying against the common enemy, gradually crystallizing into a united anti-monopoly movement.

An important role in choosing the most effective forms of struggle, in shaping the strategy and tactics of the progressive forces, is played by the proper assessment and utilization by these forces of the contradictions of contemporary capitalism in general and state-monopoly capitalism in particular. State-monopoly capitalism is a sign of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism in a situation

marked by the sharpening of the class struggle, *P. Boccara* said. The finance oligarchy makes use of state intervention in the economy to bolster up its domination which has been shaken by the irreconcilable contradiction between the rapidly developing productive forces and the capitalist relations of production. But at the same time state-monopoly capitalism is creating a formidable weapon which will be turned against it when the democratic anti-monopoly movement wins control over the state.

L. Ivanek (Czechoslovakia) agreed with this viewpoint, pointing out that state ownership, which in the West is a manifestation of state-monopoly capitalism, plays a different role in different countries, depending on the conditions and the alignment and balance of class and political forces.

Where class struggle is weak the existence of state-owned enterprises may engender illusions about the "non-class" and "popular" nature of the capitalist state by concealing the fact that they really are the joint property of the capitalist class. And conversely, when there is an upswing in class struggle, the very existence of a nationalized sector and the active intervention by the bourgeois state in socio-political life help to stimulate political action by the working people in defense of their immediate demands and interests, to educate the workers and to prepare the ground for struggle to win power. Whereas under authoritarian regimes state ownership primarily serves the monopolies, in a situation marked by a rising mass movement of the working people headed by the Communists it can serve as a lever undermining the omnipotence of the monopolies. Nationalization of entire branches of the economy is also a sign of the decline of capitalism, of its inability to cope with new problems by the conventional, classical means. While state ownership in the capitalist countries cannot be described as socialist, it is, nevertheless, a blow to the basic principle of capitalism—private ownership of the means of production—and helps to create the material preconditions for socialism, thereby, under certain conditions, playing a positive role.

Y. Rubinsky noted that because of this the monopolies are working overtime to discredit the very idea of doing without private ownership of means of production. When a measure of nationalization was effected in France under pressure from the Left in the immediate post-war years, wages were higher, social benefits better and jobs were more secure in the nationalized enterprises than in private industry. In time, however, the situation changed. Inflation nullified these advantages, while the

workers in private enterprises won some gains through determined struggle. The managements of the nationalized enterprises resisted every demand presented by the workers on the pretext that the state sector yielded little profit or operated at a loss, that the budget was overstrained as it was, that improvements would aggravate the inflation, etc. As a result the workers in the French nationalized industries are now on the whole in a worse position than their comrades employed in private enterprise.

Capitalist propaganda seized on this to persuade the working people that the state is always a "bad manager," less able to cope with economic functions and hence "more ruthless" than the private capitalist. On the other hand, the bogey of *étatisme* is trotted out to scare the peasantry and the small and middle bourgeoisie in order to split the anti-monopoly front and win support for denationalization. To counteract this, the progressive forces should not limit themselves to general advocacy of nationalization but should elucidate and concretize the issue in the light of the specific conditions, to explain the fundamental difference between state property used by the monopolies and the same property freed from monopoly control.

P. Boccara agreed that the emphasis should be placed on this at the present stage. Advocating the nationalization of a number of industries (nuclear, chemical, and iron and steel), commercial banks, etc., the French Communists underscore the need for radical measures to place the entire state system and the management of the nationalized enterprises on a democratic footing. That these demands are meeting with support and helping to lay the groundwork for overcoming the division in the ranks of the working people can be seen, in particular, from the recent proposal made by the French Socialist Party (which has much in common with the Communist position) that the commercial banks be nationalized. Unity of action, notwithstanding the obstacles still in its way, will help to turn state intervention in the economy, now serving the interests of the monopolies, against the finance oligarchy.

Indeed, the capitalist state is for the workers of the nationalized sector in France a "tough employer" setting an example of intransigence to the private capitalists whom the shortage of skilled labor has latterly compelled to make some concessions. It makes use both of the economic levers available to the nationalized enterprises and of the reactionary structure of the machinery of state which makes itself especially felt in the conditions of the present regime. However, in some state-owned enter-

prises where prices are hiked up rather than artificially depressed (in the Renault Auto Works) the workers have won substantial gains. Facts of this order eloquently refute the capitalist propaganda designed to discredit nationalization and help to expose the policy of the monopolies and the authoritarian regime.

In West Germany, *B. Werner (FRG)* said, the struggle for nationalization is of enormous political importance inasmuch as it has a direct bearing on the attitude towards the GDR where an end has been put to the power of the monopolies. The struggle waged by the workers in West German state-owned enterprises for higher wages, better conditions and improved social security may well rally the entire working class of the Federal Republic to the fight for nationalization and develop into a political struggle.

Nationalization in the Federal Republic was effected under pressure from the people but in the interests of the monopolies. *O. Reinhold (GDR)* recalled that before the Second World War the Nazi authorities set up a number of iron and steel, shipbuilding and automobile concerns. It is symptomatic, however, that in recent years the finance capitalists have been pressing for their denationalization. The Right-wing leadership of the Social Democratic Party have, in effect renounced nationalization. Instead, they support the bourgeois propaganda efforts to persuade the workers that public ownership is detrimental to their interests and to side-track the trade unions from opposing denationalization. It is important for the Communists to support this opposition, which is bound to develop into a political struggle, inasmuch as it is inseparable from the general democratic struggle for greater working-class influence on national policy. What is needed is a program of democratic demands and laying bare the connection between state-monopoly capitalism and the nature of the state dominated by the financial groupings.

E. Zucker-Schilling (Austria) agreed that the approach to nationalization should be differentiated according to the conditions. In Austria the state sector, which includes the mining industry, the electric power stations, and three of the biggest banks, occupies an important place in the economy. But since Austria is not a socialist but a capitalist country, a clear-cut demarcation line must be drawn between the various forms of nationalization.

In Austria, too, the reactionary forces have been pressing for denationalization of the state-owned enterprises with the exception of the banks. Why this differentiation? Partly because the former are under the jurisdiction of a Socialist Minister and the latter are the

bailiwick of a member of the People's Party. The main reason, however, is that the monopolies have been able to gear the state-owned banks satisfactorily enough to their interests whereas they still regard the state-owned industrial enterprises as an encroachment on the rights of finance capital; the monopolies feel that the removal of a number of key branches from under their unlimited control detracts from the weight carried by the financial oligarchy in the life of society generally and in the class struggle in particular (although there is little difference between working conditions and wages in state and private enterprises).

Hence, when we speak of nationalization we should place the emphasis on the aim pursued and in whose interests and with whose support it is to be carried out. Needless to say, a struggle should be waged against denationalization, but it is not enough. More determined efforts should be exerted to foster the democratic trends in the overall context of nationalization.

P. Joye (Belgium) discussed the slogans which the working class could advance as a platform for cooperation among the democratic forces against the monopoly stranglehold. It should be shown with utmost clarity, he stressed, that we are not against innovation and change prompted by objective economic necessity. A negative approach on general principles is not a political position that can produce results. The workers' parties and trade unions should already now play an effective part in deciding issues at all levels of economic and political life. Hence there can be no question of opposition in principle to the solution of problems on the scale of separate factories, industries or the entire economy.

From this it follows that instead of rejecting, as a matter of principle, structural changes that have become objectively necessary, we should fight for economic programming, for nationalization, for essential structural reforms which can be achieved even before the overthrow of capitalism. This should be done even when there is a danger that the monopolies might try in certain circumstances to use one or another of these measures to further their own ends, for example, to discredit public ownership and sow illusions among the working people. There is always an element of risk in political struggle. Experience shows that the reactionaries have always sought to take over working-class slogans so as to distort them and to use them to further their own ends. That this might be essayed by reformists or reactionaries is immaterial. The important thing is the actual content of our slogans, our ability to mobilize the masses and to find the

ways and means to ensure the implementation of urgent measures.

To reduce risk to the minimum, we should always make sure that the measures we propose offer real solutions to problems and at the same time curtail the power of the monopolies and give the working people's organizations a more effective say in deciding issues. For example, we have put forward, with a view to combating the inflation, a proposal to grant wider powers to the committees on prices so as to enable them to go into the price-fixing policies and production costs in private capitalist enterprises. At first glance this may not seem to be a very revolutionary move. But if it were carried out the result would be a highly democratic, progressive structural reform. Winning for the working class the right to be better informed, lifting the veil of commercial secrecy, would enable us to strike a telling blow at the monopolies. We approach economic programming, etc., from the same standpoint.

Problems connected with the emergence of big international monopoly groupings within the framework of the Common Market were also discussed. This trend is highly prejudicial to the interests of the working people, for while the monopolies are able to agree among themselves, despite their conflicts and contradictions, the working-class movement remains divided on both the political and the trade union plane. Each of the Common Market countries has an employers' organization uniting both big and small employers under monopoly leadership. And a federation of the employers' associations of all six countries of Little Europe was formed immediately after the establishment of the Common Market. But at the same time each of these countries has two or three workers' parties and three or four trade union centers affiliated to different international confederations. Clearly, the working class, faced as it is with a crystallizing of the "Europe of the trusts," should overcome its organizational disunity with the utmost speed and coordinate its actions.

K. Engelhardt (GDR) noted that this coordination should be achieved first of all in the struggle against the international compact of the merchants of death—the war-industry monopolies. This struggle is directly connected with the political issues involved in the fight for peace and lessening international tension.

B. Werner stressed the urgency of the question raised by Joye. The issue is that of counterposing a united front of the working people to the united front of the Common Market monopolies. In West Germany the obstacle to be overcome is not the disunity of the trade union movement, not the existence of several

trade union centers, but the refusal, owing to anti-communist prejudice, of the leaders of the main trade union federation to establish contacts with the powerful Left trade union centers of France and Italy. Clearly, the best way to overcome this prejudice is cooperation between the trade unions functioning in the various enterprises of international concerns operating in several countries. In this way conditions could be created for cooperation on a higher plane — among the workers of particular trades or separate branches of industry (for example, the chemical industry in Belgium and Federal Germany). The loss by some officials of the reformist trade unions of their illusions concerning the Common Market might eventually lead to agreement between trade union centers affiliated to different international confederations. The ultimate aim should be the establishment of a single trade union federation for all the Common Market countries.

Nationalization is, unquestionably, an important means of expropriating the finance oligarchy and as such it is one of the main slogans of the anti-monopoly coalition, *S. Menshikov* said. But the anti-monopoly coalition consists not only of the working class or of the working peasants and farmers. It includes, or is capable of including, small and even middle-bracket capitalists. Hence the slogans relating to nationalization should take into account the specific features and interests of these non-proletarian anti-monopoly elements.

The small and middle employers in the USA are told that public ownership would play havoc with their interests. And the fact is that small and middle employers in the USA are very much afraid that nationalization might turn against them.

Consequently, nationalization programs should take into account also the interests of the small and medium employer. They should reassure the latter that nationalization of the property of the big monopolies and expropriation of the finance oligarchy, far from damaging the interests of the small and medium employers, would actually benefit them.

The variety of forms which finance capital takes presents many problems. Take, for instance, the big U.S. industrial monopolies. Some of them have hundreds of thousands of small shareholders. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, for example, has more than two million shareholders, most of them small ones. By the beginning of 1963 the number of shareholders in the USA amounted to 17 million, nearly seven million of whom had an income of less than \$7,500 a year.

Clearly, nationalization of the big companies should be carried out taking into account the interests of the small shareholders, many of whom have bought shares only because of the inadequacy of the U.S. social security scheme. Some families which are by no means rich have invested their money in shares for fear of inflation, or because they hope that in this way they will be able to give their children an education. Consequently, nationalization of the monopolies should be combined with measures to improve social security benefits for those who have become shareholders by economic or non-economic compulsion.

In India, *K. Nair* said, two main slogans have been put forward in the struggle against monopoly. First, nationalization of the key sectors, second, democratic control over the monopolies and nationalized enterprises. The nationalization should be effected step by step. The Communist Party does not advocate turning all monopoly property over to public ownership; it would be premature to do so. The slogan of the day is nationalization of the banks, foreign-owned oil companies, foreign trade and wholesale trade in food. These measures would be a heavy blow both at foreign finance capital operating in India and at the Indian monopolies.

A. M. Romyantsev, summing up, noted the usefulness of the discussion. The study of modern capitalism, he said, still lags in many respects behind the requirements of the day. It cannot be said that our theoretical assess-

ment of the processes under way in it is thorough and profound enough, or that we react to these processes promptly enough, which is no less important. In particular, we are beginning to be aware of our shortcomings in the study of capitalism in this third stage of its general crisis. Various aspects of finance capital are being examined in greater or lesser detail in the various countries, but this study is largely limited to the national plane, although we all know full well that finance capital is international. This may be explained to some extent by the natural and understandable dictates of the current national tasks and the difficulty of making a detailed examination of such a many-faceted problem without co-operation with researchers in other countries. Examination of this problem on the international plane, at a new qualitative level ensured by cooperation between researchers in the various countries, is probably one of the most important and at the same time weakest links in our theoretical treatment of modern imperialism. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that an analysis of imperialism is impossible without examining the influence exerted on it by the socialist system. This influence cannot be disregarded; to do so would be unscientific. In my opinion, *Romyantsev* said, we all should search for the best way to make a comprehensive joint study of the cardinal problems of the modern world, with a view to enlisting in this work the most competent researchers, Communists and other democrats.

The Theory of Modern Capitalism

(Some Methodological Aspects)

A seminar on the methodological problems of the theory of imperialism was held in Moscow, and attended by the Soviet economists, F. D. Ryzhenko, G. F. Rudenko, M. S. Dragilev, A. G. Mileikovsky, F. G. Piskopel, S. M. Menshikov, G. P. Chernikov, M. K. Bunkina, A. M. Frumkin and others. Economists from other countries included Mario Barellini, N. Bresson, I. Kersten, M. Castellanos and A. Podovan. Also present was A. M. Rumyantsev, chief editor of Problems of Peace and Socialism, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The subject-matter is closely related to the discussion on finance capital and brought out important problems associated with it. We believe that this summary of some of the contributions will be of interest to readers.

The main point was a further development of the general theory of modern capitalism.

Opening the discussion, Professor Ryzhenko said that in the past ten years Marxist economic science had made useful advances in studying separate countries and the concrete problems of the capitalist world. As a result the general theory of imperialism had been further developed. Until recently it was held that the general theory of imperialism should be confined to diagnosing the symptoms and laying bare the essence of imperialism. In examining imperialism priority was given to an enumeration of its symptoms instead of getting to the heart of the laws governing monopoly capitalism. Today the level of the research and the approach to problems of modern capitalism have basically changed.

In a paper on the "Methodological Problems of the Theory of Imperialism," Professor Rudenko dealt with the subject, purpose, method and structure of the general theory of imperialism. Lenin, he said, saw Marxist research into imperialism as being an "... analysis of the basic properties and trends of imperialism as a system of economic relations of the latest, highly developed, ripe and overripe capitalism." As capitalism developed, out of the aggregate social capital produced there emerged monopoly capital, which has become the decisive and dominant part of the aggregate capital of bourgeois society. Hence Lenin concentrated on the *specific, mature system of the rule of monopoly capital*. The basic economic features of imperialism as compared with the capitalism of free competition, singled out by Lenin, were, in reality, *signs of its replacement*, and this was what Lenin stressed. But each of these features also reveals new, specific economic relations which

develop on the soil of a predominantly monopoly capital.

The purpose of Lenin's work was not to pinpoint the manifestations of imperialism but to show "... the connection and relationships between the *principal* economic features of imperialism," i.e., to reveal the laws and contradictions governing the *movement of monopoly capital* and the mode of reproducing it as a force dominating society. What should be done is to examine in every way the specific methods of exploitation and appropriation found only in monopoly capital. From this standpoint one should also study the sphere of production, circulation and finance, the movement of real and fictitious capital, the problems of the capitalist world economy, of the world market and other problems which, despite their importance, do not fit into a mere description of the hallmarks of imperialism. Political economy should also examine the relatively new problem of the reproduction of the main classes and social sections in the society of modern state-monopoly capitalism. This will make it possible to reflect, in the theory of imperialism, the important problems associated with the economic activity of the peasantry, the urban middle sections and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. In a word, it is necessary to throw full light on the economic bases and on all the component parts of the anti-monopoly forces.

The mechanism of the influence exerted by state-monopoly, the aim of which is to save the capitalist system and ensure profits for the tycoons, is a subject for special study.

Lastly, the speaker said, analysis is needed of the movement of the aggregate social capital,

including the problem of the relationship between monopoly and competition; the peculiarities of the cycles and crises; the specific operation of economic laws, etc. In examining reproduction of the aggregate social capital, Marx, in *Capital*, abstracted from: a) monopoly, b) international economic relations, c) influence of the state, and, d) non-capitalist environment. He, naturally, could not study the impact of socialism on the capitalist system. The examination of the processes of the reproduction of aggregate social capital in our day can be a scientific examination only if the analysis includes all these factors.

Professor Rudenko suggested that the theory of imperialism should have a special section on the system of economic relations in those newly-independent countries remaining within the world capitalist economy, in view of the highly specific character of these relations. The socialist world, he said, exerts a powerful, and at times decisive, influence on imperialism. Hence the full characterization of the latter should proceed from the essence and degree of this influence. Generalizations concerning the trend, significance and boundaries of this influence should be regarded as a special department of theory, as a vital part of the teaching on the general crisis of capitalism. Socialism should be both the starting point and the finishing point in studying the movement of modern capitalism.

S. M. Menshikov agreed basically with Professor Rudenko and stressed that the analysis of imperialism should ultimately lead to the theory of socialist revolution. In view of this, research into the economic conditions of the classes and social groups oppressed by the monopolies acquires very great importance. Lenin, in criticizing incorrect views on modern capitalism, repeatedly said that imperialism was but a "superstructure" on the old capitalism of free competition in which millions of small, middle and sometimes even big owners find themselves, in effect, enslaved by a handful of millionaire-financiers. Political economy should cover all essential relationships and laws of this complex comprising the old capitalism and the superstructure of monopoly capital in their contradictory interaction. Menshikov suggested that three main sections be singled out in the theory of imperialism: 1) the economic structure of imperialism; 2) the process of the disintegration of imperialism; 3) the modern theory of the world revolutionary process.

A new and important methodological aspect of the theory of imperialism in our day, said M. S. Dragilev, is the influence exerted by the socialist world system on the inner laws of

monopoly capitalism. Speaking about the relationship between the theory of imperialism and the theory of the general crisis of capitalism, Dragilev noted that the general crisis is not a special stage of capitalism since the general crisis presupposes that qualitative changes occur not in the nature of capitalism but in its position in the world. The theory of the general crisis should be developed as an organic part of the general theory of imperialism. Having specific problems of its own, it should examine the laws and the concrete forms of the decline of capitalism.

Mario Barellini, agreeing with the thesis that state-monopoly capitalism is a means of giving a new lease of life to the declining capitalist system, observed that at the same time in some of its forms state monopoly is also a material prerequisite of socialism. One should not lose sight of this, since otherwise it would be impossible to formulate a correct policy for the working class. Therefore, with the bourgeoisie using state-monopoly capitalism as an instrument to prolong the existence of its system, the working class should counterpose to it another, democratic alternative—not to streamline the existing regime but to change, in a revolutionary way, the purpose, structure and essence of the system. It is typical of state-monopoly capitalism in Italy, for example, that the state acts as employer and, what is more, in important branches of industry. In 1961, for example, state-owned enterprises accounted for 56 per cent of the steel and 95 per cent of the pig iron produced in the country. Today they generate all the electric power. They are also active investors: in 1962 they accounted for 23 per cent of all investments. In examining state-monopoly capitalism, one should bear in mind the activity of those groups which shape the policy of the state, adjusting it to their interests, one should study the contradictions arising from this, and show the influence of the working-class movement.

G. P. Chernikov expressed the view that the study of finance capital and of the finance oligarchy should not be limited to an analysis of its structure. It is necessary, he said, to show the mechanism of the rule of finance capital over the economy and policy of modern capitalism, and to trace the effects of this rule for society and for the struggle against the finance oligarchy. Today, for example, one of the basic sources for extending the range of monopoly control should be sought in the system of organizational-technological contacts. Examining the theory and practice of economic programming, Chernikov saw in the socialization of production the material bases of the programming, its economic prerequisite. Pro-

programming is necessitated by the unprecedented aggravation of all the socio-economic contradictions of capitalism and by the impact of world socialism. While economic programming cannot change the nature of capitalism, it can in a way affect the character of the capitalist cycle. The mechanism of the economic programming can be used by the anti-monopoly forces, which is something the dogmatists fail to understand.

A. M. Frumkin maintained that the theory of imperialism should include, first, an analysis of the reproduction of individual capital (both monopoly and that belonging to individual non-monopoly entrepreneurs) and, second, a study of the reproduction of aggregate social capital. Although the growth of the productive forces is not a subject for political economy, it nevertheless examines the interaction between these forces and the production relations. Hence an analysis of the reproduction of aggregate social capital should reflect not only new economic and technological phenomena but also such problems as the structure and forms of fixed capital, input of capital and materials, optimal size of the enterprises, etc. Research of this kind is needed in order to understand the trends in modern capitalism.

A. G. Mileikovsky was of the opinion that state-monopoly capitalism should be accorded a special place in the theory of imperialism, so that the forms and technique of state-monopoly regulation could be elucidated, since both are essential for working out a democratic alternative to imperialism.

F. G. Piskopel drew attention to the need for an historical approach to research as a whole and to all its components and categories.

In the opinion of M. K. Bunkina, there is no need to single out specially the reproduction of non-monopoly capital since the monopolies and the non-monopoly sector intertwine, and it would be wrong to ignore this. Coexistence of monopoly and free competition should be taken as the point of departure.

A. M. Rumyantsev noted the timeliness and importance of discussing methodological problems of the research in the sphere of imperialism. What is the key factor in this respect? It is, I think, the basic contradiction of our time, namely, the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. It is the developed form in which the main contradiction of capitalism is manifested—the contradiction between the social character of production and private capitalist appropriation, the contradiction between labor and capital. This basic contradiction of our time affects, in a decisive way, the deepening of the inner contradictions of capi-

talism and the entire revolutionary process. The disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, for example, would be impossible without the existence of the socialist world system. The winning of economic independence by the newly-free countries is likewise unthinkable without the support of world socialism. In exactly the same way one could not pose the question of the non-capitalist way of development given different conditions, since this is the outcome of the influence and aid of the socialist world system. Socialism influences the laws of capitalism and contributes to deepening its basic contradiction. In studying reality we do not invent a methodology, rather we "single it out" from the life around us. Therefore the study of both modern capitalism and of socialism should proceed from an examination of the existence and struggle of the two opposed world systems, and of their mutual influence. It would hardly be correct to single out at first the reproduction of monopoly capital since the essence of modern capitalism lies in the combination of monopoly and competition. But at the next stage of the analysis it will be possible to consider separately the reproduction of non-monopoly capital. Analysis presupposes, first, examination of the whole, then the dismembering of the whole into its components, and penetrating ever more deeply into its essence. In so doing, it should be borne in mind that the essence itself is also developing. Thus, imperialism is the further development of the essence of capitalism. The general crisis of capitalism is a new level in the development of the essence of imperialism. All this is a complete subject based on the unity, struggle and disclosure of the contradictions.

It is impossible to study production relations in isolation from the productive forces since the character and level of the latter determine the character of the production relations. Not infrequently, however, we forget all about technology and the productive forces, although it is their development which creates the material prerequisites for the socialist revolution.

Marx, Engels and Lenin never lost sight of the role played by the state. Volume III of *Capital* stressed the inevitability of state intervention in the economy in view of the growth of trusts. Analyzing objective processes, the founders of Marxism-Leninism at the same time revealed the forces of the revolution, the historical mission of the working class and its leading role in the revolution.

S. M. Menshikov discussed the *methodology of the research in the sphere of finance capital and of the finance oligarchy*. He singled out and characterized the methodological problems of studying: 1) the structure of finance capital;

2) the finance oligarchy groupings; and 3) the social structure of the finance oligarchy.

I. Kersten spoke about the continued polarization of classes, the numerical growth of factory and office workers, and of their rising share in the gainfully-employed population. A number of factors accounts for the changed composition of the working class. Automation requires more technicians and researchers in industry. In West Germany, for example, there were 39 technicians per 1,000 workers in 1951/-52, but by 1958 their number had risen to 75. Growth of state-monopoly capitalism is accompanied by growing numbers of clerical workers in the state apparatus. In view of the acute problem of the market, the number employed in the sphere of trade is swelling. On the whole, those sections of the working class employed in the services are growing more rapidly. Nor are the office workers a monolithic force. The top group consists of managers, directors and others who guard the interests of the monopolists and who can be said to belong to the capitalist class. Among employees of the state apparatus and the communal services we find managers and officials—the men at the top—who also belong to the bourgeoisie. In West Germany the salaries of some trade union officials are so high that they should be identified not with labor aristocracy but with the bourgeoisie.

Speaking about the *problem of reproduction in the economically underdeveloped countries*, G. A. Martysheva advanced a number of basic methodological concepts for analyzing reproduction in this group of countries. These include: the international capitalist division of labor; the influence exerted on the economic development of these countries by the socialist world system; the influence of feudal survivals on the process of reproduction; the special character of the contradictions caused by the capitalist development in these countries.

In analyzing reproduction in the developing countries, said N. Bresson, one should not ignore the feudal structure. In Haiti, for example, capitalism plays a subordinate role and pre-capitalist relations predominate. Reproduction and its features should be studied with regard to each economic structure, bearing in mind the specific relationships between various structures. This will enable us to make a more thorough study of the economic laws governing the formation of local capital and its features, to give a scientific explanation of the place and role of the various social forces in the newly-free countries and the perspective of their development. It is also important closely to examine the composition of the social product in its natural form. In the economically

backward countries Department I does not play the leading role. In analyzing the problem of reproduction the external contacts and non-equivalent exchange should be taken into account, since some of the countries realize abroad about half the national product.

An analysis of reproduction, observed A. Podovan, should proceed from the basic contradiction of our time, and should not disregard the world market or the existence of feudal survivals in some countries. Economically Argentina, for example, has been affected by the economic crisis in the USA. The armaments policy pursued by the USA as well as its tendency to buy less in Argentina have aggravated the difficulties with the balance of payments. Then there is the export by the foreign monopolies of part of Argentina's national income. The subordination of the home market to two imperialist powers also has had a negative effect on our economy.

While the share of Department I is increasing in the aggregate social product, its functioning is still largely dependent on foreign capital. On the whole feudal survivals and foreign-capital domination are retarding economic development; hence the task is to abolish these obstacles.

N. Castellanos spoke about the role played by state capitalism in the developing countries. This is important not only for a better understanding of the struggle for national liberation, but also for analyzing the specific process of reproduction. The state sector plays a very big role in the accumulation of capital. As distinct from state-monopoly capitalism in the imperialist countries, state capitalism in Latin America emerged in the struggle for national liberation and is both the creation and expression of the conflict between the backward colonial structure of the economy and the economic needs of capitalist society. Still the existence of a state sector should not always be regarded as a progressive phenomenon. Its role depends on the correlation of forces in society and in the machinery of state.

In Mexico state capitalism appeared in the 'thirties when the balance of forces favored the working class and the small bourgeoisie. At that time it developed in a progressive and democratic direction. Subsequently the balance of forces changed. The scale of state economic activity increased and its orientation changed in the direction of strengthening the positions of the comprador bourgeoisie. The U.S. imperialists sought to utilize state capitalism in Mexico in their interests. At present this capitalism is acquiring features of state-monopoly capitalism.

This necessitates a concrete analysis, taking

into account the sum-total of the existing conditions. It is necessary to criticize the Right opportunists who see only the democratic features of state capitalism and ignore its reactionary features, and also the Left sectarians who notice only the reactionary aspects while denying the progressive potential and features of state capitalism.

M. N. Ryndina spoke about the methodological problems of the criticism of bourgeois political economy.

The methodology of research in, and criticism of, bourgeois political economy was elaborated by the founders of Marxism-Leninism and includes the following principles: recognition of the fact that the material conditions of the life of society constitute the real foundation which, in the ultimate, determines the character of social ideas and views; in a class society political economy has a class character and is an important ideological weapon in the class struggle; the class partisanship of bourgeois political economy does not mean that works by bourgeois economists are lacking in valuable factual material which can be used for criticizing capitalism; the criticism of bourgeois theories should be combined with studying the essence of political and economic problems.

These principles provide a basis for criticizing contemporary bourgeois political economy. At the same time, in view of the changes which have occurred in the world and in capitalism, the need is felt for a more concrete methodology of research in the sphere of bourgeois political economy. The concrete-historical approach to bourgeois theories implies not only an analysis of the specific development of capitalism at a particular stage but also the taking into account of the influence that world socialism exerts on bourgeois political economy.

To bring out the class essence, role and significance of one or another trend and the views of various economists it is necessary to see the differentiation taking place in the capitalist class, to analyze the contradictions between the monopoly and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie and the contradictions between the big monopoly groups both inside the country and in the world arena. With the growth of the forces of socialism and its success some bourgeois economists are beginning to realize that capitalism is doomed, and this recognition makes it possible for them to pass over from the positions of the bourgeoisie to those of the working class. Therefore, criticism of bourgeois economists should be differentiated. While exposing the reactionary essence of the theories preached by the apologists of the monopolies, it is also necessary to see the dual nature of the ideologists of the small and middle bourgeoisie, to differentiate between the reactionary and the progressive elements in the theories of representatives of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie.

With the growth of socialism and also in view of the development of state-monopoly capitalism, bourgeois political economy is now paying close attention to formulating economic policy and regulating the capitalist economy. Useful devices and methods of mathematical and statistical analysis appear from time to time in works by bourgeois economists and can be used in working out a democratic alternative to state-monopoly capitalism. Bourgeois political economy does not stand aloof from the new phenomena in the world. It is trying to use them in the interests of capitalism. Hence, criticism of bourgeois political economy is impossible without a scientific analysis of the new phenomena.

Communications and Comment**Regrouping of Democratic Forces in Brazil**

AFTER the fall of the constitutional government of President Joao Goulart a wave of terror swept the country. The premises of trade unions, political parties, public organizations, the homes of political leaders and personalities in the administration of the former government, editorial offices, publishing houses, schools and research institutions were raided and ransacked. Tens of thousands of people were herded into prisons and barracks. Even ships and warehouses were used as torture chambers. As at the time when fascism was on the march in Brazil, concentration camps were opened on the islands of Ilha Grande, Fernando de Noronha and in other places.

Public demonstrations were dispersed by bullets and tear gas. Workers and students were killed on the streets. Popular leaders, tortured to death by the police and the military, were buried as "suicides." Many leaders of the peasant movement were put to death by the latifundists. In Recife and Belem do Para the former Communist deputy Gregorio Bezerra and airforce colonel Jocelyn Brasil were dragged through the streets in chains and trampled to death. Outstanding men of science, the arts and literature, among them Oscar Niemeyer, the architect of the city of Brasilia, the sociologist Josue de Castro and the artist Di Cavalcanti were arrested or exiled.

The preparations for the coup were carried out under the flag of anti-communism. And it was described as a victory for the "democratic revolution." Its alleged object was to defend freedom and protect the administration from "sabotage and corruption."

This so-called "democratic revolution" was encouraged and supported by U.S. ruling circles. The conspirators were in contact with the State Department and the Pentagon, and they still are. The military dictatorship had hardly entrenched itself and President Goulart was still in the country when Washington cabled congratulations to Marshal Castelo Branco on his "Constitutional" appointment as president of the republic.

At a press conference in Rio de Janeiro, U.S. Ambassador Gordon said that the revolution of March 31 (he was afraid to say April 1!) will rightly be considered by historians as one of the most important events of the second half of the 20th century; it will, he added,

figure among the most outstanding events in contemporary history.

In a letter to one of his associates, FBI Chief Hoover praised "the dynamic and efficient manner" in which the "overhaul" had been carried out in Brazil. The CIA people, he said, had done a good job, and, he went on, "our agents, too, were especially valuable." Hoover cynically boasted that "we can all be proud of the vital part the FBI is playing in safeguarding the security of the nation even beyond its border." The Hoover document, which became known as the result of an indiscretion by a U.S. newspaperman, was reproduced in the Uruguayan and Chilean press and in the press of other Latin American countries.

The conspirators, meanwhile, lost no time in making clear the meaning of their "democratic revolution." Through undisguised arbitrary rule which they bombastically called a "constitutional act" the army generals arrogated to themselves absolute power.

Castelo Branco forced a frightened Congress to elect him "constitutional" president of the republic and then simply imposed decrees on Congress annulling the mandates of deputies and senators, of members of the parliaments of the states and of municipal councils. He removed judges and members of the High Courts, deprived about a thousand citizens of political rights, among them three previous presidents of the republic—Juscelino Kubitschek, Janio Quadros and Joao Goulart.

The leaders of workers' and peasants' trade unions and of educational bodies were thrown into prison or forced to emigrate or go into hiding. Progressive newspapers were banned. Even the conservative press is censored now. Investigation committees are purging the state organs, universities and armed forces, and people are being dismissed wholesale on charges of "corruption" or "subversive" activity, meaning administrative activity in the service of the previous government or political support of this government.

This is the kind of "constitutional" regime and "representative" government which North American imperialism and the ultra reactionary forces supporting it would like to set up in all the countries of Latin America.

Nobody has any illusions concerning the "democratic" aspect of the military dictatorship

or about its so-called struggle against corruption. The people have not forgotten the scandals involving prominent pillars of the dictatorship, both military and civilian which were typical instances of corruption and hypocrisy. One of the first acts of dictator Branco was to repeal the law controlling the export of the imperialist trusts' super-profits and to conclude a shameful agreement with American and Foreign Power (Amforp) to pay this company enormous compensation for the nationalized power enterprises, which it was unable to secure under the Goulart Government, despite pressure from Washington. Another concession made to the same company enables the latter, through loans to Electrobras (state monopoly in the power industry), to make investments to the sum of \$1,250 million. In other words, North American capital is again being allowed to make inroads into this major branch of the Brazilian economy. The people know of many other transactions and of cases of favoritism, typical of dictatorship governments and this particular brand of military dictatorship. Branco himself affords an example of the real worth of all the talk about "moral improvement": he insisted on the salary of the president being raised from 300,000 to 900,000 cruzeiros a month.

Thus the men who head the "democratic revolution" and exploit its watchword, "against subversive activity and corruption," have set a new record of shame and cynicism.

The agents of U.S. imperialism and internal reaction had hoped through the terror and through demagogic twaddle about "moral improvement" to paralyze the struggle of the people for their vital demands and for the lofty ideals of the national and democratic revolution. The popular forces, however, are recovering from the confusion and disorganization caused by the shock of the April defeat. Objective factors such as the economic crisis and growing inflation which are sending up the cost of living, retarding economic progress and swelling the ranks of the unemployed, are rapidly increasing the discontent of the masses and the national bourgeoisie; disillusioned too are those sections of the population who were hoodwinked by the reactionary demagogy which promised, under the flag of anti-communism, to defend "God and liberty," and to combat "subversive activity and corruption."

There was wide response throughout the country to Joao Goulart's statement, read on August 24 in the Chamber of Deputies by Doutel de Andrade, leader of the Labor Party, in which the deposed president denounced U.S. imperialism and called on the national and democratic forces to unite in struggle.

In some districts the working people are

beginning to take an active stand in defense of their demands. Witness the brief strike in Brasilia and Belo Horizonte which ended in victory for the workers. In the trade unions Socialists and Communists are again uniting despite government interference. Government supervisors are compelled to respect the decisions taken by the unions. To avoid aggravating things the employers at times agree to satisfy some of the demands of the workers. This was the case, for example, at the automobile works in Sao Paulo.

Open criticism of the government is now more and more often voiced in economic actions. The strikes of the airline pilots and airline employees, of the bank clerks and municipal workers, the stevedores and the actions of the railway workers are all cases in point.

In the students' movement Communists, Catholics, Socialists and Labor present a united front as before. Under the slogan of representation, free elections at all levels and university reform, the student body is firmly holding its own against the police regime.

In the peasant movement the repressions at first caused disorientation and confusion. But here, too, discontent is rising, especially since the terror in some areas is disrupting agricultural work. In the face of this Branco found it advisable to submit a draft for an agrarian reform which, needless to say, has met with the frantic opposition of the ultra-reactionaries.

These factors are aggravating the internal contradiction among the handful of fascist-minded generals and their military and civil hirelings who are today divided into three groups: 1) the group of enlightened officers (whom the people ironically call the "Sorbonne") who would like to see the "restoration of constitutional law" for this would give their rule a certain legal status; 2) the group of ultra-reactionaries, the advocates of still more brutal methods in carrying out the "hard line"; 3) the group of the so-called "inert" who, under the pressure of the first two, are constantly vacillating and adapting themselves. Castelo Branco belongs to the last group.

Serious differences recently came to light between these groups as a result of a military-police inquiry which charged Senator Auro de Moura Andrade, speaker of the Congress, and Deputy Ranieri Mazili, Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and former acting president of the republic, with "corruption." The latter defended himself in Parliament while Moura Andrade made a public statement which the press published as a sensation.

Speaking of the military conspirators, Moura Andrade said that "the time has come to give the signal for the recall of these men, other-

wise Brasilia will see with horror in what direction she is moving. . . ." "Everybody knows," he continued, "that in the guise of this 'revolution' many enemies of democracy have reared their head, who want to close down Congress, to revoke the Constitution, abolish the liberties of the people and instal a fascist dictatorial regime." Andrade concluded by saying that things were moving in this direction and that Branco "will soon be the first victim." This statement created a furore. The dictator and his Minister of Justice denied the charge that the military who had staged the coup were threatening to instal "an even tougher regime."

The democratic and national forces who were defeated in April but not destroyed, are beginning to realize the need for united action on the basis of a minimum program that would appeal to all citizens who want to see the basic freedoms and constitutional order restored. Besides the trends that had rallied around the Goulart government, the supporters of ex-presidents Kubitschek and Quadros and the Christian Democratic and other circles are also beginning to coordinate their forces. This augurs well for a broader united front.

The platform for common action may be briefly formulated as follows: freedom of action for workers' and peasants' trade unions, student and other organizations and political parties; release of political prisoners; the right to strike; observance of court decisions and an amnesty for political prisoners; support for the demands of workers and peasants; struggle against the anti-national economic and financial policy of the dictatorship, particularly against such acts of capitulation to imperialism as granting concessions to the Hanna and Amforp firms, abolishing the control over export of foreign profits.

These points have met with a response even in the conservative press. The campaign de-

nouncing the torture and maltreatment of political prisoners compelled the dictatorship to make an "inspection" of sorts of the prisons and concentration camps, including those on the island of Fernando de Noronha. This enabled people who were in solitary confinement to get in touch with their lawyers and to issue a statement for the press. Among them are the former governor of Pernambuco, Miguel Arrais. Thanks to this campaign, the Communist leader Carlos Marighella who was wounded in a clash with the police has been released. Another result of the campaign was the speech made by Pedro Aleixo, leader of the government opposition, in support of the amnesty bill. His speech threw the ultra-reactionaries into a rage.

The forces opposing the dictatorship are beginning to agree that all forms of struggle, both peaceful and non-peaceful, should be planned and have a clear purpose. Their aim is to avoid isolated and untimely actions, to ensure that the mass actions are carried out through the respective organizations (both legal and illegal), that they are planned in accordance with the concrete situation and in conformity with the will of the people.

Guided by these principles the people of Brazil will be able to fight—not at any price and prematurely, but when the objective and subjective conditions make it possible to organize actions which, going from success to success, will reach an ever higher level and ultimately lead to the victory of the people.

International solidarity of the working peoples of all lands, and particularly of the Latin American countries, can contribute greatly to this struggle. They can help by denouncing the crimes of the dictatorship and its subordination to U.S. imperialism, by exposing the reactionary character of the dictatorship which is one of the tools of neo-colonialism on our continent.

J. B. TAVARES de SA

Against the Persecution of Democrats

REACTIONARY INTRIGUES IN GREECE

IMPORTANT gains in the struggle for democracy were won by the people of Greece in the past year. Three defeats in a row, each more crushing than the preceding, were sustained by the reactionaries in the general elections of November 3, 1963, and February 16, 1964, and in the municipal elections of July 5, 1964. Although ousted from power, the reactionaries still retain important positions at all levels in the administration and in the government in which the Right-wing element of the Center Union predominates; these positions are being utilized for a counter-offensive in which they hope not only to torpedo any democratic measures but also to work their way back to power, perhaps through a military coup.

At the end of July the Communist Party and the United Democratic Left Party (EDA) warned the people that such a reactionary coup was being plotted. According to the press, some of the government officials viewed with favor the possibility of a coup by the Right. Mention was made, specifically, of Defense Minister Garoufalias, whose participation in the Center Union government continues to be opposed even by people in the ruling party itself. Some government newspapers, among them *Atinaiki*, edited by Mr. Baklantzis, Deputy Speaker, branded Garoufalias as an agent of the Rightists, the royal family and the NATO imperialists.

Proof of the growing activity of the reactionaries is furnished by the frequent reprisals against local self-government bodies, democratic newspapers and individual citizens. In October alone the authorities took severe measures against many mayors and members of municipal and communal councils. For instance, Frangoulis, Vice-mayor of Peiraieus, who polled the biggest vote in the July 5 municipal elections, was suspended from his duties for a month for having refused, expressing his fellow-townsmen's anger at the presence of the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Peiraieus harbor, to receive the Admiral in command of the fleet in the Town Hall.

Not long ago several mayors in the Athens and Peiraieus area and many councillors in other towns and villages were suspended for twenty days for refusing to take part in observing the "Day of the Reservist and Greek Military Skill" in mid-September. This celebration was instituted during the rule of the neo-fascist Party ERE with the aim of whipping up the passions of the 1946-49 civil war and

dividing the popular forces. Even then, the people had repeatedly expressed their negative attitude to this "hate day."

Sanctions were also taken against councillors who made speeches during this year's celebration of the 20th anniversary of the liberation and the National Resistance day or took part in popular manifestations in honor of EAM (the National Liberation Front), the biggest Resistance organization of the Greek people.

On the same pretext court proceedings have been instituted against *Avgi*, the newspaper of the United Democratic Left. The charge against the paper is that on the eve of the 23rd anniversary of EAM it printed an interview with Kostas Kolliannis, First Secretary of the Communist Party, paying tribute to the National Resistance and to the role of the CPG as the inspirer, organizer and leader of EAM, and also that on the anniversary, September 27, it carried articles and other material devoted to the struggle of the National Liberation Front.

The *Avgi* is being prosecuted on the strength of a law passed by the Karamanlis government in the summer of 1962 and which was denounced by many members of the present government, then in the opposition, as an exact copy of Hitler and Mussolini laws. And this prosecution is being staged at a time when the government is supposed to submit a Bill "On the Abolition of Emergency Measures."

Our people are waging a resolute struggle against the reactionary intrigues, against the continued reprisals, for genuine democratic renovation. The persecution of local councillors has evoked a vigorous nationwide solidarity movement. Many municipal and communal councils have voiced solidarity with the victimized mayors and councillors and demanded an end to the reprisals.

Public meetings are being held in Athens, Salonika and other cities to demonstrate the resolve of the people to prevent the return to power of the neo-fascists and demand radical measures to ensure a democratic renovation such as removing fascists from the administration and court circles; dissolution of the so-called central information service (KIP), of the conspiratorial fascist organization IDEA operating in the army, and the para-military armed detachments (TEA) in the countryside; dissolution of the terroristic neo-fascist organi-

zations; annulment of all fascist laws; legalization of the Communist Party and a general political amnesty.

The intensified reprisals and the growing activity of the reactionaries show that neo-fascism remains a threat even after the Rightists' electoral defeats. Hailing the resounding democratic victory of the people in the February 16 elections, the Central Committee of the CPG warned at the same time that the reactionaries would not lay down arms but would do their utmost to obstruct the democratic policy for which the people had voted. The CC

pointed out also that the carrying out of this policy was being seriously hampered by the inconsistent and vacillating attitude of the Center Union leadership. Recent events have confirmed the correctness of these warnings.

Among the people the realization is growing that a more vigorous struggle and stronger unity of the democratic forces are needed to foil the neo-fascist designs of the reactionaries and ensure the country's advance along the road of democracy and progress.

S. ALMIROS

GROUND BURNING UNDER THE AGGRESSORS' FEET

AT DAWN on October 15 Nguyen-van-Troi, a young South Vietnamese patriot, was executed in a Saigon prison. While the death warrant was issued by the Saigon military tribunal there are facts which indicate that the patriot was executed on orders from the U.S. Embassy.

Before his execution the young hero tore off the bandage with which the commander of the firing squad wanted to blindfold him and shouted: "Down with the U.S. imperialists!"

These words brought out once again the culprit really responsible for the tragedy of the people of South Vietnam—U.S. imperialism. The thousands of Vietnamese killed by the punitive expeditions and in clashes with the police, those killed by the napalm bombing, those shot in the prisons and concentration camps on court orders or even without trial—these crimes can be traced to U.S. imperialism, the real master of the servile ruling clique in South Vietnam.

Since the beginning in 1961 of their "undeclared war" against the people of South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists have guided the military operations and repressions, aiming to maintain at all costs their control over South Vietnam which the Pentagon considers to be vital in the struggle against the national-liberation movement in Southeast Asia.

Everything is subordinated to this goal, for the attainment of which the USA is spending half a billion dollars annually. It has flooded South Vietnam with arms and war materiel; it is constantly building up the strength of its military personnel and changing its discredited puppets. In the past year the puppet rulers have been changed three times, not to mention minor reshuffles and shifts. The people owed their power only to bayonets and the military aid of the Pentagon. Each began his career by issuing decrees intensifying the repressions against the patriots, by promising his Pentagon masters to extend the war against the patriots.

The military junta headed by Nguyen-ngoc-Tho and Zyong-van-Minh which succeeded Ngo Ding Diem sought to "improve" the legal system by . . . adding to the number of courts and reinforcing the penal system. Its rule lasted for only 90 days.

Scared by the success of the liberation forces, the U.S. rulers hurriedly replaced the junta with the "strong man"—General Nguyen Khanh, who a few days after assuming office outlawed political parties, groups, associations and individuals who support Communist ideology or favor the "neutralist thesis." Under his decree these organizations and individuals were charged with "endangering the security of the state."

Khanh was succeeded in office by the so-called "civilians."

The terror carried out by the various puppets is wholly in line with U.S. policy in South Vietnam, a policy aimed at physical extermination of the patriots who are foiling the designs to turn the country into a colony of U.S. imperialism. This was blatantly admitted by the U.S. *Gazette and Daily*. The more one ponders over the alarming course of events in South Vietnam, the paper commented, the more one realizes that the Pentagon and, no doubt, the CIA, have imposed on the White House a policy which has nothing in common with wisdom, decency and democracy. This view, the paper continued, is backed up by the news coming from South Vietnam showing that the accent is invariably placed on murder, which, in turn, demonstrates the character of the U.S. operations in that country. The aim of the U.S. policy in South Vietnam, the paper concluded, is to kill.

And kill they do. They killed Nguyen-van-Troi merely because he had fought on behalf of his people. They fired on a demonstration in Quang-ngai and Binh-dinh and ruthlessly bombed the Phu-hu'u district, killing or wounding over 500 civilians. On November 7 more than 100 tons of bombs were dropped on the civilian popula-

tion of Fuok Thanh in retaliation for the guerilla raid on the U.S. air base in Bien Hoa. The Saigon authorities are now preparing to kill another group of patriots—the student Le-hong-Tu' and his comrades.

The growing terror is yet another sign of the hopelessness of the position of the United States and its agents in South Vietnam. They cannot kill all the people. More and more people are joining in the struggle against them. The liberation movement is gaining in scale not only in the countryside but in the towns as well. Even the CIA chieftains are coming

to see that "victory" in South Vietnam is more than doubtful.

All the signs are that the patriot forces headed by the National Liberation Front are rendering impossible victory for the aggressors and their puppets; day after day the liberation army and guerrilla detachments strike fresh blows at them. The strength of the people of South Vietnam derives from the just character of their struggle, from the solidarity and support accorded them by progressive people everywhere.

I. SUMAR

STOP THE TERROR IN THE PHILIPPINES!

FOR EIGHTEEN years the Communist Party of the Philippines and the national-liberation movement of which it is a part have had to endure the most barbarous type of suppression and persecution.

Founded in 1930, when the Philippines was still a colonial possession of the United States, the CPP has been compelled to work almost continuously under conditions of illegality. It gained a broad mass base as the leader of the liberation struggle against Japanese fascist occupation during World War II. After the war, when together with other progressive forces it opposed the reimposition of American imperialist domination on the Philippines, it was treated with brutal mailed-fist policies of suppression.

To prevent the newly-independent Philippines from reverting to complete subjugation to American interests and their feudal-landlord allies, the national-liberation forces, suffering an absolute denial of civil liberties and constitutional rights, were forced to fight an armed struggle from 1946 to 1954, organized around the Hukbong Mapagpalayang Bayan (Army of National Liberation), or Huk movement. The Communist Party was in the forefront of this struggle and bore the brunt of military suppression that was organized, equipped and directed by a Joint United States Military Advisory Group.

Thousands of Filipino peasants, workers and intellectuals were tortured and slaughtered in the terror that accompanied the military suppression campaigns. The prisons and the detention camps were crowded with the arrested and captured adherents of the liberation movement.

Today, ten years after the imperialists claim to have suppressed the Huk movement, the political prisoners of that period continue to rot in the Philippine prisons. The most long-standing political prisoner cases are those of

a large group arrested in Manila in October 1950, and incarcerated ever since then. They were charged with an alleged crime of "rebellion complexed with murder, robbery, arson and kidnapping," a charge that is not contained in the Philippine Penal Code and that was concocted by army prosecutors to enable the handing out of the harshest "legal" penalties.

Six of this group (including the Communist peasant leaders Federico Maclang and Magno Bueno and the trade union leaders Ramon Espiritu and Honofre Mangila) were given death sentences.

In 1956, the Philippine Supreme Court declared that the charge of "rebellion complexed" was illegal, and that the Huks could be charged only with "simple rebellion," which carries a maximum penalty of twelve years' imprisonment. Yet the Huks arrested in 1950 remain confined with the sentences of death and of life imprisonment still applied to them.

When the Supreme Court rendered its decision, the Philippine Congress, dominated by landlords and at the behest of the Joint United States Military Advisory Group, hurriedly passed an Anti-Subversion Law on June 8, 1957, which formally outlawed the Communist Party "and any other organization having the same purpose and their successors." It provided for the death penalty and other heavy sentences for mere membership in the proscribed organizations.

Communists and Huks who since 1957 have been arrested, and who have not been shot "for trying to escape" or have not been tortured to death, have been charged under the Anti-Subversion Law. In August 1964, Casto Alejandrino, a Communist political bureau member, was sentenced to life imprisonment for "subversion."

In May 1964, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Dr. Jesus Lava, who had been underground for eighteen years, was ar-

rested in Manila and is now undergoing trial for "subversion." He faces a death penalty.

The Communists and other Huk political prisoners have been compelled to endure inhuman treatment in the Philippine prisons. They are denied privileges that are enjoyed by murderers and the worst criminals. Those confined with excessively long sentences have experienced periods of up to five years of solitary confinement. Constant cruelties and brain-washing attempts have been employed to force them to renounce the national-liberation aims of the movement, but these have failed to destroy their morale or their loyalty to principle.

Suppression of this type is maintained in the Philippines although the Communist Party has declared that the objective of complete liberation can be attained today not by resort to armed struggle but by legal, parliamentary means. Dr. Lava, at the time of his arrest last May, affirmed that the armed Huk units had in fact been dissolved. This position is based on the development in recent years of a broadened Philippine nationalist movement, which includes a growing industrial bourgeoisie as well as revived trade union, peasant, youth and intellectual groups with an anti-imperialist outlook.

Imperialism finds it increasingly difficult to keep the liberation forces suppressed. Today a new phase of the anti-imperialist struggle is

opening in the Philippines. Demands that the government abandon its pro-imperialist line are being made from many quarters, from Filipino industrial groups and their political spokesmen, from trade unions, from student organizations, and elsewhere. Primarily these are demands for a revision of all existing treaties and agreements with the United States. The many American military bases in the country and the unequal economic treaties that permit unhindered American imperialist plundering of the Philippines are in particular under attack.

In this situation, reactionary pro-imperialist circles fear the release of Communist leaders and other Huks from prison and are keeping them confined to prevent them from assuming their places in the developing national struggle.

The anti-imperialist movement in the Philippines has not infrequently suffered from international isolation. The continued suppressive policies could be checked if there were worldwide protests like those which have been effective in halting the persecutions of democrats in other countries. That is why we appeal to all the forces of peace, democracy and progress in the world to render a great contribution to Philippine freedom by coming to the aid of the Filipino patriots and by demanding the release of all political prisoners and an end to the brutal policy of suppression.

Jorge MARAVILLA

Reviews

Lives Dedicated to Struggle

AMONG the books treating of the ideals that animate Marxist-Leninists, their moral make-up and their contribution to their Party, their people and mankind generally, the volume of biographical essays put out by the Soviet Science Publishers under the title *Lives Dedicated to Struggle* occupies a special place.*

It tells the story of Communists in many countries, Marxist-Leninists of different generations: Ernst Thaelmann, Chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, who was executed in 1944 by the Hitler fascists; Laida Lamrani, the Algerian Communist who was killed fighting against the French colonialists; Galo Gonzalez Dias, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, whose health was shattered by long years of imprisonment; Manovar Musso, founder of the Communist Party of Indonesia, who gave his life for the freedom of his country; Vilfrido Alvarez Jara, leader of the Paraguayan Communists, killed by the dictator's police. These courageous fighters are no longer with us, yet they continue to live on, for they and their comrades blazed the trail for the international brotherhood of all Communists.

Equally distinguished members of this brotherhood were Kyuichi Tokuda, General Secretary of the Japanese Communist Party, the Mexican Communist and peasant leader Ruben Jaramillo, Giuseppe di Vittorio, prominent figure in the Italian and international trade union movement, the Iranian Communists Colonel Ezatullah Hosseine Siamak and Captain Khosrov Rouzbeh, who headed an underground organization in Iran.

What these men, despite superficial dissimilarities, shared in common was loyalty to their revolutionary ideals and to the principles of proletarian internationalism, their modesty and the life of hardship and sacrifice they chose. Many of them died under torture or were felled by enemy bullets. They knew what awaited them when they chose their path. But in none of them was there a trace of the halo of martyrdom or of the cult of self-sacrifice. On the contrary, zest for life and intense humanity were characteristic of all of them. They fought desperately for their lives, and they tried hard to avoid useless, meaningless sacrifice. But they could not conceive of renouncing their convic-

tions or betraying their comrades in order to save their own lives.

Those who knew Octavio Reyes, the Guatemalan Communist, will never forget that gay, impetuous, dynamic personality or his wry, gentle humor, that gift so essential to the underground worker in adversity. And here is how a fellow-prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp describes Julien Lahaut, former Chairman of the Belgian Communist Party: "His pockets always seemed to be full of sunshine, and he managed to impart something of his own warmth to everyone" (p. 74).

Many of those to whom the book is devoted were subjected to the hardest trials of all for any revolutionary—false witness borne against them by renegades and adventurers who at one time held leading posts in their own parties. To experience this ordeal and not to lose faith in one's party comrades, to be able to open the eyes of the erring to their mistakes and to win through to the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas—this could be achieved only by men passionately and profoundly convinced that they were in the right, by men who placed the interests of the people, the interests of the working class, above all else, who saw the Party as a fraternity of like-minded people and not as the blind instrument of some divine personality.

The book shows how Julien Lahaut, as Communist member of the Liege City Council, charged by sectarians with Social Democratic deviations and threatened with expulsion from the Party, courageously upheld the policy of unity with the Socialists against the fascist danger and won his point. We see how Salaam Adel, the future First Secretary of the Iraqi Communist Party, led his comrades in intra-Party struggle to put an end to dictatorial methods of leadership and factionalism and to restore genuine democratic, Marxist-Leninist standards of Party life.

Being romantics in the best sense of the term, and pursuing aims worthy of the boldest flights of imagination, the Communists at the same time display a sober realism when charting the path to their noble goal. That is why they are obliged to fight a dual battle—against those who tend to lose sight of the goal and against those who spread illusions instead of pointing the way to the difficult but only sure road to the achievement of the Communist

**Lives Dedicated to Struggle*. Science Publishers, Moscow, 1964. 673 pp.

ideal. For example, the book tells of the struggle waged by Ajoy Ghosh against the sectarians in the Communist Party of India, who declared India's political independence a "fiction" and called for the immediate overthrow of the government of the national bourgeoisie.

Urging the unity of all the national patriotic forces, Ajoy Ghosh wrote: "If the party wants to move forward it must root out sectarianism and adventurism. And this can only be done if we cast aside the tendency to exaggerate its influence, if we put an end once and for all to the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist substitution of wishful thinking for real facts." (P. 188.) Thanks to the efforts of Ghosh and other Marxist-Leninists the Indian Party was able to evolve a genuinely revolutionary political line and become an influential national force.

Sincerity and simplicity are the hallmark of the Communist. The Spanish Communist leader Julian Grimau, his widow recalls, could not abide flattery. "Never in all the years that I knew him did I ever hear him flatter anyone. It went against the grain with him. Julian held that everyone gives his best to the cause, that that is why he joins the Party."

But strict adherence to principles, intolerance of alien concepts and directness have nothing in common with drill-ground discipline or inflexibility and still less with "commandism."

A friend of Benito Gonzalez, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, speaks of the modesty and selflessness of this man. "His quiet tone, and his weighty, convincing arguments had a much greater effect on people than reproaches," the Portuguese Communists recall. Another quality of the Communist is consideration for his comrades, his concern for others, his readiness to help anyone in need, regardless of party affiliation or personal likes or dislikes.

Communist ethics, on which the attitude of Marxist-Leninists to one another and to all their fellowmen are founded may be said to

anticipate the ethical standards of the future Communist society.

International brotherhood, proletarian internationalism are intrinsic qualities of the Communist, of all Marxist-Leninists. As the conscious vanguard of the international working class, the Communists express its sentiment and its emotions, its esteem for the first victorious revolution which ushered in the era of communism on our planet. This was cogently expressed by Syoichi Ichikawa, or the Japanese Dimitrov as the workers affectionately called him. "Their class instinct tells the Japanese workers that the Russian proletariat is the brother of the Japanese proletariat from whom one should learn and from whose struggle one should draw inspiration. . ." (P. 644.)

Communists all over the world appreciated the revolutionizing impact of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU on the international working-class movement. Answering the charges of Chilean reactionaries that the Chilean Party at its Tenth Congress had decided to adopt "the new Moscow slogans," Galo Gonzalez Dias, late General Secretary of the Party, declared: "We shall pay no heed to this uproar. Today as before our Party is guided exclusively by its own decisions. But its ideology is Marxism-Leninism."

These men whose lives were a record of courage died for the sake of the triumph of their international ideals, for the happiness of the working people. An earnest of that triumph is the unity of the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

These profiles of Communists who continued the cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin, the great cause for which tens of thousands of Marxist-Leninists have lived and died, will be an inspiration to all builders of the new society, all who are combating capitalist oppression everywhere.

—I. KIZHIN

Understanding of the Past — the Key to the Future

THIS comparatively slim volume* by a veteran of the international Communist movement consists of four chapters, or rather, lectures delivered by R. Palme Dutt in the spring of 1962 at Moscow University on the occasion of his being awarded an honorary degree of

Doctor of History: 1. *History and Truth*. 2. *The Cold War*. 3. *Delay of the Socialist Revolution in the West*. 4. *Marxism and Socialism in Britain*.

With Scientific Foresight

"Contemporary history," Palme Dutt notes, "is the most important history of all to handle."

*R. Palme Dutt. *Problems of Contemporary History*. Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1963, 128 pp.

If it is correct to say that social development is determined by history, then even more so does the recent past determine the immediate future; the latter logically springs from the former. And consequently, a correct understanding of contemporary developments is the key to developments awaiting us in the near future. That, the author observes, is why the founders of Marxism attached so much importance to a study of contemporary history; they believed that it alone enables one to concretize scientific foresight which rests on a knowledge of the general sociological and economic laws of social development. Their writings, as for example *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, *The Civil War in France* and others to this day serve as examples of contemporary historical research. As the author points out, "the gift of foresight is only the counterpart of the understanding of history."

Palme Dutt's book least of all resembles a chronicle of events interspersed with comments and observations by the author. But the absence of exhaustive treatment of one or another event is more than compensated by the profound Marxist analysis of the basic processes that are changing the face of the modern world: the historical consequences of the Second World War, the rise and consolidation of the socialist system, the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, the growth of the international working-class and Communist movement, the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, etc.

The study of history, the author maintains, is not an end in itself; alongside the scientific understanding of the natural world, it is essential to make man the master of his destiny. "And it is here," he goes on, "that history has its indispensable part to play, not as an idle picture of vanished events (though the narrative of these events can also fulfil its artistic role in stimulating the imagination and widening our horizons); nor in the old primitive would-be practical conception of teaching by examples from the past (for history never repeats itself); but by deepening our understanding to chart the course of mankind's development and therefore to help to teach the art of navigation."

Bankruptcy of the Cold War

Turning to the history of the cold war, the author convincingly refutes the inventions of the bourgeois ideologists and their efforts to justify their postwar military blocs and the armaments drive by invoking "aggressive actions" by the Soviet Union. The book cites documents and statements by political leaders and the Western capitalist press which prove to the hilt that the cold war was conceived and

virtually launched when "... it was realized by the West that the expected destruction of the Soviet Union by the Nazi military machine had failed to come off ...". Anti-Soviet propaganda in the West, the author notes, took over the basic points and arguments of the Hitler propaganda. And, he ironically observes, if Western politicians and writers had to pay royalties for the use of borrowed slogans and catchwords then the shade of Goebbels would by now be the wealthiest shade in Hades.

The senselessness and bankruptcy of the cold war policy, Palme Dutt shows, followed from the groundlessness of the basic calculations of U.S. state-monopoly capital. This policy was powerless to prevent the change in the balance of forces between the two systems on a world scale. And the realization that it is leading its advocates into the political wilderness is beginning to dawn even among the top leaders in the West. "Although the cold war does not yet belong to the historical record," the author says, "the history of the cold war is important in order to help in understanding the present world situation ... The outcome of the battle of the peoples of the world for general and complete disarmament, for the ending of the cold war and for peaceful co-existence has still to be finally determined on the stage of history."

The "Delay" of the Revolution in the West

One must possess real theoretical confidence to pose so bluntly the question why the socialist revolution in the West has been so tardy and to furnish a clear and authoritative reply. The difficulty is not, as bourgeois ideologists maintain, that this is a question to which Marxists cannot find the answer; after all it is easier to explain why something happened in history than to explain why something did not take place.

Still, what is the reason for the delay in the proletarian revolution in the developed capitalist countries of the West? For years past this matter has been the object of the most shameless speculation on the part of all anti-Marxists. In their view, as Palme Dutt comments with dry humor, "the entire world development over the past half century, the extension of socialism over one-third of the world and the extension of national liberation, represent not the triumphant vindication of Marxism, but an outcome completely contrary to all the expectations and predictions of Marx and a powerful disproof of his theories." And it may be safely predicted that when socialism eventually triumphs on the scale of the world, its ideological opponents will continue to console themselves by asserting that all this is "against the rules" and even "in spite of Marxism."

In reality, he continues, the course of the world socialist revolution fully accords with the theory of scientific communism; the only thing it disproves is the distorted, narrow concept of Marxism fostered by the bourgeois ideologists and reformists. And, drawing on the historical facts he shows briefly and convincingly the futility of attempting to ascribe to Marxism the proposition that the socialist revolution must necessarily begin in the more developed industrial countries of the West and precede the national liberation of the oppressed peoples.

Dwelling on the reasons for the delay of the socialist revolution in Western Europe and North America, the author points to such factors as the temporary solution of some of the contradictions of capitalism through the exploitation of colonies, the division in the ranks of the working class, the betrayal of Marxism by the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties, the tenacity of a bourgeois, and also a trade-union, outlook among the workers, the anti-Communist propaganda and social demagoguery generally, the new role played by the capitalist state, etc.

Appraisal of Colonialism

However, it seems to this reviewer at any rate that the book suggests that the revolution in the West could not take place so long as the colonial system remained. For example, the author tends to absolutize the point made by Marx (in a resolution of the General Council of the First International) that an independent Ireland was a condition for the emancipation of the British working class, and to extend this to the relationship between the national-liberation movement in the colonies and the socialist revolution in the metropolitan countries. "Thus Marx's final developed view," Palme Dutt writes, "was that the victory of national liberation of the peoples subject to British capitalism would precede the victory of the working class in Britain, and create the conditions for the emancipation of the working class in Britain from their subjection to capitalism and for their advance to socialism."

True, Palme Dutt emphatically rejects any interpretation of his remarks that would suggest that there can be no socialist struggle in the metropolitan country so long as it possesses colonies. "Does this analysis mean that the workers of these countries (developed capitalist countries.—E.A.) can only passively await the final downfall of the colonial system and victory of national liberation of all the peoples oppressed by imperialism before they can hope to advance to their own social and economic liberation at the end of the queue of advancing socialist countries? This would be a fantastic

distortion of the profound teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the social roots of opportunism in Western imperialist countries and the consequent character of the battle of the revolutionary workers of these countries."

Now that the national-liberation movement of oppressed peoples has led to the disintegration of colonial empires while the hour of proletarian revolution in the capitalist West has not yet struck, the problem of the sequence in time at first glance appears to belong to the realm of idle speculation. This, however, is not so. The heart of the matter is not so much whether there was a real chance of having a successful socialist revolution in the advanced countries of the West in the past, as whether the conditions are ripe for the revolution now and since when this has been the case.

Palme Dutt is unquestionably right in stressing that the exploitation of the colonial and dependent countries enabled the imperialist bourgeoisie to bribe a section of the working class in the parent countries, and to inculcate chauvinistic sentiment. But the possession of colonies is but one of the causes influencing the subjective factor, the political consciousness and level of organization of the working class; this influence can be both intensified and neutralized by other causes. The insufficient political maturity of the working people in the capitalist West was not directly due to the existence of colonies as such, but to the relatively higher standard of living as compared with other countries. That is why the success of the socialist countries in the peaceful competition with capitalism, as the author correctly points out, will stimulate revolutionary ardor and socialist consciousness in the West.

Self-determination for the oppressed nations is a democratic demand which, as Lenin proved theoretically and the October Revolution confirmed in practice, can be realized also after the victory of the working class, depending on the circumstances.

Socialism—The Only Alternative

The delay of the socialist revolution in the West, the author continues, does not mean that the working class of the advanced capitalist countries has become any the less revolutionary or that it has become reconciled to capitalist rule. History does not stand still in the West either. It is enough to compare the state of the labor movement there at the beginning of the century and today to see the immense social, economic and political gains secured by the working class in the West.

Analyzing the prospects for the socialist revolution in the West, and primarily in Britain, Palme Dutt demonstrates the groundlessness and absurdity of the claim that Marxism is out

of date, that is it inapplicable to the economically developed countries. Marxism will win over the working masses and socialism will eventually take the place of capitalism in the West too, he maintains, for there is no other alternative. Quoting Marx's words that on the scale of world history twenty years can be the equivalent of a single day, and vice versa, Dutt concludes that given the present rate of world development we have every ground for hoping that in the West too we may soon see the coming of "days in which twenty years are embodied." This historical optimism of the Communists, their confidence in the triumph of the socialist society all over the world, he

opposes to the pessimistic ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie whose faith in the future is steadily diminishing.

"The weapon of Marxism," he declares, "is the truth. The enemy seeks to win his temporary victories by mystification and lies. We alone in the modern world are never afraid of the truth. There is no fact so terrible, so cruel or so bitter that we cannot face it as it is, without concealment or embellishment." A knowledge of history, and especially modern history, enables the Communists not only to glimpse the future but to bring it nearer.

E. ARAB-OGLY

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WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

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