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WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

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OF PEACE AND
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50 YEARS AGO, on May 5, 1912, the first issue of **Pravda**, the Russian workers' daily founded by Lenin, came off the press. The **Pravda** jubilee is celebrated by the working-class press throughout the world. For the past 50 years **Pravda** has played a noble part in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and in transmitting the revolutionary experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the international Communist and Workers' movement. On the occasion of the anniversary we send fraternal greetings and best wishes to **Pravda**.

Editorial Board, **World Marxist Review**.

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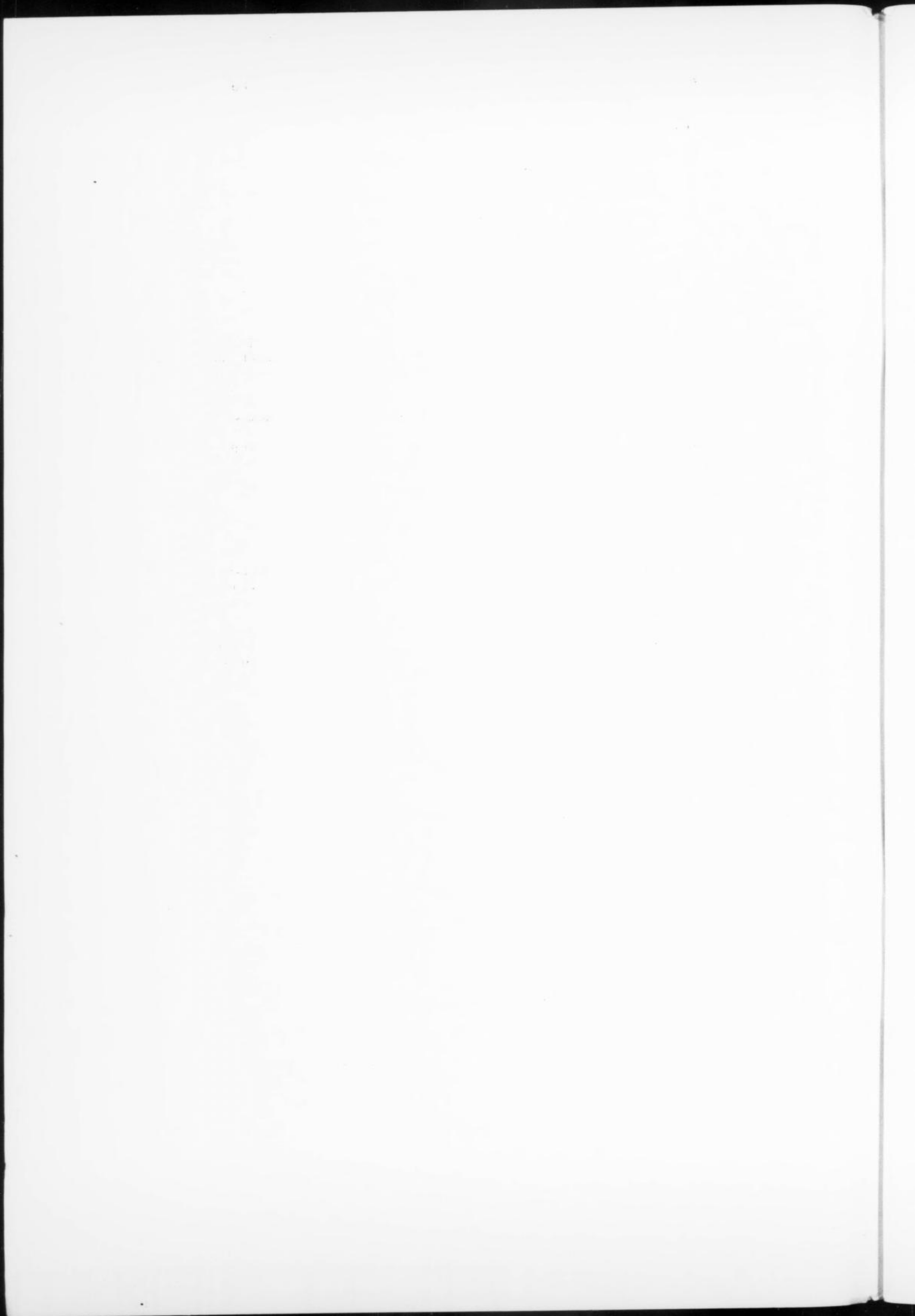
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The Cease-Fire in Algeria

AS THESE lines are being written, another momentous date has been inscribed in the annals of the worldwide liberation movement. ON MARCH 18, 1962, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE ALGERIAN REPUBLIC AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, MEETING IN EVIAN, SIGNED A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT. This is not a temporary respite, not a mere interruption of hostilities. This is the actual end of the "second dirty war" waged by French imperialism, official confirmation of the victory of the Algerian liberation movement and the defeat of the colonialists.

The story of the Algerian war, which lasted 2,695 days, is known to the whole world. On November 1, 1954, the Algerian people, having exhausted every peaceful avenue, began their armed struggle for freedom. With a savagery defying description, the colonialists sought to drown the national-liberation movement in blood. The French rulers, supported by other NATO powers and in particular the U.S. imperialists, stopped at nothing: 800,000 troops and police were despatched to Algeria, everything, from the Navy to fighter and bomber forces using napalm bombs, was thrown against the freedom-fighters. But unity gave the Algerian people the strength which the imperialists were unable to overcome. More than that, the imperialists had to give up their policy of "pacification" by force and agree to negotiate, as the Algerian Provisional Government and patriotic organizations had insisted from the outset. This confirmed once again the indubitable fact that in our time all problems, even the most complex, arising between countries can effectively be solved by negotiation.

Now the imperialist propagandists, in an effort to conceal from the peoples the colonialist defeat, are trying to credit peace in Algeria to de Gaulle and his "liberal" policy. What mendacity!

The meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow in November 1960 correctly stated: "The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting."

The Evian accord is a severe defeat for imperialism. Basically it is the result of the

heroic battles fought by the National Liberation Army and their close link with the actions of the masses—a link the importance of which the Algerian Communist Party has always stressed. An invaluable role was played by the powerful and steadily growing protest demonstrations of the progressive forces in France headed by the Communist Party, the only party which, true to the principles of proletarian internationalism, condemned the colonial war from the very beginning and supported the just national demands of the Algerian people. Lastly, the active solidarity of the peoples of the whole world, and especially of the socialist countries, the Arab peoples and the young states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, brought effective pressure to bear on the French government.

The success of the Algerian liberation struggle was largely due also to the present world situation, which is marked by the growing preponderance of the forces of the socialist camp, of the forces of peace. The policy of peace and peaceful coexistence consistently pursued by the socialist countries and supported by millions elsewhere hampered the aggressive actions of the colonialists and facilitated the liberation struggle, while the Algerian people's fight for national independence in turn weakened the imperialists and thereby contributed to the general struggle for peace. And not only was the freedom-fighters' cause advanced by the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence; they also enjoyed the political and material support of the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union. Is this not further proof that the policy of peaceful coexistence and disarmament, far from hindering the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, helps it whatever form it may take?

It was the combination of these factors that led to the defeat of the French colonialists—a defeat which obliterated all the colonialist slogans of the "Algeria is France" type which was the French rulers' war-cry ever since they first subjugated Algeria, and especially after 1954.

The example of Algeria brings home to the peoples still fighting for freedom that with the present balance of world forces favoring

peace, freedom and progress, they, too, can compel the imperialists to respect the sacred right of nations to self-determination. This example is incontrovertible proof that every attempt on the part of imperialism to preserve the moribund colonial system is doomed to utter failure.

For the Algerian people the cease-fire is an historic event, a landmark on the way to complete freedom. After 132 years of colonial oppression, a French government for the first time has conceded in the course of official negotiations with representatives of the Algerian Provisional Government that the establishment of an "independent and sovereign state" corresponds to "Algerian reality." Now Algerian statehood, which the French colonialists thought had been ended forever by their victory over Emir Abdelkader in 1847, is on the eve of political and juridical restoration and genuine regeneration. By signing the Evian accords, the colonialists, as the Algerian Communist Party declared in a statement issued on March 27, "officially recognized the independence of Algeria and the unity of its people and territory, i.e., *the first and foremost demand of the liberation movement.*"

It should be borne in mind, however, that the cease-fire does not signify that either peace or national independence has already been achieved in Algeria. The Evian agreements do not provide for the *immediate* satisfaction of *all* the demands of the Algerian people. The independence they proclaim is not complete, inasmuch as French imperialism retains on Algerian territory strategic positions serving its aggressive aims as well as the aims of its NATO allies—positions which it will try to use against the countries of Africa and the socialist camp. Algeria's independence is still incomplete also because of the important economic positions retained by the French government, in particular the right to exploit the country's natural resources. This economic foothold benefits the monopolies, which, in fact, the French government represents. Moreover, the French rulers are out to obstruct the implementation of a far-reaching agrarian reform so vitally important for Algeria.

The Evian accord is a compromise corresponding to the present balance of forces in Algeria. The colonialists proved unable to break the will of the people. On the other hand, owing to the means at the disposal of the enemy and the conditions in which the war had to be fought, the Algerian people

could not achieve complete military victory. In the light of this situation, the Algerian Communist Party more than a year ago foresaw the possibility of a compromise. At that time the Algerian Communists declared that they advocated neither an "all or nothing" policy nor "peace at all costs." Instead they conceded the possibility of a positive compromise, i.e., a compromise which would not be an obstacle to the eventual achievement of complete freedom. The facts of life have proved this view correct.

The Algerians fought for independence and a democratic and social republic. The Evian accord as such does not ensure the achievement of these goals, but it may pave the way to them, provided the people remain prepared for action, are more than ever on their guard, broaden their political struggle and rally behind the Provisional Government and its National Liberation Army.

If the Evian accord is observed strictly and unconditionally, freedom, security and rule of law will soon be established in Algeria, and both individual citizens and patriotic organizations will be able freely to express their will in the coming referendum. There is no doubt that the Algerians will reaffirm their resolve to achieve the aims for which they fought for so many years and for which they sacrificed so much: national independence and a democratic and social republic.

The Algerian Communist Party knows, however, that the nature of imperialism does not change. The people still have formidable obstacles to overcome especially in the interim between the cease-fire and the self-determination referendum (when it will take place has not yet been decided). The fight against French imperialism is not over; it goes on in new forms and in new conditions.

The most serious obstacles on the way to peace and freedom are the fascists of the OAS who, hoping to prolong colonial rule and to prevent peace, are trying to intimidate the people and to torpedo the cease-fire agreement. In order to put an end to OAS lawlessness the Algerian patriots are working to cement national unity, broadening mass action, and patiently explaining to the non-Algerian working people that it is in their interests to crush the OAS and join with Algerians in building a free Algeria. Although the OAS has the backing of fascist elements in many Western European countries it would not be a menace and the Algerian people could easily stamp it out were it not for the open support it gets to this day from pro-

fascist army officers and the Gaullist authorities both in Algeria and in France. The complicity of the latter makes it imperative not only to fight the OAS assassins but also to keep a watchful eye on the maneuvers of the de Gaulle government—the government of the monopolies.

The OAS imperils both peace in Algeria and the democratic forces in France and Western Europe. It has become an important factor aggravating international tension. Hence the fight against the OAS is the concern not only of the Algerians but of all freedom-loving peoples, and primarily the people of France.

When progressive France, headed by the Communist Party, voted for peace in Algeria in the April 8 referendum, they also demonstrated their resolve to put an end to the OAS and to demand of the government strict adherence to the Evian accord.

People all over the world know that the struggle of the Algerians was a major contribution to the general movement for national liberation and extirpation of the colonial system. It created serious difficulties for French imperialism, and this in turn facilitates the struggle for independence waged by many countries, particularly in Africa. The peoples know also that the Evian accord abolished a seat of war and thereby contributed much to

the cause of world peace and peaceful coexistence. Hence they are closely following developments in Algeria, standing as solidly with her people as they did during the years of war.

At the present stage of the struggle, when Algeria's need for staunch support is especially great, her people particularly welcome the de jure recognition of their Provisional Government by the government of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. This initiative, which so displeased de Gaulle that he recalled his Ambassador from Moscow, highlights the unity of the national-liberation movement and the socialist camp in the struggle against their common enemy—imperialism.

As the Algerian Communist Party stated in its declaration of March 27, 1962, "in the present international situation, which is characterized by the natural alliance between the socialist camp and the national-liberation movement and by the steady progress of the forces of peace, there are no obstacles that can prevent our people from achieving the democratic, social and economic aims of the Algerian revolution."

The Evian accord is an important step in this direction.

Moustapha SADOON

The Way to Trade Union Unity

ON MAY DAY the mighty voice of the international working class, of the hundreds of millions of men and women of labor, will again resound throughout the world. Today this voice is even more powerful than in previous years. For the struggle against monopoly capital and colonialism, for better conditions, democracy and progress, peace and national independence, has gathered momentum. Further gains have been registered, due in no small degree to the growing unity and international solidarity of the working people. Indeed, the need for solidarity is now greater than ever, what with supra-national monopoly organizations being set up and new methods of exploitation devised. Moreover, with the monopolies in the saddle in the imperialist countries doing their utmost to add to world tension, it is on the international proletariat—the greatest social force of our time—that the task of preventing a nuclear

world war devolves. Clearly, the proletarian unity so urgently needed can best be cemented by the mass organizations of the working people, and primarily by the trade unions.

There are, however, differing views on the matter. Not merely differences of opinion on how to achieve unity but different interpretations of the concept of solidarity and unity. This is evident from the controversy between the international trade union centers.

The leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, for instance, insist on a bigoted, sectarian concept actually aimed at disrupting unity. To this end they resort to two closely connected arguments. First, that it is impossible to come to an agreement with the World Federation of Trade Unions since, as ICFTU General Secretary Omer Becu declared in an article published in the Confederation's official publication

(Nos. 137-138), it belongs to the "Eastern bloc" and the majority of its affiliated organizations are part of a "monolithic governmental structure." According to Becu, in the WFTU as distinct from the ICFTU, there is no "independence or differences of aim or orientation."

Second, the ICFTU leaders hold that international solidarity is misinterpreted and undermined by those trade union leaders and organizations in Africa, Latin America and elsewhere who, with the support of the WFTU, are working to establish autonomous, "neutral" trade union centers.

The fallacy of the two arguments is obvious. It is common knowledge that the WFTU is the only international trade union center uniting working people in countries with differing social systems. The different conditions in which they find themselves naturally result in differences of orientation and aims between the various national sections. (This, of course, does not preclude common aims, such as the fight for peace and disarmament, which, regrettably enough, are ignored by the ICFTU leaders.) The reformist union chiefs dislike the WFTU precisely because it consistently adheres to positions of class struggle and stands for independent working-class action.

Omer Becu labels the WFTU as "monolithic" obviously in order to persuade people that the trade unions affiliated to it are not in a position to take independent decisions. This is a complete distortion of reality. Everybody knows that the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions convened by the WFTU was marked by a lively debate, which even the capitalist newspapers could not but note. These papers had hoped to make political capital out of the congress, but, to their bitter disappointment, the debate only cemented the ranks of the WFTU. Lastly, it is generally known that not only the 119.5 million members of the WFTU but also 23.5 million members of other organizations, including those affiliated with the ICFTU, were represented at this congress. How then, can anyone posing as a champion of the international solidarity of the working people ignore, as the ICFTU leaders do, the powerful and decisive force represented by the WFTU, or even more so, seek to ostracize it?

Moreover, if the WFTU were not an independent organization, one would think that international trade union unity—the unity of working people of different views and ideologies—would only free it from "subordination"

(the word is Omer Becu's) and ensure its independence. Why, then, are the ICFTU leaders so obdurately opposed to unity? Their arguments, clearly, are boomeranging.

And how sincere are the ICFTU's protestations of independence? Is it not an indication of its subordination to a certain bloc that it should condemn another bloc and anathematize the WFTU simply because it has remained true to the principle that unions should be class organizations? Is it not a sign of subordination that the ICFTU has been integrated into the capitalist system, that it has become an element of this system? More, Omer Becu and his supporters are opposed to autonomous trade unions, which even the anti-communists are reluctant to accuse of being "subordinated" to anyone or belonging to any bloc. Obviously the ICFTU leaders do not want genuine "independence and differences of aim and orientation." In their opinion, unity can be achieved only within the ICFTU. Clearly, this viewpoint—and it is basic to their policy—betrays a desire to perpetuate the division in the ranks of the working class.

The diametrically opposed concept of unity—the dogmatic concept—leads to similar conclusions. Taking the correct thesis that it is in the interests of the working people to consolidate the WFTU, the dogmatists distort this thesis, saying that whoever is outside the WFTU is against the working people and for the bourgeoisie. In other words, unity becomes possible only when everybody joins the WFTU.

That the dogmatic concept is divorced from life, and hence pernicious, is obvious. And not in trade union activity alone. In the political and ideological spheres, too, dogmatism distorts reality, interprets viewpoints arbitrarily, fails to see the inner distinctions and contradictions in the capitalist countries, ignores the trends engendered and fostered by the class struggle, by-passes the new phenomena arising from the changing situation, and artificially divides the international working class and its organizations into two hostile, unchanging camps. The dogmatists refuse to see that the support accorded the reformist trade unions by many workers, and in general the influence of reformism in the labor movement, is not a permanent condition, but one that can be changed, provided the correct policy is pursued, and a revolutionary consciousness corresponding to their class interests awakened in the sections of the working class influenced by reformism. Dogmatic poli-

cy is apt to miss the mark, and, indeed, as often as not fails to strike at the real enemies of the working-class movement.

Experience shows that the trade union movement, now a powerful force everywhere, is developing along different and distinct lines in each of the three groups of countries with different socio-economic conditions—the socialist, the capitalist, and the countries which have already overthrown the colonial yoke or those still fighting to do so. There are, then, some grounds for difference between the programs of the various national trade union centers. It is necessary to take this into account and to discern—and this the ICFTU and dogmatists fail to do—the positive elements in the growing striving towards unity on a class and anti-imperialist basis which has already found expression in Africa in the All-African Trade Union Federation and is rapidly developing in Latin America. The WFTU, quite correctly, has taken a positive attitude to this process.

The working-class movement remains disunited in the developed capitalist countries, for instance, of Western Europe, in many of which unions affiliated to the ICFTU and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions hold almost exclusive sway. But there, too, there are positive elements. As the major working-class actions of recent years have shown, the rank and file is evincing a powerful striving towards unity, a striving dictated by the need to frustrate the efforts of the splitters to subordinate the workers' movement to the capitalist system. The program of action adopted by the recent Fifth Congress of the WFTU correctly points out that

"within the ICFTU and the ICCTU and especially in the autonomous trade union organizations there are substantial forces ready to work for unity."

The non-dogmatic approach requires that we, the Communists, proceed from the facts of life in working for united action and bear in mind that genuine, not formal, unity cannot be achieved by adhering to a hard and fast pattern laid down for all situations and all times. The times have changed, and so has the balance of forces. These changes are compelling capitalism to seek new ways of clinging to its privileges. Hence the emergence of new contradictions and new conditions of struggle.

To defeat dogmatism and build working-class unity it is essential to pay special attention to elaborating national working-class programs which would take into account the concrete situation in each country. This would create the prerequisites for trade union unity on a national scale, without which there can be no genuine international solidarity.

In these circumstances the role of the Communists in the trade union movement is greatly enhanced. By their uncompromising attitude to the class enemies, by their struggle against the opportunist theory and practice of class collaboration, on the one hand, and against dogmatism and sectarianism, on the other, they will lay the groundwork for unity of action by the members of trade unions adhering to various political views, and also for all-round international working-class unity.

M. RICO

A Political Blind Alley

THAT anti-communism is a thankless policy is no new discovery. No amount of legerdemain can save its advocates from a political impasse. A case in point is the so-called Socialist People's Party in Denmark headed by the renegade Aksel Larsen.

Three years ago, when Larsen and a handful of supporters decided to set up their own party, they issued a "program declaration" brimming with self-praise. The new party was to be neither more nor less than a "party of regeneration" which would transform Denmark into a socialist country in a short time. Evidently taking due note of the sad experience of the Right-wing Social Democrats who

are losing support to no small extent because of their rejection of Marxism, the leaders of the new "party of regeneration" claim to be Marxists. What is more, they claim to be the only true Marxists in Denmark.

The promises, then, were sweeping. Time, however, has shown that the policy of the new Party is simply the common or garden type of opportunism and anti-communism.

The promised "regeneration" has boiled down to parliamentary bickering, backroom deals and open support of reactionary legislation, such as the bills providing for tax increases and cuts in student benefits.

The promised fight for socialist reforms has

become a philistine exaltation of the bourgeois Parliament. Following the classical revisionist pattern, the leaders of the new party do not even mention the possibility of the working class winning political power. Instead of struggle for power they speak of "coordinating the economic, political and trade union factors."

Vows of "loyalty" to Marxism are accompanied by slander of the socialist countries—that there are restrictions on freedom in the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Union's defense measures are the cause of the arms race, that the German Democratic Republic was responsible for the heightening of tension in the autumn of 1961, etc. In effect this smear campaign is a rehash of the calumny poured out by bourgeois propaganda.

The organizers of the Socialist People's Party evidently counted on creating a new effective instrument for disrupting working-class unity. Obviously the assumption was that by manipulating with different slogans for essentially the same ends as the Right-wing Social Democrats, they would be able to prevent the spread of progressive trends in Denmark. These hopes, however, have not been realized. Left sentiment is spreading. There is a growing resistance to Denmark's joining the Common Market, the protest movement against the government's tax policy is gaining strength, and the peace movement, in particular the fight against nuclear armaments and a joint Danish-West German military command, is gaining ground.

The leaders of the Socialist People's Party

claim it is gaining strength. Right now they are trying to make the most of the fact that its candidates won 32 seats in the recent municipal elections. But they "forget" to add that their vote was only 5 per cent of the total as against 6.14 per cent in the 1960 general election.

That talk about the "strengthening" of the Party is false is evident also from the situation in its own ranks. For instance, despite the pressure tactics employed by Larsen, who even threatened to resign the chairmanship, its last congress rejected the declaration of principles and aims submitted by the leaders—so obvious was the revisionist essence of the document. Many members are now criticizing the behind-the-scenes intrigues and the deals with bourgeois politicians. There was also opposition at the congress to the anti-communist line of the leadership, and, in particular, to the ban on cooperation with the Communists.

Forces resolved to uphold the national interest and to wage a genuine fight for peace and progress are asserting themselves. Their vanguard is the Communist Party, which is working for unity of action as the starting point for a genuine regeneration of political and social life.

As for the revisionist leaders of the Socialist People's Party they are bogged down in the anti-communist morass. And although they still pay lip-service to the "regeneration" of Danish politics, ever fewer people are taken in by their deceit. *Svend ANDERSEN*

Among Our Contributors

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The Program of the CPSU and the Perspectives of Capitalism in Britain

John Gollan

THE Program of the CPSU has not only charted the road to communism. Its analysis of the present stage of the crisis of capitalism is of tremendous significance for the world communist movement. The position in the capitalist countries, the Program points out, is marked by the increasing deep contradictions facing monopoly capitalism, the decay of its economic and political system, of its politics and ideology; and on the other hand, the growth of the forces of democracy and socialism. All this is fully borne out when examining the present trends in British capitalism and in the British working-class movement.

Britain, the oldest imperialist power, is very much the center of all the contradictions of the general crisis of capitalism. The decline of imperialism, noted in the Program, is most marked in Britain. It lost its leading position after the First World War. Now, sixteen years after the Second World War, caught up in the American dominated NATO cold war alliance, it faces its most acute problems.

In essence the central issue of strategy facing British monopoly capitalism is the attempt to re-assert its world imperialist position when the historical conditions for this have long since disappeared.

Four major and contradictory results flow from this:

First, the attempt to maintain London as an imperialist financial center in opposition to United States and West German finance capital, in fact, leads to increasing political and military capitulation to its rivals. Despite the imperialist unity against the socialist world, as the Program notes, the inter-imperialist antagonisms do not soften, but grow. The traditional structure of the sterling bloc and the Commonwealth preferences is threatened with radical change or complete obliteration by entry into the Common Market.

Secondly, the combination of these factors with the increasing strain of the contradictory military burdens arising from the NATO nuclear strategy and the colonial military commitments is leading to virtual economic stagnation. Despite limited advances here and there, as the Program states, monopoly capitalism has in the final analysis doomed bourgeois society to low rates of production growth.

Thirdly, monopoly concentration in Britain is now taking an extreme form, "State monopoly capitalism develops on an extensive scale," as the Program puts it.

Fourthly, the all-out attack on the wages and living standards of the people is bringing about a sharp increase in class struggle to such a degree that an entirely new political situation is emerging, and as part of this, a crisis in Social Democracy which will have far-reaching consequences.

The Economic Position in Britain

The particular acuteness of the country's present economic problems reflects the relative decline of Britain in relation to the United States and West Germany.

In a leading article in the middle of last year, *The Times* wrote: "For over a century Britain has been able to lean heavily on 'invisible' exports to help balance her foreign trade. In ten out of the past fifteen years this invisible income — made up of payments for foreigners using British shipping, spending in Britain by foreign tourists, the interest, profits and dividends earned by our overseas investments, and the earnings from the thousand and one financial services of the City of London — has been enough to turn a deficit on visible trade into a payments surplus . . . Ten years ago it reached over £400 million net. In 1960 it sank to £22 million net, the lowest figure since 1947. Now it is in danger of vanishing." This leader, significantly entitled "What Has

Gone Wrong?" amounts to an epitaph on the whole postwar policy of British imperialism.

Military spending abroad as a result of the cold war has doubled in a decade, reaching £215 million last year. Britain, hitherto the world's premier maritime nation, now on balance pays out more than she earns on shipping. Despite heavy investment abroad, outlay on foreign capital in Britain and British debts has cut into the imperialist tribute from abroad. Earnings from the financial services of the City of London, while still a gain for the balance of payments, have stopped expanding.

It is this situation which lies behind the basic reversal of British policy implied in the decision to enter into negotiations regarding Britain's entry into the Common Market.

With the sharp decline in the position of British imperialism after the Second World War, the entire strategic policy of the ruling class was directed towards trying to re-establish the old dominance of British finance capital. A tremendous export drive was developed, capital export was resumed on a big scale, the "independent" British nuclear weapon was developed, colonial wars were mounted to retain the antagonistic alliance. While united in a military alliance against the Soviet Union and the socialist world, these measures of the British ruling class were above all directed against American imperialism. At the center of this strategy was the effort to maintain a strong pound and avoid devaluation. Despite the enforced devaluation of sterling in 1949 the policy was persisted in. Crises in the balance of payments have occurred ever since. From 1952 to 1960 the total surplus on the so-called current account of the balance of payments was a little over £1,000 million, but net export of long term capital exceeded £2,000 million. The difference was covered by running down reserves and short-term borrowing.

When American pressure was put on Britain to enter the Common Market, the fiercest opposition was put up. The British countermove was the formation of the European Free Trade Area in opposition to the Common Market.

When Macmillan went to America to address the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on April 7th, 1961, he used the inter-capitalist economic antagonisms to threaten

the U.S. The problem, he said, was "how are we to finance an ever-increasing volume of trade and aid? If our monetary arrangements are bad or outmoded, we shall not succeed. We shall stagnate instead of expand. *And capitalism must expand or perish . . .*"

And he went on:

"The consequences of the economic division of Western Europe (into the Six and the Seven—J.G.) are only just beginning to make themselves felt in the political field. Yet if this economic division persists, the political rift will inevitably widen and deepen. This must, sooner or later, affect our military coherence and strength. It will be a canker gnawing at the very core of the Western alliance."

The veiled threat is obvious. Yet within a few months of this threat came the British ruling class decision virtually to liquidate EFTA and negotiate on the Common Market. What lay behind this reversal? The sudden and acute deterioration in Britain's international economic position as a consequence of the very policy seeking to maintain the old position of the City of London.

The near collapse in 1961 was already looming in 1960. There was already then a huge deficit on the current account and when to this were added British long-term capital exports, an overall deficit of £535 million was created. For a time this serious position was covered up by a very large movement into Britain, attracted by high interest rates, of short-term foreign capital, referred to in the economic press as "hot money."

By 1961 it was already moving out again. The basic weakness of sterling was obvious and there followed what the *Economist* (Aug. 12, 1961) called "the biggest speculative drain that sterling, or any other currency has ever experienced." Complete collapse was only averted by short-term loans from the Central Banks of up to £325 million to cover the withdrawals and a credit of \$1,500 million (£536 mn.) from the International Monetary Fund. These loans eased the immediate problems and in the summer of 1961 further measures were taken by the Tory government in an attempt to find a more permanent solution.

First, the enforcement of a so-called "wage-pause" policy, in which the lead was taken by the government itself, which refused wage advances to all workers paid from public funds, and employers generally were urged not to agree to any wage advances demanded

by their workers. The freezing of wages has been applied not only to manual workers, but to teachers, civil servants and other workers in the professions, making it clear that the monopoly capitalists are determined to protect their own interests at the expense of wide sections of the population on whose political support they have relied in the past.

Secondly, the official rate of interest was raised, credit restrictions were introduced, and additional indirect taxes were imposed, as a result of which the cost of living has increased and real wages have been reduced, so that the wage "pause" and simultaneous lowering of real wages will directly increase the profits of the monopolies.

Thirdly, a number of "economies" in the social services are being carried out, including the particularly vicious measure of stopping the subsidies which lower the price of welfare foods for children.

Fourthly, the government announced its decision to apply for membership of the Common Market—that is, to admit the complete defeat of the Outer Seven policy, to subordinate Britain's national interests to a group of states dominated by Adenauer Germany and de Gaulle France, to sacrifice the interests of the Commonwealth countries, and to endanger the interests of British farmers.

And lastly, the government announced that it would set up a so-called National Economic Development Council composed of representatives of the monopolies and of the trade unions, to collect information and "plan" the economy, including the fixing of a limit to wage increases year by year.

These drastic measures show the weakness of British monopoly capital and its desperate attempts to strengthen its position at home and abroad in order to enable it to continue the disastrous policies which have contributed to the stagnation in Britain's economy and to the constant balance-of-payments crises.

It is obvious that the efforts of British monopoly capitalism to re-assert its old position are beyond its strength. In fact, they have led to the opposite course, namely, to the negotiations on entry to the Common Market.

On the face of it the Tory government is insisting that a condition in these negotiations is that a special relationship within the Common Market structure between Britain and the Commonwealth countries must be

found. At present, 40 per cent of Britain's total international trade is done with the Commonwealth countries. The opposition of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers to any sacrifice of their special interests to solve the problems of the British monopolies is universal. The nature of their special products (agricultural and raw materials) almost precludes their finding alternative outlets in the Common Market. And if the present system of Commonwealth preferences is substantially altered in the negotiations with the Common Market, the Commonwealth will not consider themselves bound by this. At the same time the Common Market is not likely to agree to the Commonwealth preference system continuing. So the contradictions are obvious, so far, insoluble.

In the meantime *increasing political capitulation* to the USA and West Germany has followed the collapse of the effort to maintain the rival economic grouping of the Seven against the Common Market. Already for American "aid" received, Britain had agreed to the stationing of the Polaris atomic submarines in British bases. With long-distance rocketry and ability to master outer space dominating problems of nuclear strategy, Britain's so-called "independent" nuclear weapon became outdated. The huge expenditures involved on space are beyond Britain's power. Thus we see the decision to grant Christmas Island for the new series of U.S. tests, Britain's complete dependence on the U.S. for communication satellites, and the effort to attempt to develop a "European" subsidiary space program.

But even more sinister has been Britain's increasing capitulation to West German militarism as the price of Adenauer's "support" for Britain's entry into the Common Market. This capitulation was heralded by the appointment of Lord Home, notorious Munich supporter, as Foreign Secretary, British support for a "tough" line on Berlin, the agreement for the training of West German troops in Britain, and closer British-West German military and weapons cooperation.

The Common Market issue is not yet resolved. The Tory government is still fighting for a special position for British imperialism. Divisions exist in the ruling class. Popular opposition to the Common Market is growing.

One of the results of the policy of the British ruling class has been the extremely slow growth of Britain's economy as a whole despite technical progress in this or that

sector. From 1955 to 1958 industrial production was stagnant. Then it rose 10 per cent up to the spring of 1960. From April 1960 to March 1961 there was stagnation again. Between April 1961 and July 1961 the official index went up from around 121 to 125, only to drop back to 120 in October. Writing in December 1961, the official government *Bulletin for Industry* said: "There has been a fairly general slackening of activity, with the exception of the output of engineering capital goods and of the building and associated industries."

The motor car industry has been stagnant since 1960; ship-building output shows a sharp fall since 1959; the 1961 output of steel, 22 million tons, was some four million tons below capacity; coal mining continues to decline owing partly to the fall in steel production and partly to the increasing use of oil in industry. Britain's exports showed a slight decline in 1961, with a continuing fall in Britain's share of capitalist world trade. The number of unemployed rose during the winter to half a million.

But some sections of the chemicals, engineering and construction industries are still increasing their output; and profits are higher than ever. The *Financial Times* summary of company profits shows a rise every year—in 1961 profits of the major companies were £200 million higher than in 1960.

During this whole period *monopoly concentration* has reached a pitch never before seen in Britain. In 1960 firms with combined assets of £560 million amalgamated voluntarily or forcibly. In 1961 the combined assets of firms involved in amalgamation were £866 million. Giants are battling to take over giants. Should the great ICI chemical combine ultimately absorb Courtaulds, a super trust of £1,000 million would result. This is a new stage of monopoly concentration.

This process is not confined to productive industry: the larger companies in retail distribution are week-by-week absorbing smaller companies or individual shops; big property companies (land and housing) are merging; "take-overs" and mergers of newspapers and journals have built up enormously powerful press "empires," which are now extending their operations to newly independent countries such as Ghana and Nigeria. Important mergers have also taken place in book publishing and in film production.

Thus while the general economic situation remains more or less stagnant, the centraliza-

tion of ownership in all fields of industry, trade and the machinery for influencing opinion is gathering increasing momentum. The aim of these extensions of monopoly is to eliminate competition, concentrate production and modernize plant, and thus strengthen their position in the present and future struggle for markets, in preparation for Britain's entry into the Common Market.

The main task allotted by the monopolies to the state and the Tory government is to *strengthen their position in relation to the working class* by imposing a wage freeze "in the national interests," while the cost of living is raised and "economies" are carried out in the social services.

The Tory Party is the traditional party of British monopoly capitalism. Not only are its main elements direct shareholders in the great monopoly concerns, the whole state structure is increasingly becoming less and less an instrument of the capitalist class as a whole and more and more the instrument of the dominant monopoly groups. The standard pattern now is that the top civil servants on retirement join the boards of the monopolies. Now the so-called National Economic Development Council is directly staffed by the men of the monopolies. Apart from six trade union representatives, its members comprise three Government Ministers, six directors or managing directors of big monopoly concerns; the Chairman of the nationalized Transport Commission (ex-Director of the ICI Chemical Combine) and the Chairman of the National Coal Board; two economic experts, one of whom was the Chairman of one of Britain's five greatest banks, and a high civil servant.

On the eve of their appointment the Government issued its new statement on wage policy. It was not only a declaration against wage increases, it was in fact a demand for a reduction in real wages. It specifically states that all the normal reasons for wages applications, namely rising cost of living, increased profits or increased productivity will no longer be accepted as a basis for wage increases. Last year even according to the official government index, the cost of living increased by five per cent. But if any industry granted a wage increase, the increase is not to exceed 2.5 per cent.

The perspective, therefore, which British monopoly capitalism offers all sections of the working people is: stagnant or declining industry and trade, concentration of production by the monopolies in the largest factories,

and the closing down or ruin of the smaller units both in production and distribution, with rising unemployment and the continued worsening of conditions for the people. And along with this, the political subordination of Britain to United States and West German monopoly capital and the intensified drive to nuclear war.

This is in striking contrast to the perspective for the peoples in the socialist countries and especially in the Soviet Union, whose twenty-year program—which will be carried out—promises a steadily expanding industry and trade, a rapidly improving standard of living for all sections of the people, the all-round development of the social services and immense advances in education and culture; the participation of ever wider masses in the democratic administration of the country; and a continuous reduction of the working week.

In the struggle against the Government and the monopolies this contrast will have growing significance for the outlook and actions of the British working people.

The Right-wing Labor Party and Trade Union leaders are in fundamental agreement with the measures taken by the Government. They consider that what is needed above all is to maintain the NATO alliance against communism, just as Macmillan justifies his policy as essential for "the exhausting struggle against communism." They too want a policy of holding down wages; in fact, their policy document *Signposts for the Sixties* states that the next Labor Government will make increased investment its first concern, and will therefore ask the workers to forego wage increases and improvements in the social services until this comes about. Apart from this, *Signposts*—which sets out current Labor policy—only proposes minor reforms in the purchase of land for housing, in education and taxation, all entirely within the existing monopoly capitalism framework.

The reformists for years have been busy advancing the myth that capitalism has changed its nature and is automatically giving the workers a share in increased productivity; that the "Welfare State" continues to exist in Britain, only slightly weakened by mistaken Tory measures; that the monopolies are serving the nation well; and that partnership of Labor with monopoly capital in carrying out a common economic plan is the guarantee of progress for the British working class.

Recent developments have fundamentally undermined the reformist picture. The ruth-

less advance of monopoly power, the contrast between record profits and frozen wages, the attacks on the very principles of the Welfare State—all make the picture of a benevolent reformed capitalism a fake. The real improvements in living standards in recent years are the result of the constant struggles waged by the workers to maintain and improve their wages and conditions; the influence of the economic and social advances made in the socialist countries; the larger family incomes due to the increase in the number of women employed; and the extension of credit sales, enabling the workers to buy more than their wages can meet, at the cost of their future wages. Now all the gains of the past are menaced. And it is this situation which is producing the biggest industrial and political movements seen in Britain for many years.

Conflict Between Monopoly Capital and the British People

"The working class," declares the Program of the CPSU, "directs its main blow against the capitalist monopolies. All the main sections of the nation have a vital interest in abolishing the unlimited power of the monopolies. This makes it possible to unite all the democratic movements opposing the oppression of the finance oligarchy into a mighty anti-monopoly torrent."

All the elements making for an anti-monopoly movement of the majority of the population are growing in Britain.

Resistance to the cold war policy, to nuclear arms, American bases, rearmament of Adenauer Germany and German training bases in Britain have gradually brought the widest sections of the population into action.

Though the movement has been divided on some questions of policy and tactics, the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign and British Peace Committee marches against the bases, the sit-down tactics organized by Earl Russell's Committee of 100, the great campaign in Scotland against the Polaris submarine base organized jointly by representatives of the Churches, local Councils, Cooperative and Trade Union organizations as well as Labor Parties and the Communist Party, widespread publicity in connection with these activities which has broken through the silence barrier of the press, broadcasting and television—all have brought into political mass action large numbers of people. The political understanding of these people has been deepened by the attempts of the State to prevent the demon-

strations, the large-scale mobilization of the police, and the use by the Government of mass arrests, heavy fines and imprisonment and the Official Secrets Act—apart from the many cases of police violence—against both the leading figures and the rank-and-file participants,

In all these activities a considerable proportion of the participants has been young people, largely from "middle class" families, whose interest in politics is extending to other issues. The peace movement has also brought into activity well-known writers, actors, film stars, university professors and lecturers, as well as teachers and other non-industrial workers.

During the height of the Berlin crisis mass demonstrations under the slogan "We refuse to die for Berlin—Negotiate a Peaceful Settlement" were held. Now the protest is developing against the Western proposals to renew nuclear tests and in support of a summit meeting on disarmament.

All these actions have helped to strengthen the movement for peace also in the Labor movement, in spite of the fact that the Right-wing Labor leadership was able to secure a majority at the last Labor Party Conference in support of its NATO policy.

More and more the criticism has extended to the government's policy in foreign and colonial or "Commonwealth" affairs as a whole. There is continuously growing opposition to the surrender of British national interests to United States monopoly capitalism. This opposition has been reinforced by the decision to apply for admission to the Common Market. Feeling on these and similar issues has strengthened and widened the social basis of the peace movement, helped to develop militancy in the Labor movement, and created divisions in sections of the population which normally support the Tories.

The monopolists are no longer able to make concessions to one section in order to keep it quiet while another section is attacked. Their economic needs are so great and so urgent that they can only be met by a simultaneous attack on all sections of working people, on the established living standards of the middle sections as well as of industrial workers, and on the famous "Welfare State" conditions in the social services.

All of this accumulating opposition to different aspects of monopoly capital's attacks on the people forms the background to the reaction of wide social groups to the government's drastic measures announced last sum-

mer. The political awareness and experience gained in these campaigns have brought not only the industrial workers, but also wide sections of government employees into one form or other of mass resistance.

This resistance was sharpened by the government's repudiation of the existing machinery for wage negotiations. An elaborate system of Wages Councils (representing government departments and trade unions) had been set up in recent decades, with the aim of ensuring "class peace" and limiting the amount of wage increases when concessions were unavoidable. In announcing its "pay pause" the government refused to operate agreements already made by these Councils, and suspended their work, making it clear that dictated and extremely limited settlements were to replace any form of negotiations.

Mass protest demonstrations and demands for action from the union members concerned compelled their Executive Committees to sanction different forms of mass struggle against the government. In January the Post Office Workers Union began a "work to rule" action—that is, strict observance of the formal rules laid down by the Post Office for the handling of letters, parcels, telegrams and telephones (rules which in normal practice are ignored). This led to great delays in the service; and in London the government was compelled to stop the parcel post entirely. Now called off on the basis of a promise of further negotiation, this action was the first industrial action taken by the Post Office workers for 40 years.

Later in January the Post Office Engineering Union (whose members maintain telephone lines, etc.) also began a "work to rule."

An important extension of the "work to rule" to the Civil Service clerical workers in all government departments was decided on after mass pressure from the members, by the Civil Service Clerical Association. At the last moment, however, the decision was reversed by the officers of the union as a result of discussions with the government. It is significant of the pressure from the members that a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Union refused to endorse the calling off of "the work to rule," and a resolution censuring the General Secretary was only defeated by 12 votes to 11.

A somewhat similar situation developed among the teachers. The rejection of their full pay demand earlier in the year, and then

the announcement of the "pay pause" were followed by protest meetings and local strikes, leading up to a conference of the largest teachers' union (the National Union of Teachers) and a decision to carry out a one-day strike and to refuse certain duties in connection with school meals. In spite of the conference decision, however, the Executive of the Union, after a meeting with government representatives, by a majority vote decided against strike action, accepted a settlement less than the full demand, and refused to convene a further conference.

More than 600,000 white-collar workers are represented in a new organization which was set up at the end of March to fight the "pay-pause." It represents teachers, local government officers, bank clerks, BBC staff, water board and gas staffs, nurses and some civil servants. Sixteen organizations sent their delegates to the meeting in London which set up the new body. They included the National Union of Teachers and the National and Local Government Officers Association.

While these protest actions of the public employees and workers in the professions are of significance because they have been on a scale unprecedented in Britain for these groups of workers, *the main body of the industrial workers* — engineers, shipbuilding workers, miners, building and transport workers—are *the decisive force* in determining the outcome of the struggle against the "pay pause."

The wages applications of the miners, the railwaymen and the engineers and shipbuilders have all come to a head at the same time.

In the case of the miners the National Coal Board made an offer of roughly 3.5 per cent increase for day wage men. This has been rejected by the Union, and a National Coalfield Conference to consider further action will be called. But the Right-wing dominated miners' leadership, it is quite clear, is against any strike action.

With the engineering and shipbuilding workers the position has been and is different. When their demands for more pay and shorter hours were rejected, the Confederation of Engineering & Shipbuilding Workers organized two 24-hour national stoppages—February 5 and March 5. In all, over six million workers took part in these stoppages—the biggest and most solid strikes seen in the industry.

Among the railwaymen there had been some local "work to rule" actions and calls for more drastic action for their wage demands. Towards the end of January the government directly intervened, and instructed the railway administration not to negotiate with the Unions, but to refer the question to arbitration. This government intervention roused the railway union branches to new demands for action, especially in London, where despite the official opposition, a 24 hour's strike on the Underground railway brought London's traffic to a standstill. Now the railwaymen have settled for a three per cent wage increase and a promise that they can make a further wages application in the autumn.

The Problems of Advance

It is clear that we face a new stage in the political and industrial situation in Britain full of great new possibilities. Whether these new possibilities are realized, however, depends on *unity and leadership*.

The economic problems facing Britain are insoluble within the confines of present ruling-class policy. The old cold war foreign policy is bankrupt. To get out of her present difficulties, Britain needs a new course, a policy which corresponds to Britain's new position in the world and the balance of world forces. Disarmament and peaceful coexistence in foreign affairs and social advance at the expense of the monopolies in home affairs is the need.

The Tory government, on behalf of the monopolies, has attacked on the widest front. Not only the industrial workers, but the civil servants, the teachers, the white collar and professional sections are involved. Due to the decision to negotiate on the Common Market and the further drive to monopoly, the farmers, small shopkeepers and even small capitalists are involved.

For the first time the possibility exists for uniting the overwhelming majority of the population on a popular program against the government and the monopolies.

Political support for the government is falling in parliamentary by-elections, although because the main Tory policies are supported by the Labor leadership, the Labor votes are not increasing and discontented Tory voters are either abstaining from voting or supporting candidates of the Liberal Party. There are divisions in the Tory Party and the beginnings of a revolt against Macmillan's leadership.

At this acute stage of the struggle the government is relying on the Right-wing Labor leaders not only to survive, but to carry through its policy. Despite all the talk of opposition, the Labor leaders on the Right are in fact supporting the main Tory projects. There is full support for the H-Bomb and the NATO nuclear strategy. The opposition to monopoly concentration is more formal than real. The economic "analysis" of Britain's difficulties from the Labor Right doesn't differ from that of the Tories, and the "opposition" on the wage pause is not on principle (Sir Stafford Cripps was the first to introduce wage restraint under the Labor Government) but on how it is done.

In Parliament disciplinary measures are being increasingly used against the Left: five Labor MP's have already been expelled from the Parliamentary Party. But it is to the Right-wing trade union leaders that the government is particularly directing its attention. The aim is to get a virtual coalition of the government, the monopolists and the trade union movement through the National Economic Development Council, and a state-regulated wages policy. It was only after bitter and prolonged opposition in the General Council of the TUC, the Left pointing out that the Economic Development Council was only a device to attack wages, that the decision was taken to enter the Council. An important minority of eight trade union leaders voted against.

But the main way in which the Right-wing leaders have assisted the government's policy has been their root and branch opposition to strike action, although it is crystal clear that the government and the employers won't retreat unless action is taken. This explains why the struggle to date, though on an unprecedentedly high scale, and having won partial advances, has not smashed the "pay pause."

In this situation the Communist Party is calling upon the working class to stand and fight, to carry forward the struggle to a still higher stage and to win complete victory.

The Party in its public propaganda, its meetings, its leaflets and through the *Daily Worker*, is calling for the defeat of the whole Right-wing policy as a decisive issue for victory in the fight. Every action in the wages struggle is accompanied by the demand for the withdrawal of the trade union representatives from the National Economic Development Council.

The fighting spirit of the working class has been clearly demonstrated in the London Tube stoppage, the engineers' and shipbuilders' stoppages, the actions of the teachers, Post Office workers and Civil Servants. We are urging that every section of the workers engaged in action should approach every other trade union for solidarity and aid. In this way unity of all sections engaged in the battle can be developed.

Unity in action of the working class is the basis for the unity of the whole people against the monopolists, the basis of the unity of the wages movement and the peace movement.

At its meeting in January the Executive Committee of the Communist Party issued a call to the workers to unite and strengthen their fight against the government and compel it to resign. The issue of wages is linked with the whole Tory policy at home and abroad...

"The Tories say their policy will save Britain. This is a lie. It is a policy to save Big Business at the expense of the wage and salaried workers, farmers, and small business people. The wage pause is imposed to protect profits.

"The military expenditure abroad, over Berlin, for the cold war and continued colonial exploitation, is the main cause of the balance of payments crisis.

"To help pay for the huge costs of the H-Bomb and NATO, heavier burdens are imposed on the people; even the children are robbed of their orange juice. Thousands are homeless, while speculators make fortunes.

"Tory policy is placing the country in deadly danger. Production is lagging; basic industries are declining, while the monopolists are lining their pockets. Having sold the country to the Americans, Macmillan is now crawling to Adenauer and the West Germans to get into the Common Market. This would make the position of the British people worse, and must be fought. . . ."

Besides the call to resist the Tory policies, the manifesto outlines the immediate *alternative policy* in the interests of the people:

"Cut profits not wages. End the take-over bids. Nationalize the monopolies. Keep out of the Common Market. Extend trade with the Dominions, the underdeveloped countries and the socialist world. . . ."

"Cut military expenditure and use the money to extend social services. No war over Berlin! Demonstrate for negotiations now.

Clear out the Polaris and all foreign bases. No German forces in Britain! End the NATO nuclear strategy. Demand Disarmament."

The manifesto ends with:

"Already the government is feeling the effects of the battles now taking place. Let the people unite, fight and win increased wages, security and peace!"

The Communist Party's manifesto was distributed throughout the country in 400,000 copies. Bringing together the various issues on which different sections of the working people have shown their readiness to fight against the policies of monopoly capitalism and the monopoly capitalist state, and showing their connection with the present position of Britain, the manifesto also sets out the main points of an alternative policy which could change the whole outlook for the people, and calls for action to achieve it.

The present situation in Britain shows the correctness of the Communist Party's approach in its program, *The British Road to Socialism*, on the question of the forces whose unity and action will determine Britain's future.

"The forces exist which, if united and determined, can guarantee victory. The workers in industry and agriculture, with their families, constitute fully two-thirds of Britain's population. . . . The great majority of clerical and professional workers, teachers, technicians and scientists, working farmers, shopkeepers, self-employed and small business men are victims of the reactionary policies of Tory big business at home and abroad. . . . An alliance must be built up between the

working class and these sections of the population in the fight for peace and social progress, and against all attempts to maintain capitalism at the expense of the national interests. Such an alliance, headed by the working class, is an essential condition for the establishment of a real Socialist government to build a Socialist Britain."

The widespread resistance to the policies of monopoly capitalism marks a new stage in political developments in Britain. Whatever the immediate outcome of the struggles of the early months of 1962, they are giving invaluable experience to millions of working people, especially the young workers. And the lessons that these are drawing are the need for organized mass struggle, the need to combat the Right-wing who are holding back and weakening the struggle, and the necessity for unity and Left leadership as the key to victory.

The relative stagnation in the economy, the widening gap between productive power and purchasing power, the permanent balance of payments crisis resulting from monopoly capitalism's policies, the intensified competition with powerful foreign monopolies—all these mean that the attacks on the people will continue, that the contrast between the economic and social advance in the socialist countries and the perspective for the British people will grow sharper.

It is this outlook which gives special significance to the role of the Communist Party and to its campaign for a rapid increase in membership, which is already achieving important results.

New Point in the Political History of Italy

Luigi Longo

THE recent government crisis and its solution signify that a new point has been reached in the political history of Italy. The Fanfani government, it is true, has been replaced by another one, again headed by Fanfani. But while the old government was made up solely of Christian Democrats and relied for support on the so-called "conver-

gent" parties (Christian Democratic, Social Democratic, Republican and Liberal), the new government is composed of Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Republicans. It is the outcome of the Christian Democratic Party's severing its connections with the Right — not merely its collaboration with the extremists, the fascists and mon-

archists, a collaboration which it had always shamefacedly concealed — but also with the Liberals, the party of the big bourgeoisie, with which the outgoing Christian Democratic government had been hand-in-glove until the very last day. Rejection of the bloc with the Right, solemnly proclaimed at the recent Christian Democratic congress in Naples, is intended by its advocates to open a new stage in relations between the Christian Democrats — the biggest party in the country — and the other parties. This stage, known as the "Center-Left,"* signifies that a rapprochement has taken place between the Christian Democrats and the Socialists after 14 years of a "center" policy. As yet the rapprochement is a distant one; the Socialists are not participating directly either in the government or in the government majority, and have confined themselves to benevolent abstention in the voting for the new government. But even so, the fact itself is remarkable because it was only after years of refusing even to consider the possibility that the Christian Democrats agreed to "an opening to the left."

From 1947 on, when they disrupted the democratic unity built up in the struggle against fascism and the German invader, and became an instrument of U.S. and conservative policy, the aims of the top Christian Democrats have always been to prevent the working-class and popular forces represented by the Communists and the Socialists, from having a say in running the country; to achieve a monopoly of political power for the Christian Democratic Party. As long as they had an absolute majority in Parliament (1948-53), the Christian Democrats managed to do this with relative ease. But the picture changed in 1953 when at the memorable elections of that year they lost their absolute majority and had to canvass the support of other political groups. But even with the new distribution of forces in Parliament it tried to retain its monopoly by getting other non-Marxist parties into its fold on a platform of anti-communism and political discrimination. The activity of the Communist Party and of our Socialist comrades,** however, and the worker-peasant struggle which we organized and headed dealt a heavy blow to these designs. That anti-communism and political discrimination were used as a pretext to keep power in the grasp of the most conservative and reaction-

ary forces in the country became increasingly clear. More and more people felt impelled to join in the struggle, became conscious of the need for working-class and democratic unity. As a result, the political and social antagonisms obtaining in the Christian Democratic Party and in its allied parties became more pronounced. It was then that what we may call the crisis of the Christian Democratic Party and its supporters set in.

The Christian Democratic leaders turned a blind eye to the exigencies of the situation, ignored the popular pressure and the joint action of the Communists and the Socialists. Resorting to tactical moves of all kinds, they endeavored to form a government on the basis of an ostensibly new, but essentially old, policy. The conservative forces pressed on with their attempt to dominate and control the country. Yet the increasingly urgent problems of Italian life were neither posed nor solved. In this situation the antagonisms and internal strife among the government coalition grew. And the prestige and influence of the opposition, especially of our Party, mounted. In view of the rapidly growing demand for a change in the country's general political course, to which our Party drew attention at its Eighth Congress in 1956, the Christian Democrats could no longer confine their propaganda to senseless and futile verbal attacks on the Communist Party. They were forced to advance social objectives which, seemingly radical, were actually a cover for new forms of totalitarian rule. But not all the employers and not all the clerical leaders were in agreement with this line. The more bigoted elements resolved to cling to their old positions to the last. And only a few groups of big capital, the more dynamic and economically more powerful ones in fact, showed any inclination for reforms of a paternalistic kind and designed to make the masses, including the Catholics and Christian Democrats, less insistent on social regeneration.

As the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party pointed out in connection with the danger involved in social reconstruction along corporative and authoritarian lines, for an "opening to the left" really to change policy, it should be the result of a powerful mass movement, an element of large-scale political actions to set up a *democratic government of the working class*. For this it was necessary, the Eighth Congress theses stated,

*The terms "center," "left" and "right" in this article denote the party's position in Parliament and in the political life of the country.—Ed.

**On relations between the Italian Communists and the Socialists see Enrico Berlinguer's article "Theses for the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy." *World Marxist Review*, No. 2, 1960.—Ed.

to expose the attempts to preserve Christian Democratic "centrism" in any form whatsoever. It was essential to "expose and combat paternalistic reformism and Right-Socialist positions." "Unity of the working people can and must be achieved," the theses continued, "but under no circumstances can it be realized on the soil of reformism, which adapts itself to the misery and brutality of the capitalist system, or on the soil of maximalism — the verbal revolutionism which boils down to futile waiting and rejection of all real struggle for the socialist reconstruction of our society."

It was on this basis that we developed our subsequent political activity. Some basic problems of foreign and domestic policy on which a new Left majority could be formed, were, as Comrade Togliatti had indicated, already on the agenda. But top Christian Democrats would not hear of any change in policy. Came the elections of 1958. As soon as their results were known — and they signified an important moral and political victory for the Communist Party, a notable success for the Socialist Party, and a general swing to the Left — Comrade Togliatti announced that the Communists were ready, in the interests of the working classes and of safeguarding peace and democratic freedoms, to enter into agreement with all the forces pursuing the same interests and with scrupulous respect for the Constitution. Once again, however, the Christian Democratic leaders refused to bow to the clearly expressed will of the electors. With Social Democratic support, they formed a new government (Fanfani's second) which intimated that it would set up a regime under which parliamentary institutions would be emasculated, while Parliament would, in effect, be reduced to a mere consultative body. This alarmed the other political parties and those groups in the Christian Democratic Party who feared the strengthening of one-man rule. Fanfani's intention to reconstruct the economy in a way still more favorable for the big monopoly groups met with stiff resistance, particularly from the small and middle bourgeoisie who were threatened with being thrown out of business or of being absorbed by the giants.

To frustrate the design of the monopoly bourgeoisie to dominate the country under cover of the European Common Market, our Party strongly emphasized the need for a broad policy of unity, for a powerful mass movement and for better relations between the Socialists and the Communists. We de-

clared that in the situation obtaining the Fanfani government could be defeated. And indeed, the second Fanfani Cabinet was forced to resign as a result of the impressive joint actions by the adherents of different political trends. Fanfani's resignation at that time signified not only the fall of his Cabinet, but also the failure of a definite policy and a definite political leader; for Fanfani ceased to be secretary of the Christian Democrats and his Party faction split into two. Thus the attempt to solve the contradictions of Italian capitalism and the community as a whole in a new capitalist way designed to stabilize the regime fell through.

The Segni government failed, needless to say, to end the crisis which gripped Christian Democracy and the entire bourgeois camp as a result of the fall of the Fanfani Cabinet. That the Segni government tended towards conservatism and an alliance with the Right was obvious. But this policy, coupled with the refusal to make any anti-fascist pledges, immediately evoked powerful resistance in the Christian Democratic Party. A new political sentiment began to be voiced in the "third force" opposition parties (Social Democratic and Republican). The Christian Democratic monopoly of power and its policy of clericalizing the state came in for criticism, and the omnipotence of the monopolies and the grave disproportions in the economy were denounced. Some groups in these parties had useful talks with the Communists and Socialists, although their leading bodies continued to adhere to their traditional policy of splitting the working-class movement and of anti-communist discrimination. The anti-fascist spirit began to revive rapidly throughout the country and a new "resistance movement" was organized which rallied activists and members of all parties, including Catholics and Christian Democrats around regional resistance councils which sprang up almost everywhere. The growing resistance enabled the various forces to see eye to eye on the need for fundamental social and political changes. It was necessary, and possible, to establish a new unity of the democratic forces, and to create a new majority capable of forming a new government coalition. The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party explained that the demand for *a democratic government of the working classes* should be regarded as the exploding of the old conservative bloc, as a result of the broad mass movement to bring new classes into a government which would

carry out all the reforms envisaged in the Constitution.

The Segni government was shortlived, being forced to resign early in 1960. This meant that all the old issues reappeared on the agenda. The task now was to prevent equivocal solutions which would only have helped the clerical leaders to continue their double game. The new government, our Party emphasized, should come forward with a concrete program that would win the support of the social forces in the country. The Party reaffirmed that we did not regard participation in the Cabinet as an absolute condition for our support. Important for the Communists is not just the composition of the government, but also its program and its political orientation. In these circumstances our Party did not reject the possibility of giving "critical support" to attempts to form a "Center-Left" government. Such a solution, we held, could be a definite step towards building a democratic majority. But the Right wing of the Christian Democrats, docilely serving the interests of big capital and diehard conservatism, refused even to discuss the subject. By resorting to intricate maneuvers, it managed to install the Tambroni government, which entered into collusion with the extreme Right, including the neo-fascists.

The Tambroni Cabinet was a challenge to democratic and anti-fascist public opinion. Its provocative activities, brutal suppression of demonstrations, and its threatened encroachments on parliamentary institutions and democratic freedoms, gave rise in July 1960 to large-scale and angry actions in many towns. These were followed by a vote of censure of the government in the Chamber of Deputies by all the Left parties and groups. The Christian Democratic leaders were forced to reckon with the will of the people, and the Tambroni government fell. Never before had the power of a united people been felt so tangibly as in those July days. But again the Christian Democratic leaders drew none of the obvious political or social conclusions from the Tambroni experiment and the popular pressure. All they were concerned about was how to overcome the deepening crisis in their party and to retain their absolute rule. They summoned Fanfani from his retirement and surrounded him with representatives of the various trends in the Christian Democratic Party. His third Cabinet, the so-called "government of convergents," initially made capital out

of the fact that the Socialists had abstained from voting for him.

Our Party immediately exposed the real nature and the aims of the new government — to check the mass swing to the Left, to misrepresent their urge for reconstruction and, if possible, to weaken and to split working-class and popular unity. As the ultra-conservative and reactionary trends began to tip the scales both in the Cabinet and in the government majority, the new government found itself unable to satisfy the popular demands. The government and its majority began to find themselves in difficulties. This was due on the one hand to the extraordinary concentration of economic power in the monopoly groups, and on the other, to the reappearance of the "irreconcilables" who were dead set against Fanfani's timid attempts to pursue an independent foreign policy as expressed in his visit to the Soviet Union. The Left groups supporting the Fanfani government were often disappointed and indignant at its attitude to the rights and freedoms of the working people and citizens generally, to problems of culture and education. It was high time, they felt, to drive the Fanfani government and its heterogeneous majority out of office. The growing pressure of the working people and democratic forces, the result of the objective conditions and of our activity, acted in the same direction. In these circumstances, pressured on all sides by conflicting forces, the Christian Democrats resolved at their congress in Naples, as mentioned earlier, to break with the Rights and to try to reach agreement with the Left, the Socialists.

It was not without bitter clashes that it arrived at this decision. For 14 years the Christian Democrats had seen in "centrism" the best way to pursue their conservative policy and to draw the Catholics into their party. But the Naples congress had to admit that this was no longer possible in view of the deep-going contradictions and sharp contrasts of the objective situation and political life. Something new was needed. And the overwhelming majority of the delegates at the Naples congress decided on the "Center-Left" experiment. But one should not be deceived by figures, for the high percentage of votes cast for the operation conceals diverging opinions as to whether the experiment is really necessary, about its aims, the forms it should take and when it should be given practical effect. Many delegates opted for the "Center-Left" decision simply to hinder its realiza-

tion. The Rights in the Christian Democratic Party and all the parties of the Right are dead-set against the new course. It has the backing of the Social Democratic, Republican and Socialist parties.

At a meeting of our Central Committee Comrade Togliatti, discussing the situation that had arisen as a result of the "Center-Left" government, posed this question: "Will the struggle of our Party and of all sincere democrats for a genuine opening to the Left become easier or harder?" And he answered: "On the whole, and in certain circumstances, new and more favorable perspectives will arise." And indeed, with the formation of the "Center-Left" government the Christian Democrats have had to put on their agenda some of the political, economic and social problems they had ignored in the past. The changed situation generally and the mass pressure in particular have forced them to do this. The issues therefore will not now be mere propaganda points of a more or less general character, but things calling for concrete solution. In other words, the struggle for reforms, too, will be more concrete and it will be easier for us to rally the people with the idea of imposing democratic solutions. We are well aware that the Christian Democratic leaders intend to solve the problems in their own twisted way, and partially. And precisely for this reason we must head the masses at every phase of the struggle. We must expose the deceptions, dispel illusions and insist always on realistic solutions leading to regeneration and progress. With this aim in view we can, we must, act in line with our program, seeking to establish understanding and alliances in order to solve the problems we have been raising for years and on which we have at long last forced the Christian Democratic Party to take up our challenge. We will be waging a concrete struggle and we will achieve results. And since the results, limited and partial though they may be, will be there for all to see, more favorable conditions will be created for broadening our struggle for a real opening to the Left and for the democratic alternative which we counterpose to the present monopoly power.

Both the international and the internal situation confirm this perspective. The economic boom has brought about a considerable development of Italian capitalism, which is evolving along the course charted by the big monopolies. That is why its development has neither overcome nor mitigated the structural

contradictions and defects in the economy. The old contradictions have sharpened and new ones have appeared. The basic class antagonism between capital and labor in particular has neither disappeared nor has it been smoothed over. Some centers, the South, rural areas and the mountain regions are more depressed than ever. In other words, the "boom" has strengthened only some sectors, primarily the big monopoly groups whose influence has grown. But the capitalist system as a whole has not become stronger, for its deep internal contradictions and structural defects have not been overcome. Not only has this system failed to become consolidated politically and socially, but the contradictions in the capitalist groups have sharpened and the opposition of the working people and the masses generally has grown. The Christian Democrats have decided to give the "Center-Left" experiment a try-out in the hope of butressing their political monopoly, and because they feel that the interests of the big monopolies should be reconciled with those of the other capitalist groups and influential sections in the countryside; they realize too, that the more pressing claims of the worker-peasant masses should be satisfied in some measure with a view to creating differentiation in their ranks and thus facilitating their political split.

In view of the present domestic and international situation the Christian Democrats will not find this an easy matter. And it will become even more difficult the more the working class and other working people use their full might to overcome the resistance of the conservatives and reactionaries, to frustrate the intrigues and the attempts to surrender, and to demonstrate, in an intricate political situation, their role and desire for regeneration and progress, thus fulfilling their function of leader of the popular forces. The Communist Party has every reason to be proud of its rich and positive experience in this field. And indeed, thanks to the work done by our Party, the working class has in recent years come right into the forefront; it eagerly takes up the new issues and effectively influences the socio-political situation, and the course steered by the political parties. It was the working class that brought to a head the crisis of the old government policy and forced the Christian Democratic Party to take the above-mentioned decisions at its Naples Congress.

This Party is now subjected to pressure from all sides, a pressure that reflects the

contradictions of the situation. It is obvious that the pressure exerted by the big capitalist and monopoly groups and that of the working people cannot really pursue the same aim. These two conflicting forces differ radically both in class alignment and in their ultimate objectives. When the people succeed in wresting some concessions and in forcing positive decisions, they do so only because of their strength and because of the real "power" which they exercise in a given situation and on each question.

Some advocates of the "Center-Left" hope, we know, to take the edge off the sharp corners and to reduce to zero or at least to weaken both the antagonisms between the capitalist groups and the anti-monopoly pressure of the people. We know, too, that if the ruling groups proclaim definite objectives this does not mean they can realize them. An individual, a party or a political group does not do what he or it would like to do, but does what he or it can do. The Communist Party, the leader of the working-class and democratic movement, should participate in determining what the ruling groups can or cannot do. It is on this understanding of the realities of the situation and the tasks of the Party that we in Italy plan our strategy and tactics. To the line of monopoly expansion, which has been the feature of the policy of the top circles in recent years, we by no means counterpose a general and remote alternative of a propaganda nature claiming to solve all the problems overnight by effecting a socialist reconstruction of society.

Naturally, in the present situation, too, we reaffirm that, as our Eighth Congress noted, the "socialist reconstruction of the system, and a solution to the fundamental internal contradictions in our society can be achieved only by the working class and its allies winning political power." At the same time we always bear in mind the injunction of this congress: "... given the existing balance of the forces of the working class, the people and the progressives on the one hand, and the forces of exploitation and reaction on the other, the Communists frankly declare, in view of the urgent need to solve the employment, land and poverty problems, that the abolition of the more backward and oppressive sides of Italian society and their democratic and socialist reconstruction cannot in any circumstances be postponed until the conquest of power by the working class and its allies. We can and we must fight for this as a definite aim, fully attainable in the

course of the working people's economic and political struggle."

Guided by this understanding of the political struggle, we in Italy have always counterposed, and counterpose now, a definite policy to the policy of monopoly expansion (especially at the present stage of the "Center-Left" operation). This is the policy of day-to-day struggle holding out the prospect of democratic development, not of monopoly expansion. In the final analysis this policy will result in radical solutions of a socialist character. While we do not deny that the fourth Fanfani government is something new and opens up new possibilities for the struggle for a leftward shift in policy, we, nevertheless, voted against it. In giving the reason for our opposition, Comrade Togliatti said that although the opposition recognized all the positive elements of the government program, it nevertheless demanded consistent measures in keeping with the desire for a renewal of the political leadership of the country, and was working towards this. "Our proposals are realistic and positive," Comrade Togliatti said, addressing the new government. "We are not making them for you to reject them, although your rejection of them would make it easier for us to expose you in the eyes of the public. We are advancing them because they are in the interests of the working people and the nation as a whole, in the interests of progress and national development along a democratic path leading to social justice."

It is with this feeling that our Party, with due regard to the specific conditions of the political struggle, is seeking for an Italian road to socialism. The Party fully appreciates the difficulties it will have to overcome. "We have as yet," Comrade Togliatti once said, "no experience of successful struggle for socialism in conditions of a developed state capitalism." But in our searchings and our actions we find inspiration in Lenin's invaluable counsel, given in a criticism of bourgeois democracy: "To develop democracy to the utmost, to seek out the forms for this development, to test them by practice, and so forth—all this is one of the constituent tasks of the struggle for the social revolution. Taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be 'taken separately'; it will be 'taken together' with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it

will be influenced by economic achievement, and so on. Such are the dialectics of living history."*

*V. I. Lenin. *The State and Revolution*.

And the Italian Communist Party seeks to make its activity, the actions of the working class and working people generally, an element of this dialectic in order to lead Italy to socialism.

General and Complete Disarmament Is the Urgent Need of Our Time

Jean Kanapa

SEVENTEEN years after the end of the last global conflagration, the world's military expenditures are annually swallowing up nearly \$120,000 million, and over 50 million people are serving in the armed forces or engaged in war production or military research. In the United States, according to President Kennedy's estimates, nearly 60 per cent of all budget funds are earmarked for armaments and other military purposes in the 1962-63 fiscal year.

A network of U.S.-dominated military blocs and pacts spreads over that part of the world which is still under the sway of imperialism. American military bases have been established around the world. A U.S. military command has been set up in South Vietnam. The constant threat of aggression hangs over Cuba, the first free territory in the Americas. U.S. reinforcements have been despatched to West Berlin. The more bellicose Western leaders make no secret of their intention to use force to prevent the elimination of the residue of the Second World War. Washington has announced that it will resume nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

General de Gaulle on his part promises French officers new battlefields — the more than seven years' old Algerian theatre is now definitely lost — while Adenauer demands for the Bundeswehr missiles with nuclear warheads which can hardly be called "tactical" or defensive since their range runs to thousands of kilometers.

In this world armed to the teeth one can easily visualize the catastrophic possibility of what Walter Lippmann has called an "irrational act," i.e., an irresponsible decision or a crazy act on the part of some U.S. or West German brass hat who, caught up in the

hysterical war propaganda, could spark off a nuclear conflagration that would envelop the whole world.

As a matter of fact, Western strategy and policy ever since the atom bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima have been deliberately geared to the prospect of using nuclear weapons as a means of settling international problems. Not long ago President Kennedy said in an interview cited by Stewart Alsop in an article in *The Saturday Evening Post* that "in some circumstances we might take the initiative" in a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union.

So much inflammable material has accumulated in the world that a single spark might cause a disaster such as humanity has never seen. Hence the problem of the day is to "find the lever to stop the drift of humanity into the gulf of war." This lever exists. "The best way to prevent war is to do away with the means of warfare," Maurice Thorez has said. Hence the demand for *general and complete disarmament* now resounding throughout the world.

ONLY DOGMATISTS of the type of the Albanian leaders can fail to see the urgency of this demand. For all their hypocritical protestations to the contrary, they are opposed to the struggle conducted by the socialist camp and all peace supporters for general and complete disarmament. With serious mien they say that this is a futile struggle since it is aimed against the *means* of waging war and not against the cause and source of war—imperialism. Moreover, in their search for justification they indulge in crass schematism and break with Marxism. For instance, one of their "weighty" arguments is the well-known thesis that "war is the continuation of politics by other means."

This is an exceedingly important thesis. For it helps to reveal the political and class roots of war, to define the different *kinds* of war (war of imperialist aggression, war in defense of one's country and war fought for national liberation); it enables the parties of the working class to elaborate and pursue the right policy in regard to a given war. But it gives no grounds for saying that the working-class movement is indifferent to the means used to achieve its political ends, that it *identifies* politics with war. To ascribe this to the Communist movement is to vilify it.

To say that the immediate task of the supporters of peace is to fight to remove the *cause* of war, i.e., to do away with imperialism, would mean "forgetting" one of the cardinal principles of Marxist theory—that the overthrow of imperialism can come about only as the result of a revolutionary situation within the given society. To regard the destruction of imperialism as the only road to peace would mean renouncing the policy of peaceful coexistence, which, far from implying rejection by the socialist camp of struggle against the system of exploitation and violence, presupposes prosecution of the struggle in the conditions of peace; it would mean substituting for this policy the export of revolution by force of arms, which is utterly alien to Marxism-Leninism.

When the Communists say that socialism is bound to triumph throughout the world, they visualize that victory not as a result of nuclear war which would take a toll of hundreds of millions of lives, destroy most of the world's wealth and its basic productive forces, cripple the survivors and imperil the health of the future generations, but as the result of the revolutions inevitably engendered by the aggravation of class contradictions in the capitalist countries. As humanists, the Communists are repelled by the thought that socialism might be built at the price of the countless victims of a nuclear war. How indeed can socialism be identified with the hell which would ensue were this disaster to happen? As regards struggle against imperialism, it would be a gross mistake to think that it can be waged only through world war. The fight against imperialism has always assumed multifarious forms, and this is so today more than ever. Marxist-Leninist theory places due emphasis on this fact.

In an article entitled "Some Principles Relating to the Question of War" Lenin gives us an example of the dialectical approach, of living analysis of the concrete conditions of

struggle. Here we read: "What is the *aim* of revolutionary mass struggle? . . . It is either considered self-evident or openly recognized that this aim is '*socialism*'. Socialism is counterposed to capitalism (or imperialism). But this (theoretically speaking) is utterly illogical and, in practice, is meaningless. Illogical, because it is too general, too vague . . . But now the question is not of generally counterposing the two social systems, but of the *concrete* aim of *concrete* 'revolutionary mass struggle' against a *concrete* evil, namely, against *today's* high cost of living, *today's* war danger, or the *present* war." The Communists give priority to the demand for general and complete disarmament not only because of their humanism. There are also profound objective reasons: the need to fight a "concrete evil," to combat the intolerable economic burden borne by the working people as a result of the stockpiling of armaments, the danger of a nuclear world war which would retard social progress everywhere, and the local wars fomented by imperialism with a view to exporting counter-revolution and suppressing national-liberation movements.

The dialectics of life shows that the struggle to destroy the *means* of waging war, i.e., the struggle for disarmament, is one of the forms of combating the *source* of war—imperialism.

Why are the dogmatists opposed to disarmament? Because they overestimate the strength of imperialism and greatly underestimate the forces of peace. And any underestimation of the peace forces is highly prejudicial to a correct assessment of the international situation and proper conduct of the popular struggle.

HUMANITY always sets itself only those tasks which it is in a position to solve. General and complete disarmament is such a task; the new features of our time have made it both historically necessary and feasible.

The main content, the main trend and the main features of the present time are determined, as we know, by the socialist world system, by the forces fighting against imperialism. Imperialism no longer holds undivided sway in the world. Its hands have been tied. Consequently, tangible opportunities have opened for solving the major problems raised by social development today by *new means*—not those which the exploiting classes employed through the centuries in the sphere of international relations, not by force of arms, but in the interests of peace, national independence and socialism.

In order to elaborate a correct policy conforming to the circumstances, it is necessary to proceed from the realities of life. Least of all is it permissible to quote Marx or Lenin out of historical context. For instance, can Lenin's article "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution" be quoted to disprove the need for struggle for general and complete disarmament? There Lenin wrote: "The fact that the bourgeoisie is armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, most fundamental, and most important facts in modern capitalist society. And confronted with this fact, revolutionary Social Democrats are urged to 'demand' 'disarmament'. This is tantamount to abandoning the point of view of the class struggle, to renouncing all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: the arming of the proletariat for the purpose of vanquishing, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie." Does this passage entitle the dogmatists to say that disarmament runs counter to Leninism?

To say that it does is to ignore the fact that Lenin wrote these lines at the height of the world war, when the masses of workers and peasants were in uniform and already armed, and when the situation as such put the revolutionary watchword of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war on the order of the day. Clearly Lenin had in mind the balance of forces between the antagonistic classes of capitalist society at a definite stage of their struggle. How then can this passage be applied to an altogether different situation? The general and complete disarmament at issue now is a matter of relations between states and not of relations between classes in one country.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that the world's first state of the workers and peasants—the Soviet state—having vanquished, expropriated and disarmed the Russian bourgeoisie, embarked on a resolute, steadfast struggle for universal disarmament. As far back as 1922, the Soviet delegation at the Genoa Conference, following Lenin's *personal* instructions, submitted a plan for general disarmament. Subsequently, the Soviet Union continued its indefatigable efforts and in the period between the two world wars repeatedly proposed general or partial disarmament. Yet the crux of the matter is not this. Above all it is the specific features of our time which compel us to take an entirely new approach to defense of peace in general and disarmament in particular. Hence the importance of the program of general and

complete disarmament which Khrushchov, on behalf of the Soviet Union, submitted to the United Nations on September 18, 1959, and the basic ideas of which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union incorporated in its new Program, the Program of building communism. These key proposals form the basis of the new draft treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict international control submitted by the Soviet Union to the Geneva Conference in March this year.

What are the factors which impart to the slogan of universal disarmament its new significance?

The first is the moral and political as well as military superiority of the socialist camp, whose entire policy is aimed at guaranteeing lasting peace among the peoples. For the first time in history military might has been placed in the service not of aggression and conquest, but of peace, to bar the way to aggression. This is a highly important new factor in the "dialectics of militarism" which Engels examined with the foresight of genius. In his *Anti-Duehring* Engels predicted that militarism would collapse by the dialectics of its own evolution and that "this moment will arrive as soon as the mass of the people—town and country workers and peasants—will have a will. At this point the armies of the princes become transformed into armies of the people . . ."

It was, in fact, with the transformation of the army of the princes into a people's army that the young Soviet state began, from the moment of its birth, a struggle against militarism. In those early years opponents of disarmament argued that the Soviet Union advocated disarmament only because of its economic and military inferiority. They said the same thing after the Second World War, when U.S. imperialism had a monopoly of atomic weapons. Yet today the masses in the Soviet Union and in all the socialist countries still want disarmament, even though they now have, besides the will, also the material *wherewithal*—invincible military might which has been placed in the service of peace.

Clearly the socialist countries need armed forces so long as their proposals for general and complete disarmament are rejected. Moreover, these forces must have such a *preponderance* of strength as will discourage the aggressors from playing with fire and thereby ensure not only the security of the socialist countries but peace everywhere. The socialist camp rightly regards this as its sacred duty both to its own peoples and to

all other nations who want to live in a world at peace.

When the imperialist powers, taking advantage of the Soviet Union's discontinuation of nuclear testing, intensified the armaments drive and rushed to consolidate their West Berlin hotbed of aggression and provocation, the Soviet government unhesitatingly, albeit reluctantly, resumed nuclear tests.

The more far-sighted partisans of peace understood why this had to be done and approved of the steps taken by the Soviet Union. They know that the object was to cool the "hotheads" in the Pentagon and NATO, to issue a solemn warning. Indeed, the present balance of forces — military, technological and scientific, not to speak of the respective political "hinterlands" — leaves no doubt that were the imperialists rash enough to unleash a nuclear war, the socialist countries, together with the other peoples, those of the imperialist countries included, would retaliate with a blow that would wipe capitalism off the face of the earth.

The firm determination of the socialist camp—a resolve approved by the international Communist movement — leaves no room for illusions or misunderstandings on this score. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are building up their military might in order to safeguard the peoples against the disaster which the more aggressive imperialist circles are preparing.

At the same time, steadfastly adhering to the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries threaten no one; still less do they plan to attack any country. Not long ago the Soviet government declared once again that its armed forces would *never* be the first to use their weapons. The best proof of this is the untiring efforts of the USSR for general and complete disarmament, efforts supported by ordinary people everywhere who on their part have joined in a *sweeping mass movement* for this demand.

A WORLD WITHOUT ARMAMENTS and without wars is the ideal of socialism and the working-class movement. The Communists know, however, that to attain an ideal it is not enough to proclaim it; only mass struggle can make it the reality. In the words of Frederic Joliot-Curie, peace and disarmament will not come of themselves, they will have to be won.

Consequently, the second new factor in the struggle for disarmament is the worldwide popular pressure which is making it more

and more difficult for the imperialists to justify their rejection of the proposals made by the socialist states. With their own policy boom-eranging, the imperialists are reaping what they have sown. By the criminal atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the threat of still more appalling disasters which they have been holding over the world, they have spread alarm and anxiety. But the alarm and anxiety have changed to wrath and indignation and are rousing the peoples to action against the fearful prospects which imperialism has in store for them.

The imperialists thought to spread fear, but instead they have awakened people to the danger with which their policy is fraught. This awakening stimulates the popular struggle against such a policy, against the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and for peace and disarmament. It is not fortuitous that the ban-the-bomb movement has acquired particularly wide scope in Japan. Nor is it a matter of chance that explanatory work conducted through all available media—leaflets, lectures, photographs and films—to show the tragic consequences of nuclear war played the decisive role in the success of the Stockholm Appeal, a success which was largely instrumental in preventing the Korean war from developing into a global nuclear war.

Popular awareness, needless to say, does not come of its own volition. Nor is it automatically transformed into the will to fight, to join the common struggle for peace. As Khrushchov stated in his speech at an election meeting in Moscow, "it is necessary soberly to assess the situation. The masses in such capitalist countries as the USA, Britain, France, West Germany and others evidently have not fully realized the danger of the armaments drive. Comparatively few people in these countries have so far joined in determined struggle against nuclear death."

Precisely because of this the Communist parties are working to deepen the awareness of the masses. And they have achieved considerable success in this respect, both through independent action and through their contribution to the World Peace Movement. Nor will the Communists relax their efforts. As the Moscow meeting of the 81 parties declared, "the Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful coexistence, their determination to prevent world war."

Needless to say, the efforts of the Soviet Union for disarmament, efforts supported by the entire socialist camp, the international

Communist movement and all supporters of peace, have been rejected by the imperialists either by a blunt "no" or by evasion. This should not surprise anyone, or give cause for undue pessimism. If imperialism were to disarm of its own free will and did not resort to every device to preserve its aggression potential intact, it would no longer be imperialism.

Therefore, *active and ceaseless struggle* is required to carry out the program of general and complete disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union and unanimously approved by the United Nations and supported by champions of peace everywhere. When the Communists tell the peoples that in this way the imperialists can be compelled to take effective steps towards disarmament, and even agree to general disarmament, this does not mean that they harbor pacifist illusions themselves or foster such illusions in others. On the contrary, their object is to rally the masses to combat the war danger and the imperialist war preparations. The Communists know full well that disarmament will not come as a "gift from above" or that one fine day the imperialists will serve it up on a platter. They know that the imperialists have to be *forced* to agree to general disarmament, and that this calls for persistent, energetic political and ideological struggle on the part of all—the socialist states, the people of the other peace-loving countries, and the people of the imperialist countries.

This is a hard struggle, full of snares and pitfalls. It requires patience and levelheadedness, since imperialism, and in particular American imperialism, resorts to all kinds of machinations to prevent any effective solution, as this year's Geneva Conference has shown once again. There are but two alternatives: either struggle for disarmament to ensure peaceful coexistence, or nuclear war. The slightest inconsistency in this struggle would only intensify the cold war, encourage the Western militarists, demoralize the masses and increase the danger of world war. The slightest manifestation of doubt as to the possibility of averting war may in the long run be assessed as fear of peaceful coexistence, as lack of faith in the ability of socialism to win in peaceful economic, social and cultural competition. The fact is, as the statement of the Moscow meeting of Communist and Workers' parties declares, "disarmament has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity. By an active and resolute struggle the imper-

ialists must be made to meet this demand of the peoples."

This struggle will guarantee the successful solution of the problem, and is the earnest that imperialism will have to retreat on this issue, too, *as it has had to do* in so many other respects.

IN ALL SPHERES and on all fronts the peoples are dealing blows at imperialism which seriously weaken it and aggravate its general crisis.

The powerful actions for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress now developing throughout the world are engaging the forces of imperialism simultaneously on all fronts. Each blow in any of these spheres weakens its resistance in all the others. Similarly, each success on any of the sectors of the anti-imperialist front makes for success on all the other sectors. Hence the importance which the Communists attach to coordinating the various sectors of the struggle.

Particularly important in this respect is the struggle waged by the people of the colonial and dependent countries for national independence. It goes without saying that any underestimation of this movement, any reluctance or hesitation to support it, runs counter to Leninist principles and is alien to the Communist movement. It has always been a matter of principle for Communists to support just, national-liberation wars waged by the enslaved peoples against their oppressors when no other avenue is left for them to win freedom. Further proof of this was the support given by the socialist camp to India during the liberation of Goa, and to the struggle of the Algerian people.

The national-liberation struggle, which acquired a sweeping scale after the Second World War, and its substantial achievements, due in particular to the support of the socialist camp, are a decisive factor in the weakening of imperialism and restricting its sphere of action. Hence this struggle is a major contribution to the anti-war movement. Moreover, the people of the countries which have won political independence know imperialism too well to play into its hands by supporting its aggressive aims.

The emergence of this group of states has broadened the peace zone. Although the leaders of some of these countries—for example, those associated with the Gaullist "community" — are loyal stewards of imperialism, most of the newly liberated states are doing their bit in the struggle for a world without

armaments and without war. The Belgrade conference of non-aligned countries, for instance, offered evidence of this.

On the other hand, any limitation of the possibility of imperialist armed aggression is in the interests of the national-liberation movement. And not only because a world war would not bypass the oppressed peoples—since the imperialists use their territories for military purposes—but also because *any blow at militarism is a blow at the machinery of imperialist domination over them*. The peoples know full well that the war machine of the colonial powers is directed not only against the socialist countries; it is used also to suppress national-liberation movements and it imperils the freedom of those countries that have gained at least political independence. The imperialist military bases are not only a threat to peace, they are also bastions of colonialism and, when located on the territory of the states which recently achieved political independence, are obstacles preventing them from exercising full sovereignty. The refusal of the de Gaulle government to dismantle its military bases in Bizerte, for instance, jeopardizes peace throughout the Maghreb as well as the independence of Tunisia.

Generally speaking, the experience of the oppressed peoples has shown that *imperialist troops act as the police force of colonialism*.

Is there a risk that general and complete disarmament might leave the colonial peoples defenseless vis-à-vis imperialism? No, disarmament would restrict the confrontation only to the political and ideological spheres. The days of colonialism would be numbered. When for one or another reason a colonial power is unable to resort to arms to retain its foothold, the oppressed peoples can impose their will on it by non-violent mass struggle. Guinea, Mali and Ghana have shown that this can be done.

Already now the actions of the socialist camp and all other peoples in defense of peace, their condemnation of war as an instrument of international relations and their fight for disarmament confront the imperialists with formidable obstacles in their efforts to kill the patriotic aspirations of the oppressed peoples. This makes it immeasurably harder to “justify” repressions before world public opinion and compels the imperialists to renounce some of their more violent methods. Laos is a case in point.

The worldwide struggle for peace, moreover, highlights another new factor—inter-

national solidarity of the people of the metropolitan countries (primarily the working class and its allies) with the oppressed people. It helps to weld an objectively anti-imperialist alliance between the national-liberation movement and those peace supporters who have not yet taken a consistent and militant anti-colonialist position. Finally, the connection between the struggle for general disarmament and the fight for national independence is accentuated by the fact that both are aspects of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

That is why the national-liberation movement, far from counterposing disarmament to national independence, regards it as its own aim. That is why this movement is fighting for immediate implementation of measures that would substantially hasten the winning and consolidation of national independence as well as the achievement of lasting peace and general disarmament. One such measure would be the closing of military bases on foreign territory. The national-liberation movement is also demanding an end to the French nuclear tests in Africa. Besides being part of imperialist preparations for world war, these tests are an intolerable encroachment on the sovereignty of the African countries.

Further, general and complete disarmament would help to consolidate the economic independence of these countries and accelerate their development. At present the world spends annually for military purposes the equivalent of two-thirds of the total national income of all the underdeveloped countries. If only part of the funds released as a result of the reduction or discontinuation of military spending by the Great Powers were assigned for aid to the economically underdeveloped countries, this, as Khrushchov has said, would open “a new era” in the economic development of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Such a rechannelling of a mere one-tenth of these funds would make an additional \$10,000 million available for aid annually.

The capitalist powers will never agree of their own free will to extend such aid. Only persistent struggle will compel them to assume their responsibility to the peoples they have robbed and exploited for centuries. Be that as it may, removal of the burden of military spending would enable the socialist camp, which has always extended effective, disinterested aid to the newly emerged states, to increase its assistance to these countries

and help them rapidly to overcome the economic backwardness which imperialism has artificially preserved.

The considerable funds which disarmament would release could also be channelled, under pressure from the masses in the developed capitalist countries, to ensure a substantial improvement in their living standards. And lastly, disarmament would make it possible to accelerate still more the building of socialism and communism.*

AS PROFESSOR BERNAL recently pointed out, disarmament has a bearing on everything; there is virtually not a single vital question, be it related to national independence, living standards or employment, which is not directly affected by the present armaments drive. Hence, in the struggle for peace, which is the prime task of all Communists—a task inseparably linked with the movement for national independence, democracy and social progress—disarmament is the paramount issue.

This is the issue which, as experience has shown, is capable of enlisting in active work for peaceful coexistence the largest numbers of men and women of different political, philosophical and religious views—all those who are aware of the danger of a thermonuclear war and for whom the struggle for disarmament is a concrete expression of their striving for peace.

It is largely to the demand voiced by these hundreds of millions of men and women, to whom the Communists have proved that war is not inevitable, that we owe the unanimous adoption by the United Nations on November 20, 1959, of a Soviet resolution urging the "governments to exert every effort toward the constructive solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament." It was this demand of the peoples that compelled the United Nations to adopt a resolution recommending to the 18 member-states of the U.N. Disarmament Committee to enter without delay into negotiations with the aim of achieving agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The Soviet Union proposed to the 18 powers that the Geneva negotiations be opened by the heads of government, thereby once again demonstrating its resolve to go ahead along the road desired by the people, to clear the way for negotiations, to facilitate the partici-

pation of the masses in discussing disarmament, and to compel the imperialists to cease their machinations and drop their delaying tactics.

In the course of the struggle for disarmament the millions of men and women who sincerely want peace but who still do not see that responsibility for the cold war and the danger of a new world war rests wholly with imperialism, and primarily with U.S. imperialism, will come to see the truth and recognize the enemy. In this struggle the masses will learn through their own experience who it is that wants disarmament and who does not, and why. In this way the imperialists will be further isolated. With general, complete and controlled disarmament as their touchstone, the masses will distinguish between words and deeds, and realize that imperialism merely wants control over the armaments drive, in other words, legalization of espionage. And this realization will impel the people to rise against imperialism, the instigator of war.

Like all peace supporters, the Communists know perfectly well that it will take time to reach agreement on general and complete disarmament, that the imperialists, who dread disarmament as they would the plague, will be bound to raise more and more objections and obstacles. But the Communists maintain that one cannot afford to sit back and wait. While believing that general and complete disarmament is necessary and possible now, they, nevertheless, do not adhere in this, or in any other questions, to the "all or nothing" principle.

Anything that brings disarmament nearer is a step forward also in relaxing international tension and ensuring peaceful coexistence. The Communists, therefore, call on the masses to support the partial disarmament measures proposed by the socialist camp. They realize that the adoption of these measures would mean a retreat for the aggressive forces of imperialism and a new advance towards universal disarmament. These proposals help to enlist the masses in the struggle for disarmament; they are concrete and comprehensible, give no advantage to any power, would immediately lighten the burden of military expenditure and create conditions favorable for a détente.

Proposals put forward by the socialist camp which are supported by broad sections of world public opinion and which often figure on the agendas of international meetings of individuals and political groups include the

*This aspect was treated in the article "The Economic Possibility of Disarmament," by V. Kaigl, in our issue No. 11 for 1960. We shall return to this subject in coming issues.

establishment of atom-free zones in Central Europe and in the Balkans, in the Pacific Basin and in a number of other areas; they include withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of European countries, dismantling all military bases located on foreign soil, and the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. Campaigns for one or another of these demands constitute a notable contribution to the struggle for total disarmament. Professor Kaoru Yasui, Chairman of the Japanese Council against the A- and H-Bombs, has rightly said that the campaign against military bases is all the more important since it is part and parcel of the common movement for general and complete disarmament.

Rallying the people for one or another measure in the interest of peace and channel-

ling all the campaigns towards the single goal of disarmament, the Communists know that they are acting in keeping with the changed international situation.

It is clear, then, why they attach so much importance to the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, which the World Peace Movement is convening in Moscow in July. They will do everything to ensure the success of this assembly, thereby living up to their Moscow statement which declares: "The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time."

The Socialist Revolution — Peaceful and Non-Peaceful

George Kar

SOME new and highly significant conclusions concerning the paths of the socialist revolution have been reached by the international Communist movement in recent years in the course of a sharp ideological struggle. On what are these conclusions founded?

1. BASIC PREMISES

The Multiplicity and Change of Forms of Struggle

The crudest of the anti-communists claim that our aims are as nefarious as our means of achieving them. Others—the social-reformists primarily—reluctant to reject those aims out of hand in view of the growing popularity of socialism, direct their fire "only" against the revolutionary means, maintaining that these are limited to conspiracy and violence.

Another type of adversary the Communists have to contend with are those who do lip service to the socialist revolution while actually distorting its meaning. The revisionists, for example, under cover of "painless progress," declare that there is only one way to

socialism, namely, the peaceful way; but, while extolling it to the skies, they reduce it to reforms that leave the foundations of capitalism intact, and the moment they are faced with armed reaction they capitulate. On the other hand, the sectarians and dogmatists who associate, and even equate, revolution with revolutionary war do not recognize peaceful forms of struggle for power, and are ready to involve the people in needless sacrifices, sowing confusion in the revolutionary movement. But all of them do violence to the truth, reducing it to the absurd. For them one form of struggle, which yields the maximum effect only under certain conditions, is hailed as the only acceptable form in all circumstances. But more appropriate today than ever before is that guiding principle of Communist policy formulated by Lenin and reaffirmed in the latest program documents of the Communist parties; the gist of this principle is that it is imperative to master *all* forms of struggle without exception and to be prepared to pass over swiftly, at a moment's notice, from one form to another.

Revolution Is the Highest Stage of Class Struggle

Since the bourgeoisie will not voluntarily relinquish either their class rule or their property, the socialist revolution, whatever form it takes, is effected through the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is worth noting, incidentally, that when the Western bourgeoisie established their rule and asserted their property rights, they, too, relied on revolution, on force, called the people to arms at times of danger and sent kings to the scaffold. They considered this to be just, as indeed it was. But the bourgeoisie have long since taken the place of the feudal reaction and have forgotten their 1789 . . .

The essence of socialist revolution consists in the first place not only and even not so much in coercion as in creating a new society. Second, the socialist revolution always means the expropriation of the expropriators, i.e., coercion with regard to an insignificant minority of exploiters on the part of the *overwhelming majority* and in the interests of this majority. And lastly, the demise of the capitalist class is not synonymous with the demise of individuals belonging to that class. *Revolution always implies social coercion, but not always armed violence.* In fact it is perhaps more correct to speak of *peaceful and non-peaceful* rather than of *peaceful and violent* revolutions — peaceful inasmuch as it takes place without an armed uprising, civil war or military intervention, and non-peaceful insofar as one or another of these elements (or all three, as was the case in Russia) are in evidence.

The difference between the peaceful and non-peaceful ways to socialism, then, is the difference not between evolution and revolution (as all revisionists and reformists ever since Bernstein have held) but merely between the two forms of revolution. Moreover, revolution is always the highest stage of class struggle and springs from a revolutionary situation; it cannot be imposed against the will of the masses, it is not an "export" item, but an objective, natural process.

The fundamental issue of any revolution, peaceful or non-peaceful, is that of power. That issue is decided not by a handful of politicians against the background of a lethargic mass passively awaiting developments, but by the active efforts of the millions of working people. Peaceful revolution also implies a general mobilization rather than demobilization of the masses. Here,

too, the path to victory is far from smooth; it demands no less a degree of political consciousness and organization than the non-peaceful path. Neither the peaceful nor the non-peaceful victory of the socialist revolution is possible, the Communists hold, without the political leadership of the working class, headed by its Communist vanguard, without strict Party discipline, without training and advancing cadres who combine devotion to Marxist-Leninist principle with the maximum of flexibility, and without isolating the opportunists who refuse to abandon the policy of conciliation with the exploiting classes.

Humane Means for Humane Ends

For the Communists the question of the paths of revolution is one not only of tactics but of their humanist world outlook in general. The socialist revolution in any form is humane by its very nature. It alone delivers the people from all oppression and paves the way to the Communist society in which truly human relationships will prevail. The power of attraction exerted by communism lies as much in its aims as in the means by which these aims are achieved — in the unity of ends and means.

Experience has shown that the sacrifices which even a non-peaceful revolution — when such becomes objectively necessary — entails for the working people cannot be compared with what the bourgeoisie inflicts on them in periods of so-called "peaceful" development of capitalism, not to speak of their physical extermination through reprisals, counter-revolutionary coups and especially imperialist wars.

It is only natural that the working class and the Communist Party should seek to carry out the socialist revolution by the most painless means, i.e., peacefully. "Left" critics, however, consider this to be betrayal of Marxism. But let us examine some of the Marxist-Leninist principles.

In Engels' *Principles of Communism* (1847) we read: "Question 16: Can private property be abolished by peaceful means? Answer: One would wish that it could be, and the Communists, of course, would be the last to object to that." Marx and Engels always stressed this principle. It was reaffirmed by Lenin who, writing in 1899, said: "The working class would of course prefer to take over power peacefully . . ."* Beginning with 1917, Lenin repeatedly emphasized

*V. I. Lenin, *Regress in Russian Social Democracy*.

the vital importance of this principle in his writings.

Thus, Marxism from its very inception has given preference to *peaceful* socialist revolution and the Communists throughout their history have propagated this view.

2. WHEN NON-PEACEFUL REVOLUTION IS THE RULE AND PEACEFUL, THE EXCEPTION

It is, however, a long way from the *desirability* of peaceful revolution to the *possibility* and *realization* of such a revolution. Marx, for example, said in 1872 that in the USA, Britain, and possibly Holland (where the military and the bureaucracy were not so pronounced) "the workers may achieve their goals by peaceful means."* However, this possibility was visualized as an exception in the overall setting of armed revolutions occurring simultaneously in most of the developed countries.

With the advent of imperialism and the growth of the military and bureaucratic machine, opportunities for the peaceful development of revolution diminished. Revolutionary Marxists fought against the imperialist war, urging that it be turned into a civil war. This was the humane approach. For only in this way was it possible to put an end to the slaughter in the interests of capital.

Then came the February revolution of 1917 which gave Russia bourgeois-democratic rights. The Bolsheviks made use of these rights to cement their ties with the masses. The Russian bourgeoisie was relatively weak, and the armed and organized proletariat was able to carry the peasantry with it. The people set up their own organs of power — the Soviets. International imperialism in the meantime was divided into hostile blocs and weakened by the war. Lenin lost no time in utilizing this extraordinary conjunction of circumstances to call for revolution by peaceful means. This line was pursued by the Communists from April until July, when the counter-revolution placed armed force on the order of the day. Again in September 1917 there was a brief period when civil war might have been averted. On September 16, Lenin wrote: "If there is one absolutely indisputable lesson of the revolution fully borne out by the facts, it is that only an alliance of the Bolsheviks with the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, only the imme-

diately transfer of all power to the Soviets, could make civil war in Russia impossible."* Ten days later he repeated: "It is our business to help in every possible way to secure a 'last' chance for a peaceful development of the revolution. . . ."

And the Party indeed did everything it could in this respect while at the same time making preparations for the armed uprising. The "last chance" was lost because of betrayal by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks. The moment came when delay would have been a crime against the revolution. Lenin said: "If we cannot take power without an uprising, *the uprising must be carried out immediately.*"*** Thanks to the decisive preponderance of political and armed strength on the side of the revolution, thanks to the mastery by the Bolsheviks of all forms of struggle, the uprising in Petrograd was all but bloodless. True, in some cities (in Moscow, for example) fighting occurred, but in 73 of the country's 91 cities the Soviets took power peacefully and at once proceeded to carry out a program of peaceful construction. The revolution hastened the end of the world war and saved the lives of millions.

What action did the bourgeoisie take? They were the first to open hostilities, unleashing the civil war and ushering in the intervention of 14 states. Only in reply to the White terror did the revolution resort to Red terror. And when the reactionaries hypocritically accused the Bolsheviks of "atrocities," the latter retorted by reminding them of the words of one sage Frenchman: "Let messieurs the murderers begin by abolishing the death penalty."

It was the Russian Communists who first warned against the danger of universalizing specific features of the October Revolution (such as civil war, disenfranchising the bourgeoisie and confiscating all means of production without compensation, etc.).

In 1919 Lenin rejoiced at the peaceful beginning of the revolution in Hungary. But Hungary was cut off from Soviet Russia; reformist traitors undermined working-class rule from within and the international bourgeoisie brutally crushed the revolution.

*V. I. Lenin, *The Russian Revolution and the Civil War*. Sept. 1917.

**Lenin, *The Tasks of the Revolution*, 1917.

Notwithstanding these facts, the revisionist Kardelj claims that "the question of whether peaceful as well as violent methods were possible in the struggle for power did not arise in Lenin's time." (E. Kardelj, *Socialism and War*, Belgrade, 1960, p. 83.)

***V. I. Lenin, *Letter to the Central Committee, Moscow Committee, Petrograd Committee and Bolshevik Members of the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets*, October 1917.

*Speech at a meeting in Amsterdam after the Hague Congress of the First International.

What is the explanation for the ferocity, the military methods of struggle used at the time? Imperialism as a whole was still stronger than the proletariat. It was "not accustomed" to being defeated, and it behaved with the brutal arrogance of the bully who knows he can strike with impunity. Moreover, the imperialist war provided a breeding-ground for the hatching of counter-revolutionary conspiracies by the military caste. Lenin's theory of the initial victory of socialism in one country presupposed that even in those rare instances where there might have been a chance of a peaceful revolution, the international bourgeoisie were bound to try to crush it by armed intervention. "*Arms against arms! Force against force!*" — such was the fighting device of the Third International.

3. NEW CONDITIONS, NEW SOLUTIONS

After the defeat of fascism in the Second World War, the scale and rate of development of the revolutionary movement sharply increased. The march of events confirmed the validity of the propositions concerning the perspective of revolution laid down by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International (particularly the thesis of the different ways to socialism, the prime importance of the struggle for democracy and the participation of Communists in democratic governments not constituting the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc.).

Since 1945 more than 800 million people have taken the path of socialism, and nearly 50 countries with a population of some 1,500 million have won national independence. This has added immeasurably to the variety of forms of revolutionary struggle.

Take Czechoslovakia, for instance. Here as elsewhere, the fascist occupation regime with its collaborators was overthrown by armed action. But the national and democratic revolution developed into socialist revolution along peaceful lines. The alliance of the Czechoslovak and Soviet people prevented imperialist intervention; the workers' representatives took over the key posts in the government and the national committee, the organs of revolutionary authority; the working people established control over the nerve centres of political and economic life; the working class was united, the Communists formed a bloc with the Left Social Democrats and other democratic forces; the counter-revolutionary putsch was nipped in the bud; meetings, demonstrations and strikes but no destruction of production capacities—

such was the general pattern of the February 1948 events. The workers, led by the Communists, carried arms but did not use them. Would the bourgeoisie have done the same in their place had the preponderance of strength been on their side?

Relatively peaceful, too, was the transition to socialism of the other European People's Democracies, though each had its own specific features.

The great Chinese people, led by their Communist Party, had to wage three long and bloody civil wars forced upon them by the counter-revolutionaries. After the establishment of people's rule, international reaction (U.S. imperialism, primarily) continued to help the Kuomintang, but did not risk mounting against the new China an offensive comparable to the 14-power crusade against Soviet Russia.

Many of the newly-independent nations (India, and some African countries) achieved independence mainly through peaceful means—something that would have been unthinkable 50 years ago. Moreover, the liberation was won "from below," as a result of protracted mass struggle. The peoples of Tunisia and Morocco combined peaceful struggle with armed action. In other countries (Indonesia and Algeria) a costly war had to be fought for independence.

During the democratic upsurge of the first postwar years the Communists in many capitalist countries won nationwide recognition and built up a broad democratic front. In 12 countries they entered the government. In France, Italy and Chile, for instance, they gained substantial parliamentary representation and formed alliances with the Socialists. This showed the new opportunities in the fight for socialism. The Communist parties of *Italy, France, Great Britain, Austria, Sweden, Norway, the USA, Australia, Chile, Argentina* and a number of other countries began to speak in one way or another of a peaceful transition to socialism as far back as the late 40's and early 50's.

The orientation on the peaceful way was not always accompanied by due emphasis on the possibility of the non-peaceful alternative. But the other extreme was, perhaps, more common. For example, as Comrade Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Japan, said at the Party's Seventh Congress, its old program (1951) excluded the very thought of a peaceful advance towards socialism.

In presenting the general conclusion that more opportunities now existed for peaceful socialist revolution, the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU drew on the rich experience of all the Communist parties. Developed further at subsequent international conferences of Communists (in Moscow in 1957 and 1960, Rome in 1959, etc.), the ideas advanced at that Congress stimulated a more concrete elaboration of the forms of revolution in the programs of the various parties and, above all, enriched their practical activity.

In assessing the perspectives of the revolution, the Communist parties proceed from the fact that the positions of imperialism in the various countries and in the international arena generally are far from being as firm as they used to be.

The feature of our time is that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor of social development. *The strength of world socialism impedes the export of counter-revolution, thanks to which the internal revolutionary processes in the various countries too can take a more natural course.* The failure of the intervention against Cuba was a sign of the times. The Cuban David defeated the imperialist Goliath because he was not alone, because he had the unanimous and immediate support of the socialist camp and progressives everywhere. *The size of a country or the distance separating it from the socialist states are no longer insuperable obstacles to the victory of national, democratic and socialist revolutions.*

The force of the example of the socialist countries has grown beyond measure. Recall, for instance, the impact of the first Soviet sputnik on the minds of people throughout the capitalist world. Each new achievement of the socialist countries is a new "sputnik," the most convincing propaganda for the new system. And the biggest "sputnik" of all will be the fulfilment of the new Program of the CPSU which will enable the Communist parties still more effectively to transmit socialist ideas to the working people in all capitalist countries, the most developed included.

Further. Although the easing of international tension and the intensity of the class struggle in the capitalist countries are not always directly connected, there is no doubt that a détente would greatly facilitate the solution of outstanding social issues. What would be the result of peaceful coexistence and especially of general and complete disarmament? The construction programs of the

socialist camp would be accelerated. The exporters of counter-revolution would be hamstrung. Capitalist exploitation would become starkly evident, for the bourgeoisie would no longer be able to use the bogey of an "external danger" as a pretext for not tackling the burning domestic issues. The poisonous fog of racism and militarism—so indispensable to McCarthys of all shades—would be dispelled. That is precisely what imperialism is afraid of, and why it is bending every effort to perpetuate the cold war.

Another feature of our time is the marked growth of such factors making for the victory of socialism as the *numbers, class consciousness, activity and degree of organization* of the proletariat, the leading force of the struggle against the monopolies.*

The contradiction between a handful of monopolists and all sections of society is growing deeper, creating the basis for a broad anti-monopoly alliance of the working class primarily with the peasantry, but also with a small and middle urban bourgeoisie.

The contradiction between various groups of the ruling bourgeoisie are also being aggravated. Let us examine one of these contradictions, one which plays no small part in determining the forms of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and between the monopolies and the people generally. Although the most reactionary of the finance capitalists regard fascism and nuclear war as their salvation and tend more and more towards it as a last resource, it is equally true that the new balance of social forces and the latest in missiles and nuclear weapons cannot but drive some sense even into bourgeois heads; some of the more sober-minded of the imperialist politicians are aware that reliance on fascism and war can be suicidal for the capitalist system. The divergences between the openly reactionary and "pink" bourgeois politicians, Lenin wrote, "are quite minor and unimportant from the standpoint of pure, i.e., abstract communism, i.e., communism that has not yet matured to the stage of practical, mass, political action. But from the standpoint of this practical mass action, these differences are very, very important.**"

These and other factors, taken together, not only hasten and facilitate the victory, in any form, of socialism, but increase the possi-

*Witness, for example, the changes in the structure of the working class examined in the discussion conducted by *World Marxist Review* in 1960-1961.

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

bility of its being achieved by peaceful means.

The Program of the CPSU contains the point that peaceful revolution may be accompanied by the purchase from the bourgeoisie of the basic means of production (although purchase is not in all cases the hallmark of a peaceful revolution). In their time Marx, Engels and Lenin allowed that "we would get off cheapest if we could buy out the whole lot of them"; and this is all the more possible in our times.

There are, of course, factors which can hinder the peaceful development of the revolution. But even when these are taken into account, the Communists know that *whereas formerly the bourgeoisie was stronger than the proletariat and often forced the latter to give battle when at a disadvantage, today the tables are being turned, and it is becoming increasingly possible for socialism to select both the forms of struggle and the fields of battle.* But possibility is not translated into reality automatically; it depends on the struggle of the masses and, mainly, on the strength of the Communist parties and the correctness of their policy.

4. THE PEACEFUL REVOLUTION AS THE ART OF BUILDING BROAD SOCIAL ALLIANCES

Mutual Aid and Due Regard for the Future Interests of Allies

If armed uprising is an art, then securing the peaceful victory of socialism is no less an art. The chief thing in a revolution, and especially a peaceful revolution, is to build up a decisive preponderance of strength, to enlist on the side of the revolution the majority of the people and to unite this majority against the monopoly bourgeoisie in order, as it were, to lay social "siege" to it and compel it to "surrender."

The Chilean Communists hold that on the basis of the Popular Action Front which includes Communists, Socialists, National Democratic and other parties representing all the democratic forces of the country, a people's government can be established by peaceful means to be followed by gradual transition to socialism.

Speaking at the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, Togliatti said that the best guarantee of Italy's peaceful development "lies in our striving to build today a broad alliance of social forces. . . . What is in question is not alliances of convenience, in which some are instruments in the hands

of others, but mutual assistance, which these groups of citizens should render one another for the solution of their vital issues by combating the economic privileges and power of big business and of the governments subordinated to it."

The forces joined in an anti-monopoly alliance can gain a great deal from it today and still more tomorrow. The social basis of the socialist revolution is widening. In our time the number of people vitally interested not only in the restoration and regeneration of democracy but in the victory of socialism is growing as never before.

In the program documents of the Communist parties the present and future interests of all working people, all anti-monopoly sections of society are reflected more and more fully and concretely. For the peasants the realization of these programs will mean agrarian reforms giving the land to those who till it; for the intelligentsia, it will mean creative freedom on behalf of the people; for small tradesmen and shopkeepers, protection against exploitation by the monopolies, and, to the people as a whole, a policy of peace, national independence, the most progressive system of social security, etc. The specific interests of the youth, old people and women, are provided for. Today there is no question—whether education, or housing, or any other—to which the Communists have not given a positive and constructive answer.

Anti-monopoly unity of the working people is above all a matter of working class united action in the course of day-to-day struggle for economic and political demands.

The struggle for the unity of all working people proceeds on the basis of a united working class and peoples' front and other forms of agreement and cooperation between parties and public organizations. Establishing an alliance between the Communists and the Socialists is of particular importance. The workers have to pay a heavy price for the lack of unity. While exposing the splitters, the Communists are always prepared to engage in friendly and business-like debate with Socialists sincerely devoted to the cause of the working people, and to work for understanding and cooperation with them.

Maximum Use and Development of Democracy

To speak of the "peaceful, i.e., the democratic path of the revolution" as is sometimes done, is a terminological inexactitude, to say the least. The socialist revolution—even when

*F. Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*.

it assumes its sharpest form — always practises democracy and broadens it immeasurably. As for the peaceful revolution, it presupposes the utilization of the democratic processes to *the maximum degree possible* under capitalism, the development of democratic freedoms into a means for the political emancipation of the people. *The more democracy there is, the greater the possibility of a peaceful revolution.* The working class, as Koplenig of the Austrian Communist Party has noted, "can carry out the socialist revolution by peaceful means if it today wages a struggle to uphold and extend its democratic and social rights and gains. . . ." The Communist parties of many capitalist countries have recorded in their programs that the future socialist government must preserve and carry forward the great tradition of civil liberties won by the people. The Communists seek to play their full part in the establishing and the functioning of all democratic institutions from the "lowest" to the "highest," thereby recognizing the significance of democracy *per se*.

The fact that our time is the time of transition from capitalism to socialism by no means implies that the socialist revolution should at this juncture be proclaimed the issue of the day in every bourgeois country. But the struggle to uphold, regenerate and develop democracy, which is an integral part of the struggle for socialism, goes on in all the countries of the capitalist world.

The nature of the imperialist octopus does not change. But it can be restrained, many of its tentacles can be lopped off right now. *Imperialism signifies reaction in every sphere, but at the same time it evokes popular resistance all along the line, poses more and more general democratic tasks which interweave and merge with socialist tasks. In present conditions the proletariat, even before it has won power, can achieve goals which were formerly either entirely beyond its reach or immeasurably more difficult to attain* (such as excluding world war from the life of society, preventing local wars of aggression, gearing the economy to peace, extirpating fascism, the workers' right to a share in regulating all aspects of labor relations in industry, sweeping nationalization on conditions most favorable to the people, etc.). Only pseudo-revolutionaries reject the struggle for democracy "in the name of" socialism, failing to see that this is by no means "desertion" of socialism, on the contrary, it is a tangible way of hastening the victory of socialism.

Dogmatism leads to the absurd conclusion that the less democracy there is, the better it will be for the revolution. . . .

Parliament and Revolution

Of all the variety of means by which peaceful revolution is accomplished, Parliament can be one of the most effective.

The peaceful revolution, however, like the non-peaceful, cannot confine itself to the four walls of the legislative chambers, to the election struggle. It implies placing Parliament in the service of the people and giving it a new content. It is not only a matter of electoral contests or parliamentary debates, but primarily of winning a parliamentary majority for the working class through the revolutionary action of the masses. The revolution develops both at the "top" and the "bottom." Extra-parliamentary mass struggle is the basic guarantee that parliamentary democracy will be genuine and that Parliament will play an increasingly progressive role in the life of the given country.

In countries where the President is vested with considerable executive power, presidential elections sometimes play an even more important role in the peaceful development of revolution than parliamentary elections (the Chilean Communist Party, for instance, stresses this angle). In countries where there are no Parliaments it may be expedient to utilize and transform some traditional national institutions. Moreover, all forms of government, the parliamentary included, may serve as instruments of either peaceful or non-peaceful revolution.

The foregoing, to our mind, shows that what is known as the parliamentary way to socialism is an extremely loose concept. Strictly speaking, there is only one road to socialism—revolution. The heart of the matter, however, is not in the terms used but what they imply.

5. NON-PEACEFUL REVOLUTION AND ITS NECESSITY

Legality is the Death of Reaction

In the 40's and 50's, and also in recent years and months, the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the fight for national liberation have in many cases taken the form of armed struggle.

"The irony of world history turns everything upside down. . . . The parties of Order, as they call themselves, are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves. They cry despairingly . . . 'legality is the death

of us'; whereas we, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like life eternal."* In some countries these words of Engels have a more topical ring today than ever before. Today, too, *the threat to democracy in general and to Parliament in particular comes not from the Left but from the Right*. Today, too, the parties of Order are echoing the despairing cry of their predecessors. What if not mortal fear of democracy is patent in the trend towards fascism so clearly manifest in many capitalist countries of late?

Marxism has always held that it would be naïveté, bordering on betrayal of the masses, to sit back and wait for the opportunity only for a peaceful development of the revolution to present itself, forgetting that there are times when revolutionary expediency, genuinely democratic in essence, must take precedence over formal democracy. Let us stress once again: imperialism is building up its military, police and bureaucratic machine as the principal instrument of its domination, it has not abandoned its efforts to establish a new "holy alliance." *But when reaction resorts to draconic measures to crush the revolutionary masses, then the non-peaceful forms of class struggle, and consequently, the non-peaceful revolution, come to the fore.* In that event the proletariat will not stop at the most severe forms of class struggle, it will not be deterred by the exhortations of the opportunists not to take to arms, it will not be daunted by the ferocity of the battles. Its watchword will then be: "We must take to arms more boldly!" The extent to which arms are used depends less on the proletariat than on the bourgeoisie. But it will always be the task of the revolution—whether peaceful or non-peaceful—to defend and develop genuine democratic legality.

Should the peaceful development of the revolution prove impossible even after the Party has exerted every effort towards this end, its labors will, nevertheless, not have been in vain, for the masses will have thus learned through their own experience that there was, objectively, no way to liberation other than through revolution by force of arms.

Once Again About the Multiplicity and Change of Forms of Struggle

It would be wrong to believe that formerly there was only the non-peaceful road to socialism whereas today peaceful development has become possible and even inevitable,

indeed the universal rule. What has happened is that now the chances of revolution taking a peaceful course are immeasurably greater than in the past, although the possibility of the non-peaceful alternatives cannot be ruled out so long as there is an imperialism armed to the teeth. This point was specially made by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and it is stressed in all the documents adopted by the International Communist movement.*

Even when the bourgeoisie as a whole is compelled to renounce the use of force, some of its groups—either because they overestimate their strength or because of recklessness—may try to force the issue to the point of war.

In some countries the chances of peaceful development of the revolution are now greater, in others the non-peaceful path is more likely (the Communist parties of Guatemala, Ecuador, Portugal, Peru and some others number their respective countries among the latter).

Take Cuba again. Comrade Blas Roca has observed that although the Communists foresaw the armed struggle and spoke of it, they "did not prepare for it in practice. This was our mistake." But they realized their mistake and corrected it. Today Cuba is a beacon for all the peoples of Latin America. Yet the Cubans themselves rightly believe that their experience in armed struggle, while of major international significance, is not obligatory for all. The Second Havana Declaration states: "Whether it (the revolution — G.K.) takes place peacefully or in anguish and travail depends not on the revolutionaries but on the reactionary forces of the old society. . . ."

No revolution is either purely peaceful or non-peaceful. In practice it is a matter of the predominant tendency, which asserts itself over the others. There may be shifts from one tendency to another and, as often as not, combinations of tendencies. Hence no possibility can be ruled out.

Which form of struggle is the best? Guerilla warfare? The political general strike? Electoral struggle? Armed uprising in town or countryside? In what combinations are the various means to be used? To answer these questions it is necessary to take account of the total of constantly changing internal and external factors, in other words, to make "a concrete

*F. Engels, *Introduction to the Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*.

*The claim made by Hoxha and Shehu that the CPSU recognizes only the peaceful revolution, reducing it to reformism, is utter nonsense. It is symptomatic that similar charges are levelled by other "ultra-revolutionaries," such as those of the Trotskyite journal *Fourth International* (No. 14, 1961-1962, p. 9).

analysis of the concrete situation," as Lenin said.

When and how will the revolution begin in one or another country? What spark will ignite the accretion of inflammable material? A new "austerity law" or the murder of a democrat? Increased taxation for military purposes or the installing of American or West German missile bases? An attempt to start aggressive war or to install a fascist regime? No one can give a precise answer. One can set the day and hour only for some concrete action, such as a strike or a demonstration. But there is no timetable for revolution. Day-to-day work among all sections of the population, to know and fight for the needs and interests of the masses, and to rally them in the struggle—in this the Communist parties see the prime guarantee that they will be the first to detect the initial symptoms of revolution, and to prepare its victory.

There are still more than one hundred countries which have yet to traverse the path to socialism. In each of them the most diverse trends may appear and find fruition in the most diverse ways. In the history of every nation there is the specific and the general, the unique and the universal, the national and the international. Future revolutions have a great advantage over the revolutions of the past in that they can learn from all the virtues and defects of the latter. But any mechanical application of even the valuable experience of other countries is fraught with the danger of setbacks. The Communists see in the in-

creasing variety of forms of struggle for socialism a token of its irrepressible vitality, a law, as it were, of this struggle. But just as important a law is the universality of the basic content of the struggle. For unless this law is observed the movement of a given country toward socialism, taking into account its specific features, will not be accelerated but retarded.

* * *

In conclusion, I should like briefly to enumerate some important questions which are being raised with increasing frequency in the Communist press of late and which have a direct bearing on the subject of this article. What is the relationship today between democracy and socialism, between revolution and reform? What are the features of revolutionary situations in our time? In what way is the revolutionary role of the political general strikes increasing? What transitional stages can be discerned in the course of the struggle for socialism? How is the old government machine abolished and transformed in the process of peaceful and non-peaceful development of revolution? What attitude is the army likely to take during the revolution? What will be the role of national democracy in the transition of the newly-independent states to the non-capitalist road?

Life moves on. It poses a multitude of new problems. The most difficult, but also the happiest, time lies ahead. All who strive for social progress will, sooner or later, become conscious of the need for socialist revolution and make common cause with the Communists.

The True and the False Friends of the Arab People

Aziz Al-Hajj (Iraq), Abdelkader el Ouahrani (Algeria),

Adnan Safi (Syria)

SINCE the Second World War the Arab peoples have made considerable headway in their struggle for national liberation. Some have achieved political independence, others are carrying on the fight with mounting vigor. But the more widely the freedom movement spreads, the more frenzied the efforts of the imperialists to stem the tide. Above

all they are trying to split the national front in each country and to drive a wedge between the embattled peoples and their true friends—the socialist countries and the peace forces generally.

World imperialism headed by the USA, not only resorts to armed action in the Arab countries. It has also mounted an ideological

and political offensive with the accent on anti-communism. As the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union points out, anti-communism "is the meeting-ground of imperialist ideology and the ideology of the feudal, pro-imperialist elements and the reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie of the countries which have gained their freedom from colonial tyranny.

"The anti-popular circles of those countries," the Program declares, "seek to tone down the general democratic content of nationalism, to play up its reactionary aspect, to push aside the democratic forces of the nation, to prevent social progress, and to retard the spread of scientific socialism."

The Anti-Communists Are the Servants of Imperialism

The ideological drive against communism in the Arab countries has a double aim: first, to denigrate Marxist-Leninist theory, to "refute" it and depict communism as the "new imperialism," and, second, to smear the Communist parties, branding them as "unpatriotic" and "agents of Moscow."

In recent times there has been a spate of scurrilous anti-communist writing along these lines, ranging from cheap pamphlets to bulky and pretentious volumes laying claim to scientific merit. Many of these publications bear the unmistakable imprint of foreign (imperialist) origin and the co-authorship of colonial police agents and renegades from the national-liberation movement who have sold out to the imperialist intelligence services.

An effusion of this type is the tract *Local Communism and the Arab National Struggle* which has been given wide publicity in some Arab countries.

Let us examine some of the "theoretical" postulates in this "work" since they are typical of other anti-communist outpourings.

Striking the pose of "champions" of the Arab peoples, the authors declare: "The Communist movement bases itself on the class, not on the nation. Therefore its point of departure is *international* and not *national*." From this they argue that the Communist movement attaches no *real* significance to the bonds which unite all the members of a nation on the basis of common language, history, territory, culture, customs, traditions and the higher interests of the country. Then comes the false claim that "communism holds that loyalty to one's nation and environment is not of primary importance."

Cruder misrepresentation of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice can hardly be imagined.

The existence of classes and class struggle is an objective fact, however hard the "refuters" of communism try to prove the contrary. Incidentally, Marx pointed out that it was not he who discovered classes and class struggle (see Marx's letter to Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852). Scholars like Thiers, Guizot and Ricardo had written about class struggle before Marx. The idea of the existence of classes was expressed in embryonic form also by the 14th century Arab thinker Ibn-Khaldun when he spoke of the ruling caste in these terms: "This is a category of people who scorn labor, revel in luxury and exploit others."

What Marx did was to show that the existence of classes is bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

Basing themselves on the objective laws of social development, including the laws of the class struggle, the Communists ascertain the stage through which the revolutionary struggle is passing in their respective countries at the given time and define the tasks ahead. In countries still under colonial rule they fight above all for political liberation from imperialism. This aim achieved, they move on to the struggle for far-reaching economic and social reforms, in particular agrarian reform, economic independence and full democracy. All this accords with the interests not only of one class but of the overwhelming majority of the nation—workers, peasants, intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie.

The preamble to the national program of the Communist Party of Iraq, adopted in 1960, states: "The basic tasks of our revolution as a national-democratic liberation revolution are to eradicate the survivals of imperialist exploitation, to achieve the independence of our country and develop it further, to abolish the remnants of feudalism and to win freedom for the people. . . . The program does not set any socialist aims, yet its fulfilment would create the material conditions that would open the way to socialism." The same idea is contained in the program and other documents of the Communist parties of the other Arab countries.

At the present stage the Communists in these countries are working for the consummation of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. This task, which corresponds to the fundamental interests of all the people, requires the creation of a national united front of all patriotic forces, including the anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie, around the worker-peasant majority of the nation. The reason why none of the Communist parties in the Arab countries urge the immediate building of socialism is that while not concealing that socialism and communism are their ultimate aim, they know that the conditions, both objective and subjective, in their countries make it imperative to solve the general democratic tasks first. Hence their efforts to expose the "nationalist socialism," "cooperative socialism" and the other chimeras advocated by some Arab rulers as a cover for anti-democratic policies.

Nasser talks about establishing a "socialist" form of government in Egypt. Kassem speaks of ensuring prosperity for all and eliminating class distinctions in Iraq. But no unbiased observer can fail to see the brutal exploitation of the workers and peasants that goes on behind all the talk about "socialism." Indeed, how can such talk be taken seriously when the ideas of scientific socialism are ruthlessly combated and elementary democratic freedoms are trampled underfoot? What is actually happening is that the Right wing of the national bourgeoisie, allegedly "in the national interest," is seeking to pre-empt the fruits of independence.

The anti-Communists distort the Marxist-Leninist view that national oppression is rooted in class exploitation and ignore the fact that only under socialism can the peoples really prosper and build their relations on a voluntary foundation of fraternal cooperation and friendship, as proved by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the other multi-national socialist countries.

The relations between the socialist countries fully bear out the Marxist-Leninist precept that antagonism between nations disappears together with antagonism between classes.

Only the working class, then, is capable of solving the national question correctly and once and for all, whereas the bourgeoisie only aggravates the problem by sowing strife between nationalities. This is evident from the whole of modern history, including the history of the Arab countries. The most recent example is the policy of the Kassem government, which oppresses the Kurds of Iraq, denying them elementary national rights and

independence. Such a policy hinders joint action by Arabs and Kurds against imperialism and feudalism and invites imperialist encroachments on the independence of the republic. On the other hand, the narrow nationalist trends among the Kurd bourgeoisie in Iraq are also detrimental to the common cause.

The anti-Communists accuse the Communists of having no love of country, and to bear out this contention they invoke the *Communist Manifesto* where Marx and Engels declared that "the working men have no country." From this it is deduced that the Communists, as representatives of the working class, are not patriots. Moreover, the anti-Communists take care never to cite the passage to the end, for it sets forth the Marxist viewpoint on the national question and this is just what they seek to conceal. The complete passage reads: "The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."

In other words, since in capitalist society the proletariat is dispossessed, enslaved, and denied all rights, it fights to become the ruling class, the leading class of the nation, and takes its destiny into its own hands. Then not only the proletariat but all working people will achieve freedom and become the masters in their own house.

Lenin wrote in 1908: "The proletariat cannot treat the political, social and cultural conditions of its struggle with indifference, or equanimity, consequently, it cannot remain indifferent to the destiny of its country."*

And in 1914 he stressed: "We love our language and our country, we are doing more than anybody to raise *her* toiling masses (i.e., nine-tenths of *her* population) to the level of the conscious life of democrats and Socialists. . . . We are filled with a sense of national pride, and for that very reason we *particularly* hate *our* slavish past . . . and our slavish present. . . ."

The patriotism of the Communists, however, has nothing in common with chauvinism or narrow-minded nationalism. They love their people and uphold its interests, but at the same time they respect other peoples and support their struggle for liberation. Patriot-

*V. I. Lenin, *Militant Militarism and the Anti-Militarist Tactics of Social Democracy*.

**V. I. Lenin, *The National Pride of the Great Russians*.

ism and internationalism are inseparable and mutually complementary principles of communism. The cause of the international working class—emancipation from exploitation and the building of socialism and communism—is linked with the national struggle of the oppressed peoples against one and the same enemy—the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Communist ideology is the ideology of the working class, an expression of the vital interests of this class which by virtue of its place in society is opposed to all forms of oppression and national discrimination. This, in fact, is its historical mission. The Communists, therefore, are guided by the Marxist axiom: "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations." All the activities of the Communist parties are proof of their loyalty to this internationalist principle. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for example, has always supported the national-liberation struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. As a matter of fact, its Program declares that "the CPSU considers fraternal alliance with the peoples who have thrown off colonial or semi-colonial tyranny to be a cornerstone of its international policy. This alliance is based on the common vital interests of world socialism and the world national-liberation movement."

The French Communist Party, which has been rightly called the "party of the executed" as a tribute to its heroism in the patriotic struggle against the Nazi invader, has always supported the struggle of peoples oppressed by French colonialism. Today too it fearlessly upholds the right of the Algerian people to freedom and independence. The Communists of Britain, Holland, Portugal and other countries with colonial possessions are equally staunch internationalists.

As the founders of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly stressed, and as is pointed out in the 1957 and 1960 statements of the Communist and Workers' parties, proletarian internationalism is a Marxist-Leninist principle obligatory for every Communist. Dominant-nation chauvinism, like narrow nationalism, harms the international working-class movement as well as the vital national interests of the countries concerned.

Precisely because of this the international Communist movement has condemned the stand taken by the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor. The line pursued by these leaders tends not only to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, it runs counter to the

vital interests of the Albanian people by jeopardizing their socialist achievements.

The anti-communists in the Arab countries shout about "export of communism"; for them every mass movement is the work of the sinister "hand of Moscow." This nonsense, however, no longer deceives anyone. It is the imperialists who, with the aid of local agents, "export" to the Middle East and North Africa aggressive pacts, nuclear bases and engines of war to be used to sow death among the people of Algeria, Oman and other countries. It is the imperialists who export monopoly capital to this area in order to plunder the oil wealth of the Arab countries. It is they who back despotic regimes, use Israel as an instrument of provocation and aggression in the Middle East, and export anti-communist propaganda together with third-degree experts to torture Communists and other democrats. In vain are the imperialists trying to hide all this behind the Big Lie about the "hand of Moscow."

Revolution, being the outcome of the objective laws of social development, cannot be "exported" or "imported." Communist parties emerge and are built up in the course of the organized, conscious struggle of the working class in each country, not through export-import operations.

In the Arab countries, too, the Communist parties took shape and gained strength as a result of social contradictions and historical necessity. From the beginning they took an active part in the national-liberation struggle; in fact, they became its motive force. And when the imperialists talk about the "import" and "export" of revolution, they do so only to retard the spread of communist ideals and principles, which are winning the hearts and minds of the working people, including the revolutionary intelligentsia.

Ideas can strike root among the masses only if they correspond to their interests and promote social progress. At all times and in all countries, the Arab world included, progressive ideas have spread in spite of the suppression of freedom of thought and persecution of its champions. The peoples turn to progressive theories irrespective of the racial or national origins of their authors. In our time communist ideas exert a powerful impact and find a response among the working people because they embody the fundamental demands of social progress and reflect the hopes and aspirations of humanity. This explains why the new Program of the CPSU was so warmly welcomed by the oppressed nations

and all working people throughout the world.

Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma, as some of its falsifiers would like to make it appear. It is a guide to action. Therefore the world Communist movement, while combating revisionism as the main danger, also combats dogmatism, which may become the main danger, in one or another party at one or another stage of its development, as the 1960 statement of the Communist and Workers' parties correctly points out.

The Communists always take due account of the situation in their respective countries, the features of the revolutionary movement, national character, and other specific conditions. For example, the Rules of the Tunisian Communist Party state: "The Tunisian Communist Party bases its activities, both present and future, on Marxism-Leninism, seeking to elaborate on the foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory and scientific method a line corresponding to the situation in the country." Similar provisions can be found in the documents of other Communist parties in the Arab countries.

The Arab Communists Are the Steadfast Champions of Their People

When the anti-communists find themselves unable to distort and misrepresent Marxist-Leninist principles, they resort to the allegation that communist practice does not coincide with Marxist-Leninist theory. Juggling with facts and twisting the meaning of Party documents and declarations, they exert every effort to blacken the Communists.

Take, for instance, the problem of national independence. This slogan was put forward by the Communist movement from the very outset, notwithstanding all the repressions and terror.

Before the revolution of 1952, the Communists of Egypt were the first to call for armed struggle and the expulsion of foreign troops. They were the first to oppose involvement in military pacts and to demand the establishment of a republic, abolition of feudalism, nationalization of enterprises belonging to the colonialists, first of all the Suez Canal, and the establishment of a national army to defend independence.

The struggle waged by the Egyptian Communists in 1946 against colonialism and ex-King Farouk, and their heavy losses during the armed uprising of 1951 are proof of their patriotism. In 1956 when Britain, France and Israel attacked Egypt, the Communists, just let out of prison, joined the fighting forces and held aloft the banner of freedom amid the ruins of Port Said.

The Communists in the Sudan have fought with equal courage to free their country from colonial slavery. Side by side with their Egyptian brothers, they fought the common enemy for the people's right to decide their own destiny. And since to win this right it was imperative to oppose the slogan of "Nile unity" advanced by the Egyptian big bourgeoisie with the object of subjugating the Sudan, which had just thrown off the yoke of British imperialism, the enemies of the Egyptian and Sudanese peoples tried to turn this circumstance against the Communists in both countries. But in vain. Proclaiming their own sovereign republic, the people of the Sudan rebuffed these intrigues.

The Communists in Syria and in Lebanon courageously fought the French occupation. When, for instance, the colonialists conspired to sever the Alexandretta area from Syria and hand it over to Turkey, the Communists worked hard to expose and frustrate the scheme. Despite the hardships of illegality they were in the forefront of the resistance to the Vichy regime. They were the first to demand the withdrawal of the British and French armed forces from Syria and Lebanon. And when freedom was trampled underfoot in Syria by the Shishakly dictatorship, it was the Communists who sustained the people's faith in better days to come and headed their struggle against the dictatorship and colonialism. In 1956-57, after the overthrow of the dictatorship, they headed the national forces in defense of the independence of the young republic and, defeating the colonialist conspiracy, dispelled the danger hanging over the country. At present the people of Syria have rid themselves of another dictatorial rule imposed on them ostensibly in the name of Arab unity, and are continuing the fight for genuine democracy. This confirms the correctness of the position of the Communist Party, the only party in the country which consistently opposed the reactionary dictatorship.

In 1958, during the armed uprising against the tyranny of Camille Chamoun and his American backers, the Lebanese Communists were in the vanguard of the struggle, playing a major part in uniting the various ethnic groups and rallying them to the defense of independence and democracy. The role of the Communist Party in solving the national crisis is now generally recognized. Hence the respect it enjoys among the population. The Party's prestige can be judged if only from the wave of protest evoked by the murder of Farajallah Helou.

From the moment of its founding in 1934 the Communist Party of Iraq demanded that all treaties with the colonialists be denounced and foreign troops withdrawn from the country. During the popular movements (in 1948, 1952 and 1956) preceding the revolution of July 14, 1958, the Iraqi Communists correctly assessed the situation and established themselves as a national force capable of the most selfless struggle. Scores of Communists were done to death in prisons and concentration camps, and thousands are still languishing in captivity. The words uttered in 1947 by Yousif Salman (Fahad), General Secretary of the Party, at the trial where he and two members of its Political Bureau, Bassim and Al-Shabibi, were condemned to death, are remembered to this day: "Ever since I became a Communist I have felt a greater responsibility to my country and my people."

The efforts of the Iraqi Communist Party to safeguard the independence of the republic and the part it has played in defeating the reactionary conspiracies are common knowledge. In spite of slander and terror, the Party's prestige has grown, thanks to its struggle for democracy, a genuine agrarian reform, the just demands of the Kurds, and for solidarity with the independent Arab countries.

In Jordan, too, the Communist Party has raised the banner of national struggle against colonialism and its accomplices. When the Nabulsi government came to power in 1956, the Communists supported it, time and again warning against and exposing the conspiracies hatched by the colonialists and local reactionaries. In 1957, however, the reactionaries, backed by the U.S. fleet, succeeded in overthrowing the Nabulsi government, and the subsequent course of events fully confirmed the correctness and timeliness of the Communist warnings. Not only the Communists but all patriots became the victims of the reprisals. And despite the terror, the Communists are continuing to fight tirelessly for Jordan's deliverance from colonialism and reaction.

The Communist Party of Morocco always fought against the French protectorate, and for this it was continuously hounded and eventually banned. But though forced underground, it worked to build up the resistance movement. After the liberation, the Communists were the first to demand the evacuation of all colonial troops, genuine independence, the creation of a national economy on solid foundations, democratic reforms and popular government. The influence wielded by the Moroccan Communist Party is recognized by

all nationalist organizations and by all sections of the population. When proceedings were instituted against the Party some time ago with a view to banning it, even the lower court which heard the case could not ignore its enhanced weight and was forced to dismiss the charges as unfounded.

The Communist Party of Tunisia, whose leaders and members were thrown into prison for their part in the national-liberation movement, did its bit in the struggle against the occupation. Today the Party carries on the fight against all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism, demanding the liberation of Bizerte and complete economic independence, and exposing the pro-Western policy of the Tunisian rulers. This policy, the Party stresses, must be replaced with a firm course corresponding to the country's interests, aimed at upholding peace, and free of outside influence.

From the very beginning of the national revolution in Algeria, the Communist Party of that country has taken an active part in the struggle. Because of this, it was banned by the French colonialists. As its contribution to the national liberation, the Party at first organized its own armed detachments, but in 1956, in order to unify the national armed forces, it decided to merge these units in the National Liberation Army in conformity with an agreement reached with the National Liberation Front. At the same time it called for trade union unity within the framework of the General Workers' Union.

The National Liberation Front is not a united *front* of parties, it is an association of patriots individually affiliated with it. The Communist Party, however, could not agree to dissolve itself, as the nationalist parties did, for only by retaining organizational and ideological independence as the party of the working class and the poor peasants could it best serve its country's interests. At the same time it gives every support to the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Government in the common struggle against colonialism, working steadfastly to broaden national cooperation and solidarity. As a matter of fact, the National Liberation Front has advanced as its own some of the slogans of the Algerian Communists, and on a number of important issues—as regards the attitude toward the European minority in Algeria, mass action, external alliances, etc.—it shares the attitude of the Communist Party.*

*For a more detailed discussion of these questions see articles by Larbi Bouhali in *World Marxist Review*, No. 2, 1958, and No. 5, 1961.

"We are proud to be Algerians and to be fighting for Algeria's liberation," Ahmed Akkache, Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, declared during his trial by a colonialist tribunal. "The only government we recognize is the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. If we are to be tried, only the people of Algeria are competent to be our judges. We have nothing to fear because of our actions in the war for national liberation. As an Algerian, I am proud of my country."

The latest developments in Algeria fully bear out the correctness of the policy of the Algerian Communists as set forth in the book *Our People Will Win*, published in November 1960.

The facts cited above amply prove the patriotism of the Communists in the Arab countries. Let the slanderers try and refute them!

The enemies of the Arab democratic movement claim that the Communists oppose Arab unity as a matter of principle. The facts, however, prove the contrary.

The Arab liberation movement developed in the struggle against colonialism, which plundered the wealth of the Arab countries, trampled on their independence, sustained feudal relationships and denied the people democratic freedoms. The Arab Communists hold, therefore, that the task of the national movement in their respective countries is to achieve democratic liberation in the interests of all sections of society, to extirpate every vestige of colonialism and feudalism. The unification of the Arab countries is a complex problem which can be solved only through the struggle of all the Arab peoples without exception against imperialism and feudalism, for independence and democracy. The forms of this broad movement and its methods can, of course, differ.

As a basis for uniting or establishing contacts between two or more Arab countries the Communists propose the following basic principles:

- complete liberation from colonialism, continued struggle against imperialism, for peace, and for cooperation with all opponents of colonialism, especially with the socialist countries;

- democratic reforms and above all guarantee of democratic freedoms;

- due regard for the specific conditions of each country, viz., the diverse nationalities and national minorities of non-Arab origin, quite numerous in some Arab countries, and

differences in levels of economic development; —the unconditional right of all Arab peoples to order their own destiny as they see fit.

No real unity is possible without strict observance of these principles. This was shown once again by the example of the union of Syria and Egypt, which actually deprived Syria of its national independence and democratic social gains, subordinated its economy to that of Egypt, abolished civil liberties and subjected patriots to persecution. There can be no doubt that the deplorable experience of Syria, the continued conspiracies against the Iraqi republic and interference by the Cairo rulers in the affairs of the Lebanon and other Arab countries, have grievously harmed the Arab liberation movement, causing alarm in the various countries and giving rise to discord between them.

The withdrawal of Syria from the UAR showed that the Communists in the Arab countries were right in exposing the fallacy of the "Arab unity" slogan advanced by Nasser.

Khaled Bagdache, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Syria, was quite correct when he declared that "the dissolution of the Syrian-Egyptian union did not signify the breakdown of Arab unity; what collapsed was anti-democratic policy, the policy of anti-communism." Premature association can but disperse forces and play into the hands of the colonialists.

The slander-mongers claim that communism is opposed to "positive neutralism" and that the "two camps are out to capture each other's spheres of influence though neither can bring happiness to the people."

To equate the positions of the socialist countries and the imperialist camp is tantamount not only to undermining faith in the former but also to bolstering up the prestige of the imperialists, to whitewashing their sinister record and diverting the masses from struggle against imperialism.

What, in reality, is the attitude of the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union, to the Arab peoples?

Shortly after the October Revolution of 1917 the Soviet government supported the uprisings against foreign occupation in Egypt and Iraq. In 1924 the Soviet Union condemned British actions in Egypt. In 1926 it recognized the independence of Saudi Arabia, and in 1934 insisted that the League of Nations should annul the mandate system. In 1946 the USSR vetoed a Security Council resolution prejudicial to the interests of the Arab coun-

tries concerning the evacuation of colonial troops from Syria and Lebanon. In 1950 it condemned a tripartite declaration of the colonial powers which jeopardized Arab interests. In 1956 and in subsequent years the USSR repeatedly denounced the imperialist intrigues against Egypt, Syria and Iraq. And, as mentioned above, the firm stand taken by the Soviet Union at the time of the Suez adventure saved the independence of Egypt—and not only of Egypt. Needless to say, the other socialist countries have always strongly supported the Soviet Union's friendly attitude toward the Arab peoples.

The antagonism between the two camps can by no means be reduced to a struggle for "spheres of influence," as the anti-communist propagandists would have it appear; rather it is a struggle between the forces of freedom and peace, on the one hand, and the forces of slavery and war, on the other.

The rulers of those Arab countries in which anti-democratic terror is rampant claim that protests on the part of the public in the socialist countries against acts of violence are a "violation" of the principle of peaceful coexistence and signify "interference" in their internal affairs.

Yet by no stretch of the imagination can peaceful coexistence be interpreted to imply that socialist public opinion should close its eyes to terror, no matter where it occurs—in the Congo or Spain, Peru or Paraguay, the UAR or Iraq. It is only natural that the peoples of the socialist countries, brought up as they are in the spirit of internationalism and humanism, should voice their protest against the murder of Farajallah Helou, the outstanding Arab leader, just as they condemned the killing of Lumumba and as they are protesting against the danger hanging over Antoine Gizenga, the Congolese patriot; Maidana, Secretary of the Paraguayan Communist Party; Albizu Campos, the Puerto-Rican national hero; Iranian patriots, and many others.

* * *

The Arab peoples know that imperialism is their enemy, the brake on their country's progress. This applies also to those countries which have won their independence. Algeria, Oman and the "emirates" of the South have

not yet rid themselves of direct colonial oppression. Jordan remains a dependency. Other countries are, increasingly, caught in the stranglehold of the imperialist powers, especially of the USA and West Germany, which have intensified their economic penetration through "loans" and "aid." In Morocco, Libya, Tunisia and Saudi Arabia there still are foreign military bases which imperil the security of these countries and restrict their sovereignty. Moreover, CENTO and Israel are a grave menace.

Political independence alone cannot satisfy all the aspirations of the Arab people. Moreover, political independence without the firm foundation of economic independence is unstable and subject to endless perturbations. It is imperative to effect far-reaching changes in both economic and social life. To carry the national-democratic revolution to completion, the people must be ensured democratic freedoms and a national regime established on the solid foundation of popular government.

As experience has shown, the Communists are the most consistent patriotic force in the Arab countries, working as they are for the full realization of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal aims of the revolution. They know that no single party and no single class can achieve such momentous goals. The cooperation of all the patriotic and democratic forces is essential. For this reason the Communists urge the formation of a broad united national front.

In recent times Communist influence has grown greatly all over the world. Communist ideas are being carried out by more than 1,000 million people in the socialist countries and their impact is exerting a decisive effect on the march of world events. These ideas illumine the way ahead for the millions of Communists in the capitalist countries and their countless allies among all sections of the population.

The anti-communist lies and slander spread by the false friends of the Arab peoples cannot undermine the trust which the working people, all true Arab patriots, repose in the Communists, cannot weaken their unity in the struggle for genuine national independence, for democracy, and for world peace.

The Economic Competition Between Socialism and Capitalism— a Perspective View

Vadim Zagladin

IS IT POSSIBLE to foresee the future?

Throughout history man has dreamed of a "magic mirror" which would reveal to him his future, help him to find the quickest way to freedom, well-being and happiness. In Marxist-Leninist theory—embodied today in the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which contains a detailed, scientifically substantiated plan for the building of communist society—Man has acquired such a mirror.

Realization of this blueprint of communism will give new impetus to human progress in general. The influence exerted by the economic and cultural achievements of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community will, increasingly, make itself felt throughout the world; socialist example will assert itself more and more in peaceful economic competition between the two diametrically opposed systems as a cardinal factor of revolutionary transformation on our planet.

The victory of socialism in this competition will change the world beyond recognition. And because of this people follow with keen interest the achievements of the socialist world; because of this the new Program of the CPSU, the charter of human happiness and master plan of communist construction, is in the center of attention.

1. THE USSR TWENTY YEARS HENCE

Let us project ourselves into the future. Imagine that we have before us a summary of the fulfilment of the state plan for 1980 issued by the Central Statistical Board of the USSR. We read:

"The people of the Soviet Union have marked the past year—the last year of the 20-year plan adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU in 1961—with further success

in developing the economy and raising the standard of living.

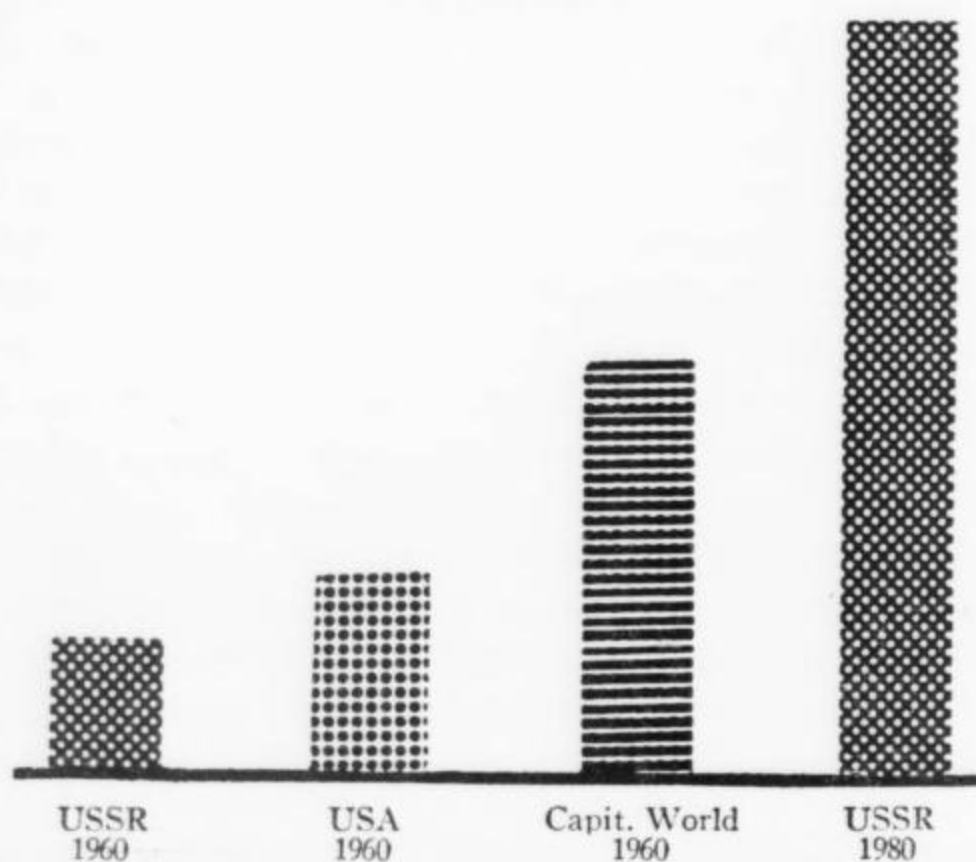
Industry

"In industry. . . ."

In the terse language of figures the summary goes on to say that in the past 20 years industrial output in the USSR increased more than sixfold and agricultural production roughly three and half times. The gross social product increased fivefold.

In tangible, visual terms what does this mean? It means that in these 20 years five industrial countries and two and a half agricultural producers at the level of the USSR in 1960 have been created anew on the territory of the Soviet Union. It means that in 1980 the Soviet Union turned out nearly twice as much industrial output as the entire non-socialist world produced 20 years ago.

**Industrial production
1960-1980**



Further, the Statistical Board supplies data for the output of the basic industrial goods.

Development of Industry in the USSR 1960-1980 (in terms of prices as of July 1, 1955)

	1960	1980	Increase in 1980 over 1960
Gross production of industry, at wholesale factory prices (thousand million rubles)	155	970- 1,000	6.2- 6.4
Electric power (thousand million kwh.)	292.3	2,700- 3,000	9.2-10.3
Steel (million metric tons)	65	250	3.8
Oil (million metric tons)	148	690- 710	4.7- 4.8
Gas (thousand million cubic meters)	47	680- 720	14.4-15.2
Coal (million metric tons)	513	1,180- 1,200	2.3- 2.34
Output of engineering and metal-working industries (thousand million rubles)	34	334- 375	9.8-11
Mineral fertilizers (million metric tons)	13.9	125- 135	9 - 9.7
Plastics (thousand metric tons)	332	19,000-21,000	57 -63
Artificial and synthetic fibre (thousand metric tons)	211	3,100- 3,300	14.7-15.6
Cement (million metric tons)	45.5	233- 235	5.1- 5.2
Textiles of all kinds (thousand million square meters)	6.6	20- 22	3 - 3.3
Leather footwear (million pairs)	419	900- 1,000	2.1- 2.4
Cultural and household goods (thousand million rubles)	5.9	58- 60	9.8-10.1

Perhaps a few comparisons will help us to grasp the magnitude of these figures:

Electric power: an annual output of 3,000,000 million kilowatt hours is more than the world total in 1961 and 340 times the overall target of the GOELRO plan which, when drafted, seemed stupendous and was regarded in the West as a sheer utopia.

Steel: the 185-million ton increase in annual output needed to bring yearly production up to 250 million tons is roughly equal to the total 1961 output of the USA, Federal Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Canada and Belgium taken together. To ensure this growth production capacity had to be expanded in the 20 years by the equivalent of no less than 30 plants of the size of the Gary mills belonging to the United States Steel Corporation.

Oil: 710 million tons is more than double the 1960 output of the USA, then the world's biggest producer.

The Statistical Board reports the complete electrification of the country, the perfected technology and organization of production based on electric power, all-round mechanization, automation and extensive use of chemical processes as the underlying factors of steady economic advance. Accelerated development of new industries, sources of power and types of materials is another factor of no minor significance.

Then come figures on *agricultural production* in the period 1960-1980 showing that the farms have fully met the demands presented by the expanded economy and the growth of population:

	1960	1980
Grain (thousand million poods)	8.2	18- 19
Meat (million tons)	8.7	30- 32
Milk (million tons)	61.7	170-180
Eggs (thousand million)	27.4	110-116
Sugar-beet (industrial, million tons)	57.7	98-108
Potatoes (million tons)	84.4	156
Vegetables (million tons)	19.2	55
Fruit, berries and grapes (million tons)	4.9	51

Rational utilization of the natural, material and manpower resources and the linking of science and production have ensured an unprecedented advance in science and technology, as well as production. The general level of culture and technical skills has risen considerably. Labor productivity has long been far in advance of the leading capitalist countries; this, as a matter of fact, is a cardinal condition for the victory of the communist system.

The Statistical Board emphasizes that these achievements signify *that the material and technical base of communism has been created* in the USSR. Another landmark is that the land of the October Revolution now enjoys *the highest standard of living in the world*.

The annual national income grew in these 20 years approximately fivefold, and per capita real income three and a half times. All citizens are ensured a balanced diet conforming to scientific standards of nutrition, many of them (children and disabled) free of charge. This signifies an abundance of consumer goods. Public transport is free. The housing problem has been fully solved, with each family living in comfort in rent-free modern flats. The working day reduced to six hours, with further reductions in the offing, gives the USSR the shortest working day in the world. Education, the health service and public utilities are all free. . . .

Fulfilment of the 20-year plan will revolutionize the economy. Nor will the impact be limited to the economic sphere. The social and political picture will also radically change; in two decades from now communism will have been built in the main in the USSR.

For the present, however, we shall confine ourselves to the economic aspect and examine the prospects of the economic competition of the two systems during the next 20 years.

2. THE COMPETITION BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA

The economic competition between the two systems began with the Great October Revolution of 1917. At first the odds were heavily against socialism. For nearly three decades it was represented by only one country—the USSR, which inherited an extremely backward economy, an economy, moreover, all but reduced to a state of collapse by the First World War and the Civil War. At the same time the capitalist world spared neither effort nor money to prevent the economic development of the socialist state. For the sake of this “noble” aim, capitalism resorted to armed intervention and economic blockade, espionage and sabotage.

Nevertheless the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party and drawing on the advantages of the socialist system, overcame all obstacles. The strides made by the Soviet economy are common knowledge. Compare, for instance, the gross industrial output with that of the leading capitalist country—the USA. In 1921 industrial production in the USSR amounted to only two per cent of the U.S. figure. Ten years later—in 1932—it had increased to 19 per cent of the U.S. production, in 1940 to 28 per cent, in 1953 to 34 per cent, and in 1960 to 60 per cent. Thus by the early sixties Soviet industry was turning out nearly two-thirds of the U.S. output.

The economic competition has now entered on a new and decisive stage. The gap between the two production levels has been so narrowed that *the victory of the USSR in an historically brief space of time is a foregone conclusion.*

This victory will be the decisive element of the overall victory of socialism over capitalism. For the USSR and the USA account for nearly half of the industrial output of the socialist and capitalist worlds respectively.

How will this epoch-making competition develop in the coming years?

The Program of the CPSU declares:

... The CPSU plans the following increases in *total industrial output*:

“within the current ten years, by approximately 150 per cent, exceeding the contemporary level of U.S. industrial output;

“within 20 years, by not less than 500 per cent, leaving the present overall volume of U.S. industrial output far behind.”

In other words, fulfilment of the plan of communist construction will signify victory

in the peaceful economic competition with the USA.

Are the aims outlined in the Program realistic? Unquestionably. The 20-year plan proceeds from the annual rates of growth called for by the current seven-year plan. But industry has already topped these rates. During the first three years of the seven-year plan the average annual increase amounted to 10.1 per cent as against the 8.3 per cent called for by plan. There is no doubt that in the future, too, the plans will be carried out in equally fine style and ahead of schedule.

In the United States the actual growth of industrial output was 1.8 per cent in 1945-61, and 2.2 per cent in 1957-61.

True, U.S. leaders say that the rate will go up at least to 2.5 per cent, and some of the more hopeful even speak of five per cent a year. It is doubtful, however, if there are grounds for this. At any rate, in 1961 the growth was only *one per cent*. If the 1.6 per cent increment in population (2,900,000) is taken into account, it will be seen that per capita production actually declined.

But even if we assume the unlikely—that U.S. industrial production will increase faster than at any time during the past half century—the Soviet Union is bound to come out in front in ten years at the most. Here are some estimates on this score:

Industrial Production in the USSR and the USA (Relative indices)

	USSR compared to USA 1960 level	USA, hypothetical average annual rate of growth		
		2.5%	4%	5%
1960	60	100	100	100
1965	95	113	122	128
1968	125	122	137	148
1970	150	128	148	163
1972	181	134	160	179

As regards farm production, if we proceed, on the one hand, from the 20-year plan and, on the other, from the U.S. rate of growth, which, taken over a number of years, is running at 2.4 per cent annually, we may assume that 20 years from now the Soviet countryside will be producing at least 1.7 times as much as U.S. agriculture.

However, even more indicative than gross production is the per capita output of basic manufactures. How, then, will the present per capita production in the United States compare with per capita production in the USSR in 1960 (assuming that by that time the Soviet population will have increased to about 290 million)?

Production per capita

	USA 1960		USSR 1960	USSR 1980
Total industrial production (%)	100	nearly	50	240
Total farm production (%)	100	nearly	70	175
National income (%)	100	nearly	50	194
Real income of working people (%)	100	nearly	50	175
Steel (kg.)	499		325	880
Electric power (thousand kwh)	5		1.5	10
Coal (tons)	2.16		2.07	4.1
Oil (tons)	1.93		0.76	2.4
Cement (kg.)	295		234	810
Artificial and synthetic fibre (kg.)	4.3		1	11
Cotton textiles (sq. m.)	48		24.3	74*
Woollen fabrics (meters)	1.4		1.6	—
Leather footwear (pairs)	3.3		2	3.5
Wheat (kg.)	206		300	350**
Granulated sugar (kg.)	19		30	48**
Meat (kg.)	99		41	110
Milk (kg.)	310		288	600

*All types of fabrics.

**According to the Soviet economist Mstislavsky.

From the above it can be seen that the Soviet Union is still behind the USA as regards consumption and also overall real income per head of population. However, in assessing this fact two things should be borne in mind: where the Soviet Union started and what the Second World War cost it, as distinct from the USA.

In the next 20 years the picture will radically change. By 1980 real income per capita in the USSR will exceed the present U.S. level roughly by 75 per cent. Moreover, it should be noted that the contemporary statistical averages for the USA have nothing in common with what actually falls to the share of the individual citizen, for they include, on the one hand, the millionaires and their high-salaried executives and, on the other, the millions of unemployed and low-paid workers living in slums and lacking many of the essentials of life. In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, per capita figures are *true averages*, both today and 20 years hence, when every Soviet family without exception will enjoy a sufficiently and then an abundance of the good things of life, material and cultural. That this program will be realized is certain; it is ensured by all the achievements of Soviet socialist economy.

We have concentrated on 1960 as our point of departure in assessing the prospects of the coming two decades. It will be instructive, however, to examine the results of the USSR-USA competition in 1961, the first year of the Big Twenty.

In percentages of corresponding U.S. output, Soviet production of a number of basic items was as follows in 1960 and 1961: iron ore 119 and 166 respectively, steel 72 and 78, coal 114 and 117, oil 42 and 47, electric power 33 and 35, trucks 32 and 36, cement

85 and 94, cotton goods 61 and 63, woollen fabrics 132 and 131, and leather footwear 61 and 73. It will be seen that as regards these basic items the discrepancy between the USSR and the USA was substantially reduced in the course of the one year.

In agriculture the picture was as follows. The grain harvest increased in the course of the year by 2,900,000 tons in the USSR and declined by 15,200,000 tons in the USA. Production of raw cotton increased by 200,000 tons in the USSR and by 100,000 tons in the USA. Soviet milk production went up by 800,000 tons and the American by 700,000 tons. Egg output increased by 1,500 million in the USSR, while in the USA it remained at the previous year's level.

The Soviet Union is steadily gaining on the United States in the sphere of material production. This is the decisive factor, but not the only one. Of immense importance is the fact that in a number of spheres the Soviet Union has *long ago* left the United States far behind. Above all this applies to the sphere of social achievements. "The Soviet

LENIN'S BEQUEST

"I am certain that the Soviet power will overtake and outstrip the capitalists, and that our gain will not be economic only."

"... We shall overtake other states faster than they can even imagine... we believe such a speed is possible, provided the movement is led by a truly revolutionary party, and we shall achieve that speed at all costs."

people already enjoy social advantages that are unthinkable for the working people in the capitalist countries," Khrushchov said at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. "They know nothing of exploitation, unemployment, crises, racial or other discriminations in wages. They are confident of the future."

3. THE SOCIALIST WORLD TWENTY YEARS FROM NOW

The next two decades will see a tremendous advance in all the socialist countries.

Many of them are now drawing up long-range development plans with an eye to the overall prospect of completing the building of socialism and passing over to communism.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, for example, has declared that communism will be reached in that country within the lifetime of the present generation. According to present plans, Czechoslovakia intends to

raise its industrial output by 1980 to roughly five times the 1960 level, and nearly 20 times that of 1937. The annual increase in farm production is expected to be in the neighborhood of 3-4 per cent. Consequently, the total social product will have increased nearly fourfold by 1980. People's Poland is planning to quadruple the national income in 20 years and to raise industrial output fivefold.

According to estimates of the Economic Research Institute of the USSR State Economic Council, industrial production in the socialist world may be expected to increase on the average by 11 per cent in the coming 20 years, with total output showing a more than eightfold increase by 1980. Farm production is expected to increase nearly fourfold. By items the picture is this:

Production of Basic Items in the Socialist Countries

	1960	1980
Steel (million tons)	105	nearly 500
Electric power (thousand million kwh)	470	nearly 6,000
Natural gas (thousand million cu. m.)	59	nearly 800
Coal (million tons)	1,429	4,150
Oil (million tons)	167	800
Cement (million tons)	87	nearly 600
Cotton textiles (thousand million meters)	13	45-57
Leather footwear (million pairs)	666	2,700-2,800
Granulated sugar (million tons)	12	42-43
Meat (million tons)	19	92-94
Grain (million tons)	373	1,100

4. SOCIALISM IS BOUND TO WIN

The socialist world has already outstripped the capitalist world as regards rate of development. In the past four years the average annual production increase in the socialist countries has been 15 per cent, while the capitalist system (even though it has experienced a temporary boom) has not been able to exceed the four per cent mark. In other words, for every three steps taken by socialism, capitalism takes less than one.

Now the socialist community as a whole is out to overtake and surpass the capitalist world for overall volume of production within the immediate future. When this will happen can be approximately predicted.

Academician Strumilin, Soviet economist, estimates the world population figures for 1960-1980 as follows:

Population of the World (in millions)

	1960		1980	
	Total	Per cent	Total	Per cent
Socialist countries	1,050	35	1,687	40
Countries in the capitalist orbit	1,950	65	2,516	60
	3,000	100	4,203	100

Needless to say, these figures may require radical revision. Life flows onward. Suffice it

THE USSR OUTSTRIPPED THE USA

by the Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU (1939) in the production of sugar, wheat, rye, barley, oats, potatoes, flax fiber, sugar beet, bricks, window glass;

by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU (1956) in the production of electric locomotives, railway passenger cars, bricks, window glass, sugar, wheat, rye, barley, potatoes, sugar beet, flax fiber, wool;

by 1960 in the output of iron ore, coal, coke, machine tools, diesel locomotives, electric locomotives, railway passenger cars, tractors, harvester combines, bricks, window glass, dressed timber, woollen fabrics, sugar, fish, wheat, rye, barley, potatoes, sugar beet, flax fiber, milk, butter, wool.

And the list is steadily growing longer.

to recall that since the Second World War no less than 830 million people have broken with capitalism and taken the road to socialism. We do not know, of course, what countries will take this road in the next 20 years, but we can affirm that some will certainly do so, all the more so since *in our time practically any country, regardless of level of development, can take the road to socialism.*

We are confident that by the will of the American people America will have become a socialist country by 1980, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, speaking for the Communist Party of the United States, declared at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

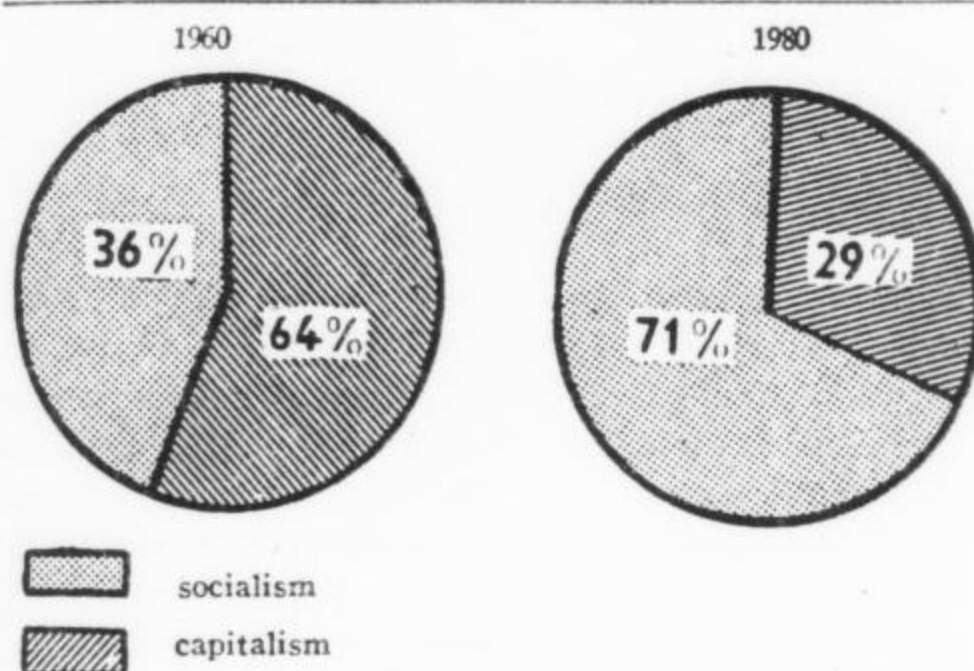
But for all that we cannot base our estimates on the perspective of socialism triumphing in the capitalist countries. Therefore, the following forecast by Academician Strumilin is based on the social set-up in the world today.

Respective Shares of Socialism and Capitalism in World Industrial Production

	1950	1960	1970	1980
	Per cent of world total			
Socialist world	18	33	51	60
Capitalist world	82	67	49	40

Strumilin adds, however, that in all probability the socialist countries will considerably exceed the planned rates and production targets, and that his estimates concerning the prospects of capitalist economy do not take into account such inevitable—or at any rate possible—factors as economic dislocation, the consequences of unemployment or underemployment of capacities. Making adjustments for these factors, if only in part, and assuming

that the ratio between rates of development will be the same as in recent years, the dynamics of industrial production in the two systems in 1960-1980 might look like this:



5. THE COMPETITION MUST BE PEACEFUL

The capitalist press and political leaders describe the aims which the socialist world has set itself as a "challenge to the West." And the leaders of the capitalist world are searching for an answer to this challenge.

Last November, immediately after the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, the U.S. government announced a ten-year economic "counter-plan" for the USA and the capitalist countries of Europe.* French leaders found it necessary to include in their next "four-year plan" measures aimed at keeping up with the Soviet Union. The British government also "replied" with a ten-year plan, and although it does not go beyond platonic declarations, it, too, is symptomatic. Moreover, some American and other bourgeois economists have been pointing to the need to reduce military spending as a condition for economic development.

The Communists cannot but welcome such plans and programs insofar as they are motivated by recognition of the need for peaceful economic competition between the two systems. We do not believe that capitalism is capable of any miraculous spurt forward; its reserves are not what they used to be. But this does not mean that we are against the development of one or another country, that we gloat over economic difficulties in the Western world. The optimism of the Communist world is sustained not by the weaknesses of the adversary, but by its own strength. We are certain we shall win not because we count on disaster striking the camp of capitalism, but because we have

profound faith in the potential of the socialist system.

For the Communists peaceful competition to advance the economy and raise living standards is a most commendable cause. Is our 20-year plan, then, a challenge to capitalism? Yes, if you wish, it is a challenge to a peaceful competition that will give both sides the opportunity to demonstrate what they can do. We are convinced that the victory will belong to socialism and communism.

In the West, too, more and more people are becoming convinced that socialism will win in this historical contest. Yet the conclusions drawn from this vary. Some propose exerting every effort to try and keep up with socialism, i.e., accepting its challenge to a peaceful test of strength. Others—a minority—brandish nuclear bombs in preparation for war, which they see as the only way to prevent socialism from winning. Typical of the latter is Henry Luce, who in his book *The Fabulous Future—America in 1980* predicts that the Third World War may well have taken place at that time. Similar views are expressed by the ultra-reactionary Senator Goldwater, who believes that only when communism has been defeated will there be a "tolerable" peace.

While it is true that the Communists have voiced the certainty that should imperialism resort to the insanity of a nuclear war it will be wiped off the face of the earth, it is not this that accounts for their optimism; the Communists look to the future with assurance because they are confident that they will win in the conditions of peace, that the outbreak of another world war can be prevented.

Communism does not need war to win. As a matter of fact, it is peace that will best enable it to reveal all its advantages over capitalism, whereas war, and especially a nuclear war with all its disastrous consequences, would but retard communist construction for years to come.

People everywhere have no greater wish than to banish the threat of war. Communism will accomplish this task too. With the new society forging ahead from success to success, the forces of peace will acquire a growing preponderance over the forces of imperialism and war.

Precisely because of this, the Communists, and together with them all progressives know that the 20-year plan for building communism is a plan for universal peace, and this twenty-year period will be the decisive period in Man's age-long struggle to abolish war for all time.

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 2, 1962.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

A Party of the People

(Data on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union)

DATA on the development of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, published recently in the USSR, show that it is truly a people's party.

The Party has traversed a long and glorious path from the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded by Lenin in St. Petersburg at the end of last century, to the vast organization, ten million strong, which it is today.

The working people see in the Communist Party their true leader and wholeheartedly support its policy and ideology. One in every 14 Soviet adults is a member of the Party which today numbers 9,716,000 members. Between February 1956 and October 1961 its members increased by more than 2.5 million — a fact which is all the more significant since the Party does not strive for excessive expansion of its ranks and admits only the best.

Enemies of communism try to counterpose the Communist Party to the Soviet people; they depict the Party as something of an "elite," a select and privileged caste composed exclusively of Party and government officials. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The figures show that 34.5 per cent of the members are factory workers, 17.5 per cent are peasants (collective farmers) and 48 per cent office workers and others.

This means that more than half of the members are workers and peasants. As for those who come under the general description of non-manual workers, 29.2 per cent are engineers, technicians, agricultural experts, economists and architects and 21.5 per cent are engaged in research, education, health, literature and the arts. Just over 10 per cent are managers and executive personnel, and under 12 per cent are junior administrative personnel (and the share of these categories is steadily declining). Workers in the trade and public catering organizations comprise 4.9 per cent and the remaining 22.3 per cent are made up of communications, municipal and other workers.

In recent years there has been an influx of industrial workers and collective farmers. More than a million factory workers have joined the Party in the past five years. In 1955 the percent-

age of factory workers accepted as candidate members was 30.4; by 1960 the figure had risen to 43.1 per cent. Twice as many collective farmers were admitted in 1960 as in 1955, comprising 21.7 per cent of the total number of new candidate members for this period. This means that nearly two-thirds of the newcomers are workers and collective farmers.

The nationality of the membership is also proof that it is the party of all the people, founded on the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism. It includes persons of more than a hundred different nationalities, among them 6,117,000 Russians, 1,412,000 Ukrainians 287,000 Byelorussians, 170,000 Georgians, 161,000 Armenians, 149,000 Kazakhs, 143,000 Uzbeks and 106,000 Azerbaijanians.

In the period between the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses the number of women members increased from 1,414,456 to 1,898,759 — one-fifth of the total.

In the past five years much young blood has come into the Party. Between 1956 and 1961, 1,593,500 members of the Communist Youth League were admitted — more than half of all the new members in that period.

The restoration of the Leninist standards of Party life and the increasing emphasis on Marxist-Leninist education have deepened the political consciousness of the members and have strengthened Party discipline as can be seen from the fact that reprimands and expulsions have signally decreased. In the past five years fewer than half as many members were expelled from the Party or dropped out as in the preceding five-year period.

As the figures show, the bulk of the members work in the sphere of production. Of the Communists engaged in the different branches of the national economy, 71.4 per cent are in industry, building, agriculture, transport, communications, trade and public catering as compared to 28.6 per cent in the non-production branches (education, science, health service, administration, public organizations, public utilities, etc.).

With the reorganization of industrial management in recent years and the cut in managerial personnel, the number of Communists working at the point of production has notably increased.

Whereas in 1956 out of every thousand Communists, 870 were working in the enterprises and 130 in managerial jobs, in 1961 the corresponding figures were 954 and 46.

In the collective farms the percentage of Communists directly engaged in crop raising and animal husbandry increased in the five years from 66.7 per cent to 77.4 per cent, while the percentage holding administrative posts dropped from 33.3 to 22.6.

After the Central Committee meeting of September 1953 which called for a radical advance in agriculture, the number of Communists engaged in this branch increased by 1,100,000. The collective farms now have among their mechanics and technicians over 220,000 Party members, or one-fifth of all the collective farm Party members.

There are 4,136,000 members with a higher or secondary education (including 1,283,000 university graduates), which is 43 per cent of the total membership. Over 55,000 members and candidate members have scientific degrees. The large number of specialists in its ranks enables the Party to give skilled and competent guidance in the task of building the material and technological base of communism and transforming social relations.

In 1928, out of 521,000 specialists in the various fields only 6,400 or 1.2 per cent were Party members; today the number has risen to 2,500,000 and comprises 28.5 per cent of the total (8,784,000). In the past five and a half years alone the number of Communists with a higher and secondary special education increased by 50 per cent.

The Party itself is an example of the transition to rule by the people for the people. This is expressed primarily in the steady reduction in the number of paid functionaries in the Party and

in the increasing reliance on voluntary work. In recent years the number of Party district committees has decreased by 1,188, with a corresponding drop in the number of paid functionaries. On the other hand, the Party has today more than 230,000 voluntary instructors, lecturers and members of the permanent commissions attached to the district, city and regional committees as well as to the Central Committees in the Union Republics. More than 600,000 members work in this way in control commissions in the Party branches.

More workers, collective farmers and technical experts of all kinds are being elected to the Party committees. For example, the composition of the district and city Party committees is as follows: 37.9 per cent workers and collective farmers, 17.4 per cent engineers and technicians, agronomists, people working in education, culture, science and in the health service, 10.1 per cent factory managers and heads of building sites and state farms, 26.3 per cent Party and administrative functionaries, and 8.3 per cent office workers.

The 296,000 primary organizations, which give the people day-to-day guidance in building communism, are growing. Six years ago the primary organization in an industrial enterprise consisted of 38 members; today it has 61; on construction sites the corresponding increase is from 26 to 39; on state farms, from 25 to 74; on the collective farms, from 13 to 34, and in research establishments from 45 to 74.

At present some 1,800,000 Party members have been elected to the committees and bureaus of the primary Party organizations and as secretaries, assistant secretaries and group organizers.

These data provide striking confirmation of the fact that the CPSU is a live and growing organism, a powerful ideological and political force, which is confidently leading the Soviet people to communism.

Documents of the Communist Party, USA

Fighting a Police-State Law

BELOW we print excerpts from the statement issued by the Communist Party of the USA in connection with the arraignment of Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis on McCarran Act indictments:

"The arrest of Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis, well-known Communist leaders, and the indictment of the Communist Party, are part of the plot to substitute the McCarran Act for the Bill of Rights. That means a basic change in the way of life for all Americans.

"Enforcement of the McCarran Act threatens to destroy trade unionism, to imprison those who fight racist oppression, to smash academic and religious freedom . . . to make the advocacy of peace and disarmament treason, and nuclear suicide patriotism. Such are the stakes. That is why the Ultra-Right fascists demand its full application. Nobody is safe under McCarranism.

"The McCarran Act would substitute fear for freedom in American life . . .

"This is a police-state law. It is a fascist enabling act which starts with the arrest of two

leading citizens, Gus Hall and Benjamin Davis, but every democratic organization is under scrutiny. Our country becomes a nation of rumor and suspicion, neighbor informs against neighbor.

"The 'Emergency Detention' sections of the McCarran Act provide for a whole system of concentration camps in our country and the dragnet imprisonment of Americans without any regard for courts and Constitution. A major part of this law amends the Nationality Act and is an attack against the foreign-born, including all naturalized citizens, on the basis of an arrogant chauvinist 'American superior race' theory which is taken from the books of fascism. The capacity of the camps which have been established under this law shows that thousands of Americans who are not Communists are intended victims . . . McCarranism is the destruction of democracy. This is the concentration camp stage of McCarthyism . . ."

Registration under the McCarran Act, the statement stresses, means subscribing to the false charges that Communists are foreign agents, that they commit espionage and sabotage, use trickery, deceit and every foul means. "Registration to such blatant lies," the statement goes on, "is political degeneracy and violates every tradition and standard which has contributed to the greatness of our land, our Constitution and Bill of Rights. No Communist and honorable American can possibly submit to such registration which scuttles the Constitutional liberties of all Americans . . ."

"The fact is that in the entire 43 years' history of the Communist Party, not a single member has ever been convicted or indicted as a foreign agent or for engaging in sabotage or treason. Nor has a single member ever been convicted of an act of force directed against the government. No responsible Attorney-General or district attorney has ever produced evidence for such a conviction. There is none. Yet, the McCarran Act writes a 'guilty' conviction into the law without a trial. That is unconstitutional. This trick of the McCarran Act 'finding' is calculated to keep the fascist Big Lie out of the courtroom in the trials of Gus Hall and Benjamin Davis of the Communist Party. When people face 30 years' imprisonment on the basis of a Big Lie and are denied the right to present the facts, the truth, in evidence in the court, that spells danger for all Americans.

"The McCarran Act 'finding' also guarantees a built-in verdict of guilty against Communist 'front' and 'infiltrated' organizations. That can reach practically every American. The House Un-American Activities Committee has just released a report listing 625 popular organizations as 'Com-

munist fronts'. Senator John Tower of Texas is calling for imprisonment 'of every Communist'. The Birchites and others in the Ultra-Right are making the lists which include all the Liberals and the Americans for Democratic Action."

Further the statement declares:

"Every American has a right to know the full McCarran Act danger to this country. The Attorney-General has deliberately evaded his responsibility by his false comparison to other 'registrations'. The Supreme Court narrow majority (in the vote virtually banning the Communist Party.—Ed.) failed in its responsibility to examine the 'findings' and in postponing certain Constitutional questions. Public officials have hesitated to speak when voices must be heard. President John Kennedy has allowed his vote for the McCarran Act in 1950 to stand as a barrier against appointing a Presidential commission to examine and expose the danger of the law to the institutions of American democracy. . . ."

"The Attorney-General made a trip around the world. He boasted about democracy and freedom in the USA. That was expected of him. But his first major act since his return was to call for the indictment and arrest of Gus Hall and Benjamin Davis. That exposes his hypocrisy."

The statement stresses that any yielding to the Ultra-Right is dangerous not only to Americans but to people everywhere. The McCarran Act, it points out, "is the vehicle of the fascists. They call for its application against Communists and liberals in an effort to smash all liberalism in domestic policies and all approaches to peaceful coexistence in international policies. The Ultra-Right brands the United Nations as a Communist front and would call for it to submit to the McCarran Act!"

"Constitutional liberties can be preserved only through a victory over the McCarran Act in the Hall-Davis and Communist Party cases. That victory can be won with the mass support of the American people. The future of this law and the liberties of the American people and possibly the peace of the world are determined by this case . . . However, this case can only be won—and the victory is for all democratic and peace-loving Americans — by the full participation in this fight of all sections of the people having a stake in the victory.

"We Communists have confidence in the people. We also believe that the people will express themselves through every channel of government, including the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, to demand an end to McCarranism and every vestige of McCarthyism. Freedom and democratic liberty in our land calls for unity against the fascist Ultra-Right and support to the Con-

stitutional Rights of Gus Hull and Benjamin Davis and of the Communist Party. Protests and declarations from Americans everywhere to President John F. Kennedy and to Attorney-General

Robert Kennedy are in order. The indictment can and must be dropped. That victory can be won. The Bill of Rights can and must be the effective law of our democracy."

IN DEFENSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A committee has been formed in the USA under the chairmanship of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn to fight on behalf of Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis, and to uphold the right of the Communist Party to participate in American political life. A statement issued by the committee says:

"The arraignment of Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis on March 30 carried the government's persecution of a minority political party and its spokesmen to a stage that cries out for a new and herculean effort to quash the indictments.

"The issue has been joined. Shall the McCarran Act — the Bible of the Birch Societies, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Crusaders,

the White Citizens Councils — be allowed to prevail or shall strong winds of the people's indignation blow the Ultra-Right into the ash-can of history?

"The Hall-Davis committee will conduct a massive educational campaign, organize protests, raise funds for the defense of the Communist Party and of the individuals indicted under the infamous legislation. . . .

"We appeal to all to flood the Attorney-General's office with demands for quashing the indictments against the Communist Party and against Hall and Davis."

Struggle for Democratic Freedoms, for Legalization of the Communist Party in Brazil

THE Communist Party of Brazil, founded 40 years ago in March 1922, has accumulated a rich experience in the struggle against imperialism and latifundism, on behalf of the working people, and for democratic and social progress.

In 1935 the Party, then underground, led the movement for national liberation which developed into an armed uprising.

The uprising was crushed and years of brutal terror followed. The 1934 Constitution was replaced by a Constitution of a fascist type. Parliament was dissolved and a dictatorial regime established.

In these conditions the Party played an important role in organizing the mass democratic movement which during the Second World War forced the government not only to abandon its intention of siding with the Axis powers but to join forces with those who were fighting against fascism.

After the war the Communist Party, which had been outlawed for 23 years, won the right to legal existence. It soon became a mass party with nearly 200,000 members and in the elections to Congress polled ten per cent of the vote.

The democratic movement continued to grow. Despite the resistance of the reactionaries, a new Constitution was drafted and, in 1946, adopted. Drawn up with the active participation of the Communist members in the Congress, the Con-

stitution gave legal embodiment to the democratic liberties and rights won by the working people. At the same time, it preserved the latifundia and envisaged only a limited agrarian reform. This reflected the weakness of the peasant movement in those years.

Success was achieved by the Communist Party, together with other progressive forces, in amalgamating the trade union movement.

In 1947-48, however, the cold war came to Brazil. Reaction and imperialism launched an offensive against the democratic forces. The Communist Party was declared illegal and its deputies ousted from Parliament. The cities in which Party influence was strong were deprived of municipal autonomy. The government began to interfere in the trade unions as well.

The Party, however, continued to fight for democratic freedoms. Thanks to its organizational work and to mass action, municipal autonomy was restored in Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Recife and other cities. By forming electoral blocs and alliances with other parties and putting up joint lists of candidates, the Party helped to advance the democratic movement. Though illegal, the Party was able by invoking Constitutional rights and with the help of the progressive forces to preserve its legal publications in spite of reaction's attempts to muzzle the press.

Throughout the period of three presidencies the reactionaries tried to crush the democratic movement, but without success. Each time they acted the people came onto the streets in protest. In 1954, when the reactionaries deposed President Vargas, the people fought pitched battles on the streets and forced the authorities to observe the Constitution. The mass action on November 11, 1955, dealt another defeat to the reactionaries and paved the way to the election of Juscelino Kubitschek to the presidency. The events of those days showed that in the armed forces too, especially in the land forces, there is a democratic and nationalist wing which upholds the Constitution.

In August 1961, after the resignation of President Quadros, the reactionaries tried to prevent his lawful successor Joao Goulart from becoming President, but were again foiled by the broad united front movement. This success was the result of the upsurge of the democratic movement, of the desire of the Brazilian people for independence and progress.

* * *

The working class and its vanguard are playing a big role in the democratic movement in Brazil. However, the process of extending democracy under the direction of the national bourgeoisie is being kept within definite limits. As the class contradictions and tensions grow, the bourgeoisie tends to come to terms with imperialism and democratic reaction. Fearing that power might pass into the hands of the main revolutionary force during the military political crisis of August 1961, the bourgeoisie who headed the united front adopted the path of compromise, saving the conspirators from complete defeat. Relying on the reactionary majority in Parliament, they introduced amendments in the Constitution giving Parliament extensive rights while curtailing the powers of the President. The result was that the power was turned over to a government which, along with the progressives, includes such notorious imperialist agents as Moreira Salles. The present government pursues a policy of compromise and agreement with the imperialists and latifundists and takes the line of appeasing the plotters.

Opposed to this policy are the consistent supporters of the united front who are rallying all those interested in independence and progress. An expression of this new democratic tendency is the establishment of a National Liberation Front.

The program of the Front includes nationalization of the public utilities, which have been handed out to foreign concessions (Leonel Brizola, governor of the state of Rio Grande do Sul and President of the National Liberation Front, has already announced the nationalization of a U.S. tele-

phone company), establishment of definite restrictions on the export of profits by foreign companies, nationalization of foreign bank deposits, confiscation of fortunes made by unlawful means, a genuinely independent foreign policy, and the solution of other vital problems.

Agrarian reform, the main objective of the peasant movement, is another key point in the program of the National Liberation Front. The movement for agrarian reform is becoming more and more organized and is beginning to play an important role in the democratic movement as a whole. During the military-political crisis of 1961 the peasants in some areas also came out in defense of the Constitution. Thus a process was initiated in the course of which the struggle in the towns will be co-ordinated with the struggle in the countryside, and the alliance between the workers and the peasants consolidated.

At the first national congress of agricultural workers held in Belo Horizonte, capital of the state of Minas Gerais, after the August 1961 events, the peasants adopted a resolution calling for expropriation of the latifundia. In Rio Grande do Sul, Leonel Brizola is depriving the latifundists of their ownership rights to land which has been taken over by the peasants. The peasants are taking over land also in the states of Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Pernambuco.

With the development of the democratic movement, the struggle for Constitutional amendments that would make for agrarian reform and other urgently needed changes and give the franchise to soldiers and illiterates is gaining momentum.

Conditions are maturing in Brazil which can lead to the establishment of a political power of a new type, a power representing the forces that are genuinely striving to end Brazilian dependence on imperialism, abolition of the latifundia and the opening of broad opportunities for the advance of the country and the welfare of its people.

* * *

We are living in new times, the turbulent times of national-liberation revolutions. The socialist world system continues its irresistible advance, while imperialism no longer has the whip hand over the majority of mankind. This is taking place at a time when the general crisis of capitalism has entered its third stage, becoming deeper and deeper.

The Cuban revolution has had a powerful impact on the minds of the people and is a further stimulus to the democratic process in Brazil. It is for this reason that the ruling classes of Brazil, among whom there are not a few rabid anti-Communists, have not dared to take action against Cuba, despite the pressure by the North Amer-

ican imperialists. The fact that Brazil did not fall in with the United States' position at Punta del Este is an indication of the strength of the mass democratic movement in Brazil.

We are faced with a new situation brought about by the successes of the working masses in the struggle for independence and democratic freedoms. The balance of forces no longer favors the plotters and other enemies of the people who are being forced to conceal their actions and to resort to terror. The striving for democracy, peace, progress and socialism is growing in Brazil and making itself felt more and more. Against the background of this new situation the fact that the law banning the Communist Party, the staunchest and most consistent champion of democracy, still remains in force is a complete anachronism.

As the democratic process develops it becomes more and more imperative for the Communist Party to be able to function legally in order that the advanced sections of the working class might participate freely in the democratic movement. Without this no revolutionary changes aimed at the regeneration of Brazilian society can be carried out to the full.

Under the influence of the latest successes of the democratic movement, the Brazilian courts have cleared the Communists of the charges

trumped up against them and have reaffirmed their right to free political activity. Moreover, Parliament recently passed a law granting a broad amnesty to all political leaders persecuted by the authorities since 1934. In the light of these facts the time is ripe for the repeal (and the sooner the better) of the anti-democratic and discriminatory statutes of the Electoral law, Article 58 of which debarb Communists from participation in elections and deprives them of the right to nominate candidates. 0

The democratic movement fully supports the Communist Party's struggle for legality. By their work on behalf of the people, the Communists have won the respect of the masses. Under the present electoral law any political party applying for registration must submit the signatures of 50,000 voters. More than 70,000 voters all over the country have already given their signatures. The 40th anniversary of the Communist Party was the occasion for big demonstrations of solidarity with the Communists and support for the Party's campaign for inclusion in the electoral lists.

The question of the full legalization of the Communist Party must be settled immediately, once and for all.

Carlos MARIGHELLA.

Britain: A Communist Party Factory Committee

IN the course of its Party Building Year the Communist Party of Great Britain has been devoting special attention to the position in the factories.

For the purpose of securing a further advance in membership and to bring about a considerable development of Party organization in industry, a National Factory Conference was recently organized. The Conference was held in London and was attended by 340 comrades representing factory branches as well as important places where there are not, as yet, branches of the Party.

In their contributions the comrades who took part in the discussion revealed the progress that had been made in building the Party in the factories. Some of the factory branches number up to 100 members. One of the branches in the motor industry near London had recruited 44 new members in the past year.

The discussion showed growing understanding of the all-round political work that has to be undertaken by factory branches. Much excellent work has already been done by our comrades in the factories. In the past year in the battle for peaceful settlement of the Berlin issue, against

West German troops coming to Britain, for higher wages and in opposition to the Common Market, masses of leaflets and pamphlets have been distributed, and a great number of meetings organized.

The biggest peace movement for many years is now active in Britain, but it has lacked a really solid base in industry and amongst the organized working class. Considerable efforts are being made to eliminate this weakness. An excellent report of building up peace committees in factories was given by a comrade from Manchester. In one factory more than 200 workers had already declared their support for the aims of the peace committee.

Every speaker at the Conference paid tribute to the *Daily Worker* and spoke of the great need for a really big advance in its circulation in the factories. In an engineering factory in Glasgow with 3,000 workers, 300 read the paper every day; an engineering factory branch in London sells 175 copies each day, and won 20 new readers in the week following the engineers' first one-day strike; our best Yorkshire factory branch sells regularly to one in 12 of the workers.

A branch in Essex told of its efforts to provide education for its members. A comrade from a motor factory in Birmingham related how they were engaging in self-study. Extremely important, it was noted, are public meetings outside the factory gates during the lunch break organized with the support of the district functionaries.

By these means the branches have built up around them an organized reserve of politically clear and staunch supporters. And the possibilities in this respect are great. For example, our biggest factory branch in Scotland has an organization and leadership in every department of the factory that ensures close touch with all sections of the membership and the workers, and prompt reaction to all issues, as well as effective distribution of the paper and all leaflets.

At the same time the comrades pointed to the difficulties and shortcomings in the work of the branches. In some factories, even big ones with numerous Party members, there is much to be done to secure the same level of organization and to build the Party in all departments.

In his reply to the discussion Comrade Gollan dealt with the need for a very much bigger Communist Party, especially in the factories, and drew upon the experience of the current industrial and

political situation in Britain to underline the urgency of our Party building drive.

Arising from the Conference it was agreed that the best examples of work, recruitment, organization, would be popularized so that all could study and benefit.

The Party districts are now devoting more attention to the existing factory branches and to setting up new branches. In Scotland the aim is to establish 15 new branches before May 31 and double the number in the period ahead; London is tackling the job of building a network of branches in six major industries; in the city of Manchester three new branches are being set up with another three in the offing; two branches were set up in Birmingham, within a week of the conference; Yorkshire aims to build seven branches quickly, while nine places have been selected in the North-East, and so on.

We are confident there will be a successful development of our work and organization in the factories in the months ahead. A big contribution can, and must, be made by our comrades in industry to the growth of our Party into a mass political force in Britain.

W. LAUCLAN,
National Organizer,
British Communist Party.

Growing Influence of Communists in West German Factories

THE West German monopolies, with the support of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders, have stepped up their offensive against the political rights and living standard of the workers. On the other hand, there is a growing movement among the workers for higher wages, and to preserve their democratic and social gains.

In these conditions it is vitally important to strengthen the Communist Party's contact with the working masses. The Central Committee accordingly has appealed to all Party organizations to intensify their activity in the enterprises, to strengthen the factory branches and form new ones, and to recruit by August 17 (the sixth anniversary of the banning of the Party) 3,000 new members, mainly young workers, trade union activists, members of factory committees, sports and youth organizations which have proved their mettle in the fight for the workers' interests.

More attention should be paid to the factory organizations, and a big improvement in political work at the larger enterprises and in the war industry is essential. The Communists should reg-

ularly discuss topical issues of immediate concern to the workers in the given enterprise or workshops.

Here are some examples of how the Central Committee's instructions are being carried out.

At one factory in North Germany there had been for a long time only one Communist. Although he had worked alone he had won the support of his workmates. This comrade organized a discussion group of six young workers at which questions ranging from how to fight for the workers' demands to how to expose the machinations of the reactionaries were debated. After a time the members of this group began to speak at trade union meetings. Later on four of them joined the Communist Party. True, the organizer of the group was fired, but by that time there were four Communists in the factory instead of one, and they formed their own branch.

Communists in the Dynamit-Nobel A.G. plant in Troisdorf, near Cologne, initiated a campaign to expose the war criminal Flick, to whose concern this plant belongs. They published a damn-

ing indictment of this former Nazi, which declared that "in the interests of our own safety the evil deeds of this merchant of death must stop" and ended with the words: "Hands off work that does not serve peaceful ends!"

The factory branches popularize Communist ideas through their bulletins. Some of these have been appearing regularly since 1956, i.e., since the Party was banned. In the past few years their number has increased so notably that their total circulation now exceeds that of the bulletins published when the Party was legal. Besides the more widely-known factory bulletins like *Die Glocke* in Bochum, or *Gaslaterne*, put out at the Hamburg gas works, and *Die Wahrheit* published by one of the big Hamburg plants, there are many others whose courageous work has won not a few new members for the Party.

In an article on the subject of "How To Know Your True Friends," the bulletin *Denken ist die erste Buergerpflicht*, organ of the regional Party

committee in Wuerttemberg, tells its readers that it is in the fight for higher wages, against nuclear armaments, for a peace treaty with both Germans that they can learn who are their friends and who their enemies.

The Party branch in the Dunlop works in Hanau recently put out the first number of its bulletin *Der Dunlop Reifen*. "The appearance of this bulletin," reads the editorial in the first issue, "is proof that the Communist Party of Germany has not been destroyed by the ban. It continues to function. Others have tried to wipe out the Communists before this—the Kaiser and Hitler, for example — but they perished themselves. The Communists cannot be destroyed for the simple reason that they are sons and daughters of the German working class. And there is no force on earth that can destroy the working class."

Kurt LANGE.

The Guatemalan Party of Labor Strengthens Links with the Masses

IN conditions of sharp political struggle, the Guatemalan Party of Labor has been able to extend its influence and to strengthen its organization.

After the counter-revolutionary coup of 1954, accomplished with the aid of imperialist intervention, the Party's main concern was to preserve its organization and its activists and to lay the foundation for further development. Contacts between Party members at that time were casual, irregular, both at place of work and residence.

After its Third Congress in 1960, the Party reorganized the local organizations in line with Leninist principles, and with the aim of recruiting more members and of establishing closer contact with the masses. Where possible, branches were formed in the enterprises and in residential areas. And although Party organizations have not by a long way been established in all factories, much has been done in this direction.

The structure of the Party organizations in rural areas has not changed to any appreciable extent. Here Party work is conducted by branches for farm laborers on the estates and for peasants in the villages.

Committees of friends and candidate member groups were organized which help keep the Party in touch with its sympathizers.

Party activity is concentrated in major industrial and rural centers. And although working un-

derground, the Communists in the capital, in the municipalities and departments held meetings to discuss the reorganization. For the first time in underground conditions, with strict observance of inner-Party democracy, leading bodies were elected. This reinvigorated Party life, brought the Party closer to the people, and enhanced activity and militancy.

The fact that for the first time in recent years we were able to conduct a successful campaign for funds testifies to our contact with the masses. The Party appealed for funds to diverse sections of the population, explaining to them the aims of our struggle. The target was greatly exceeded, and this we regard as a victory in all respects (especially because victimization increased in the final stages of the campaign). The work of the leading committees was closely coordinated with that of the local organizations.

Twice monthly during the fund campaign we put out a bulletin, *Campana*, which had for its slogan: "Strengthen the Party's Finances and Step Up the Revolutionary Struggle."

In the course of the campaign the people gave evidence of their appreciation of the Party. Many workers contributed one day's wages. Outdoor fêtes, socials, raffles and excursions were organized and the proceeds given to the Party. Small shops were opened in Guatemala City, the proceeds of which also went to the Party fund. A

group of women members, for example, together with women from middle-class families, opened a second-hand clothes shop. Some of these shops are still going and help to replenish the Party's treasury.

Our comrades in the countryside showed examples of initiative and self-sacrifice. Despite the ever-present danger of police repressions, men and women rented plots, cultivated them jointly and placed the proceeds of the harvest at the Party's disposal; fruit, fish and even cattle were also sold for the fund; hunts were arranged and lotteries held for agricultural implements. Women opened canteens and laundries.

Students took an active part in the campaign. The National Campaign Committee, summing up the results, noted the shortcomings of the organizations which had not done too well, and singled out the branches and activists that had distinguished themselves. While the campaign brought some organizational shortcomings into relief, it also showed that some branches had established close contact with the masses. A clear picture was obtained as to where new branches or groups of sympathizers could be established. A number of new Party organizations were established in the course of the campaign.

E. VILLATORO

Chile: Successful Recruitment Campaign

THE Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party, held in March, registered a notable growth in Party membership and influence. The recruitment campaigns, one of which we describe below, played a useful part in this.

The Elias Lafertte memorial recruitment campaign held over May-November 1961, was a great success.

Nearly 10,000 new members joined the Party and 456 new branches were formed, including 264 in factories and 123 in rural areas. Forty-six women's branches were also formed.

The district committees in Santiago merit special attention. The Southern district committee recruited 1,903 members; the Northern district admitted 1,675 new members and now has a total of 3,256.

The aim of the campaign was to strengthen the Party, first and foremost in the industrial enterprises and in the countryside. But this did not mean that we underestimated the importance of recruiting intellectuals and professional workers.

Each branch drew up its own plan of action, and emulation was organized. The campaign was conducted in three stages. Meetings summing up the results were held upon the completion of each stage, thus enabling the Central Committee to give help where it was most needed. Each Party organization had to show how many members it had before the campaign, how many lapsed members had returned to active work, and the number of new members. Attention was paid also to the social origin of the new members. The organizing committee issued a special bulletin featuring the progress of the campaign. Posters, items in the Party press, leaflets, personal letters and public meetings addressed by prominent Party leaders — these and other methods were widely used during the campaign.

The branches with the best results were awarded prizes.

A number of factors explain our success. Despite the anti-communist propaganda, there is considerable interest in communism, and the interest is growing as people become familiar with the program for building a communist society adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, and as they learn of the progress of the socialist countries generally.

The popular struggle, headed by Communists, was, of course, a decisive factor. There was only one Party member, for example, in a textile factory employing 2,800 workers. Yet because he staunchly fought for the workers he was elected chairman of the trade union organization. When the rejection of the workers' demand for a wage increase resulted in a 63-day strike the Communists called for solidarity with the strikers. Communist municipal councillors and M.P.s, and the Party branches in the neighborhood helped in collecting money and food for the strikers. Communist doctors attended their children; Communist M.P.s, together with members of vigilance committees, took their places in the picket lines. Together with the trade union officials, they participated in the negotiations with the employers and with the official labor disputes representatives. This support was appreciated by the workers 200 of whom joined the Party.

Another example. On July 22 last year, 2,500 homeless workers began in an organized way to mark off plots in Santa Adriana (San Miguel commune) to build huts. The police appeared with instructions to disperse the workers immediately. Threatened with violence, the homeless appealed to the Communist M.P.s, who immediately came and obtained the assurance of the authorities that the people would be allowed to remain on the

plots until the matter was taken up in Parliament.

The battle went on for several days. Reactionaries called for force against the squatters. The Communists launched a big solidarity movement.

Under pressure the government agreed to grant the squatters plots on other sites, to provide building materials, and to install water supply and sewerage. The squatters saw how the Communists headed their fight and 300 of them joined the Party.

Considerable success was achieved among the peasants thanks to the local organizations in the towns, whose members meet the peasants regularly at weekends. A group of comrades, office workers, for example, took the village of Isla de Maipo, not far from Santiago, under their patronage. They became friendly with the peasants, brought them newspapers and journals and discussed the issues of the day with them. They told the peasants about the Communist Party, what it is fighting for, and about its proposals for tackling agrarian problems. This painstaking work yielded fruit. The Party branch formed in the village now has 40 members.

In other places sympathizers and their families are invited to attend Party meetings. They are told about the Party's program, political events at home and abroad, about the Cuban revolution,

the achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Many join the Party at such meetings.

As our ranks grow the question of political education arises. We try to foster in the new members love of their Party, to draw them into active Party work and to make them worthy leaders of their class. To acquaint the recruits with the organizational structure of the Party and with Party policy, we have issued a booklet outlining the history of the Party and explaining the Leninist principles of Party building and the rights and duties of members.

The experience of the Elias Lafertte campaign and its success show that we can win many more members.

In connection with our Twelfth Congress we held a discussion of the changes in the Party program, not only in the Party organizations, but among the working class and the progressive sections of the people and among our allies in the struggle for national liberation. Needless to say this gives them an even better understanding of the Communist Party and its aims and will bring into our ranks all who are eager to fight for deep-going changes in the country, for peace, democracy and socialism.

José GONZALEZ

Ceylon: The Communist Party Safeguards National Interests

THE democratic forces of our country have learned from experience that the policy of the Communist Party is correct, and are vigorously upholding the policy of unity.

In the early part of 1960, a broad unity of nationalist and progressive forces was created to fight back the attempts of foreign imperialism and its supporters in Ceylon to recapture political power. As a result, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Communist Party and Lanka Sama Samaja Party concluded an electoral agreement and defeated the forces of reaction in the general election.

With unity between these parties, a more favorable basis has been created for consolidating the unity of all democrats and patriots, for transforming this unity into a stable and constantly expanding alliance of patriotic forces in order to make national independence complete, to liquidate what remains of the imperialist economic domination, to abolish the feudal survivals, ex-

tend democracy, build the national economy and steadily improve living standards.

Thanks to the persistent struggles waged by the people and the Communist Party, some headway has been made in this field.

The monopoly stranglehold of the British and American oil companies was broken by the establishment of a state Petroleum Corporation which imports oil products more cheaply from the USSR and other countries. The share of the state and the cooperatives in the import trade was increased. Life insurance was made a state monopoly. The domination of the Catholic Church and other reactionary vested interests over the system of education was, in the main, broken by taking over the private schools and incorporating them into the state system of free education. The power of the compradore bourgeoisie has been reduced by import curbs, tighter exchange restrictions and greater state control over the banking and credit system, including the nationalization of the Bank of Ceylon. The agrarian reform

law has been amended to overcome sabotage by reactionaries and landlords, and a new rent law, which benefits the working people, has been passed. Agreements signed with the socialist countries and their aid in building a number of industrial and agricultural projects, including a steel factory, a factory for manufacturing tires, etc., have created conditions for Ceylon's industrialization.

But the Sri Lanka Freedom Party — the ruling party in our country — has not made full use of the possibilities for further democratic development. Frightened by the high level of working-class activity, the government betrayed the alliance with the Left, failed to take the necessary measures to ensure the country's economic independence, and began its policy of conniving with reaction.

The Communist Party repeatedly warned about the danger of installing a military-police dictatorship, a danger aggravated by the fact that key posts in the armed forces, the police and the machinery of state continue to be in the hands of reactionaries.

In January the reactionaries made an attempt at a coup d'état to install a military-police regime. True, the attempt was frustrated, but the reactionary forces have not yet been defeated, and they still dream of seizing power. The Communist Party demands an early trial and severe punishment for the plotters, it is insisting that the Volunteers' Corps — the center of political reaction in the armed forces — be disbanded.

The Communists say that the working class and the Left parties, even despite their disagreement with the government, support it in everything which helps to uphold and extend democracy.

"In order to fight this coup," Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the Communist Party, said in Parliament, "we are not asking you to agree with us. You should not ask us to agree with you. The coup threatens both of us. So let us fight it together."

In the struggle to maintain unity the Communist Party has proved itself to be a consistent patriotic force and has won high prestige among the masses.

In the past our Party did not make adequate use of the possibilities for extending its ranks.

Its Sixth Congress (December 1960) scathingly criticized tendencies towards sectarianism, on the one hand, and towards bourgeois parliamentarism and liberalism, on the other. The Congress urged the Party to combat and eliminate these tendencies which had a negative effect on the growth of the Party, to implement a Leninist style of work, extend inner-Party democracy and ensure sound collective leadership at all levels of Party work. It called for closer contact between leadership and membership and between the Party and the people.

The Congress adopted a plan for a year (1961) of Party development. Among the targets of this plan were: recruitment of at least 3,000 new members; a 10,000-copies increase in the circulation of Party newspapers; creation of a system of regular Party schools; increasing the number of full-time officials, with emphasis on officials for rural areas; translating works of Marxist-Leninist classics into Sinhalese, and putting the finances of the Party on a firm footing.

The plan, which was hailed by the members, led to an upswing in Party building. In 1961 over 60 new branches were formed; an advanced school, schools at district level and branch schools for young Communists and candidate members were opened. The circulation of Party newspapers went up by 8,000 copies. The number of new members stipulated in the plan was recruited.

In order to help to establish closer contact with the peasantry, the Central Committee drew up a questionnaire on the agrarian problem. Party branches in the rural areas are using this questionnaire to make a thorough study of the problems of their areas; the Communists visit peasant homes and discuss the questions with the peasants. This will help us in preparing the new agrarian program which the Sixth Congress instructed the Central Committee to draw up.

A number of conferences on local self-government, education, culture and on other subjects were held during 1961; these conferences have helped to improve the work of the Party, its contact with the masses, and to elaborate further its policy in these spheres.

K. P. SILVA.

National Organizer,
Ceylon Communist Party.

France: Higher Educational Establishments in the Anti-Fascist Struggle

IN France the higher educational establishments and the intellectuals have always played a big part in the fight against fascism and for the regeneration of democracy.

Last February intellectuals participated with the working class in the strikes and street demonstrations for peace in Algeria and for curbing the fascists.

The plastic bombs of the OAS have not spared the intellectuals, especially lecturers and students. The fascists always try to terrorize the men of culture.

Students, along with teachers and research workers, took part in the strikes and demonstrations held in solidarity with the OAS victims. This is a new element in the democratic movement in our country. For whereas in 1934 students were largely under the influence of the various fascist organizations, the reverse is true today. Now the students in their overwhelming majority are on the side of the anti-fascists. A merit of the Communist Party is that it has played a big part in rallying the student youth alongside the working class.

The National Union of Students is participating in the anti-fascist struggle together with the General Confederation of Labor and the other trade union bodies. Not a single act of aggression against the intellectuals is left without response.

Hundreds of committees for struggle against the OAS are being set up by the anti-fascists in the universities, in the lycées and other establishments. The committee in the National Library in Paris, for example, includes the entire library staff and is headed by the director.

The student committees coordinate their work with the committees of teachers and scientific workers. The Communists are most active in the committees forming the local united front organizations. In these committees we find Communists, Socialists and Republicans, people of various political and religious convictions, working side by side. These committees, independent bodies, elect their officials, draw up their plans of action and decide on the forms and methods of the struggle.

They have an important part to play in the struggle against the fascists, to expose every instance of complicity with them by people in

the administration, in the police and in the army. Like the committees in the residential blocks and in factories, they are entitled to insist on protection for public men and for premises threatened by the OAS.

Coordinating bodies have been established with a view to stepping up the activities of the committees and for the exchange of experience. A conference of the anti-fascist committees of the universities and intellectuals was held on February 11.

At this conference some individuals (whose anti-communism impels them to reject joint struggle against fascism) attacked our Party. These moves began with the formation early this year of an anti-fascist league sponsored by Jean-Paul Sartre and Laurent Schwartz. The aim was to transfer to a group of "Left" intellectuals the leadership of the anti-fascist struggle including the working-class struggle, i.e., to concentrate leadership of the struggle in a kind of party of "Left" intellectuals.

This is just one of the numerous maneuvers designed to remove the Communists from leadership of the anti-fascist struggle. In point of fact these maneuvers fall in with the intrigues of Right-Wing Socialists like Guy Mollet, for their objective is to split the anti-fascists and weaken their activities, which, of course, would play into the hands of the OAS.

Our Party won the confidence of the intellectuals by explaining our position and proving our sincere desire to unite all democrats.

Today the intellectuals' anti-fascist committees are stronger and more united. Their role has become still more important now that the OAS is persisting in its crimes, trying to prevent the implementation of the cease-fire agreement in Algeria.

Thus the progressive intellectuals, in alliance with the working class, will help to bar the way to fascism, to achieve peace in Algeria and create conditions for the re-establishment and regeneration of democracy.

*Louis BAILLOT,
Member, Central Committee,
French Communist Party.*

Short Notices

Denmark

THE COMMUNISTS IN HOLBEK

HOLBEK is a small town with a population of 15,000. It has a few factories, but none of them employs more than 150-200 workers. The rest of the inhabitants are shopkeepers and artisans and municipal employees. The trade unions have a membership of 3,400 most of whom are Social Democrats. The largest union in Holbek is the union of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, with 950 members. Its chairman is a Communist who has held the post for the past 17 years.

Although the Communist Party in this town has only 65 members it plays an important part in the political life of the town and the neighboring communities. Nearly everyone in Holbek knows Aksel Hansen, the local Communist leader, and hardly a day passes without someone coming to him with some problem or other. Communists have been elected to leading positions in the trade unions, the housing cooperatives and tenants organizations, and other bodies. They frequently contribute to the local press, and take part in the debates held in the town and in the nearby villages.

The Communists helped to set up the local peace committee and take an active part in its work. Together with the Radicals, the Social Democrats and non-Party people, they conducted a big campaign in connection with the first Danish anti-nuclear march to Copenhagen which started at Holbek.

Although they do not have their representatives in the municipal council, the Communists nevertheless influence it by means of proposals and statements submitted either directly or through the trade unions or other organizations.

Aksel Hansen attributes the growing influence of the Communists to the fact that the Party maintains close contact with the masses. "Everyone in town knows us," he says, "and we for our part know our town, its people and their problems. We try to get every Party member interested in active political work. At our Party meetings, which are lively and well attended, we acquaint the comrades with world developments and discuss current Party matters. Our drawback is that we have not yet learned to make use of the sym-

pathy we enjoy to spread our political influence. There is no doubt that the open support for the Communists in such a small town as ours is a big step forward. And when it comes to such important questions as the fight for peace, for Danish independence, against the Common Market and the joint Danish-West German military command, we have the active support of the workers. Before the municipal elections we drew up a plan of work. Among other things it was proposed that every Party member should give 10-15 talks on political questions. Later, the work of the Party organization was reviewed and the results of the talks summed up, and this has helped us in our search for more effective means of explaining our policy to the people."

Indonesia

URGENT TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party has adopted a resolution briefly summarizing recent developments in Indonesia in connection with the fight for the liberation of Western Irian and the difficulties with food supplies.

The resolution calls on the government and the people to continue the struggle for the liberation of Western Irian and rejects the view that it cannot be liberated until the economic difficulties in the country are overcome.

The resolution also condemns the opinion held by some people that the struggle to liberate Western Irian should take precedence over the needs of the people. Such an attitude shows a disregard for the sufferings of the people, inability to manage the economy and lack of faith in the power of the people to carry out the two closely connected tasks — to liberate Western Irian and to make things better for the people.

The Political Bureau emphasizes that both these tasks can be accomplished at the same time; it calls upon the Communists, the People's Youth organization and sympathizers to increase the output of food products, and suggests various measures to promote the cultivation of rice and other food crops. The Political Bureau urges the government to carry the land reform into effect and to abandon the policy of raising prices.

Cuba

MARXIST-LENINIST TRAINING

AN important source of theoretical training for the revolutionary cadres of Cuba are the various types of political schools which have been functioning in that country for many years. In the five years prior to the fall of the Batista dictatorship some 200 comrades received political education at the Central Political School of the Popular Socialist Party.

A system of political schools, supervised by the United Revolutionary Organization (ORI) are functioning today in all parts of the country. They teach the rudiments of dialectics, historical materialism and political economy.

The Central School, which has 60 students, gives a six-months course in the works of Marx and Lenin, political economy and the foundations of Marxist philosophy. The experience of the Cuban revolution, the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the international situation, the history of Cuba, and the building of the ORI are also carefully studied. Besides the Central School, there are 16 provincial schools which give a three-month course.

At a national conference of these schools, called for the purpose of generalizing the experience of political study, some suggestions were made for improving the work of the schools and promoting the education of the Party members. In 1961, schools where the members could receive basic revolutionary training began to be set up. These are boarding schools (or semi-boarding) opened at the big enterprise, sugar refineries, state farms, in the towns and in rural districts. Students study Fidel Castro's speech "History Bears Me Out," Blas Roca's book *Foundation of Socialism in Cuba*, questions relating to the international Communist and workers' movement, political economy and other subjects.

There are schools for active members of the youth and women's movement and for the army. In the course of eight months a total of 1,175 persons went through the course of provincial political schools and over 4,000 at the revolutionary training schools.

Luxembourg

COMMUNISTS IN MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

ACITY fall-out shelter planned for the Luxembourg capital will cost the taxpayers an estimated 30 million francs.

The Communist members of the city council have pointed out that the money to be spent on the shelter would be enough to modernize several sections of the city and install a sewage system. "The need for a sewage system," reads the statement of the district Communist Party, "is as pressing as the so-called shelter is senseless, wasteful and expensive." Only the joint efforts of millions of people can avert nuclear war, the statement stresses.

The Communists show that the government's foreign policy is linked up with its domestic policy which signifies increased exploitation, a rising cost of living and inflation. Not long ago the question of prices was raised by the Communist members in the Chamber of Deputies. Comrade Useldinger pointed out that rising prices, increased taxation and currency devaluation were the result of the heavy arms spending by the government.

The Communist Party explains to the people that by opposing NATO it is defending the cause of peace and national independence and upholding the vital interests of the working people.

At an open meeting of the Esch town council held to discuss the government's announcement of a further 2.5 per cent increase in taxes, the Communists exposed the class nature of this measure. Citing facts, they demonstrated that the increase was being carried out at the expense of the workers, the small shopkeepers and tradesmen, while the big manufacturers would not be affected at all. This latest tax increase represents a loss to the town of about 10 million francs.

The fight which the Communists are waging against the policy of the ruling classes is being supported by the workers. At the recent elections to the representative bodies of Esch, 25 per cent of the electorate voted for the Communist Party candidates.

Exchange of Views

Paths of Development of Newly Emergent Countries

Blas Roca (Cuba)

THE revolution opened the way to the rapid economic development of Cuba. But it did not confine itself to carrying out the political tasks of national liberation and effecting a far-reaching agrarian reform. It went further, passing on to the socialist stage of development.

In the years immediately preceding the revolution the economy was stagnant. In 1929 Cuba, with a population of three million, produced 5.5 million tons of sugar. In 1958, when the population had increased to 6.5 million, she produced five million tons, i.e., half a million tons less. Moreover, sugar, which comprises 80 per cent of the exports, is the mainstay of the country's economy, employing the bulk of the labor force. Nor was the slump in sugar production compensated for by the development of other branches of industry. In 1958 Cuba was still basically a monoculture country. Imperialism, which had the economy of the country in its grip, was the chief obstacle to development both in agriculture and industry.

The imperialists dominated in the sugar industry. They owned the refineries which processed one-third of the crop and through their banks they practically controlled the remainder. The same applied to electric power and the oil industry; the banks, much of the transport and the entire foreign trade were in their hands.

Formally, Cuba was independent. But in reality she was dependent on the United States which, by its hold on the economy, imposed its will on the Cuban rulers. Ministers were appointed with the approval of the U.S. ambassador. The Cuban delegation in the United Nations took their cue from the U.S. delegate. Cuba's position in the Organization of American States was likewise determined by the U.S. delegation. Cuba could not take a single step in foreign policy without consulting the State Department. Thus, the governments which succeeded one another in Cuba pursued a policy dictated by the monopolies and the government of the United States.

The economic stagnation deprived over 600,000 Cubans of regular earnings, and faced the popula-

tion with the prospect of a steady rise in unemployment.

The revolution placed in power a national government formed for once without consultation either with the U.S. Ambassador or any other United States representative. The new regime was won in revolutionary struggle against the pro-imperialist Batista tyranny.

At first the government included representatives of the top bourgeoisie and of the small bourgeoisie, who pursued a capitalist policy and adopted a course of subordination to imperialism. They wanted to keep the revolution within the limits acceptable to the U.S. authorities. This tendency, however, was nipped in the bud. The conservative, Batista elements were ousted and replaced by representatives of the proletariat, the radical petty bourgeoisie and the poor peasantry. This made it possible to deepen the revolution and to accelerate economic development.

The significance of the revolution extends beyond the boundaries of our country. It has demonstrated that the peoples of our continent can take power into their own hands, stand up against imperialism, foil its maneuvers and defeat the counter-revolutionary aggressors. It has initiated the liberation of the whole of Latin America from the semi-colonial yoke.

Our revolution was above all the outcome of internal factors, of the maturing of internal forces. But its development and its success depend on external conditions as well: on the growing might of the socialist camp, on the balance of forces on a world scale.

One of the basic factors contributing to the success of the revolution was the solid unity of our people, above all the unity of the revolutionary forces and of the revolutionary organizations which headed the struggle against Batista. This unity has exerted a powerful role in repulsing all the imperialist intrigues against our country.

International solidarity has been of inestimable value. The solidarity of the peoples of Latin America, which at first was largely spontaneous, later assumed organized forms and countered the ag-

*Continued from No. 4 (1962).

gressive U.S. sallies against Cuba. We relied also on the solidarity of the socialist countries without whose support the Cuban revolution could not have advanced and would hardly have been able to withstand the imperialist blockade. Thanks to the solidarity of the socialist countries, we were able to obtain oil when the imperialists cut off the supply of this vital product, we were able to sell our sugar when the U.S. imperialists cancelled the sugar quota for the North American market, and we were able to get the raw material, equipment and spare parts needed for our industry and agriculture, and for building up our economy.

The revolution has greatly spurred economic progress. The agrarian reform abolished latifundism, expropriated the land formerly owned by the big landlords, and turned over to the peasants the plots they had formerly leased from the landowners. As for the big sugar plantations which belonged chiefly to the imperialists, these were transferred to the agricultural laborers to be run as cooperatives. The big cattle ranches were turned into state farms.

Today there are 300 cooperatives and 278 state farms employing 235,000 workers. This is quite a large force. The cooperatives accounted for 40 per cent of the 1961 sugar crop. Despite the U.S. ban on the import of Cuban sugar and its efforts to induce other countries to follow suit, sugar production increased by 15 per cent in 1961 compared with 1959, amounting to 6.5 million tons.

Cotton growing, a new departure, is also important for our country. The 1958 crop of 20 tons of raw cotton rose in 1960 to 12,550 tons, all grown on the state farms and in the cooperatives.

Formerly Cuba raised two million chickens annually for the broiler market. The chicks, as well as the feed, were bought in the United States and shipped to Cuba where they were fattened for two months. This practice has now ceased. We now have our own poultry, our own incubators and our own chicken feed. Another example. We used to import 500,000 crates of tomatoes from the United States every year. By 1960 we had reduced this to 200,000 crates, the rest we grew ourselves. Last year the tomato crop rose to 2,500,000 crates, and we are now able to export 500,000 crates.

Formerly we imported large quantities of potatoes, corn and other items, now we have expanded their production with a view to satisfying our own needs in full. In 1958 we harvested about 200,000 tons of rice; the 1960 crop amounted to 450,000 tons, i.e., more than double. The production of heneken (manila hemp), which was practically at a standstill, increased by 1960 to 28 million pounds. In 1961 it dropped slightly, but we hope to develop this branch within the next few years. All this shows that we are advancing along the road from monoculture to diversified farming.

We can record success in industry too. Production

has increased in textiles and footwear and in a number of other branches. True, in some, owing to the U.S. blockade, output has somewhat diminished. But the difficulties are being overcome, and before long these branches too will begin to expand.

Cuba's experience clearly demonstrates the difference between U.S. capital investments and credits extended by the socialist countries. In the past two years we received from the socialist countries credits amounting to 350 million pesos which are being used to buy industrial plant, to pay for technical aid, and for factory construction. These factories will belong to Cuba and their entire output will promote our economy and benefit the people. The credits will be paid for with our exports. U.S. investments are of an entirely different order. They are used to build factories which become foreign property, and are conditional on the granting of concessions and privileges to the United States.

Cuba's economic progress since the revolution would have been impossible had the government been headed by the national bourgeoisie. The latter was tied to imperialism by a thousand threads and was subordinate to it. The stoppage of the oil supply and the sugar purchases by the imperialists would have compelled them to surrender. Only a government fully determined to go forward, a government which was not afraid of socialism and which relied on the socialist countries for support, could have overcome the difficulties, withstood the pressure, frustrated the intrigues and continued to advance. Economic development would have been impossible without nationalization of the imperialist-owned property. We nationalized the sugar refineries, the banks, the power stations, telephone companies, railways, big commercial enterprises, and the oil refineries. The bourgeoisie could never have done this because it relied on the support of foreign imperialism and could not relinquish that support for fear of remaining alone, face to face with the proletariat within the country. Moreover, the interests of the national bourgeoisie were closely tied up with all the imperialist enterprises operating in Cuba. Hence, as soon as the first steps toward nationalizing these enterprises were taken, the national bourgeoisie turned against the revolution and began to sabotage it. The capitalists began to sell machinery and spare parts and used up raw material stocks with the object of turning their property into cash and leaving the country. This left the revolution with no alternative but to nationalize not only imperialist property but also the enterprises belonging to the national bourgeoisie and thus to steer a course toward socialism.

Cuba has shown that it is possible to wage a successful fight against imperialism — the chief obstacle to the economic development of Latin America — and that the peoples of Latin America,

with the support of the socialist countries, can achieve rapid economic development without forfeiting an iota of their sovereignty. I believe that this is the most important lesson Cuba has to offer.

Thus, Cuba's experience upsets the whole propa-

ganda of the imperialist lackeys, of all those who are too timid to fight for genuine national independence and sovereignty, i.e., for the conditions making for rapid economic development.

K. Dobrev (Bulgaria)

THE problem of development in the economically backward countries should be examined from the standpoint of peaceful coexistence and the economic competition of the two systems — socialist and the capitalist. For the course of this competition will, in large measure, determine the paths and forms of economic development in the countries that have already cast off, or are casting off, the colonial yoke and exploitation.

Bourgeois theoreticians of all kinds, when considering the prospects of economically backward countries, try to prove that the latter cannot build up their national economy by means of industrialization. The purpose of these "theories" is to "safeguard" the particular countries against a non-capitalist path of development, to keep them in the capitalist system and to preserve the economic domination of foreign monopoly capital.

The question of what path of social and economic development these countries will take is the internal affair of their peoples. As the Program of the CPSU states: "It is for the peoples themselves to decide which road they will choose. In view of the present balance of world forces and the actual feasibility of powerful support from the world socialist system, the peoples of the former colonies can decide this question in their own interest. Their choice will depend on the balance of the class forces."

Whether the underdeveloped countries will take the road of rapid economic advance and complete emancipation from economic dependence on the imperialist states will be determined by the alignment of class forces within these states.

From the standpoint of socio-economic relations, the underdeveloped countries can be grouped according to level of development. In countries like India and the United Arab Republic, capitalist relations already exist in some degree. These countries have a national industry, a working class and a bourgeoisie. In India there has even emerged a national monopoly capital. In the circumstances there can be no question of a non-capitalist path of development for these countries. The important thing here is to strengthen the role of the working class and rally around it all the patriotic and progressive forces in order to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This would make it possible also to get rid of the dependence on foreign capital, the remnants of feudalism, ensure rapid develop-

ment of the productive forces and raise the standard of living.

A different approach is necessary in the case of underdeveloped countries where capitalist production relations are not yet the rule, where capitalism is represented by a few, chiefly foreign-owned, enterprises and where pre-capitalist relations still exist. Here state capitalism, industrialization and planning assume a different character.

The prerequisites for economic development and progress for all underdeveloped countries are: 1) complete elimination of dependence on foreign monopoly capital, 2) eradication of the survivals of feudalism, and 3) building a national economy for the benefit of all sections of the population.

In those countries where the capitalist forms have not taken firm root, non-capitalist development could ensure a more rapid growth of the productive forces. This type of development is possible within the framework of a national democratic state which can be built on a broad political foundation. "The political basis of a national democracy," says the Program of the CPSU, "is a bloc of all the progressive, patriotic forces fighting to win complete national independence and broad democracy, and to consummate the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution." National democracy as the form of political system in these countries determines the social content of the non-capitalist path of development.

In their striving for political and economic independence the economically backward countries are searching for forms and methods that will guarantee rapid economic progress. In these circumstances the existence of the socialist world system is a powerful factor, helping the underdeveloped countries to choose the best way to build their national economy, to find the forms and methods best calculated to ensure economic progress in the shortest possible time.

Of course, the methods cannot be divorced from the system. Nations which strive for economic progress and employ the tried methods used in the socialist countries will become convinced as time goes on of the obvious advantages of the system as well. This will also help to spread Marxist-Leninist teaching and to extend its influence primarily among the revolutionary working class.

The underdeveloped countries are, increasingly, orientating towards a state sector through the con-

struction of state-owned factories, power stations, etc. The statesmen of these countries regard this as the quickest way to economic progress.

Under the existing political system in the underdeveloped countries the state-owned enterprises, while not socialist, nevertheless play a major progressive role. In the first place, they are an important means of freeing the country from the fetters of foreign monopoly capital; secondly, construction by the state facilitates the concentration and more rational use of all the internal resources; thirdly, a state sector makes for rapid economic development and, lastly, it strengthens the positions of the working people.

Establishing a state sector in industry signifies the emergence of state capitalism in the underdeveloped countries. State capitalism arises in these countries as an objective necessity in the struggle against the domination of foreign monopoly capital, for building an independent national economy. In this sense it is progressive, in contrast to the state capitalism of the highly developed capitalist countries.

It should be noted, however, that the conditions under which the state sector appears are not the same for all countries. In some instances we find it in countries where capitalism is fairly well developed. In others it begins where capitalist forms hardly exist, and where pre-capitalist relations predominate. This means that both the role of the state sector and its share in the economy of the underdeveloped countries vary.

The urgent need of the underdeveloped countries, as they themselves realize, is industrialization. Without industrialization they will be unable to build up the national economy and end their economic dependence on imperialism.

In this respect the underdeveloped countries can learn a great deal from the socialist countries. Take Bulgaria, for example, once an agrarian adjunct of the imperialist states with a poverty-stricken population. Thanks to industrialization, Bulgaria has made big strides in a comparatively brief period. In 1939, for example, Bulgaria was economically on the same level as Greece and Turkey. In the 17 years of people's rule she has built up a powerful industry and a mechanized agriculture, leaving Turkey and Greece far behind.

Two worlds—two economies. The underdeveloped countries can see the benefits of industrialization. The experience of small socialist countries which were economically backward in the past and now have an up-to-date industry and agriculture is of particular significance for them.

Many underdeveloped countries have turned to planning. Two-, three- and four-year economic plans are drawn up as a rule. This, of course, is *essentially not planning* as we understand it, but *regu-*

lation of the economy, inasmuch as it is not based on socialist production relations. Still, this type of planning has its progressive aspects, insofar as the plans are aimed at paving the way to emancipation from imperialist dependence, helping to establish an independent national economy, building up a national industry, including that producing the means of production, ensuring a more rapid economic advance and raising the standard of living. This planning differs from the so-called "planned regulation" in the developed capitalist countries where state-monopoly capitalism dominates. The more branches of industry these economic plans will embrace in the underdeveloped countries, relying on the state sector, and the sooner the problem of building a developed national economy is solved, the more progressive these plans will become from the socio-economic standpoint.

Where will the underdeveloped countries find the means needed for economic development? The experience of the socialist countries shows that *the principal source is internal accumulation*, primarily the national income.

Bourgeois economists say that the underdeveloped countries are incapable of building up a modern industry of their own inasmuch as they lack the necessary capital. This argument is trotted out as a rule when its proponents try to prove that the underdeveloped countries would be well advised to remain agrarian and raw material appendages to the imperialist states.

Internal accumulation can be obtained by putting an end to economic plunder of the underdeveloped countries by monopoly capital. The imperialist monopolies export in the form of profit the lion's share of the national income created by the labor of the people. If this part of the national income remained in the country it could be a substantial source of accumulation.

Moreover, part of the national income still goes to maintain the parasitic feudal caste in one or another country. The elimination of this situation through agrarian reform would also make it possible to divert a considerable part of the national income to the needs of economic development, the more so since agrarian reform itself stimulates development of the productive forces in the countryside, agricultural expansion, and improves the position of the peasantry. These measures would provide favorable conditions for increasing the national income and augmenting internal accumulation.

Although economic expansion should be based primarily on internal resources these will not be enough for the underdeveloped countries, and especially the smaller ones, to undertake rapid economic expansion on a large scale. In the circumstances, they will be able only to increase the rate of growth of national accumulation and investment

funds; the overall volume of accumulation will not quickly provide the substantial sums needed for industrial construction. Assistance will have to be sought elsewhere in the form of credits and, moreover, on easy terms. A vital condition for such credits is that the projected enterprises shall be the property of the underdeveloped country concerned. This will help to ensure economic independence and enable the country to pay for the credits with manufactured goods.

This is the principle on which the underdeveloped countries are receiving aid from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. And the greater the economic might of the socialist world, the greater the aid it will be able to render these countries.

Apologists for capitalism have raised a hue and cry about "economic expansion" by the socialist countries in the underdeveloped countries. The imperialists are alarmed at the fact that the newly-independent countries are realizing more and more that in their struggle for full political and economic independence they have true friends in the socialist states whose disinterested economic aid is helping them to speed their economic progress.

Bourgeois economists would like to reduce the economic competition between the two world systems to a struggle for economic influence in the underdeveloped countries. That, of course, is absurd.

True, in resolving the question of the victory of socialism over capitalism on a world scale, the economic competition will at the same time help to free the economically backward countries from imperialist bondage.

The socialist countries are helping these countries to develop their economy not only by extending credits on advantageous terms, but also by expanding trade.

A good part of the national income, and consequently, of the internal accumulation, in the newly-independent countries is realized through the sale abroad of agricultural produce and raw materials. However, foreign trade cannot be conducted successfully or profitably if its proceeds are swallowed up by the imperialist monopolies. By trading with the socialist states the underdeveloped countries can protect their accumulations from being plundered by the imperialists through unequal trade; and use them for promoting their economy. The socialist states help the underdeveloped countries to free themselves also from dependence on imperialism based on their single-crop economy.

The socialist world system is becoming an ever more powerful factor of economic progress and independence for the underdeveloped countries, a factor enabling them to build up a flourishing national economy.

P. Tlale (South African Republic)

ON THE African continent the crumbling of the colonial system is now in full swing. Under the blows of the national independence movement and supported by the decisive shift in the world balance of forces resulting from the rise of the socialist world system, the imperialists are everywhere on the retreat. They are being forced to concede political independence and to search out less obvious and more disguised ways to continue the system of colonial exploitation. New national states are emerging in Africa. Many of them are visibly exerting the powers of their political independence and refuse to align themselves with the military-political blocs of their past masters. They are fostering African unity with the avowed purpose of completing the liquidation of colonialism in Africa. Internationally they pursue in general a peace-loving policy. These developments are of historic importance.

Historic as these developments are, the winning of political independence by itself does not constitute the achievement of real independence. Political independence is rather the indispensable opening to a long and complicated struggle for economic freedom — freedom from foreign exploitation and from disguised colonialism, freedom from the

legacies and problems of the distorted, uneven economic development left by the imperialists, freedom from a feudal and slave past and the many forces that have kept the colonial peoples of Africa in poverty and ignorance.

In this higher stage of struggle, the question of questions is the economic liberation of the newly-independent states from continued imperialist oppression. The Third All-African People's Conference, held in March 1961, rightly pointed out that "the greatest threat to African countries that have newly won their independence . . . is the survival of the colonial system in spite of the formal recognition of political independence."

The imperialist heritage in Africa. The operations of modern imperialism in Africa have left a legacy of all-pervading poverty. Indeed, the maintenance and deepening of poverty was pursued as a matter of policy. The old subsistence economies of the African people were completely disrupted and the land expropriated. And then by imposing a poll tax, the imperialists forced the indigenous peoples into a large army of migrant cheap labor. African peasants leave their homes by the million each year and migrate thousands of miles to work in

the gold, diamond, tin and copper mines and in other enterprises of imperialism in Africa.

Unlike the local bourgeoisie in many countries, the imperialists in their African operations have never had any interest in developing the home market, of improving agriculture or of replacing the shattered subsistence economies with economic diversification and domestic commodity exchanges. Rather they subjected the uprooted people to massive exploitation and systematically looted the African colonies of their rich raw materials. Therefore on reaching independence the new states of Africa inherited all-round poverty: lack of capital, underdeveloped resources, and a largely illiterate people.

The principal economic content of this heritage in Africa is this. The imperialist export-orientated enterprises, having engaged in utterly predatory exploitation of the resources and land, now not only control much of the productive sectors of the economy of the newly-liberated states, but also remain the important employers of labor and account for the greater part of the foreign trade of each of these countries. Hence, despite political independence, commodity circulation in the African countries continues to possess all the features of the era of direct imperialist rule. The output of goods is mainly for export as in the past. Commodity exchange remains primarily between the foreign monopolies operating in the colonies and imperialist countries. Hence the surpluses generated from the economic activity of the indigenous people continue to go as in the past to the imperialists. A recent U.N. report suggested that over 70 per cent of the foreign trade of the former French African colonies continues to be with France. A similar percentage of the former British African colonies is with Britain. When account is taken of the fact that almost one-half to two-thirds of the incomes of these countries derives from foreign trade, the size of the expropriated surplus from all economic activity going to the imperialists becomes shatteringly large. And when the world capitalist market experiences its frequent cyclical fluctuations, the impact on the incomes and living standards of the colonial people is also shatteringly large.

The imperialist direction and control over the forms of commodity exchange in Africa following the disruption of the older subsistence economies finds its most important consequence in the heavy dependence of the majority of the newly-liberated African states on wholly export-orientated products or crops. Traditional African food customs were grievously upset by the large-scale production of cash crops for export, such as cocoa, coffee, cotton, groundnuts. In Gambia in West Africa, for example, the culture of food crops for local consumption has been completely abandoned in order to concentrate on the production of groundnuts. As a

result, the nutritional standards of the people have been seriously lowered.

The question that arises for almost all the new African states is how to break the power of the imperialists to collect the surpluses of this colonial type of commodity exchange, how to change the existing character of commodity circulation, how to redirect economic activity so that the economic surpluses are domestically accumulated and not exported for the benefit of the imperialists. For it is only by solving these questions that these states can go forward to achieve real independence and economic freedom.

Inevitably the way each will fight for this real independence will depend first on the alignment and relation of class forces, the extent to which the imperialists have been able to create and ally themselves with a local compradore class and the domestic bourgeoisie and, next, on the size and strength of the organized workers and peasants in the front of the independence struggle. Where the imperialists have been able to find domestic allies, the regimes of the ex-colonies concerned are ultimately characterized by extreme official corruption, the squandering of the national wealth on the maintenance of sprawling bureaucracies and military establishments. Such states become as a matter of course part of the military-political blocs of imperialism. Needless to say such countries are not really independent and the working class necessarily faces immense and difficult responsibilities in their struggle for real independence and national democracy.

The special position of Africa. The epoch of imperialism found Black Africa in stages of social development varying between tribal societies with communal ownership of land, and feudalism. The imperialists, in their division of the African continent and in their drive to exploit the labor and other resources of the continent, did not bother so much about finding or creating allies. Instead they crushed the subsistence economies of the African people, expropriated their land and forced the bulk of the people into a large, almost continentwide pool of migrant cheap labor. Whatever opportunities may have existed for domestic capital accumulation and the emergence of a local bourgeoisie, itself made largely remote by the state of African society, were immediately crushed by the force and directness of imperialist occupation and exploitation.

Thus, in a number of African states which have only recently achieved their political freedom, the structure of class forces is such that the imperialists cannot with ease impose regimes of their own choice or find allies among the incipient bourgeoisie. Insofar as a bourgeoisie exists, it is small both in size and resources; it has little influence in the economy except possibly in retail trade. In the

main, those elements who can be described as having a bourgeois class character have suffered at the hands of the imperialists and have, as a result, participated in the struggle for independence.

There may be exceptions to this general characterization of the class alignment in the newly-liberated African states. The imperialists in their new attempts to pursue their colonial exploitation in less obvious forms, are now searching in the newly liberated countries for bourgeois elements with whom to cooperate.

The burden of the analysis given here is that in the newly-liberated regions of Africa the structure of class relations is, in general, rather favorable for a non-capitalist solution to be found to the central problems of economic independence. It is the very backwardness of Africa which makes it possible for the African states to fight what will be a bitter but ultimately victorious battle for political independence and yet find themselves capable of making a major leap in the struggle against foreign economic control by pursuing economic development along non-capitalist paths.

What this implies is this. The newly-independent states are already embarking on increasing programs of nationalization of the means of production. The growth of a state-controlled sector serves to consolidate national independence and to maintain the tempo of the anti-imperialist struggle. In Africa the growth of the state sector over the economy cannot be placed on the same level as the "state capitalism" resorted to by bourgeois governments in general. The development of a state-controlled sector is in the main designed to overcome the colonial character of the economic relations.

Neo-colonialism and non-capitalist development. Today the African independence movement is seriously agitated about and waging battles against what is called "neo-colonialism." The resolution of the March 1961 All-African Peoples' Conference described neo-colonialism as manifesting itself through "economic and political intervention, intimidation and blackmail in order to prevent the African states from directing their political, social and economic policies towards the exploitation of their national wealth for the benefit of their peoples." It deprives independence of its essence by what the resolution states as the imposition of "unequal economic, military and technical conventions, by creating puppet governments after falsified elections" and so on.

These manifestations, as we know, do not in fact constitute a new type of colonialism. Rather what colonialism faces is totally new conditions; conditions of weakness forced upon a resisting and unwilling colonialism at a time of decisive change in the world balance of forces. *Neo-colonialism is colonialism in retreat.* Hence the devious and des-

perate attempts of the European imperialists to hold on to the African economy through their efforts to associate Africa in the European Common Market. President Nkrumah has already described the Common Market as being designed to "retard industrialization — it will mean that those African states which were inveigled into joining this union will continue to serve as protected overseas markets for the manufactured goods of their industrialized partners and a source of cheap raw materials."

The preoccupation of the African independence movement with the danger of neo-colonialism suggests something else. It suggests a deep awareness that in our time the conditions exist for the economically backward states of Africa to avoid the long and tortuous path of development along capitalist lines to overcome economic backwardness. In essence and in the long run the battle against neo-colonialism is a battle for non-capitalist forms of development. When we consider the fact that today the working class and peasantry are becoming the living core of the national movement in Black Africa, the opportunities for the path of non-capitalist development are considerable.

Another profound factor influencing the course of struggle against imperialism and for real independence is the existence of the socialist world system. The Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies by virtue of their achievements in developing industry and the entire economy, in advancing the national and living standards, are effecting a revolution in the minds of the African people. Is it to be unexpected that the *Ghana Evening News* should acclaim the flight of Gagarin into outer space by declaring that in some 40 years after being a backward country, this exploit attested to the might and efficiency of the Soviet socialist system? The African people perceive the quality of the loans and the aid from the socialist countries. These loans are not guided by imperialist designs, they are not given to make more rigid the already backward and unbalanced economies of the ex-colonies. Rather, socialist loans and aid provide the basis for a planned leap forward in industrialization, in economic diversification and in a more rapid accumulation of domestic capital for independent national development. Indeed the challenge of the countries of the socialist camp has compelled the imperialists to modify their attitudes to aid, to conceal their aims and to offer assistance on less onerous terms than previously.

Agricultural change. The people of Black Africa have no tradition of individual land ownership. For the most part African agriculture is subsistence in character, carried out in conditions of communal land-tenure and using primitive equipment. As a whole the life of the people on the land is one of intense poverty. Clearly such a situation cannot provide the surpluses necessary to feed the grow-

ing body of urban workers or to supply the new industries with raw materials. Where imperialism has expropriated the land and has entered agricultural production, it has converted the peasants into landless laborers working at wage levels providing maximum profits for the imperialist monopolies. The cash crops produced on these imperialist-owned plantations are for export and seldom for internal use. Elsewhere the imperialists have disrupted the original pattern of farming to induce African peasants and small-holders to cultivate cash crops.

These factors explain why highly fertile regions of Africa with a potentiality of producing a rich variety of produce are at the same time areas of intense poverty and starvation.

It is evident then that the heritage of poverty and backwardness which this leaves in many of the newly independent African states cannot be overcome without the most sweeping and revolutionary changes in agriculture. But it is doubtful whether the correct path to follow here is as the resolution of the Third All-African Peoples' Conference called for, i.e., of individual small holdings by private owners. Over large parts of Africa the concept of private ownership of land is alien to the people. Just as there is no need in our epoch for the former colonial peoples to traverse the bloody, cruel, slow and wasteful path of capitalism but to leap over to increasingly socialist paths, so it may well be that the phase of private land ownership with all the petty-proprietor, bourgeois

outlook which it engenders, may also not be a necessary stage which the tribespeople in Africa may have to pass. Rather the path of cooperative and jointly-owned farming is a possibility, thus adding to the other favorable conditions for a breakthrough to real independence along non-capitalist lines.

Some concluding remarks. The real economic issue before the newly-independent African states is how best to achieve the immediate priorities—the liquidation of the left-overs of imperialism, the organization of rapid industrial development so as to become more diversified, and removal of the many feudal obstructions and other dead legacies from the past in agriculture.

I have argued here that these tasks can be tackled along non-capitalist lines. The conditions for this are most favorable. The relation of classes, the increasingly pivotal role of the emerging working class and peasantry in the united front of the independence struggle, the traditions in African land-ownership, the existence of the socialist world system—all these make it possible for the most backward of states in Africa to set out on the road of planned economic development along non-capitalist lines.

The road of non-capitalist development in Africa leading to socialism depends wholly on the strength and organization of the African working class and its role in the united front of struggle for real independence and economic freedom.

Reviews

Brownshirts in Black Jackets and Striped Pants

READERS will recall that in recent months Dr. Kroll, the West German Ambassador to Moscow, has had the somewhat unusual experience for an Ambassador of twice being peremptorily summoned to his Foreign Office to answer "charges" of being "soft with the Russians."

Dr. Kroll, a career diplomat of more than 40 years standing, hotly denied the views attributed to him and, in order to prove that he never had been "soft" with the Russians, requested the Foreign Ministry to take legal action against the two West German newspapers which sensationalized the charges. The Foreign Ministry, however, as everybody knows, did nothing of the sort. And it did not do so because it was the Foreign Office which manufactured or, to be more precise, fabricated the "Kroll affair."

To really understand the hysteria generated around the "Kroll affair," it is necessary to look at the men who at all levels honeycomb the Adenauer Foreign Office.

An illuminating collection of documents* put out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, under the title **From Ribbentrop to Adenauer** supplies name after name of top-line Nazi diplomats, spies, provocateurs and war criminals who played a leading role in preparing and unleashing the Second World War and who retain their jobs in the Ministry. Ribbentrop has gone, his Nazi colleagues remain. And it is a perfectly safe bet that had Ribbentrop managed to

***From Ribbentrop to Adenauer.** Documentation on the West German Foreign Office. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, German Democratic Republic, 1961.

evade the hangman's noose, he, too, would now be sitting at his desk as chief of the postwar Wilhelmstrasse.

Eighty-five per cent of "all the top posts in the West German diplomatic service," we read, "are held by former members of Ribbentrop's Nazi Foreign Office." "Hitler diplomats," the collection tells us, "hold leading positions in 72 of 83 foreign missions of West Germany." And further, "of 16 West German embassies and legations in South America, 14 are headed by Nazi diplomats. In the Near and Middle East all 15 embassies are in the hands of prominent members of Ribbentrop's staff."

Yet the Potsdam Agreement stipulated that "all members of the Nazi Party who have been more than nominal participants in its activities and other persons who are hostile to allied aims" should be removed from office.

When in 1952 this scandal was aired in the Bundestag, Herr Adenauer hastily intervened to rebuke the deputies, saying, "it is about time we put a stop to this prying about for Nazis."

And ex-Foreign Minister von Brentano, still an important behind-the-scenes figure in Bonn and one of the instigators of the "Kroll affair," justified in 1955 the reinstatement of the top Nazis in typical Hitlerian terms: "Now, once again, the masses from the East stand not so very far from this city, and once again we are facing the danger that the West will be over-run and fall into their hands." My Ministry, Brentano declared in 1961, is staffed with "true and flawless" men.

Let us take a look at just a few of these "true and flawless men."

First, Dr. Wilhelm Grewe, at present Ambassador to the United States. Grewe, we learn, first donned his brown shirt in May 1933, a few weeks after Hitler came to power. During the war he worked hard to justify the Nazi war crimes. His response to the proposal of the Soviet government of August 8, 1941, that both sides adhere to the Geneva Convention and the Hague Rules of War on Land was a cynical article in the September (1941) issue of *Monatshefte fuer Auswaertige Politik* in which, justifying the maltreatment and killing of prisoners of war, he wrote: ". . . this war (Soviet-German front) can no longer be classified in the category of national wars between countries with their customary laws of war and neutrality."

Another of the "true and flawless men" is the old-time Nazi Dr. Etzdorf, currently Ambassador to London. Etzdorf is documented as having joined Hitler's party in June 1933. For most of the war years (1939-44), Etzdorf served as liaison officer of the Foreign Office to the High Command of the Army. At first SA-Sturmabannfuhrer, Etzdorf later became Obersturmbannfuhrer.

Three of the nastier, Eichmann type, Nazi-diplomats listed in the documents are Dr. Karl Werk-

meister, presently Ambassador to Sweden; Dr. Mohr, Ambassador to Switzerland; and Dr. Klaiber, Ambassador to Italy. The first of these, Werkmeister, took a leading part in annihilating Jewish people in Hungary. His name is associated with the massacre of 13,000 Jews at Ujvidek in January, 1942. Werkmeister personally arranged the flight into Germany in a German Legation car of the actual murderers of Ujvidek.

The second of the trio, Dr. Mohr, served part of the war years in the Hague Legation where he devoted himself almost exclusively to the deportation of Jews. The documentation reproduces a report which Mohr sent to Berlin on June 25, 1943: "Of the 140,000 full Jews originally registered in the Netherlands, the 100,000th Jew has now been removed from the body of the nation. That means that in 11 months the de-Judaization of the Netherlands has been almost three-quarters solved." The word "solved" is the smooth diplomat's way of saying: 100,000 men, women and children had been sent to the gas chambers in the death camps.

The last of the three, Dr. Klaiber, participated, according to the documents, in a truly fiendish atrocity. At the end of 1941 the Hitler authorities in Rumania allowed Jewish refugees from the Balkan countries to charter a ship, the *Struma*, for the purpose of travelling to Palestine. The Hitler Secret Service saw in the voyage of the *Struma*, sailing under the Panama flag, an opportunity to infiltrate agents into the Middle East. But British intelligence, getting wind of what was afoot, took steps to prevent the ship from entering a Palestinian port. At this stage secret instructions were sent from the Wilhelmstrasse to Von Papen, then Minister in Ankara, to get rid "of the embarrassing affair" of the *Struma*. The getting "rid" was entrusted to Klaiber, then Counsellor to the Ankara Legation. Klaiber contacted the Police Chief of Istanbul, Achmed Demir, and with him fixed the date and time of the sailing of the *Struma*. It was arranged that the sailing would take place after sunset, and that no Turkish coastguard vessels or police launches would be in the vicinity. The *Struma* sailed according to the fixed schedule and, just as she was leaving the Bosphorous, a German speedboat pumped several shells into her. She sank with all her passengers — men, women and children.

These, then, are typical of the "true and flawless" men who, masquerading as diplomats in all corners of the earth, are again spreading the poison of anti-communism, calling frantically for nuclear arms, and seeking revenge.

Needless to say the honeycombing of the Bonn Foreign Office with war criminals of the Eichmann type could not have taken place without the connivance of the U.S. and British authorities.

And the reason for this touching solicitude for

Eichmann's colleagues is supplied by the British journalist Charles Wighton in his book, *Eichmann, His Career and His Crimes*.

By early 1947, Wighton tells us, British intelligence authorities, "acting on a Cabinet decision," had lost their interest in the Eichmanns. Their "primary target" became the Communists. And further, by the spring of 1950 the American Secret Service had no interest in Nazis — their only interest was Russia.

With the switch in their political aims to anti-communism, the American and British rulers abandoned their alliance with the Soviet Union, commenced a hate campaign against the Communists and returned to their old love affair with the German reactionaries. Potsdam's extirpation of Nazism

now became rehabilitation of Nazism. The storm-troopers who until then had been sulking in defeat and mourning the loss of the Fuehrer, saw rays of hope again. Responding to the call of anti-communism, they stowed away their brown shirts and, smartly tailored in black jackets and striped trousers, resumed their desks in the Bonn Foreign Office and in its embassies abroad.

In documenting the names, and the war crimes, of the Nazis who now direct and carry out Dr. Adenauer's foreign policy of anti-communism, the Foreign Ministry of the G.D.R. has made available to peace fighters materials which merit the widest possible circulation.

G. MUELLER

The First Glimmerings

RECOGNITION of Communist China? is the title of a book by the American Robert P. Newman. The query, however, is misleading, for by the time all the arguments are presented, the author himself makes it abundantly plain that there can be only one answer to this question: yes, it is high time to recognize Communist China!

The very fact of the book's publication is in itself symptomatic. Only a short while ago a book of this sort would hardly have seen the light of day in the United States. Anyone who advocated recognition of the Chinese People's Republic was automatically labelled a "red." It was risky even to review books about China. China experts associated with the Institute for Pacific Relations were grilled by a Senate Commission for committing just that "crime." Well-nigh all the sinologists in the United States were denounced as "Communist agents." Those who were reluctant to part with the truth were forced to part with their jobs. A group of more than 20 experts on China were dismissed from the State Department. The study of facts was replaced by the State Department dogma that communism in China was a "passing phenomenon." As recently as 1958 the State Department circulated a policy statement to all U.S. embassies abroad couched in the spirit of this "hypothesis." The diplomats were cautioned not to be deceived by the "illusion of permanence" created by communism in China.

The battering America has received in the past 13 years thanks to this fatuous and utterly unrealistic policy has sadly impaired the United States "image" in the world.

A sobering up now appears to be taking place and Newman's book is a sign of the times.

Newman has taken the trouble to collect and examine all the arguments for and against recog-

nition of the Chinese People's Republic by the United States. There are approximately 20 such arguments, and the author divides them into three categories — legal, moral and political.

The legal evidence, as presented by Newman, favors recognition — unconditional recognition, in fact, according to all the standards of international law and precedents drawn from the legal practice of the United States itself. In the opinion of such authorities as Lauterpacht, member of the U.N. International Court of Justice, or Professor Dickinson of the University of Pennsylvania, non-recognition indeed constitutes a form of interference in the internal affairs of another country. In point of fact, America's policy of non-recognition is part of her interventionist policy toward people's China.

As for the moral issues involved, the author points out that moral considerations are irrelevant and are rejected by both political and juridical experts. Moreover, we may add, "moral considerations" against recognition of China are also a form of interference by the United States in China's internal affairs.

There is another aspect of the matter that might be mentioned. The most vociferous moralizers in the United States are those whom the author calls the "pro-Chiang pressure groups." But who are they to assume the pose of righteousness? Newman recalls that the corrupt Kuomintang regime, supported by the United States, not only failed to win the respect of the Chinese people, but earned their bitter hatred. Nor is it any more popular on Taiwan. And the author adds: "We cannot wipe from the record our history of support for the Rhee's, the Batistas, the Francos of the world. We cannot solve our own race problem overnight, recall the bombers that dropped nuclear weapons on Japan, wipe the incursion of our marines in Latin

America from the books, or pretend that McCarthy never existed" (p. 153).

Many of the arguments advanced by the opponents of recognition, as the author aptly points out, are "as irrelevant as the Chinese use of chopsticks." One such argument, for instance, is that the Chinese Communists are atheists. What of it, Newman asks. He calls such value-judgements a "cultural megalomania which we can ill afford" (p. 81) and places them in the category of those "highly charged, emotional viewpoints which most political scientists do not deem worthy of serious consideration" (p. 87).

Alongside such arguments those which favor recognition sound far more weighty. The view that without China there can be no disarmament, for example. Newman observes that "American unwillingness to recognize Communist China is interpreted in many quarters as evidence of our lack of willingness to attempt disarmament" (p. 125).

Newman himself, of course, favors recognition of the Chinese People's Republic not out of any legal or moral considerations, but simply because he understands that it is time America abandoned what he calls the "dead-end" policy of stubbornly ignoring the realities. Non-recognition, he correctly points out, can only lead to "humiliating finales."

America waited for 16 years in the hope that the "Bolshevik regime in Russia would topple," but the march of history was not halted. Nor will it halt today. Newman pays tribute to the achievements of the Communists in China and stresses that "the vigorous and popular Communist movement" enjoys the support of the people. And he warns: "No amount of American equipment can produce the will to resist communism" (pp. 179-180). "American non-recognition," he declares, "has not hindered Peking's growing strength, nor will it in the future" (p. 282).

Newman's book suggests that Washington is beginning to cast about for some way out of the blind alley in which its Far Eastern policy has landed it. As yet only the first glimmering of reason is apparent, the first sign that the lessons of history are being heeded. Only the first signs, however, for the author himself blunders from one cul de sac into another when he advocates support for the theory of "two Chinas." He forgets that there is only one China, the great Chinese People's Republic. Nevertheless his conclusion that in politics one must be guided by the reality rather than the fiction is undoubtedly a step in the right direction.

G. GERASIMOV

Communications and Comment

Economic Development and the Class Struggle

THE discussion in this journal on "Crises and the Working People" is of especial interest to the working-class movement in the capitalist countries of Europe. The capitalists in the German Federal Republic, Italy and France seize on the dislocation of the economic cycle in the post-war capitalist world and on the faster growth of industrial output in their countries compared with the United States and Britain to extol capitalism in general and their own "merits" in particular. It has become fashionable to speak of the West German, the Italian and the French "economic miracle." And one of the loudest voices in the chorus is that of the Gaullist government.

This ideological offensive calls for the exercise of the utmost caution by Marxist economists as well as scientific precision in presenting and explaining the phenomena of the modern economic cycle. Above all, it is important properly to assess the last, the boom, phase of the cycle in each

country, and to do this it should be studied in the process of development and in the context of the development of other capitalist countries. Application of this method will at once reduce the French "economic miracle," for instance, to its true proportions.

Is It a Miracle?

The growth of industrial production in the past decade was preceded by a period of alternate crises, depressions and slight recoveries. For 21 years total industrial output was below the former peak. Only in 1951 did the output index in France rise above the 1929 figure. But the general rise concealed a continuing and grave lag in some industries. The 1929 level was surpassed in pig iron and glass production only in 1955, i.e., 26 years later; by the ceramics and building materials industries in 1956, i.e., after 27 years; and the textile industry and housing in 1957, 28 years

later. Leather-industry output is still far below the 1929 figure. Such a deformation of the cycle has no precedent in the history of French capitalism.

That the Second World War played the decisive role in this is evident. The fact that the rather long period of inadequate capital investment, wartime destruction and moral depreciation of fixed capital during the war, was followed by a relatively longer and more pronounced boom phase than was the case after the 1914-1918 war, is hardly a reason for talking about a "miracle."

It is not fortuitous that the basic trend of industrial activity in France has much in common with that of West Germany, Italy and Japan, and that it differs from the trend in the United States and Britain. After the Second World War the countries of the first group were in much the same position: all had suffered military defeat; their economies continued to be thoroughly dislocated for some time. Britain, on the contrary, and particularly the United States, had not only preserved their production potential intact, but had increased it considerably in the course of the war. This explains the divergence between the line of postwar development in the U.S. economy and that in the principal capitalist countries of continental Europe and in Japan.

Some of the big exporters of capital, including France, lost many of their former spheres of investment after the emergence of the socialist camp and as a result of the liberation movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. With a view to re-establishing and extending their domination, the monopolies were obliged to invest both their profits and the capital withdrawn from the former spheres of investment in the industry of the metropolitan country.

The structure of industry and the exports of the leading capitalist countries changed after the war; greater emphasis was placed on products of the electrical engineering, machine-building, and chemical industries, less on textiles and other consumer goods. A new stage of the technological revolution set in. Electronics, cybernetics, complex automation and plastics began to be widely used. The discovery of new sources of fuel on their own territories and in dependent countries were important for France and Italy (gas in Lacq and oil in Algeria, methane in the Po valley, etc.) and promoted investment. American capital began to be exported to the capitalist countries of continental Europe and invested in the more important branches of industry, because this guaranteed a higher rate of profit than could be obtained in the United States.

Little wonder therefore that between 1950-60 these countries were less subject to economic

ups and down than Britain and the USA, that the boom was more sustained and their rate of development more stable. We can draw two conclusions from this. The first is that there is a certain analogy between the economic development of those capitalist countries which experienced in full measure economic dislocation, defeat and the political consequences of the war. There is, therefore, no such thing as French, West German, Italian or Japanese exceptionalism, just as there is no French or any other capitalist "miracle." The second conclusion is that the divergence between the line of economic development of this group and the United States, which has experienced four crises of overproduction in the past ten years, can be explained by historical factors and by conditions which cannot last indefinitely. The economic cycle in the West European and Asian capitalist countries is bound to link up with the cycle in the United States. The signs of this are the stagnation and cuts in production in France in 1950, in 1952-53 and from May 1958 to April 1959, and again in 1961.

The West German, French, Italian or Japanese economist studying the economic development of his country without taking into account its development in the past and in isolation from world development as a whole, is bound to fall into error and begin to think in terms of national "exceptionalism." This, I think, judging by his contribution, is what Comrade Antonio Pesenti has done. In his article* Comrade Pesenti examines the relatively high index of annual growth of industrial production in Italy between 1950-1960 without connecting it either with the preceding period or the parallel and, in many respects, similar industrial development in West Germany, France and Japan. Things taken in isolation appear surprising and exceptional. We can, therefore, understand why the author arrives at the following conclusion: "What we have, then, is a special kind of cycle, a steadily ascending curve." An unhappy formulation, for it contains two contradictory concepts. Yet it can mean only one thing: that the capitalist economy of Italy has virtually ceased in the past 10 years to follow the law of cyclical development. And, indeed, if production rises *steadily* in an ascending curve, one cannot talk of a cycle since cyclical development implies the periodical recurrence of crises of over-production. Why, if this is the case, cannot that which was achieved between 1950-61 continue indefinitely?

"The rapid growth of production in the recent period," writes Comrade Pesenti, ". . . is due, *first and foremost* (my italics—H.C.) to the strug-

*Antonio Pesenti's article "Role of the Class Struggle in Economic Development," in No. 8 of *World Marxist Review* 1961.

gle waged by the working people and the Communist Party against the dominant capitalist groups." If one were to take these words at their face value, it would appear that under capitalism the working-class party can, without being the ruling party, determine the trend of economic development and even modify the laws of this development to the point of "abrogating" the law of the cyclical development of production.

The popular struggle for vital rights unquestionably exerts pressure on the capitalists. It prevents their lowering real wages whenever they want, and hence the too rapid narrowing of the consumer goods market. At the same time this struggle impels the capitalists to renew their plant and equipment and this, in turn, promotes production. In some countries (and this certainly applies to Italy) the Communist parties can at times force the governments, even reactionary governments, to invest capital in a way that, up to a point, meets the interests of the masses. These factors influence the cycle considerably. But they cannot play *the decisive role*, and certainly cannot *do away with the cyclical development of production*. Were Comrade Pesenti's thesis correct, we should have to conclude that in countries where the rates of production growth were the same as Italy's (German Federal Republic) or higher (Japan), the class struggle had attained or even exceeded the level of the struggle in Italy, and that the influence of the Communist Party was as great in Federal Germany as it is in Italy, and still greater in Japan. But that is manifestly not the case.

A scientific analysis of industrial development in Italy can be made only in the context of the economic development of countries which after the war found themselves in similar conditions. In our view we have to find out how and why the law of uneven development operated favorably at this time for Italy, which in the past was far behind the major imperialist powers. It is our belief that the big opportunities created by getting rid of obsolete economic forms limiting the home market, and by utilizing hitherto unused capacities, helped to pave the way for an industrial upsurge. The discovery and exploitation of new sources of fuel, the technological progress and resulting lower costs, explain in large measure the spectacular development of the iron and steel industry in Italy, as well as in Japan — a development impossible before the war owing to the lack of coal and ore in these two countries.

Who Benefits From the State Sector

We should like to dwell chiefly on the second point raised by Comrade Pesenti in his article and at the Round Table discussion (see No. 3,

WMR, 1962). It goes in the same direction as the first. Comrade Pesenti says that the working-class movement can influence economic activity through the capitalist state sector. He makes a *sharp distinction* between "the activities of state-owned enterprises" and the overall economic policy of the capitalist state. He believes that "state intervention is determined by the economic laws of capitalism, and it is doubtful whether it can ever become anti-monopoly. State ownership, comprising an integral part of the whole mechanism of reproduction, can, under certain circumstances, be *an effective weapon in the anti-monopoly struggle and in modifying the cycle.*"

Let us take the experience of France, which, in my view, is of exceptional interest to the working-class movement both because of the importance of the state sector and because of its origin and subsequent evolution.

In France the state sector is made up primarily of the so-called national companies and state-owned enterprises which are the sole property of the state. Most of these companies were nationalized immediately after the Second World War. Three industries (coal, gas and electricity) were nationalized in 1945-46, as well as four big banks (Banque nationale pour le commerce et l'industrie, le Comptoir national d'escompte de Paris, le Credit lyonnais, la Société générale), seven insurance companies (l'Aigle, la Compagnie d'assurances générales, la National, le phenix, le Soleil, l'Union, l'Urbaine) and the Renault automobile works.

The state sector also includes numerous mixed companies in which direct state participation amounts to 350,000-500,000 million old francs. If we take the branches of these mixed companies and the state-controlled enterprises into account (Bureau de recherche pétrolières and Régie autonome des pétroles) this figure adds up to 1,000-1,500,000 million old francs. The importance of the state sector in the French economy can be judged from the fact that it accounts for 70 per cent of the power generation, 59 per cent of transport and communications, 36 per cent of the aircraft and automobile industries, and five per cent of the chemical-industry output. About 16 per cent of the labor force is employed in the nationalized sector.

The French experience is interesting chiefly because most of the enterprises in the state sector were nationalized largely *under working-class pressure* and because there were Communist ministers in the government at the time. Subsequently, the working class and its party were ousted from the government. The experience of France thus clearly shows what becomes of nationalization when the working class is removed from gov-

ernment, shows the role assigned to nationalization under state-monopoly capitalism.

When the political and economic operation of the Marshall Plan enabled finance capital to oust the Communist ministers from the government, this capital seized control of the nationalized enterprises, placed its own men at their head, and got rid of the working-class representatives on the pretext that they were Communists. Management of the nationalized banks and the industries — les Charbonnages de France, le Gaz de France et l'Electricité* — was taken over by industrialists and financiers who formerly had either headed capitalist firms or managed private enterprises, and whose customers the nationalized enterprises already were or were about to become. The capitalists have in the state sector a docile customer and an accommodating supplier.

Taking advantage of this favorable political situation, the capitalist monopolies sell the nationalized enterprises machinery and equipment at far more than their value, and buy coal, gas and electricity at exceedingly low prices. As suppliers and consumers of the products of the state-owned enterprises, the private monopolies extract surplus value created in the nationalized sector. In 1959 Electricité de France sold power at prices 16.4 times higher than the 1938 prices, whereas wholesale industrial prices generally were 37.8 times higher. On this basis (coefficient 16.4) Electricité de France supplied 5,419 million kwh of electricity to the steel trusts, while the latter sold their products at a coefficient of 41.2. During the past 12 years the Société National des Chemins des Fer français (SNCF)** has been underpaid about 2,500,000 million old francs (1959 prices) as a result of carrying monopoly freight at low rates. This sum has been arrived at by increasing the freight rate per kilometer-ton by the amount by which wholesale prices for industrial and agricultural goods have gone up compared with prewar. But the disparity between the SNCF tariff to the monopolies and the price at which the latter sell their goods to SNCF is still greater.

In 1960 SNCF transported freight for the coal, metallurgical, chemical, electro-chemical and steel monopolies at rates which were 18 times higher than in 1938, but had to pay 41.5-60.0 times more than the prewar price for its rails, rolling stock and electric locomotives. The SNCF is supplied by enterprises controlled by the Rothschild, Schneider and de Wandel monopolies either independently or in association with American monopolies (Morgan, Rockefeller) and the Belgian Em-pain group. Monopoly domination and monopoly plunder have intensified under de Gaulle. The prin-

cipal finance-capital groups are directly represented in the Gaullist government. Between 1954-59 profits obtained from the nationalized sector by private monopolies through redistribution of surplus value increased by 177 per cent, at a time when wholesale prices went up by 20 per cent only.

But the plunder of the state sector does not stop at that. The nationalized enterprises have placed their designing officers at the service of private firms, thus enabling them to effect a considerable economy. And the SNCF has become a kind of laboratory for testing new materials which are afterwards sold to it at fabulous prices. Gaz de France has placed its laboratories at the disposal of firms building blast furnaces and thermal equipment.

Because they sell at low prices and buy from private firms at high prices, the nationalized enterprises in the coal industry, the electric power stations and Gaz de France have run into difficulties and have had to ask the bank for help in financing investments. The financial oligarchy thus has still another opportunity to appropriate, in the form of interest or premiums, part of the surplus value created by the workers in the nationalized sector. In one way or another, monopoly capital pockets the profits of the nationalized sector. It is now receiving indirectly what it once obtained directly as owner of the coal, gas and electricity companies. The new companies are only nationalized in name. To all intents and purposes they have been denationalized and government property has become the joint property of the dominant groups of finance capital.

Subordination of the state sector to the private monopolies leads to the transfer of surplus value to the latter through the mechanism of prices and tariffs. If there is any likelihood of state-owned enterprises being profitable, private capital immediately intervenes with the aim of appropriating these profits, either by penetrating into the enterprise or by establishing mixed companies. That is what happened when oil was discovered in the Sahara. The oil companies acquired 19 per cent of the capital of Société Nationale Régale, a nationalized company which owns important oil fields in Hassai Messaoud jointly with Compagnie Française de Pétroles. Or let us take another industry. When coal began to be widely used as a raw material in the chemical industry, Charbonnages de France, which has a monopoly of coal production in France, could easily have processed it chemically. But the Kuhlmann and Ugine chemical monopolies intervened, set up a mixed company jointly with the state-owned Houillères company and began to buy cheap coal from its associate. With the minimum capital in-

*National coal, gas and electricity companies.

**State railway company.

vestments, the monopolies are netting the maximum profit. The inventions of engineers in the nationalized enterprises are sold abroad by Sofregaz, Sofrelec, Sofrerail, mixed companies formed in association with the private banks. Without having made any investments whatsoever themselves, these banks are receiving surplus value created by the workers in the state sector.

Specialization and the activity of nationalized enterprises generally are decided by private monopoly interests. The state-owned Gaz de France, for instance, originally produced at its own works the major part of the gas sold to the consumer (83 per cent in 1949). Subsequently its functions changed completely. Little by little, it became a distributor of the gas produced by the private monopolies in the metallurgical and oil industries. By 1958 Gaz de France was purchasing 42 per cent of their total gas output. And by virtue of the fact that the natural gas in the Lacq area is being used by Société Nationale des pétroles d'Aquitaine, a mixed company in which the oil monopolies and the big banks (Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Banque de l'Union Parisienne, Banque Rothschild) rule the roost, this percentage was higher still in the subsequent years. In 1961 Gaz de France accounted for only one-fifth of the total gas production. This state-owned company has lost its former importance as a producer and has been reduced to the role of distributor of the gas manufactured by private companies.

The development and the activity of the nationalized sector are determined not only by the laws of the capitalist market, but also by the policy pursued by the monopolies. The state sector feels the impact of capitalist anarchy and this greatly limits its "anti-crisis" role. New fuel sources controlled by private capital are developed to the detriment of the nationalized sector. When policy changed in 1947, the oil monopolies slowed down coal production in France with a view to replacing coal by oil. Plans drawn up in 1946 when there were Communists in the government, envisaged raising coal output to 70 million tons by 1955. Actually, however, even in the best year, coal production between 1947 and 1960 never exceeded 60 million tons. Government programs now envisage reducing production to 53 million tons by 1965 and to 45 million by 1975. It is intended to replace coal by Sahara oil. The nationalized sector is being used by the monopolies to implement their anti-national policy. They are, for instance, closing down French pits and importing coal, especially from the USA.

The Social Consequences

The state sector in industry is, then, completely subordinated to the private monopolies, and is an instrument of this domination. What are the social

consequences of this? First and foremost ruthless exploitation of the working people in the state sector. The volume of freight carried by SNCF has increased considerably compared with the prewar, but the number of its employees dropped in 1961 to 350,000 as against 510,000 in 1938. This has been achieved by raising labor productivity 2.4-fold during these years.

Although the cost of living has been rising steadily, successive governments have done everything since 1947 to prevent wages going up: the state-employer "froze" wages in the nationalized enterprises on the pretext that any wage increase would mean a deficit and undermine public finances and the monetary system generally. It did its utmost to break the miners' strike in October-November 1948: used the army and even tanks against the strikers, requisitioned workers, ostensibly to keep the public utilities going. The capitalist press, too, essayed to set the public against the strikers, saying taxes would go up if wages in the state sector were raised.

The conditions of workers in state-owned enterprises deteriorated; their purchasing power fell although they worked either a longer day or more intensively.

In September 1938 a skilled man with three years' experience working in a Paris area workshop or depot earned 1,625 francs a month (without deductions), i.e., 9.23 francs per hour for a 40-hour week. In April 1961 this same worker received 506.1 new francs per month, or 2.34 francs per hour for a 48-hour week. To have the same purchasing power as he had in 1938, the worker should (in view of the rise in the cost of living) receive 650 new francs a month and an hourly rate of 3.69 francs. The real monthly wage has thus been reduced by 22 per cent and the rate per hour by 36 per cent compared with prewar. That exploitation of the working people in the state sector has intensified is obvious. The government admitted as early as 1957 that wages in this sector were 20 per cent lower than in private industry. And the disparity became more pronounced later.

To keep wages down in the nationalized industries has become the official doctrine of the monopoly state. The Gaullist regime, the clearest expression of the domination of monopoly capital, has articulated this doctrine in the most cynical fashion. "The state," announced Prime Minister Debré in December 1961, "cannot accept the idea of equating the state and private sectors. . . . Any policy that establishes a priori a direct and constant connection between wages in the state sector and wages in the private sector is dangerous and debatable." Little wonder therefore that the biggest strikes in 1961 occurred in the state

sector. The following strikes took place in the autumn of 1961: a general strike of miners on September 27; a general strike of Paris railway and city transport workers on October 26; a general strike of Paris gas, electricity and city transport workers on November 28.

The brutal exploitation of the working people in the state sector has made it possible for the private monopolies to intensify exploitation of their workers. For the state's efforts to prevent wage increases at its enterprises has encouraged the capitalists to turn down the wage claims of their workers. The management of nationalized plants in manufacturing industry have repeatedly intervened in the struggle for just demands waged by the state-sector workers jointly with workers in private enterprises. To cite a case in point. At St. Nazaire, in October 1957, the nationalized Sud Aviation works refused to agree to raise the hourly wage by eight francs and withdrew from the employers' association, although the metallurgical industry's employers' association was prepared to agree. The monopolies can, of course, in these circumstances, act the part of advocates of "high wages," though it is they who oppose higher wages in the nationalized sector and use the government to block wage increases in their own works.

The government comes to their aid in other ways too. Not daring, after the powerful strikes in the autumn of 1961, to reject out of hand all claims for higher wages, it agreed to a slight increase (2.5 per cent), but at the same time raised taxes in order to "accelerate realization of the difficulties involved in rapid wage increases." This was obviously done with the intention of discouraging demands for higher wages in the private sector.

"To discourage excessive wage increases in the private sector," writes the weekly *Vie Francaise*, "M. Debré has tried to show that the increase would in the long run cost the taxpayer a pretty penny, for it forces the government in turn to raise the salaries of its officials, in other words, to increase government spending. Experts have even suggested introducing a tax on excessive wage increases. . . ."

Higher taxes to cover the slight wage increase in the state sector signify that the capitalist state has no intention of ceasing to pump the surplus value created in this sector into the coffers of the monopolies, or of reducing their profits. And so it adds to the tax burden of the workers in the private sector. In this way monopoly capital receives back part of the wage it pays its workers.

A similar procedure has been adopted with regard to the so-called "subsidies." The deficit in

the nationalized enterprises, caused by the low prices at which they sell their products to the private monopolies, is so big that no loans can make it good. The government is therefore granting credits to these companies. It is not asking them to repay the credits, but converts the debt into a "subsidy." An attempt is made to create the impression that the state-owned enterprises are being helped financially. Normally credits granted by the capitalist state to its enterprises should be repaid by fixing sufficiently high selling prices. These "subsidies" are not a gift to the state-owned enterprises, but legalized redistribution of surplus value in favor of private monopolies to their workers. In the final analysis these subsidies enrich the monopolies.

Such is the role of the nationalized sector under state-monopoly capitalism.

* * *

The experience of the working-class movement and the people of France bears out the definition of state-monopoly capitalism given by the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' parties in November 1960. And it contradicts the point made by Comrade Pesenti.

French experience shows that the capitalist state's policy is always the same; that there is no difference between its policy vis-à-vis the state sector and the other spheres of the economy; always and in all cases it promotes the interests of the capitalists.

The contradiction Comrade Pesenti believes he has discovered between "state intervention" and "state ownership" is, to quote his own words, that "state ownership . . . is not motivated by the need to subordinate itself to the law of profit under all circumstances, and in some cases can even counteract it." And he continues: ". . . State capital investments can be made not wholly in the economic interests of an enterprise, but out of political considerations, irrespective of whether or not they furnish immediate returns. State-owned enterprises can be run along different economic lines than private capitalist enterprises. Under certain circumstances, therefore, state-owned enterprises can operate in an anti-monopoly direction."

In contrast to this thesis the French experience of 1947-61 shows that state-monopoly capitalism is an entity, and it would be incorrect to think that one could, without being in power, use some of its elements to combat the state's general policy. State-owned enterprises cannot play an anti-monopoly role under state-monopoly capitalism.

It is true that these enterprises can operate at a loss. But as we have seen, their unprofitableness does not contradict the law of profit and is not of an anti-monopoly character. Quite the re-

verse; it is a source of profit for monopoly capital. State-owned enterprises can play an anti-monopoly role, but only if the working class is in power or at least participates in the government. Given a genuinely democratic government the nationalized sector could be used for anti-monopoly ends, but in doing so it would not be guided by principles other than those of profit, as Comrade Pesenti says, but, on the contrary, by the principle of obtaining profit at the expense of the super-profits of private monopolies and using it in the national interest.

The problem then is not one of economic management, but political. The French experience brings this out clearly: the political changes in 1947 enabled the capitalists to re-establish their control over the nationalized enterprises without,

however, changing the legal status of state ownership.

Only participation of working-class representatives in the government and conquest of political power will take the state sector out of the grip of the monopolies and use it against them. The state sector cannot, obviously, be fully safeguarded from monopoly plunder unless the monopolies are nationalized. The French Communist Party is now explaining to the working class the conclusions drawn from the experience of 1947-61, and proposing to the people that they should replace the Gaullist state by a regenerated democracy under which the banks and the monopolies would be nationalized.

Henri CLAUDE.

Reply to Comrade Henri Claude

ONE cannot but be grateful to Comrade Henri Claude for his undeniable contribution to the study of what are two important problems — reproduction at the present stage and the place of state capitalism in the present structure of capitalist society.

Let me say right away that I agree with Comrade Claude as regards the reasons for the present development of the economic cycle in Western Europe. I agree that there is no such thing as a French, West German, Italian or Japanese "exceptionalism," just as there is no French or any other capitalist "miracle." Neither do I disagree with his analysis of the functions of state capitalism in France, nor, from the general theoretical standpoint, with his definition of the nature and the place of state capitalism within the framework of the present capitalist structure.

My article, I think, did not question these points, which are so excellently elaborated by Comrade Claude. But it may be that in places I did not express myself clearly. Moreover, a paragraph which I reproduce here, and which was important for an understanding of the trend of my thought, was omitted in the abridged version. Here it is:

"State capitalism in the proper sense of the word (i.e., means of production owned by the state and used by it in the production process) can be an instrument for undermining the capitalist system, in other words, for structural reform. It can be the determining factor of a situation in which the production and accumulation process would not be inseparably linked with the law of profit. I emphasize, can be, but is not so automatically. Whether the possibility will be translated into a reality will depend on the might

of the class struggle, on a correct orientation of the political struggle."

Every Marxist author tends to think that the obvious, with which any Marxist is in agreement, is not a matter for discussion. And that was what I did too, especially as I had on many occasions expressed my view on this question more fully. In 1956, in connection with the struggle against revisionism, then extremely sharp in Italy, I wrote an article on modern capitalism which was published in France in *Cahiers Internationaux* (Nos. 89 and 91, 1957). In 1958 I took part in a discussion in Berlin on the theme "The Problems of Crises and the Impoverishment of the Working Class after the Second World War," and in 1959 in a discussion on Gillman's *The Falling Rate of Profit* in the journal *Science and Society*. I also published the course of lectures on political economy which for many years I have been reading in the University of Pisa. In these lectures I say that the analysis of the economic laws of capitalism made by Marx and carried forward by Lenin and other Marxists retains its full validity.

There can be no doubt that "the economic cycle continues to be the inevitable form of extended capitalist reproduction." These, by the way, are the opening words of the article criticized by Comrade Claude. There is no doubt that, theoretically, there is no "exceptionalism" in the post-war development of the Italian economy. My article had in view only the quantitative aspect — economic growth as compared with the preceding period. It is clear, too, that "state capitalism" (implying in the broad sense state intervention in the economy and, more narrowly, state ownership of the means of production) is typical of the present stage of capitalism, being an ex-

pression of monopoly fusing with the state and, hence, pursuing the aim of increasing and maintaining the profits of monopoly groups and the latters' domination over the whole of society.

I am somewhat surprised, therefore, that in the heat of the polemic Comrade Claude should ascribe to me a belief in an "exceptional" economic development in Italy and "that the capitalist economy of Italy has virtually ceased to follow the law of cyclical development." I think that my article, which I have read over again, and hope that others too will do so without prejudice, gives no grounds whatever for this conclusion.

With the preliminaries out of the way, let me mention (as I did incidentally in my article) some of the objective factors making for the present rapid industrial expansion in a large part of the capitalist world, and of which bourgeois economists make a special point. Among these we should note the war, the postwar rehabilitation in the capitalist sense, the new sources of fuel and the technological progress. But the thesis advanced in my article in *World Marxist Review* bears on a different question, one which merits attention and to which, in my view, Comrade Claude has not given a satisfactory answer.

The question is: In what way does the class struggle in the *present conditions* and with the existing correlation of forces influence capitalist reproduction, in other words, economic development? In what way does it influence the rate and the trend of economic growth? In what way can the working class use for its purposes the instrument of state capitalism? I have, so to say, taken the class struggle in isolation, a struggle which for every Marxist is the basis for social development, for changing the correlation of forces, including in the purely economic sphere. I was ascertaining the results of this struggle in the light of Italian experience which, needless to say, differs from the French and the West German.

All that Comrade Claude has to say about state capitalism is undoubtedly true of France and many of its features in Italy are similar to those he describes. But it is also true that in Italy the class struggle has influenced the situation and has resulted in democratic changes, particularly in the economic sphere, which are making it hard for the dominant monopoly groups to implement their plans. This does not, of course, modify the economic laws of capitalism. The class struggle in the economic sphere has strengthened the position of our Party and has broadened its contact with the masses. And this contact is the source of the Party's strength, an essential element for winning power — the condition for any socialist transformation.

Extended reproduction is always dialectical in character. In the framework of the laws of the given economic system it bears the imprint of the

class struggle. This is especially true today, now that the correlation of forces has changed, now that the working class intervenes in all spheres of public life, counterposing its own class solutions to the solutions of the ruling class. The results of these actions are more important now than they were a few decades ago, when the proletariat was almost always in a subordinate position and acted as a class defending its interests, not as a potential leading force.

This thesis may appear only too obvious, although not always are the appropriate theoretical and political conclusions drawn from it. One of the first things I learned as a young Party member was that a Communist should be ready to fight, under all conditions and in all circumstances, employing every conceivable weapon, including those created by the class enemy, in order to change the situation and be in a position to solve the everyday problems of the masses, to counterpose a real solution to the class enemy's solution.

That was the point of my article. Possibly I did not make my point clear enough, and if so, I am sorry. But I do think that the substance of my thesis is fully in keeping with Marxism.

Under the weight of popular pressure, the ruling classes are constantly reviewing their economic strategy with the idea of modifying not the *substance*, but the techniques, the *methods* of accumulation, which are a determining factor in the accumulation process. This, characteristic of the capitalist system as a whole, is particularly evident in Italy. The subject is a biggish one, and I shall, therefore, confine myself to a statement of facts.

No one can deny that the present competition between the two systems (and this is the form the struggle takes on the international scale) conditions the process of capitalist reproduction and the economic strategy of the monopolies, especially as applied to the basic process of accumulation. Even bourgeois economists admit this. The development of the socialist system and the growth and consolidation of the socialist world market spell competition of a kind to the capitalists, obliging them to reckon with this in fixing world prices, in their complex economic relations with the underdeveloped countries, in setting up supra-national associations, and impelling the bourgeoisie in some countries to make "reasonable rates of development" an economic objective.

The rapid technological advance in the capitalist countries today (this took place in the past, too, and Marx, as we know, has described its effects) is due first and foremost to the new situation of which peaceful competition is the principal element.

Bourgeois doctrine, too, admits this. And whereas three decades ago the bourgeoisie proclaimed that their economic objective was to overcome the

graver disproportions, especially to achieve "full employment," that is now not enough—they have to create "economic models" and to attain "reasonable rates of development." The result is that the basic process of accumulation is changing too.

The class struggle in the capitalist countries conditions the economic strategy of the dominant groups (if one can draw a distinction between these dialectically connected things), which, naturally, is implemented in conformity with the economic laws of capitalism. Let us clarify this on the example of Italy. Italy's ruling class, owing to the historical conditions of its formation, employed in the sphere of accumulation and extended reproduction a strategy that was politically and economically archaic. I would call it static, although this is not, perhaps, the appropriate word. In other words, the dominant Italian capitalists held an extremely myopic view of the profit-wages relationships, and persistently pursued a policy of lowering wages, used state-monopoly measures to restrict consumption by the working people, obtained maximum profits, capitalizing on the mass unemployment and short-time working and keeping entire regions in a state of extreme backwardness. This economic policy found fullest expression under fascism.

After the liberation the dominant groups were tempted to go back to their classical strategy. But they were stopped from doing so both by the new international situation (the competition between the socialist and capitalist systems and rivalry with the monopolies of the more advanced capitalist countries compelled Italian capitalism to link up its economy with that of the other Western countries and with supranational organizations) and especially by the new situation which had taken shape in the country as a result of the new balance of class forces. For the Communist Party had organized, led and coordinated in all areas of economic and public life the mass movement for structural reforms, which enlarged the home market especially in the countryside (although this had contradictory results); the Party headed the movement for a "labor plan," which, had it been implemented, would have abolished unemployment, increased the national income, stimulated investment, and industrialized the various regions of the country, particularly the South. In carrying out this national policy and waging the day-to-day struggle, the Communists were always guided by class interests and the ultimate aim—a government of the working classes and the socialist reconstruction of society. We continued to pursue this policy even when, in 1947, we were forced out of the government and came up against the violence of capitalist reaction. Our activity enabled us to frustrate the majority representation "fraudulent law"* and en-

hanced our influence. And subsequently the fact that "our Party continued to make concrete proposals for economic development, which could have brought about a genuine regeneration in line with the provisions of the Constitution" (Togliatti), had far-reaching effects, particularly in the economic field. The dominant groups were forced to change *if not the substance, then at least the form* of their strategy of accumulation, to take a dynamic view of the process in the perspective of industrial expansion and higher labor productivity.

So that, while not denying the objective reasons, underlined by bourgeois economists, for the intensive (*naturally, capitalist*) development of the Italian economy, we Communist economists should, I think, say what others pass over in silence, and explain that the economic results are due also to the actions of the working class and its Party, the Communist Party. We should show, too, that the burden of the development, *inasmuch as it is of a capitalist character*, continues to be borne by the people, and that is why the old antagonisms have become sharper.

Our attitude to "state capitalism" is, therefore, important. For a long time now I have been applying to this concept a logical distinction which, perhaps, needs to be revised and further substantiated, but which I regard as being most important. I will clarify my thought. If we regard state capitalism as an instrument for *realizing* a definite economic policy, I consider that unless the forms of indirect state intervention—price pegging, "incentives" and subsidies, monetary and credit maneuvers and infrastructures**—are used to effect structural reforms, then these forms, by virtue of the economic laws of capitalism and particularly the law of profit, will be bound to strengthen capitalism and monopoly power and thus aggravate the antagonisms inherent in capitalism.

I repeat: it may be that my conclusions are too drastic and should be re-examined. But they are confirmed by the examples of indirect state intervention in tackling agriculture and the problems of the South. *Today all economists*, bourgeois as well, admit that intervention of this kind (state capitalism in the broad sense), based on certain forms of economic incentive, cannot yield the desired results. Quantitative development there will be, but it will aggravate the unevenness and the antagonisms inherent in capitalism.

On the other hand, state capitalism, seen as state ownership of the means of production, can under

*A government electoral reform bill under which the party or bloc of parties polling over 50 per cent of the votes in a general election would qualify for two-thirds of the seats.

The bill was designed to establish and perpetuate dictatorship of the Christian Democratic Party and substantially weaken the Left parties. In June 1953, however, the people, on the call of the Communist Party and other progressive organizations, rejected the bill and succeeded in preserving proportional representation.—Ed.

**For an explanation of this term see Pesenti's article "Role of the Class Struggle in Economic Development," *World Marxist Review*, No. 8, 1961.—Ed.

certain conditions change the course of development (in other words, the change is not inevitable). This point was made in the omitted paragraph of my article. In this sense state capitalism is an instrument which can be employed effectively by the working class in its own interests. Whether the possibility becomes a reality depends, naturally, on the correlation of class forces in the community and the state, and on the Party of the proletariat pursuing a correct policy.

Comrade Claude objects to this. He says there is no difference between the two types of state intervention (state capitalism). He goes on to say that in France nationalization, hailed by the French Communists and realized in 1945 thanks to the work of the Communists in the government, became, eventually, a new weapon of monopoly-capitalist exploitation.

That things really went this way in France and that in this instance no distinction can be drawn between the two types of state capitalism, I do not dispute. But I do believe that the French or the West German example is not of universal validity.

Let us revert to the Italian experience. The state capitalism initiated in Italy was of a still worse type. It arose under fascism as an undisguised means of saving the big industrial and finance monopolies, as a means of making good the losses sustained by monopoly capital, which were debited to the state. But the brazenness of the ruling circles was most apparent in the establishment of the IRI*: although the government acquired the shares of the private companies in IRI, the same people remained at the head of their administrative councils.

After the defeat of fascism we, the working class and Communists, did not confine ourselves to condemning state ownership as an instrument of the monopolies and to denouncing the agreements concluded between state-owned enterprises and private monopolies to the advantage of the latter. These and other things described in detail by Comrade Claude can be observed also in Italy. And together with the working people we fought to change this situation, for new working-class positions, to win other sections of the people to the side of the working class and for an anti-monopoly orientation of state-owned industry.

In my article in the journal I mentioned some of the results we achieved. Modest though they were, they confirm that our way is the correct way, both economically and politically, and that it creates favorable conditions for the forward movement of the working class and its Party.

*IRI—Istituto per la ricostruzione industriale, "Institute for Industrial Reconstruction," the biggest state-monopoly association in Italy, set up in 1933 to acquire the shares of three bankrupt banks and a number of industrial enterprises. The IRI salvaging operation cost the government 6,000 million lire in 1933 prices and this, according to official data, considerably exceeded the sum spent by the fascist government on the war in Abyssinia.—Ed.

And in pointing out these results, I drew the following conclusion in my article: "State intervention is determined by the economic laws of capitalism, and it is doubtful whether it can ever become anti-monopoly. State ownership, comprising an integral part of the whole mechanism of reproduction, can, under certain circumstances, be an effective weapon in the anti-monopoly struggle and in modifying the cycle.

"But the circumstances do not come of themselves. They depend on the scale of the class struggle, on the political orientation which the Communist Party imparts to this struggle.

"As socialism and the national-liberation movement make a steadily greater impact on the economic life of modern capitalist society, the influence exerted by the class struggle on capitalist reproduction increases. At the present stage the class struggle is acquiring a predominant significance, first and foremost, because the working class is, increasingly, coming to the fore as the leading force in all spheres of social life—even in those countries where it is not yet in power. The working class counterposes its solutions to those of the ruling class, openly strives to become the ruling class, constantly asserts its will and demonstrates its ability to assume leadership and run things. So that even where it is not yet in power, the working class paves the way for democratic solutions and forces the bourgeoisie and its governmental bodies to take account of the demands of the working people."

I do not think these conclusions call for modification or that they contradict Marxism.

There are examples in history of one or another class assuming leadership before it wins political power. It cannot be said that we in Italy are already at that phase in the full sense, but the masses are becoming increasingly aware that the Communist Party, thanks to its policy, is the only party resolutely fighting for its alternative to the present capitalist society and the ruling class, a party that always puts forward national and democratic solutions. This is clearly set forth in the program-declaration of the Party's Eighth Congress in which are formulated the basic principles of our strategy and tactics (see the quotation from this declaration in Comrade Longo's article published elsewhere in this issue). From this quotation it is clear that in the present home and international situation the Italian Communists regard the question of winning power as being a matter of the balance between the working class and its allies on the one hand, and its political and social adversaries on the other. The struggle of the working people, including the fight for partial specific demands, can be a constant factor in tipping the balance. This struggle aims not only at winning vital

demands, but at achieving an ever-greater measure of "power" by the working class and people—the essential prerequisite for developing the struggle and attaining still more distant objectives. The degree to which the "power" — the influence and might—of the working class is exercised depends on its strength in Parliament, on its participation in the government, the government majority or the opposition. But these are not the decisive factors. What is decisive is the real correlation of forces in the country, for this, in the final analysis, determines the activity of government bodies.

With this as their concept the Italian Communists are prosecuting and leading the class struggle in order to solve in a democratic way and against the ruling class the day-to-day problems of the people. Guided in all instances by class demands, the Italian Communists voice the needs of the nation and assert the leading role of the working class in the community. They are winning new strong points and acquiring new weapons of struggle. This also holds for the economic sphere where the Communists, launching the struggle from below, in the industrial and agricultural enterprises and offices, succeed in getting new democratic institutions conforming to the demands of the masses. The same thing is happening in the administrative bodies, especially in local government and in Parliament, and in public bodies generally, on which in one way or another the solving of the country's economic and political problems depends.

To extend democracy in all spheres and to end, say—and why not?—the use of police against strikers, or to abolish discrimination on political grounds, implies changing the balance of class forces, strengthening our "power" and our leading role, winning ever broader sections of the people for socialism and preparing the way for a radical change.

Nor is the class enemy just twiddling his thumbs. He, too, has long since been forced to go over from positional war to a war of maneuver, and this is fraught with growing difficulties not only for him but for us too, although success is won more easily in a war of this kind. We must, therefore, follow the situation closely, disclose its new elements, study and expose the enemy's strategy and tactics, know the disposition of his forces, his means of waging the struggle, show what is really behind the tasks he poses, and adapt our weapons and tactics to the new conditions.

In a war of maneuver we must advance boldly and penetrate the enemy lines wherever possible. A position that has been won will never be lost if the people feel that it is their position and that it has to be defended, for it represents a real democratic gain that adds to their might and influence in society and hence is a step forward towards the final victory.

Social life is based on economic relations. But the class struggle can influence these relations. And that is the point of my article.

The victories, the gradual changes, modest though they may be, objectively and subjectively pave the way for a big qualitative leap — for the transition to socialism under the leadership of a revolutionary party. In other words, the winning, day to day, of more and more "power" in all spheres of national life prepares the ground for winning political power in the traditional meaning of the word, no matter how won: either through a conflict provoked by the ruling classes or by relatively peaceful means, if these classes cannot, or decide not to, act in view of the balance of forces on the international plane or in the given country.

In any event we can and must advance every day.

Antonio PESENTI

FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

THE letters from Comrades Claude and Pesenti regarding the views exchanged in this journal on "Crises and the Working People" were received after publication of the contributions. The exchange of views ended with a round-table discussion in which economists, sociologists and journalists from Britain, Czechoslovakia, France, the German Democratic Republic, Italy, the USA and the USSR participated. The range of problems examined was wide, and included the

points raised by Comrades Claude and Pesenti. In summing up, Comrade Romyantsev (Editor-in-Chief) dwelt on the basic trends of the discussion. (For Romyantsev's contribution see *World Marxist Review*, No. 3, 1962, pp. 76-79.)

Although we have published all the materials on the "Crises and the Working People," the Editorial Board will, needless to say, continue discussion of the very complex problems of capitalist reproduction.

In the ARAMCO Hell

(Letter from Saudi Arabia)

THE American oil company, ARAMCO, which exploits the oil of Saudi Arabia, netted a profit of \$530 million in the year 1960 alone. Hence it is hardly surprising that the oil tycoons are giving every support to the reactionary regime and continuing with its help to plunder the land and to crush the struggle for freedom, independence and social progress.

The existence of the type of regime which holds sway in Saudi Arabia today is a damning indictment of the "free world," the world of monopolies and plunder. Many readers will be surprised to learn that remnants of slavery still exist in Saudi Arabia despite the fact that the slave trade was banned by the Geneva Convention of September 25, 1927, and that Saudi Arabia is a member of the U.N. and a signatory to the Declaration of Human Rights. According to the National Liberation Front of Saudi Arabia, there are tens of thousands of slaves in this country.

Public opinion everywhere rightly blames ARAMCO for the suffering of the people of Saudi Arabia. Today, in the mid-twentieth century, such mediaeval punishments as the severing of hands and heads are practised; for the slightest offence people can be thrust into pits alive with scorpions and other poisonous insects, or mercilessly flogged.

Nevertheless the working people are fighting staunchly for national liberation, eradication of the remnants of mediaevalism and feudalism, a Constitution and democratic forms of government, and respect for the rights of the people.

A leading role in this struggle is played by the National Liberation Front. Founded in 1954, it unites the patriotic and democratic groups which are carrying on the fight under arduous underground conditions. The Front publishes documents exposing the ARAMCO and the monarchy.

The oil workers are a big force in the national-liberation movement. Since 1953 they have been carrying on a stubborn fight for the right to organize, for decent housing, for raising the wages of Arab workers to the level of the foreign workers and against the high-handed attitude of ARAMCO.

The closing of the U.S. military air base at Dhahran was one of the chief demands of the people of Saudi Arabia. This demand was advanced as far back as 1954 by members of the peace movement, who also advocated a policy

of positive neutrality. At that time the authorities arrested 20 persons, but because of public pressure were obliged to release them. In 1956 when the people learned of the government's intention to prolong the treaty with the U.S. government, the protest campaign was revived. A petition bearing 625 signatures was dispatched to the King; it asked that the rumors be denied and the treaty allowed to lapse.

The reply was a wave of terror. Fifty-six of the signatories to the petition were arrested and tortured; some were forced to sign an undertaking "not to interfere in political affairs which concern the great and the wise," not to object to the policy pursued by ARAMCO or to criticize its publications or broadcasts.

But the struggle continued. In April 1961 the government was forced to issue an official manifesto promising not to renew the Dhahran Treaty after its expiry date—April 1, 1962. On April 2 the base was turned over to the government of Saudi Arabia. This was a big victory for the people.

Aware that its monopoly interests are threatened by the growing struggle of the Saudi workers, ARAMCO is no longer relying solely on reprisals; it has resorted to the expedient of replacing Arabs with foreign workers. Through its radio and television network the company is trying to undermine the unity of the workers, to foment national strife and sow mutual distrust. The same line was pursued by the radio station at the Dhahran air base, and is still being continued by the company's newspapers.

In addition, the U.S. imperialists are using for their purposes the numerous reactionary organizations. Operating in a religious guise, these organizations indulge in provocations against patriotic organizations and students' clubs and collaborate with the government not only in combating progressive ideas but also in physical violence against the supporters of these ideas.

But the workers do not give up the fight. During the visit of the King to the ARAMCO center, they organized a demonstration and marched with the slogans: "Down with American imperialism!", "Death to the imperialists!", "We want a trade union!", "Down with oppression and injustice!"

The reactionary regime in Saudi Arabia feels far from safe. Contradictions among the ruling circles are growing. Early last year King Saud was forced to enter into agreement with some

of the more "moderate" patriots. A new government was formed some of whose members publicly promised to uphold democratic liberties.

Even these minor concessions evoked the dissatisfaction of the ARAMCO and the more reactionary members of the ruling clique, headed by Feisal, the King's brother. ARAMCO launched a campaign against the patriots in the government, branding them as "Communists." Last September

the few "moderates" in the government were removed under U.S. pressure.

The people, led by the National Liberation Front, are carrying on the fight, confident that they will ultimately liberate their country from ARAMCO and establish an anti-imperialist Constitutional government.

Kamal HASIM

In the Backwash of Capitalist Ideology

RECENTLY the West German *Vorwaerts* carried an angry article by a Guenther Bartsch inspired by the discussion in our journal of changes in the structure of the working class in the capitalist countries.

The author is particularly annoyed by the fact that *World Marxist Review* pointed to the place which clerical workers really occupy in the class structure of capitalist society. The point is that our discussion blasted the myth cultivated by bourgeois and reformist sociologists that the increase in the numbers of clerical workers, often accompanied by a relative decline in the ratio of manual workers, is a sign of the "erosion" of the proletariat. The participants in the exchange of views, drawing on data from various countries, examined in detail the place of engineers and technicians as well as office and trade workers in the system of capitalist production, their relation to the means of production, their role in the social organization of labor, and their wage levels. The contributions, which appeared in seven issues of our journal, contained a wealth of facts, and it was on the basis of these that the trend in capitalist society towards the gradual erasing of class distinctions between the majority of the clerical workers and the main sections of the proletariat was ascertained and the conclusion drawn that the continued unmerical growth of the working class is now largely due to an influx of clerical workers.

Herr Bartsch, however, is unable to produce a single fact to substantiate the bourgeois concept of contemporary class structure to which he ascribes. Yet he has the audacity to say this of our discussion: "Instead of following their own avowed methodological postulate — concrete analysis of a concrete situation — the Communists proceed from quotations . . ." If there ever was an instance of accusing another of one's own defects, this is it!

Further, Herr Bartsch alleges that formerly the Marxists ignored the role of office and trade workers in the process of production, and claims

that the growth in numbers of white-collar workers "calls in question their (the Communists' — E.A.) ideological scheme of the social structure of capitalism," which is based on the thesis that the proletariat is bound to grow steadily in both numbers and importance. None of the old generation of Right-wing Social Democrats would have made such a rash statement — they at least were familiar with Marx, even if they did not understand him. Their latter-day imitators, however, make a virtue of ignorance. For the fact remains that the conclusions of our exchange of views, in particular those concerning the class status of office employees, far from contradicting the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes, directly follow from it. The quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin cited in our "First Comment on the Questions and Answers" and "Some Conclusions" (*World Marxist Review*, No. 5, 1960, and No. 9, 1961) show that already in their day the founders of Marxism were able to discern the then barely perceptible phenomena which now largely determine the modern aspect of capitalist society. Marx, for instance, wrote in *Capital*: "In addition to these two principal classes (workers actually employed on the machines and their helpers—E.A.), there is a numerically *unimportant* class of persons, whose occupation it is to look after the whole of the machinery and repair it from time to time; such as *engineers*, *mechanics*, *joiners*, etc. This is a *superior* class of workmen, some of them scientifically educated, others brought up to a trade; it is distinct from the factory operative class, and merely aggregated to it" (my italics—E.A.). Also in *Capital*, Marx foresaw the numerical growth of what he called "commercial workers" (rank-and-file office and shop employees) parallel with the increase in the overall mass of value.

In our time engineers and technicians are no longer "numerically unimportant"; there is hardly a country where they do not run into the hundreds of thousands. The numbers of office and shop workers, likewise, have grown. Marxist

theory derives its strength precisely from Marx's ability to discern phenomena in the embryo, to penetrate into the very essence of one or another social group when it still was, so to say, a "thing in itself"—in other words, to foresee that which is now being fully revealed.

For all the arrogant zeal which Herr Bartsch puts into combating Marxism, he is in the dark about the future just as he is incapable of understanding the present. "Can one seriously deny," he asks, "that the middle strata are swelling and that the office workers are beginning to form a new social category?"

This assertion only goes to prove that the criticism of anti-Marxist sociology contained in "Some Conclusions" was well placed. "Bourgeois statisticians and sociologists," we said, "classify qualified engineers and other technicians, office and trade workers as a salariat which they call a 'new middle class'. Actually, however, as has been shown above, the development of modern capitalism increasingly makes them a part of the working class. In this connection it must be emphasized that the concept of office worker should be subjected to a critical examination. Although the term is used by Marxist writers, it cannot be regarded as representing a basic socio-economic category (on a par with the concept 'working class', for example) as it is by the bourgeois statisticians and sociologists. Frequently the employers give their own arbitrary interpretation."

The editors of *Vorwaerts* should know that a few years ago the management of the IBM, the

computing machine concern, reclassified 2,500 workers in one of its factories as white-collar workers. One need not be a Communist to see that this simply bears out our thesis. Many similar examples could be cited.

Herr Bartsch claims that the leit-motif of the *World Marxist Review* symposium was: "It is we who define who belongs to the working class." Anyone who followed the discussion knows that the participants sought to establish the boundaries and composition of the working class on the basis of an examination of objective processes and objective criteria. *Vorwaerts*, however, seems to hold that if the employers include one or another group of working people in the white-collar category, this is the proof that it has nothing whatever in common with the proletariat.

Vorwaerts headed the Bartsch effusion "In the Fetters of Ideology." The Communists do not deny that they firmly adhere to Marxist-Leninist ideology, and not only because it provides a reliable guide to the maze of complex processes we are exploring today, but also because it opens up every opportunity for creative, scientific thought. For the Communists Marxism is not a fetter, not a dogma, but a guide to action. Let the Right Social Democrats vaunt their "freedom" from ideology. By doing so they provide further proof that they have completely lost their independence — both political and theoretical — and are wallowing in the backwash of capitalist ideology.

E.A.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

JORDAN: PROTEST AGAINST ATROCITIES

IN the latter part of February a foul crime was committed in the Jordan capital of Amman — Abdul Fattah Tulstan, a Communist school-teacher, was murdered by the secret police.

For 24 hours this 27-year-old patriot was subjected to torture supervised by a fascist butcher whom the Jordanian authorities had imported from West Germany. The torturers gouged out their victim's eye, tore out his eyebrows and fractured his skull. Yet they failed to break his will or force him to betray his Party comrades. Up to the last Tulstan remained loyal to his Party and his people.

The murder of Abdul Tulstan is only one link in the long chain of crimes perpetrated by Jordanian reactionaries in the past five years. Ever since the imperialist reactionary coup in the spring of 1957, the people have been living under the grim shadow of police terror aided and abetted by the American, British and West German imperialists.

Early in February the government, headed by the rabid anti-communist Wasfi Tell, launched a savage campaign against all patriots. The main blow was directed against the Communist Party. More than 500 Communists are in prison at the present time and the authorities are doing all in their power to break their spirit and to destroy the Party itself. Despite the terror, the Party is actively exposing the role played by King Hussein and his clique in the recent conspiracy against the Lebanon and their support of the imperialist "fertile crescent" plan which proposes to unite the Lebanon, Syria and Jordan under Western power aegis. The Party has appealed to all patriots to join forces and fight the crimes perpetrated against the people and against the Arab liberation movement generally.

A Communist Party statement issued after the murder of Abdul Tulstan and circulated among all sections of the population urges every patriot "to raise his voice for putting an end to the tyranny, torture and murder . . . to close your ranks

in a united national front for ridding Jordan of the domination of the imperialists and the ruling clique and for a national democratic government which would express the will of the people and work for the people."

Peace supporters in Jordan issued an appeal to world public opinion giving the names of patriots who are being tortured in prison and whose lives are in danger. These include Dr. Jacob Zayadin, former member of Parliament and member of the world Peace Council; Faiq Warrad, former member of Parliament; Issa Mdanat, member of the World Peace Council; Dr. Khalid Hamshaw; Bashir Barghuthi, author and journalist, and Ibrahim Bakir, lawyer.

Communists, peace supporters and other progressives are calling upon men and women of good will to come to the defense of the heroic sons of the people of Jordan and demand their release. "Your solidarity," says the message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, "will be extremely valuable to the national struggle in Jordan, especially at a time when the imperialists are intensifying their intrigues against the liberated Arab countries to deprive them of their independence and restore imperialist domination. Jordan is being used as a base and its rulers as instruments for the execution of the criminal schemes of the imperialists."

The women of Jordan, too, are taking part in the struggle against the reactionary regime and express their faith in international solidarity. "In the hands of the enemy," they declare in an appeal addressed to the women of the world, "are the troops, the arms and the prisons; in his hands also are the government and the authority. Yet we are stronger because we are sure of the solidarity of the millions of sincere people with us, of your solidarity with us!"

Jordan patriots ask that telegrams and letters of protest be addressed to: King Hussein and Prime Minister Wasfi Tell, Amman, Jordan.

A LETTER FROM GREEK POLITICAL PRISONERS

The following letter was handed to our Editorial Board by a number of Greek political emigrés who visited our office and, on behalf of their friends imprisoned on one of the Greek islands, asked us to publish it.

DEAR Friends,
The wave of neo-fascist barbarism, aimed at terrorizing our freedom-loving people and establishing a fascist regime, launched by those who unlawfully came to power on October 29, has reached this desolate island in the Aegean where, by the will of the butchers, we have been languishing without a trial for 18 long years.

Our jailors, employing the methods used by the Nazi sadists, are starving us to death. Their savage rules and restrictions make our lives a hell. In order to give the semblance of legality to their action in exiling us they are endeavoring, despite the resistance of the Greek people and the protests from world public opinion, to secure the adoption of anti-constitutional laws. The threat of physical extermination hangs over champions of peace and democracy. It is noteworthy that even the Greek Supreme Court in a recent decision condemned both the deportation and the application at the present time of measures dating from the civil war. But what does the neo-fascist government care about such things as Constitutions, justice, morality and humanity!

Our loyalty to the people and to noble, humane ideals remains unimpaired in spite of everything. We rejoice each time we hear of another country acquiring freedom and independence, and this gives us renewed hope and courage. We are carefully following the efforts of those who are fighting to rid mankind of the horrors of war and fascist barbarism.

To them and to all other men and women of good will we address this appeal. Our cause, the cause of our people, is in your hands. Your voice can be of great help to us in frustrating all attempts at physical extermination of the imprisoned Greek fighters for peace and democracy, in securing the repeal of all the anti-democratic and anti-constitutional laws and deportations, and in restoring democracy to the land of its birth.

With fraternal greetings,

V. VARDINOJANNIS,
E. DIPLOS.

*Aghios Eustratios Concentration Camp,
Greece.*

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE OF VENEZUELA CANNOT BE BROKEN!

THE Betancourt government is persisting in its policy of slavish subservience to imperialism, and, as the country's economic and social problems grow more acute, it falls back on reprisals against the people.

The true nature of the foreign policy pursued by this government at the behest of Washington was starkly revealed at the Punta del Este conference where our country fell in line with the tyrannical "banana" regimes in Central America, on a par with dictators like Stroessner and Somoza. This imperialist assemblage of the enemies of socialist Cuba evoked the indignation of our people. But reprisals by the army and police was the government's only response to the protests of the working class and the peasantry, to the heroic battle waged by the students and by the residents of working-class districts. Once again blood was spilled. The blame for the bloodshed again lies with the Wall Street men. Dozens were killed, large numbers wounded and hundreds of homes

were wrecked; the prisoners are crowded with more than *three thousand* political prisoners.

Moreover, all the opposition press and radio facilities were closed down, first and foremost, of course, our newspaper *Tribuna Popular*.

Still, the struggle continues, in the towns where unemployment is growing and the cost of living rising; in the villages, where mass disillusionment in the so-called "agrarian reform" is mounting daily; in the factories, where the workers are fighting for the independence of their trade unions; among the students who are laying down their lives for liberty, and lastly, in Parliament, where Betancourt and his allies, the Social Christians, have lost the majority they had hitherto held by unlawful means.

There is no doubt that the ultimate victory will belong to the National Liberation Front. But to achieve this victory our people need international solidarity more than ever. We expect fraternal support from the Communist and Workers' par-

ties whose activity is permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and from progressive forces everywhere in the world.

Please address all protests against the reprisals to:

Romulo Betancourt, President of Venezuela,
Miraflores Palace, Caracas, Venezuela.

National Congress, Capitolio, Caracas,
Venezuela.

Eduardo Gallegos MANCERA,

*Secretary for International Contact,
Central Committee, Communist Party
of Venezuela.*

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication; the titles are given in English)

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- V. I. Lenin. *Complete Works*, 5th Ed., Vol. 27, August 1915 to June 1916. Moscow Gospolitizdat, 1962.
- G. Klaus. *Cybernetics from the Philosophical Standpoint.* Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1961, 492 pp.
- The Economic Aspects of Disarmament. Symposium.* Moscow, USSR Academy of Sciences Publishing House, 1961, 214 pp.
- The Economic Situation of the Socialist Countries (1960) in Figures.* Moscow, Sotsekgiz, 1961, 239 pp.
- Essays on the History of the Polish Working-Class Movement.* (July 1844 to January 1947). Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1961, 269 pp.
- From the History of the Polish Working-Class Movement.* Collection of articles for the Twentieth Anniversary of the Polish Workers' Party. 1942-1962. Moscow, Sotsekgiz, 1962, 477 pp.
- J. Duclos. *The Future of Democracy.* Paris, Editions Sociales, 1962, 254 pp.
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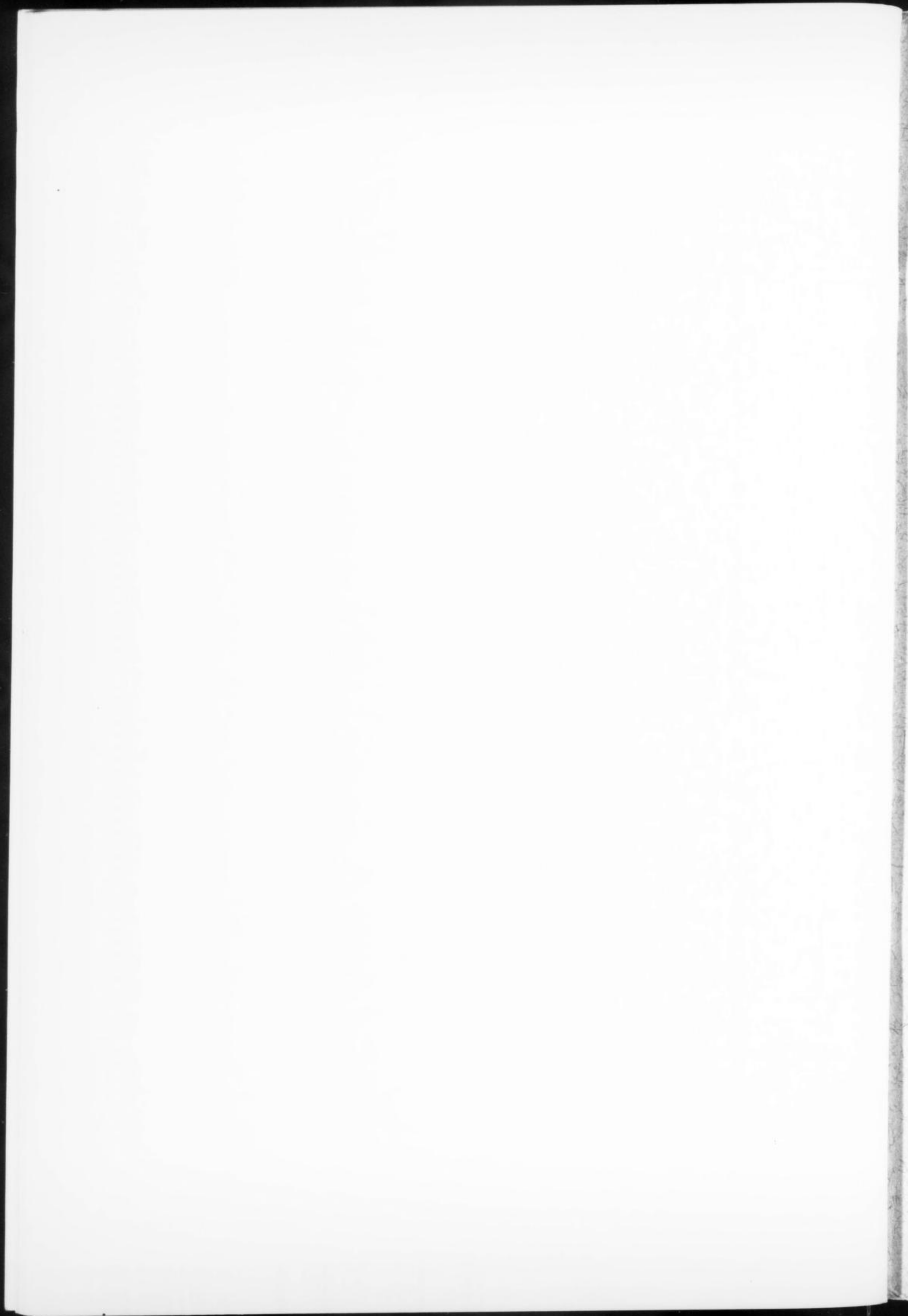
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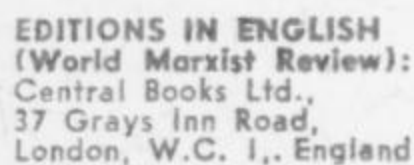
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