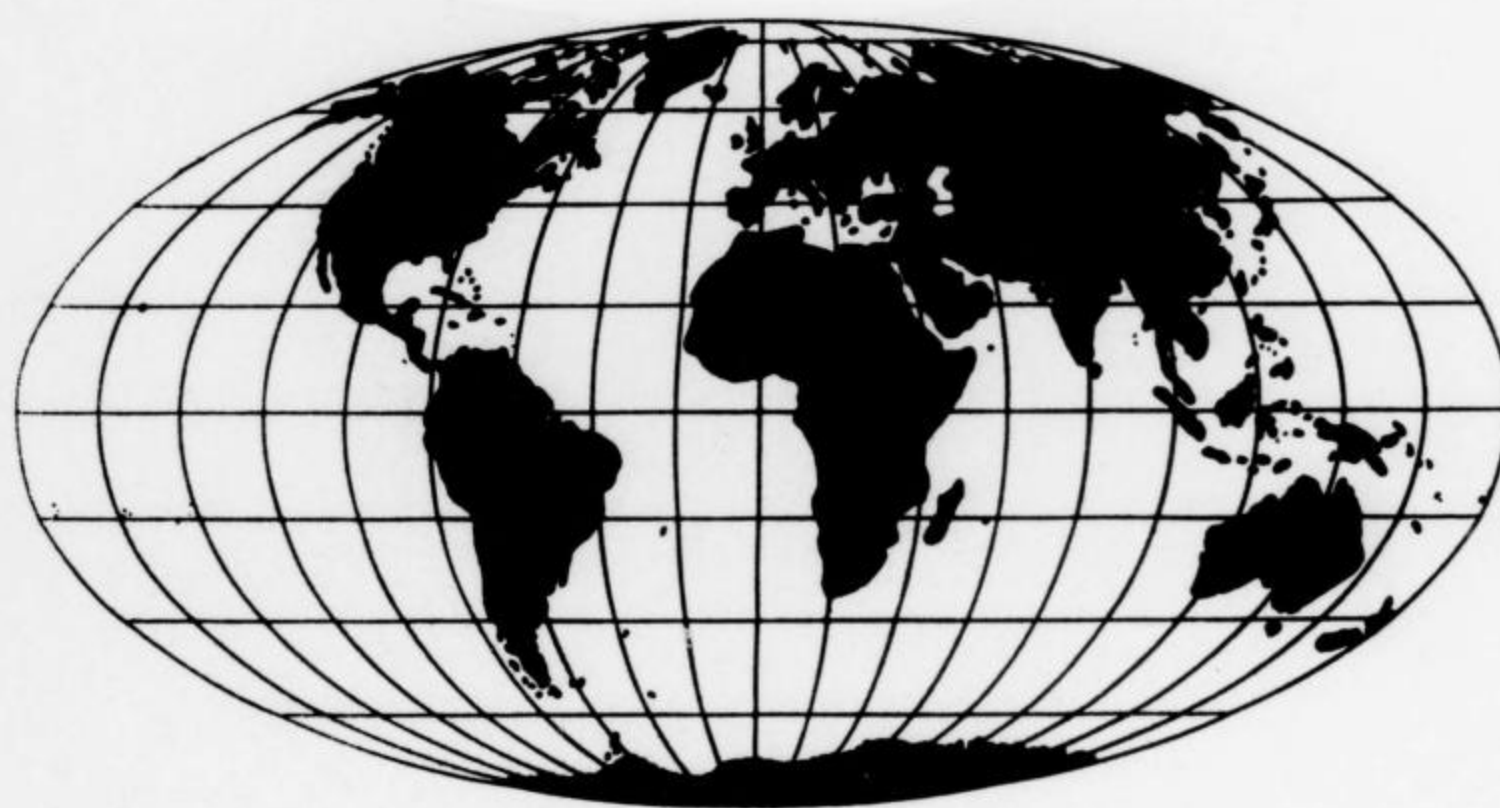


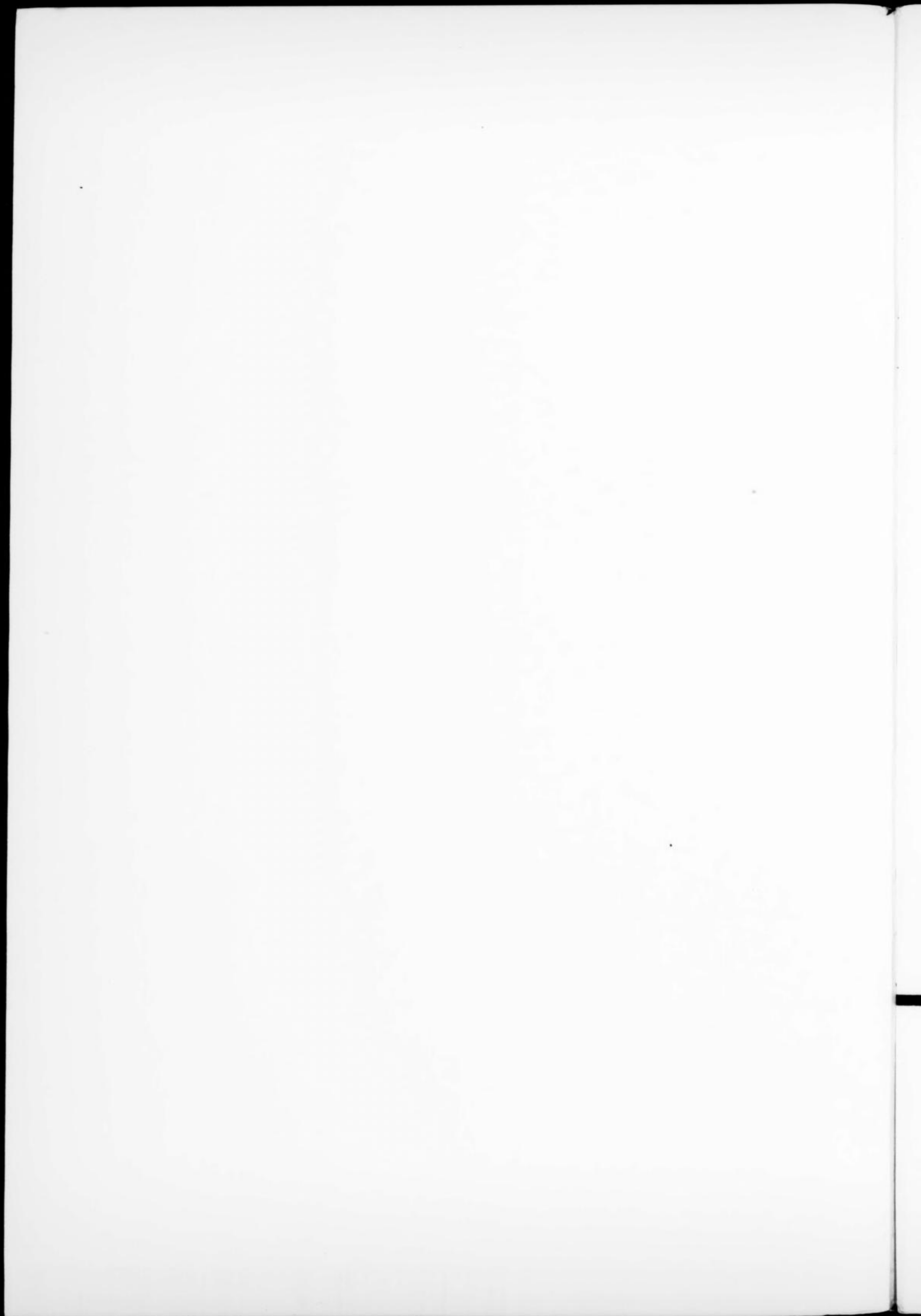
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

**Cementing the Unity of the Communist
Movement Is Our Internationalist Duty**



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Problems of Peace and Socialism**Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties**CONTENTS**

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

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

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

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

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

World History Review

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The world is a vast and complex place, filled with a rich tapestry of cultures, languages, and traditions. Understanding world history is essential to grasping the interconnectedness of our global society. This review explores the major events, figures, and themes that have shaped the human experience across different continents and time periods.

From the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt to the rise of the Roman Empire and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, world history is a story of constant change and evolution. The Middle Ages saw the emergence of powerful monarchies and the spread of Christianity, while the Renaissance brought about a new era of artistic and intellectual achievement.

The modern world has been shaped by the Industrial Revolution, the rise of nation-states, and the challenges of the 20th century, including two world wars and the Cold War. Today, we face global challenges such as climate change, terrorism, and economic inequality, which require a deep understanding of world history to address effectively.

Cementing the Unity of the Communist Movement Is Our Internationalist Duty

THE attention of the world Communist movement is now focused on *the task of strengthening its unity*, cementing the Communist ranks the world over on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against imperialism.

The reason for this is that the leaders of some parties disagree with the international Communist movement on cardinal issues of policy. The differences are serious indeed. Some Party publications have actually called for an outright split. This cannot but cause grave concern to all Marxist-Leninists, to all sincere and consistent champions of social progress.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the USA, Italy, France, Finland, Britain, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Spain, Indonesia, Japan, Argentina, Chile and many other countries have issued statements stressing the urgent need to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement.

I.

Of late, differences have arisen in regard to vital questions of strategy set forth in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Parties adhering to the positions of creative Marxism are consistently working, in full conformity with the Declaration and Statement, for peaceful coexistence since this ensures the most favorable conditions for revolutionary struggle. But there are also Parties whose leaders, while recognizing the principle of peaceful coexistence, nevertheless accuse the Parties working for it of having made a deal with the imperialists, of pursuing the wrong line, of getting together with them.

The Parties which believe in creative Marxism, in conformity with the theses of the Declaration and Statement that world war can be prevented at the present time, are carrying out measures aimed at banishing war from the life of society. But the press of certain Parties, while conceding the pos-

sibility of averting world war in our time, claims that the policy of maintaining peaceful relations with the capitalist camp, the policy pursued by the USSR and other socialist countries, is betrayal of the revolution and repudiation of class positions.

In conformity with the Declaration and Statement, the Parties adhering to creative Marxism are waging an active struggle for disarmament. But the press of some Parties, while professing to support disarmament, charges that those who are taking tangible steps towards this objective are betraying the national-liberation movement and seeking to disarm the peoples in the face of imperialism.

Guided by Lenin's counsel and the documents of the Moscow meetings concerning the variety of forms of transition to socialism, the Parties subscribing to creative Marxism are engaged in extensive theoretical and organizational work to ascertain the forms of transition best suited to the conditions of each given country. But they are accused of renouncing Marxism-Leninism, of relinquishing the class struggle, of abandoning socialism, succumbing to revisionism and seeking conciliation with the bourgeoisie.

Some of the accusers have even gone so far as to forget the supreme duty which no detachment of the revolutionary movement has a right to evade at crucial moments of the class war with imperialism. In particular this was the case during the Caribbean crisis, when the world, due to the aggressive policy of the USA, was rapidly drifting towards a nuclear holocaust. The imperative of the moment was to ensure united action by all peace partisans, and, indeed, their unity grew hourly. Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union, the combined actions of all opponents of war, and the heroism of the people of Cuba, peace was upheld and Cuba saved as a socialist country. But there were also political leaders who, indulging in pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, chose to take a different stand; they did not support the efforts to avert war, thus violating the unity of the peoples in the fight for peace.

Outright attacks were levelled against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Its leaders were accused of revisionism and cries were raised for their removal. In a word, a blow was struck at a Party which now bears the main burden of the struggle against imperialism, a Party which is the rallying center of all the forces fighting for national independence, peace, democracy and socialism. The blow was aimed also at the Communist Parties of most other socialist countries which stand united against imperialism.

Attacked too were the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries which are staunchly combating imperialism and reaction in their citadels and outposts — the USA, Italy, France, Britain, Spain, Portugal, Greece and other countries.

Nor have the parties and the countries which have recently won or are still fighting for independence escaped accusations of conciliation with imperialism, their record in combating imperialism and the blows they are delivering at it notwithstanding.

The critics of the parties adhering to creative Marxism advance no positive program, no consistent political line which would really facilitate the practical struggle against imperialism and ensure tangible gains for the revolutionary movement.

Difficulties are also being created in the international trade union, youth and women's democratic organizations and in the peace movement, which are being pressed to adopt a line that would alienate large sections of the population from the democratic movement.

Clearly this is an attitude that may lead to a split in the international Communist movement.

To vindicate these disruptive actions a special concept is advanced which alleges that in the world Communist movement there is a "majority" following a wrong line, and a "minority," the custodian of true Marxism-Leninism, which in time will become the "majority." A completely unwarranted analogy is drawn between the situation in the Second International before the First World War and the present situation in the Communist movement. It is averred that now as then the majority of the revolutionary working-class parties has taken an opportunist stand.

This argument is utterly groundless. That the views of the international Communist movement are correct is proved by the en-

tire experience of the masses, by the current revolutionary activities of the working class and other progressive forces, by the success registered in building socialism and communism, and by the struggle against imperialism, for peace and national and social progress. This experience shows that the Parties dedicated to creative Marxism are right — not because they are many but because revolutionary practice, the sole criterion of truth, offers ample proof of the creative nature of their theoretical views, the vitality of their policy and the effectiveness of their revolutionary action.

II.

Solidarity and unity are in the very nature of the Communist movement. And this movement, having its source in the working class, develops in accordance with inner laws stemming from the objective position of this class.

To the international alliances of the capitalists of the various countries and their support of one another the working class counterposes its international solidarity, proletarian internationalism. The victories won by the working-class movement in recent decades are the victories not only of the national detachments of the working class and its Parties, but also of the entire international proletariat. Without proletarian internationalism there can be no successful struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The unity of the Marxism-Leninist Parties is the supreme expression of the unity and solidarity of the working class of all countries. This unity has its *objective source* in the identity of the class interests of the proletariat and all working people irrespective of country and nationality. And the international Communist movement is the supreme manifestation of this community of interests. Its ranks are cemented by the *common ultimate aim* of the working class—the triumph of communism on a world scale. Communists everywhere are also spiritually at one, sharing as they do a *common ideology*, Marxism-Leninism. And whatever the conditions in which they work, all Communists have a *common enemy* in international imperialism.

In the course of its growth and in the changing conditions of the struggle the organic unity of the Communist movement has seen different organizational forms — the Communist International, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and the conferences and meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties

held from time to time. But irrespective of the changes in form, unity always has been and remains the inviolable basic principle of the Communist movement. The strength of the Marxism-Leninist Parties lies in this unity. There can only be one international Communist movement and one Communist Party in each country, just as there can be only one truth.

Unity, then, is an inner law of the existence and development of each Communist Party taken separately and of the world Communist movement as a whole. But unity does not come about automatically, spontaneously, without effort to overcome difficulties and without struggle. On the contrary, it is in struggle against all deviations from Marxism-Leninism, in struggle against splitters of all hues that the unity of the international Communist movement is shaped.

The national detachments of the working class find themselves in differing objective conditions. There are differences in social structure, national traditions, level of consciousness and degree of organization of the masses, different degrees of preparedness for revolutionary struggle and for building socialism.

It is only natural, therefore, that diverging viewpoints are possible in the Communist movement.

But it should be said at the outset that these differences are by no means of one and the same order. There can be *different* ways of applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the conditions of one or another country. This kind of difference is not only permissible but necessary if Marxists-Leninists are not to become dogmatists and lose touch with the life of their people. Such differences are inevitable.

Different *interpretations* of Marxism-Leninism and reading different meanings into its principles are another matter. Differences of this kind, though they spring up on the basis of the specific objective conditions in which the various detachments of the working-class movement find themselves, stem exclusively from subjective reasons. They must be reckoned with, but they cannot essentially affect the perspectives of the movement as a whole unless they develop into a theoretical and political platform hostile to Marxism-Leninism and harmful to the struggle for socialism on the national as well as the international scale.

Particularly dangerous is a situation when people persistently cling to erroneous concepts, universalize these concepts and try to impose them on the movement as a whole, and even take organizational steps of one or another kind, challenging the very principles of proletarian internationalism, even the principle of the unity of the Communist movement. In these circumstances diverging viewpoints can grow into political differences.

But even then — and this should be emphasized — the root causes of the differences are of a subjective order. They originate neither in the nature of the socialist system nor in the nature of the Communist Parties. Consequently, overcoming the disagreements depends above all on the Communists themselves, on their maturity, their awareness of the duty they owe to the working class and all humanity. The unity of the Communist movement is built by the conscious labors of the Parties themselves.

It is more timely than ever to recall the injunction of the Moscow Statement: "It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement."

"A resolute defense of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism."

Differences in the Communist movement are a source of joy to all the enemies of communism. Indeed, the imperialists openly talk about these differences being "an obstacle to Communist success" and advantageous to the "free world," i.e., imperialism. The imperialists, naturally, will try to turn them to their own advantage and to deepen them. But the enemy's hopes must be dashed.

In view of the tasks confronting the Communist movement, the danger of war and the ceaseless imperialist intrigues and sallies, it would be a crime against the working people of the whole world to allow any weakening of Communist unity. Both our contemporaries and posterity will pass severe judgment on any leader who fails to see this and

acts contrary to the fundamental interests of the working people everywhere.

In the light of its grand goals and the danger presented by its still powerful enemy — imperialism — the world Communist movement is in duty bound to overcome the differences and to rally in greater unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It is not a "majority" and a "minority" that the Communist movement needs, but the inviolable unity of all Communists, unity of ideology, strategic line and especially of action.

A particularly grave responsibility for the preservation of unity rests with the Parties of the socialist countries, which have at their disposal not only ideological means of struggle but also vast material resources serving the cause of building socialism and communism and strengthening economic, political and ideological unity among them. The unity of the Communist Parties of these countries is a vital component of the bond cementing both the Communist movement as a whole and the entire contemporary movement of the peoples for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

It is imperative for every Party and every Communist to comprehend the meaning and necessity of the "international proletarian discipline" for which Lenin called. Lenin said: "We take pride in the fact that we are solving the momentous issues of the workers' struggle for emancipation in obedience to the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat, drawing on the experience of the workers of the various countries, taking into account their knowledge and their will, and thereby building in deeds (and not in words, as the Renners, Fritz Adlers and Otto Bauers do) the unity of the workers' class struggle for communism throughout the world." No class-conscious worker, Lenin wrote, "should stand aloof for a moment from the international army of workers."

III.

How and in what way are differences to be resolved and unity cemented in the ranks of the international Communist movement? Lenin helps us to find the answer to this vital question.

"Differences within political parties and between them are usually solved not only through polemics on points of principle but by the very march of political life," Lenin said in his *Lessons of the Revolution*. "In particular, differences concerning Party tactics, i.e., the Party's political attitude, are

often resolved by those in the wrong coming over, in effect, to the correct path of struggle under the impact of the march of events which simply sweeps aside the erroneous views, making them pointless and of no interest to anyone. This of course does not mean that fundamental differences on tactics do not require thorough elucidation, which alone can maintain a Party on a level with its theoretical convictions. No. It merely means that it is essential to verify the tactical decisions as often as possible against the latest political developments. Such a check-up is essential from the standpoint of both theory and practice: theoretically, in order to ascertain whether the decisions taken are correct, and what amendments may have been necessitated by subsequent political events; practically, so as to learn how to be guided by these decisions, to be able to see them as directives to be applied in practice."

These ideas of Lenin, brimming with optimism, are a source of inspiration to Communists. They know that life is the best teacher, that the logic of things, far better than anything else, helps the working-class movement to discard everything erroneous and obsolete, and that this is the way the great army of fighters for the working class gathers strength and cements its unity.

Every sincere Marxist-Leninist must keep abreast of events and verify his political position by the pulsebeat of the time. Every Party must see to it that its political line accords with the dictates of the moment, the tasks posed by life. Along these lines the correct way can be found for overcoming the differences that have arisen in the international Communist movement.

Lenin pointed out that fundamental differences on political questions require a fundamental elucidation. The Parties have always explained to their members and to all working people the principles of revolutionary policy, showing the need for unity on the basis of creative Marxism-Leninism, teaching them to recognize the revisionists and dogmatists by what they say and what they do, to compare their words with their deeds and thereby prepare themselves to combat all encroachments on the unity of the Communists of all countries.

What distinguishes the Communist Parties from all other parties is that each member is not only able but is obliged to take an active part in all the affairs of his own Party and of the entire Communist movement. Violation of this principle in a num-

ber of Parties at the time of the personality cult caused them grave harm.

But the need to elucidate the theory and policy of the Parties, the need to discuss fundamental questions, does not predetermine the form of the discussion. Both the form and methods of debate (since the discussion is between people of identical views) should cement, not disunite the Communist ranks. In examining controversial questions it is essential always to bear in mind that the debate is between fellow fighters for a common cause, between Communists, men who have dedicated themselves to realizing the aspirations of the working class. The object in such debates should be to establish the truth, and hence it is necessary to display tolerance, and respect for each other's viewpoints; subjective assessments should be avoided, individual leaders or Parties should not be calumniated, and in no circumstances should views which are alien to it be ascribed to a Party. Only in this way will it be possible to ascertain where viewpoints coincide and where they differ; only in this way can the differences be overcome.

Seeking to strengthen unity, the representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany made a number of proposals aimed at ironing out the differences. The CPSU proposed that the open controversy between Parties be ended and mutual recriminations stopped. This was supported by other Communist Parties.

It is important not to give free rein to passions but soberly to analyze the situation and find a way out without losing sight for a moment of the best interests of the entire movement, the best interests of the working class and all progressive humanity.

The Communist Parties have a tried and tested method of solving disputed questions — joint discussion. There is no doubt that this method will make it possible to rally the international Communist movement in close unity.

Lenin said: "Discussing questions, expressing and listening to different views, ascertaining the opinion of the *majority* of organized Marxists, expressing this opinion in a decision binding on all and conscientiously carrying out this decision — this is what all clear-thinking people everywhere in the world call *unity*."

It is generally agreed that this should be the purpose of the conference of Communist and Workers' Parties which all the fra-

ternal Parties feel should be convened. But unless such a conference is thoroughly prepared it can only aggravate the differences. Therefore preparatory work conducted without undue haste or heated controversy is essential to ensure that a meeting of this kind will fulfil the purpose of greater unity.

The world Communist movement is a community of Parties. Here no Party is subordinated to another. But no one will deny that in this single Communist community each Party is obliged to respect the opinions of the others, to hearken to them, all the more so if these are the opinions of the overwhelming majority of the Parties whose strategy and tactics in regard to the fundamental problems of the revolutionary struggle are the fruit of the experience of decades. Communists everywhere, all Communist Parties, are entitled to insist — and indeed do insist — on every individual in their ranks acting in the spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of the unity of the entire movement, remembering that he who does not do so places himself outside the ranks of the international army of Communists.

The unity of the Communist movement can be strengthened only by strict adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles. And this involves not only adhering to the positions of creative Marxism but giving all one's energies to the realization of its principles. Only by "taking into account first and foremost the basic distinctive features of different 'epochs' . . . will we be able to elaborate the correct tactics," Lenin said.

All the Communist Parties proceed from the basic premise that no unity is possible in the world Communist movement except within the framework of the principles of Marxism-Leninism as set forth in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and subscribed to by all the Communist Parties. It is of particular importance to strengthen the unity of Communist will and action along the following lines:

—active struggle everywhere, not in words but in deeds, to prevent world war, since this is indispensable to continued progress in the socialist countries, to success in the struggle for democracy and socialism the world over, and to victory in the national-liberation revolutions;

—strict adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence as the most expedient form of class struggle on the international scale;

—mastery of all means of struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, including

the utilization of opportunities for a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

Implementation of these principles makes it incumbent on every Party and on the Communist movement as a whole to wage a ceaseless struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, as pointed out in the Declaration and Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties. No one can call himself a creative Marxist who denies the existence of the new features of our time. And if one recognizes these new features one cannot but see that this new epoch necessitates a new political line, a new strategic concept of the international revolutionary movement. One cannot agree in words with some aspects of this new strategic concept and in deeds depart from it in the basic respects, narrowing down the possibilities for struggle against imperialism.

For the Communists in all countries the main thing has always been, regardless of controversies and differences, their principal duty to fight, each in his own area of activity, for the common cause, to exert every effort to meet their international responsibilities. This is indispensable to genuine unity among the Communists and all working people everywhere, to unity in the struggle for common goals.

It would be a grave error — and one on which the imperialists are no doubt counting — for the Communists to allow themselves to be diverted by disagreements from the most important thing, from the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, for peace, democracy and socialism. The main enemy is international imperialism. And it is the guiding rule for all Commu-

nists never to relax pressure against its positions, to hit ever harder, always standing together in the common struggle. Guided by this rule, the Communists in the socialist countries are steadily building up their economy and culture, pursuing a foreign policy of peace, yet ever watchful of the intrigues of imperialism, reinforcing the defenses of their countries, cementing the unity of the socialist camp and solidarity with the working people of the capitalist world and with the peoples fighting against colonialism. The Communists in the capitalist countries are redoubling their struggle for peace, democracy, for the triumph of the socialist revolution; they are successfully building the unity of the working people. The Communists and the masses generally in the countries which have won national independence or are still fighting for independent statehood are increasing the pressure on the colonialists, fighting for radical democratic changes, to overcome backwardness and to launch out on the path of genuine progress.

The cause, the struggle for the cause, must come first. In this struggle we acquire valuable experience which provides the criteria for verifying our positions. We shall not allow our historical offensive against the positions of the old society to lose momentum. We shall imbue our ranks with that feeling of teamwork, solidarity and mutual support which is a prerequisite and a condition of unity.

The unity of the world Communist movement is shaped and consolidated in joint struggle against the common enemy, in struggle for the common goal under one banner—the banner of Marx and Lenin.

The National Duty of the Communist Party U.S.A.

Henry Winston

In December 1962 for the first time in the history of the United States a political party was put on trial. The Communist Party was indicted on 12 counts, including failure to register as an "agent of a foreign power." The trial lasted 10 hours but it took the Jury only 35 minutes to return the verdict of guilty. The Party was sentenced to a fine of \$120,000.

No proof whatever was required to convict, for the reactionaries took advantage of the McCarran Act, an enabling law for fascism, according to which mere adherence to the Communist movement is regarded as a sufficient basis for conviction.

This decision of the court — another attempt on the part of the reaction to undermine and destroy democratic rights in the USA — plays into the hands of the ultra-Right and increases the danger of fascism in the country. In the best democratic traditions of our people, Comrades Gus Hall, Benjamin Davis and all Communists are staunchly challenging the new blows of the reaction, thereby rendering an invaluable service to the cause of democracy and peace.

In a statement issued on January 10, 1963, our Communist Party emphasized that in its struggle for democracy and peace it is upholding the national interests of the country and performing its international duty. The Party firmly adheres to the policy of peaceful coexistence as the most favorable condition for the transition of peoples to socialism. It is making its contribution to the unity of all peace forces and supports the peace efforts of the socialist countries.

In its assessment of the Caribbean crisis the Party noted that "catastrophe was averted by the firm policy of peaceful coexistence flexibly and correctly applied, in the first place by the Soviet Union, and adhered to by virtually the entire world Marxist movement; by the peace policy of the heroic Cuban people and their government led by Fidel Castro; by the pressures for world peace exerted by the neutralist countries; and by the forces of peace in the capitalist states, including our own country, who rallied around the slogan, 'No war over Cuba'. This overwhelming combination of peace-loving humanity on a world scale, working together at a decisive moment when the world teetered on the brink of disaster, succeeded in imposing its will for peace."

The Communist Party of the United States is going through a difficult period of its struggle. The reactionaries, resolved to bleed it white, to drive it underground and to isolate it from the masses, have mounted an offensive against the Party at a time when popular movements which are bound to play a decisive role in the life of the country are slowly and gradually maturing.

The position of the Party and the character of its activities are determined above all by the sum total of all the basic factors of U.S. public life. In fact, all the aspects of the Party's activities, its shortcomings included, are national in character, reflecting the specific features of the American scene.

The activities of our Party reflect the vital

interests of the working class and all working people in the United States. International in character, they correspond to the interests of the international working-class movement.

* * *

As regards the objective conditions in which our Party finds itself, it should above all be borne in mind that it is working in a country which is both economically and politically the stronghold of modern imperialism. This is the principal factor which has determined and will continue to determine in the immediate future the conditions in which our Party works.

The U.S. imperialists viciously persecute all progressive forces in the country, and

first of all the Communists. This persecution may in a way be regarded as a barometer of the changes in the balance of forces between imperialism and the world emancipation movement. With the growth of the internal and external contradictions of imperialism and the rise of the anti-imperialist mass struggle in its various forms, the reactionaries are intensifying the persecution of the Communists in the USA.

This persecution takes highly specific forms. The U.S. rulers hypocritically speak of preserving democratic freedoms, and formally the Communist Party has not been banned. But the way the Party is hounded makes it possible to whip up anti-communist hysteria at any moment, to place the Party in intolerable conditions and drastically to restrict its opportunities for political activity.

Anti-Communist legal frame-ups have become a favorite method of political struggle on the part of the U.S. ruling circles.* Violence camouflaged with demagogic lip service to democracy has become the principle weapon for those who fear any open contest of ideas and opinions, any competition between different forms of economic and political organization of society.

Perhaps the most hypocritical of all the anti-Communist actions was the latest trial of the Communist Party in December, when the reactionaries invoked for the first time one of the most unconstitutional cold war police laws — the McCarran Act (the so-called "Internal Security Act"), which was adopted in 1950 but was not enforced even in the darkest period of McCarthyism.

Formally the Communist Party was charged by the Subversive Activities Control Board with failing to register as a "Communist-action" organization, i.e., an organization whose members are considered "agents of a foreign power," threatening the security of the country. The Party, naturally, refused to comply with the registration order and did not submit information concerning its membership, finances and printing facilities.

The whole legal set-up on the basis of which the Party was indicted is a monstrous legal trap. It would be wrong to regard a trial of this kind as normal juridical procedure. It was a political provocation.

To understand the character and political significance of this trial and the conditions in which it took place it is necessary to ex-

amine the trend of social development in the USA.

At the root of it all lies the tragedy that has befallen the American people as a result of the cold war, which ushered in one of the darkest periods in the history of American democracy. The very same causes that engendered the cold war — the striving for world domination and the struggle against all democratic and revolutionary movements — determined also the extremely reactionary domestic policy of the U.S. ruling circles. From the standpoint of the cold war policy it was essential to prevent unity among the democratic and progressive forces, to inspire fear of everything diverging from the official ideology and policy of the ruling class and to turn the country into one solid camp of reaction.

The reactionaries worked in many directions. In the '40's and the early '50's the legal groundwork was laid for suppressing any progressive mass movement. A serious blow was dealt at the mass working-class organizations, the trade unions, with the adoption in 1947 of the Taft-Hartley Act. This was followed by other legislative acts aimed against the Communist Party and other progressive organizations. Laws of this kind could be put through only in a situation dominated by anti-democratic hysteria. McCarthyism set in.

With the name of McCarthy is associated one of the most shameful periods in American history. Any activity which departed in the slightest measure from the policy of the ruling oligarchy was branded as "un-American." Not only did McCarthyism cause moral and physical suffering to thousands of citizens; the reactionaries sought to deal a heavy blow to the democratic traditions and the very way of thinking of the Americans. McCarthy's object was to discourage independent thought, to stamp out all protest, to deprive broad sections of the population of their self-respect. Short shrift was made of freedom of thought. More than ten years have passed since the heyday of McCarthyism, but progressive Americans to this day speak with shame and bitterness of this canker in U.S. public life which poisoned people's thinking and morale for years.

It is not fortuitous that the philistine ideology which had been instilled in Americans for decades flourished as never before in this period. The ruling classes did all in their power to make the average American place the philistine ideals of personal well-being above political ideals and democratic

*Ever since the first Smith Act trial in 1948, when 12 leaders of the U.S. Communist Party were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, there has been an uninterrupted succession of trials of individual Communists and other anti-Communist actions.

freedoms. They were resolved to make politics the province mainly of the ruling oligarchy and the politicians representing its interests.

In this atmosphere of rampant reaction, the ruling circles declared communism to be the main enemy of the American people. From the standpoint of the overall plans of U.S. imperialism, it was imperative not only to demoralize and then destroy the Communist Party, but to discredit the very ideas of communism in the eyes of U.S. public opinion, to prove that these ideas were anti-national. It is this that determines the nature of the anti-Communist campaign in the USA, a campaign consisting of an endless chain of provocations which has now culminated in another travesty of justice.

The anti-Communist persecution in the United States should, then, be regarded from two aspects: first, as part of the general campaign to suppress democracy, and second, as one of the measures taken to create a safe hinterland in which opposition to cold war policy and U.S. imperialist expansion is done away with.

Our Party regards the latest wave of anti-communism which began in the summer of 1961 as a political turning point reflecting the specific features of our time. The Kennedy Administration represents the interests of monopoly capital, and while it cannot be regarded — and this should be stressed — as being ultra-Right, it nonetheless makes a big concession to the ultras when it applies this law to the Communists. There are a number of reasons for this. The new anti-Communist drive began at a time marked by the activation of all the ultra-reactionary forces. Our Party had long warned against this danger. The ultra-Right and pro-fascist elements were the main political force pressing for enforcement of the McCarran Act. Our Party regards the ultra-Right activity as a manifestation of the present crisis of bourgeois democracy, which may well be called one of the most critical periods in the political history of the United States. It stems from the exacerbation of the contradictions of the cold war policy on both the economic and political planes.

As a politician, Kennedy seeks to win the support of the working class, the small farmers, and the urban middle strata on whose votes depends. And, unfortunately, large numbers of workers in the basic industries, farmers, and Negro people still cherish illusions with regard to the policy of the Kennedy Administration.

To preserve its political influence, the Kennedy Administration sometimes makes concessions to various sections of the population, without, of course, seriously affecting the interests of the ruling oligarchy in any way.

Nevertheless, negligible as they are, these concessions have given rise to further attempts on the part of the ultras to deprive the working people of the social and political gains they have managed to win. This was one of the reasons for the eruption of ultra-Right activity at that time.

It had become clear that the legal persecution of previous years and all other means of pressuring the Party from without had, from the point of view of the reactionaries, been insufficiently effective. Disappointed, too, were their hopes of corroding the Party from within, through the revisionists, Left dogmatists, and agents sent into the Party with a view to undermining the unity and ideological foundations of the Communist movement in the USA.

The Party carried on as an independent political party, consistently championing the interests of the working people.

Moreover, after the Seventeenth Congress, which analyzed the weak aspects of the Party's activity and approved a correct political line, a period of gradual improvement set in in the work of our Party. In the face of the reactionary offensive our Party proved to be the staunchest of all the Left forces in the United States. Its activity in this period played an important role in helping to stimulate the resurgence of mass struggle for democratic freedoms, and was an earnest of the historical doom of the reactionary forces. Because of this the first blows in the new drive against democratic liberties were again levelled at the Communists.

The new wave of persecution once again confirms the logic of political struggle — that any attempt to outlaw the Communist Party signifies a full-scale offensive against democratic freedoms generally. Herein lies one of the elements of the crisis of bourgeois democracy to which our Party calls attention.

The Administration has already taken legal action against 11 public organizations, including the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Recently participants in the Women Strike for Peace were subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Mine,

Mill and Smelters Union has been named as a "Communist-infiltrated" organization.

The latest anti-democratic drive through the McCarran Act in effect paves the way for the ultra-Right and pro-fascist forces. It is symptomatic that in all the legal actions taken under this law the methods practised have been borrowed from openly fascist regimes. People are accused of being Communists on the "evidence" of fingermen and perjuries. A hunt for new victims is conducted by the FBI, whose agents are sent into all public organizations, beginning with the trade unions and ending with church communities.

As the *Nation* correctly observed, the FBI and the ultra-Right are united by a common desire to destroy "anything that smacks of liberalism or social progress." It is not surprising that while whipping up anti-communist hysteria, the FBI chiefs close their eyes to the activities of the ultra-Right who are openly demanding the ousting of the Kennedy Administration. They prefer to ignore the danger of fascism in the United States.

The sentence represents a grave danger for our Party. We know that the reactionaries will take advantage of the sentence for a further anti-Communist and anti-democratic offensive. But despite this the Communist Party is existing as a legal political party and continues its struggle for democracy and peace.

* * *

This, then, is the principal result of the struggle at the present stage. It is due to two basic factors: first, the new developments in U.S. social life, and, second, the correct, consistent and courageous political struggle of our Party in the past period.

For more than a year and a half (since June 1961, when the Supreme Court enacted the registration provision of the McCarran Act), economic, political and psychological pressure was brought to bear to compel the Communists to register, which would have meant self-incrimination as "foreign agents." In this period every Communist was virtually faced with the threat of life imprisonment. But our Party stood firm against the onslaught of the reaction. Not one member obeyed the registration order. In this way we once again showed the utter absurdity and provocative nature of the accusation moved against the Party. The Communists first and foremost defended democratic freedoms, inasmuch as the registration demand runs counter to the spirit and letter of the U.S. Constitution.

Our Party held that politically, too, registration was out of the question. In this exceptionally difficult period the Party succeeded in extending its ties with the masses — with the working class, the Negro people and especially with the student youth.

Even the reactionary press has admitted that the latest anti-Communist and anti-democratic persecutions have drawn the attention of the masses to the political activity of the Communist Party and stimulated the struggle against the ultra-Right. Indeed, the new wave of anti-communism has resulted in a heightened interest in politics on the part of broad sections of the public, an interest unprecedented since the war.

The political awakening of the youth is symptomatic. The youth, as Gus Hall, a leading spokesman of our Party, put it, has flung open the gates of the market of ideas. University students insist that Communists be invited to the campuses to explain their political views. Numerous organizations, including labor unions and religious communities have demanded in petitions, at meetings and in the press that the undemocratic cold war laws be repealed, that no one be persecuted for his convictions, that anti-Communist baiting be discontinued and democratic liberties restored.

But it is not only a matter of the reaction of the masses to the latest anti-Communist and anti-democratic baiting. The social processes at work in the USA go deeper than that. The country is gradually awakening from its anti-Communist, reactionary stupor. Let us take some of the more salient indications of this.

The deterioration of the country's economic position now occupies the attention of the organized labor movement. The AFL-CIO leadership has drawn up a program designed to meet the growing unemployment problem. The principal aspect of the program is struggle for a 35-hour week with no cuts in wages. The fact that a program of this kind has been adopted is not only a reflection of the new developments in the economic situation; it is evidence of a new mood among the workers. The struggle for this demand can mark the beginning of independent labor action against the arms program of the Kennedy Administration, which has not resolved, nor can it resolve, the economic problems of the United States.

This movement will grow and gain in strength. It will merge with the growing struggles in industry and ultimately develop

into a struggle of the whole people against the mounting burden of taxation and high prices coming from the cold war program.

The heroic struggle of the Negro people in the South for equality and first-class citizenship is one of the brightest pages in the history of the country. We can note with satisfaction an appreciable activization of Negro struggles for social, national and political equality, and especially for the right to vote, against segregation in schools, etc.

The recent Congressional elections were indicative of these new developments in the political life of the United States. Above all they testified to the defeat of the extreme reaction — all the overt spokesmen of the ultra-Right, who made anti-communism their program, were repudiated by the people. The elections showed that in their drive to abolish the Communist Party the ultra-Right has no support among the masses.

These new factors open up new prospects for the activity of our Party.

The Communist movement in the United States is still numerically small. But with the sharpening of capitalist contradictions the weight and significance of the Communists will grow. The struggle of American labor and all other democratic forces is the main factor which will determine the future of the country. Such being the case, a truly historic responsibility devolves on the Communist Party, whose activity reflects the trends of the future. The Party is faced with the task of finding the ways and means of organizing the masses — both Communists and non-Communists, anti-fascists and non-fascists, democrats and anti-imperialists, Negro and white.

This mass organization can assume the form of a broad anti-monopoly coalition of workers, farmers and Negro people.

The Communists, who are a part of the organized labor movement in the United States, are doing everything for labor unity, for its independent political action and class solidarity. It should be borne in mind that in the union leadership there are Lefts capable of organizing a staunch and persistent struggle of the working class. With the growth of this tendency, labor can become the backbone of the anti-monopoly coalition in the United States.

The Communists fight together with the Negro people, helping them to develop unity in their ranks and to link their movement with the labor movement or, as we say, to build a Labor-Negro Alliance, as the road

to real freedom for the Negro people. This great movement for the Negro people's emancipation will be an important factor in the growing anti-imperialist coalition.

In the spirit of Lenin, the Communists take advantage of any differences in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, no matter how slight, in order to extend and strengthen the anti-monopoly coalition.

We give priority to the struggle for peace and democracy in public life, against the ultra-Right military complex, for the repeal of all reactionary cold-war laws and above all of the pro-fascist McCarran Act. The Party maintains that an active stand should be taken on these issues.

With the handing down of the verdict against the Party, a new stage in the struggle began. Our Party has set the following task: to prevent the further application of the McCarran Act and, above all, through a protest campaign against the sentence passed on the Party, to secure the repeal of this shameful decision. The point at issue is to halt the pro-fascist offensive which, starting with the Communists, is preparing to deliver blows against all democratic organizations and against all progressives.

The counter-offensive against the Right should find its reflection in a vigorous fight for peace. Our Party stresses that a victory of the ultra-Right would greatly increase the danger of another world war, of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe. Hence the struggle for peace in our country is linked up with the fight for democratic liberties, with the effort to defeat reaction.

The activity of all those who seek to hot up and intensify the cold war, to create a real danger of a nuclear holocaust and suppress the voices of sanity and freedom is clearly criminal.

It is generally believed that only a "hot war" spells devastation and loss of life and throws back the material development of society for many years. But what is the measure of the sacrifices suffered by the American people as a result of the cold war imposed on them by the U.S. rulers? For it is not only a question of the vast sums squandered on armaments which are exhausting the material resources of the country, but also of damage that cannot be measured by any material yardstick. What is the cost, for instance, of the many years spent in prison by hundreds of Americans, the loss of work by thousands, the years of fear and suspicion for the millions which have driven many

to suicide — suicide tantamount to political murder? What is the measure of the guilt and the shame of self-humiliation of the millions who saw the real state of affairs but lacked the courage to fight it?

"The 16 long years of the cold war," Gus Hall has said, "have cost the American people in material resources and in the loss of democratic rights more than the total loss of all the major wars put together."

Our Party emphasizes that the suppression of democratic freedoms inevitably creates a favorable soil for an attack on the economic conditions of the masses. The cold war policy has assisted the growth of all those phenomena which, economically speaking, have become a "national disaster": the low rates of economic growth, the chronic mass unemployment, rapidly soaring prices and social insecurity. All these things are today inherent in the American way of life.

It should be said that recent events have been a hard school of political struggle for our Party. One of the basic lessons we have learnt from these events is that in the past we too frequently tended to exaggerate the political weaknesses of our people and, as Comrade Hall has stressed, we erected an ideological wall between ourselves and the broad masses. Today we have set the task of ending for all time these views and methods of work, which can but lead to self-

isolation of the Party. We should not forget that the USA is not only the land of imperialist rulers, but also a land of workers, farmers, Negro and white, ordinary peace-loving people, whose interests are served by Communists organized into a Party holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity. The time will come when the broad sections of the American workers will understand and appreciate the truly patriotic struggle waged by the Communists to uphold democratic freedoms, peace and the ideas of social reconstruction of society. The struggle for democracy and peace and for an anti-monopoly coalition represents the present stage of the struggle for the national interests and for socialism in the USA. Our Party stresses that socialism, when achieved in our country as a result of the mass struggle, will embody our experience, our history and our traditions. It will reflect the fact that we are a highly developed and industrialized nation with democratic institutions, including the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, etc.

Only by relying on mass support can the Communist Party succeed in its struggle, defeat the ultra-reactionary forces and thereby fulfil its internationalist duty. There is no doubt that the peoples of all countries, who yearn for democracy and peace, appreciate the struggle waged by our Party and will give it every support.

The Struggle For Structural Reforms and its Revolutionary Significance

Luigi Longo

THE revolutionary significance of the struggle for structural reforms was the subject of wide discussion during the preparations for the recent Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party. Some of our Party militants and some of the Left Socialist comrades held that, being effected within the framework of the capitalist system, these reforms are liable to be "absorbed" by capitalism, i.e., may eventually become an instrument for reinforcing monopoly rule.

The pre-Congress discussion and the debate at the Congress helped to clarify many aspects of this question, and primarily to demonstrate the groundlessness of the sectarian and academic objections which had been voiced with regard to this important point of Party policy.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the underlying principle of our policy is recognition of the need to orientate every action not only on a far-reaching democratic and anti-monopoly regeneration, but also on the prospect of radical socialist reconstruction of the entire economic, social and political structure of the country. This principle is clearly formulated in the documents approved by the Eighth and Ninth congresses. Without socialist reconstruction, these documents state, it will be impossible to rid society of poverty, injustice and exploitation, to deliver the people from the permanent threat to freedom and peace which capitalism, by its very nature, represents.

At the same time an equally important principle of the policy of our Party, what is known as the "Italian road to socialism," is the recognition that already today, under capitalism, in the present situation, both international and national, it is possible and necessary to abolish the monopolies, abolish their economic and political power.

We believe this to be perfectly feasible, provided the workers and all the democratic forces join in the fight not only for the issues directly affecting them but for all the decisive national issues; for this it is essential that the masses should be in the key positions in society, and that they use these

positions to bring about the economic and political changes that could impart a new meaning to democracy and direct social development into socialist channels.

This is the distinguishing feature of the political line pursued by the Italian Communist Party, and to forget this would be tantamount to distorting its orientation. It is true that the bourgeoisie can emasculate the progressive content of any democratic victory, any structural reform, and the less pressure the people exert the easier it will be for the bourgeoisie to do this and the more it can paralyze, undermine and diffuse mass pressure.

But just because this danger exists, merely to pinpoint it is not enough; it must be averted. And for this, the workers and the democratic masses generally must participate in all aspects of the nation's life as an active and determining force, as the vehicle of positive decisions capable of exposing the deception, dispelling illusions and spurring on the nationwide movement for regeneration.

The validity of the solutions and demands advanced by the Communists cannot be determined by whether the bourgeoisie and its system succeed in "absorbing" these solutions and demands or not. It goes without saying that the leading groups of the bourgeoisie will always do their utmost to cancel out or turn to their own account every gain won by the people. But in no circumstances and at no time should it be left to the bourgeois leaders alone to decide things. Decisions should be the outcome of the balance between the conservative forces and the forces of regeneration at any given moment of the struggle — and this balance will depend on the effectiveness of the Communist Party's work.

The validity of our demands and objectives cannot be measured by the extent to which they coincide with the socialist solutions. Only sectarians and phrasemongers can use this yardstick. A transitional demand is transitional precisely because it is not yet socialist, precisely because it is possible to realize it under capitalism.

In order to establish whether our transitional demands are correct or not it is necessary to consider: 1) whether the struggle for these demands can rally the workers and the democratic masses, improve their organization and deepen their political consciousness; 2) whether the demands put forward and the struggle for them can bring to light the contradictions between the social and political forces on which the power of the bourgeoisie, the monopolies, is based, and 3) whether the realization of these demands not only curbs the power of the ruling classes, but acts as the springboard for the future development of the struggle, and augments the popular forces.

There is no doubt that the orientation of the struggle on structural and democratic reforms is fraught with certain risks. For example, there is the danger that the working class movement will cease to recognize the need for revolutionary class struggle and will tend (consciously or not) to become an auxiliary of capitalism. This danger is implicit in the Social Democratic approach to reforms; it is implicit also in the way in which the "Center-Left" policy is assessed by the autonomist leaders in the Socialist Party who are yielding to Christian-Democrat pressure and intimidation.

This would indeed become a very real danger were we, in Italy, to conduct our democratic struggle after the pattern of opportunist reformism, i.e., were we to lose sight of the general and ultimate goals of the working class movement. But for us the struggle for structural reforms is one of the basic elements of the Italian road to socialism.

The danger is not in transitional demands or in reforms. The danger lies in the absence of an effective, persistent mass struggle for these demands. The transitional demands and the reforms can be the means for moving ahead to socialism if they are regarded not as a breathing spell or a rejection of socialism, but as one of the elements and aspects of the general class struggle for socialism. This fully accords with the Leninist teaching, with the experience of the Communist movement and the decisions adopted at the meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960.

Experience has shown that our path is the correct one. Our struggle for structural reforms, closely linked with the struggle for the more pressing claims of the working classes, has aroused their political interest; at the same time, it has revealed the serious

differences in the ranks of the ruling bourgeoisie and has struck telling blows at the monopolies.

Nationalization of the power stations, for example, was a heavy defeat for the electrical industry magnates. At first they did their utmost to sabotage the measure and prevent the industry from being nationalized. There is no doubt that had it not been for the mass pressure, and the fight put up by our deputies in Parliament, the law would never have been adopted. Now it has been approved, but again it would be naive to assume that the former owners and their associates will not do everything in their power to change it to their own advantage. If it were left to the technocrats and bureaucrats to implement the law the results would be deplorable. The vigilance and efforts of the masses are needed to impart to it a progressive and democratic content.

The same applies to the other reforms which the "Center-Left" government promised to carry out when it assumed office. The widely advertised measures to set up elective bodies in the localities have been delayed, and it is now obvious that they were never intended to be carried out. The pledges in the sphere of agriculture, too, were made only to be broken, and the promises with regard to planning are also far from having been kept.

The ultra-reactionaries in the Christian Democratic Party and outside it are obviously bent on blocking any substantial reforms. This is evident in the fact that immediately after the first law on nationalization was adopted, the Christian Democrats hastened to declare that the nationalization of other branches was not contemplated. Professor Saracena, leading Christian-Democrat economist, pointed out some time ago that any planning, if it is to ensure, as he put it, "a more just and efficient social structure," must be effected by the joint action of the state and the market, having in mind, of course, the Italian state and market as they exist today, with the monopolies playing the dominant role.

It is precisely this monopoly control over the state and the mechanism of the market, however, that must be counteracted and eliminated, and, through political struggle and popular pressure, a situation brought about in which other political and social forces will direct the activities of the state and the utilization of the economic resources.

For economic planning to remedy the serious defects caused by monopoly development, it must be spearheaded against the monopolies and provide for the immediate nationalization of other branches of the economy. This is the keynote of the decisions adopted by the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, a demand which was contained in the resolutions of the conferences held at the different levels in the Party. Some of the provincial federations proposed an exhaustive program of nationalization and economic development as a basis for a nationwide movement which could provide an effective counter-weight to monopoly power and promote production on a national scale with a view to radically raising the standard of living of the working classes and promoting the progress of the nation as a whole.

There is no doubt that far-reaching anti-monopoly struggle conducted on a broad front will encounter the violent resistance not only of the monopolies but of all their auxiliaries. And this will be so because these forces balk at the slightest infringement of their privileges; secondly, because nationalization blasts the myth of the superiority of private enterprise; and thirdly, the existence of state enterprises shows that the capitalist class is by no means indispensable, that modern industry can be run perfectly well without it.

In these circumstances the struggle for structural reforms, for the nationalization of more branches of industry, for the new policy of state enterprises and for democratic anti-monopoly economic planning offers the prospect of uniting the different social and political forces on a broad platform. And it is through struggle, and primarily united class struggle, that both the trend and the social content of the economic policy of the state can be influenced. The struggle for a new course in economic policy implies a new balance of forces in industry and on a national scale; it implies the further development of the entire democratic movement.

In the present conditions the working-class struggle in Italy cannot be limited to action at factory level for the workers' immediate demands, to exposing the defects of the capitalist system, to propaganda for socialism.

Really to uphold the workers' interests, the struggle for immediate demands must be closely linked with the struggle for structural reforms and for power. And this tie-up expresses the Marxist-Leninist concept of the leading political role of the working class. Experience shows that the struggle for im-

mediate demands is, increasingly, fusing with the struggle for democracy and socialism. And this fusion should be seen as a constructive factor at the present stage of the revolutionary movement for socialism.

We say that by taking the peaceful and democratic path we in Italy can come to socialism. But in saying this we cherish no illusions, for we know that the reactionary bourgeoisie is always ready to resort to violence to bar the road to political and social progress. Moreover, although we see the Italian road to socialism as a relatively peaceful road, it will be far from smooth; we are bound to run up against the shoals of bitter class struggle in the course of which the masses will have to exert much effort and overcome serious obstacles before they can take over power and begin to build socialism.

Inasmuch as political power is largely determined by the economic power of the monopolies, the anti-monopoly struggle should be directed primarily at ending this state of affairs, and secondly, at curbing the domination of monopoly capital. Emphasis was laid on this at the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, which noted that the economic and political struggle should always advance anti-monopoly slogans that would appeal to diverse social groupings interested in restricting the power of the monopolies and strengthening the influence of the democratic forces.

The Congress stressed that in themselves nationalization, state intervention in the economy, state-owned enterprises and economic planning were not enough. Nationalization of a few enterprises does not alter the basic features of capitalism. State ownership in itself does not determine the social content of economic planning. If dictated by conservative elements, state intervention in the economy will tend to protect the interests of the big monopolies.

Hence, as the Congress pointed out, unless economic planning provides for some (if only partial) restriction of private enterprise, unless it counteracts the exploitation of labor and curbs the power of the monopolies (and, consequently, their share in production), it will be unable, even as an ultimate aim, to facilitate social progress and overcome the worst ills of capitalist society.

But while reaffirming this, the Congress noted that the Italian Communists are fighting for the nationalization of the key industries, for greater participation by the people

in deciding state and public affairs, for anti-monopoly, democratic economic planning. There is no contradiction between our objective assessment of certain reforms and our struggle for them. In the first place, because some of the reforms and institutions are not progressive per se but solely as gains won in struggle, and secondly, because we believe that the aim of the struggle must be to impart to each reform, to each democratic institution a profoundly anti-monopoly content.

The Italian Communist Party is fighting not merely for more state intervention in the economy, but for state intervention of a clearly-defined anti-monopoly type; what we want is not merely economic planning, but democratic, anti-monopoly planning. This can be achieved only by mass pressure, by mass participation in the work of all the democratic organizations and institutions.

The Congress of the Italian Communist Party recognized that Italy has the technological and economic conditions which make it both possible and necessary to change the present course of economic development marked by monopoly domination (with its superprofits, parasitism and contradictions) and replace it by a course that would eliminate the omnipotence of the monopolies, place technology in the service of social progress, ensure the rapid development of the productive forces and raise living standards.

It goes without saying that a policy which pursues such aims must needs be of a consistently democratic popular character, although it cannot yet be termed socialist and does not aim at establishing an intermediate social form between capitalism and socialism. The purpose of such a policy is merely to wage a popular anti-monopoly struggle against the reactionaries, for democratic regeneration and for the advance of the working classes to socialism in conditions of democracy and peace. This is what we call the Italian road to socialism.

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This article was already prepared for the press when, on December 31, *Jenminjihpao*, central organ of the Communist Party of China, published a detailed article commenting on the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party and attacking its political line. Headed "Our Differences with Comrade Togliatti," the article takes issue with our Party on the question of war and peace, nuclear weapons and nuclear war, and our criticism of the thesis of the Chinese comrades that imperialism and all reactionaries

are "paper tigers"; the article speaks of the differences on peaceful coexistence, on structural reforms, Yugoslav revisionism and whether the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the documents of the Moscow meetings are still valid or not.

In this addendum we propose to deal only with what the Chinese comrades write about the struggle of the Italian Communist Party for structural reforms, which is the subject of the present article. The Chinese comrades' attacks on this question are part of their general assessment of the "attitude adopted by Togliatti and other leaders of the Italian Communist Party."

This attitude, they aver, boils down to the following: "The people in the capitalist countries should not make a revolution; the oppressed nations should not wage a struggle for their liberation, the people of the world should not fight against imperialism."

In these assertions the distortion of our standpoint is carried to a point incomprehensible to anyone with even the most cursory knowledge of the policy and activity of the Italian Communist Party. Yet the Chinese comrades believe that on the basis of such distortions they are entitled to deliver their verdict: "All this plays into the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries."

To say that the attitude of Comrade Togliatti and other leaders of the Italian Communist Party fully coincides with the interests of the imperialists and reactionaries is preposterous. Have the Chinese comrades not heard about the attempt on the life of Comrade Togliatti, after which he hovered between life and death for weeks? Have they not heard of the persecution to which the Communists and the workers who follow them are subjected in Italy? Do they know nothing about the political discrimination against Communists and their sympathizers in the factories, in offices and in public life generally? Surely they know that it is the avowed intention of the Christian Democrats and all the ultra-reactionaries in Italy to isolate the Communists, and with them, all others who do not agree with their policy. Have they never heard that American imperialism and its allies are constantly bringing pressure to bear on the ruling circles of Italy to make life increasingly difficult for the Italian Communists, in a word, to outlaw them?

And if these things are known to the Chinese comrades, how do they account for the fact that American imperialism, all the con-

servative and reactionary forces (both inside and outside our country) level such vicious attacks at the Italian Communists, at their leader, their party, and at their friends? Whence such hatred if, as the Chinese comrades claim, everything the Italian Communists do, "accords with the interests of the imperialists and reactionaries"?

It would appear that the struggle which the Italian Communists at the head of the working people have invariably waged and are continuing to wage not only against American imperialism, but also against British and French imperialism, and against German revanchism as well, coincides with the interests of the imperialists and the reactionaries. It would appear that our consistent solidarity with the peoples fighting for their independence — the people of Africa, the Cuban people, the peoples of Spain, Portugal, Greece who are still under the heel of the ultra-reactionaries — is also in the interests of imperialism.

In the course of this struggle, factories and offices have often been closed, and the streets and squares have been filled with people demonstrating against the police, against the Italian rulers and reactionaries. In the course of this struggle the Communists and other working people have frequently paid with their lives for their political convictions and their internationalist spirit.

We ask the Chinese comrades once again: Does this struggle show that Comrade Togliatti and the other leaders of the Italian Communist Party have led the Italian Communists to a position of "subordination to imperialism," that they believe that "wars are no longer divided into just and unjust wars," and moreover that "they are against waging just wars," as is stated in black and white in the *Jenminjhpao*?

The arguments of the Chinese comrades gain nothing when they pass over from the general to the specific, as the above-mentioned article shows. There, among other things, it is stated that Comrade Togliatti and the other Italian leaders have rejected the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle, that they "are advocating the substitution of class struggle and struggle against imperialism by class collaboration on an international scale."

In the first part of our article we said that in all the documents of the Italian Communist Party, in the documents of its Eighth, Ninth and Tenth congresses, the need for a deep-going socialist reconstruction of the entire economic, social and political struc-

ture with a view to ridding society of the poverty, injustice and exploitation engendered by capitalism was clearly and unequivocally emphasized.

On the other hand, the political line and the entire activity of our Party is founded on the struggle of the people, the masses, a struggle which must be led and inspired by the working class; all transitional demands and reforms are conceived as a means and as a form of the advance to socialism.

The article in the *Jenminjhpao* cites the well-known postulate of Marx that the principal issue in any revolution is that of state power, that the first step of the working-class revolution is to elevate the proletariat to the role of ruling class. The problem is how to do this in a concrete national and international situation. This problem cannot be solved by quoting chapter and verse, or invoking the experience of others. It can and must be solved by each party, each working-class movement concretely, through intervention in the definite situation at any moment of its development in order to influence the situation, to steer developments in the direction favorable for the working-class movement, for increasing the power and influence of the working class.

Naturally, in working out a program of action it is essential to adhere strictly to the teachings of our mentors and to take cognizance of the experience of other countries. But it is important to realize that neither the teaching nor the experience of others can furnish ready-made solutions to political, strategic and tactical problems; these can and must be solved only by the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties in each country on the basis of the local conditions and their own experience and taking into account the concrete situation and course of the struggle.

This is what our Party has been striving for ever since its inception, one might say, but particularly, and with far greater experience, since the liberation war against fascism.

It was precisely as a result of these searchings that our Party elaborated what we call the Italian road to socialism, an important aspect of which is the struggle for structural reforms linked with the struggle for socialism. We believe that in the conditions obtaining in Italy, and in view of the changed international situation, the conquest of political democracy is an integral part of the struggle of the working class for its emancipation.

We know (and this was stressed by our Tenth Congress) that the winning of a mature political democracy does not in itself mean socialism, the abolition of capitalist exploitation. But we know also that the struggle to extend democracy gives rise to deep-going contradictions in the bourgeois system at the present stage of big monopoly concentration, provided this struggle involves an independent movement of the masses led by a strong political vanguard, provided it leads to the extension of democracy from the sphere of political relations to that of economic and social relations.

The conditions in Italy are such that for democracy to exist and develop it must be extended to the economic structure and clear the way to a society which would put an end to the division into antagonistic classes and place the civil liberties of the working man on a new foundation. This is our concept of the Italian road to socialism, a concept of which the *Jenminjihpao* gives its own casual interpretation claiming it to be our contention that in Italy there is no need of a proletarian revolution, no need to abolish the capitalist machinery of state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, according to the Chinese comrades, we regard "the state as some supra-class instrument" and consider that "the capitalist state, too, can pursue a socialist policy."

On the question of the state the position of our Party was clearly defined at the Tenth Congress. "In view of the vast scale of monopoly domination and of its forms, it is impossible to break that domination without giving battle in the sphere of state administration, without limiting the power of the ruling classes in this sphere, without utilizing and augmenting the democratic gains won by the working-class movement in the struggle for the common goals of all the forces striving for socialism."

The revolutionary struggle of the working class in the sphere of the state should be directed toward changing it to accord with the spirit of the Constitution, winning (again in the context of the state) new key positions, and promoting the socialist reconstruction of society.

Is it an illusion to assume that it is possible to influence, and, in the final analysis, radically change the present orientation of economic policy in Italian national life? We do not think so. We know that the state, whatever its political form and "internal equilibrium," always expresses the will of the ruling class. We by no means believe, as

the Chinese comrades accuse us of doing, that "bourgeois democracy is a supra-class democracy." We are well aware that bourgeois democracy has always been the expression of the crystallized balance of social forces. But this balance is not fixed once and for all, it takes shape as a result of class struggle within the democracy itself. Hence we propose through mass struggle constantly to determine the level of development and content of the democracy, in order to convert it into a democracy of a new type, one which would increasingly uphold the interests and aspirations of the working classes.

In the conditions prevailing in Italy we believe it possible and necessary to work for the formation of a new bloc of socio-political forces, a bloc which, under the leadership of the working class, would turn the struggle for immediate demands into a political struggle aimed at altering the class basis of the state and gradually changing its social relations and structure.

Out of this struggle a new balance of forces will emerge, the working class and democratic movement will become stronger and the way will be paved for the proletariat and other working people to assume leadership of the economic and political life of the country. It is in this concrete political activity that the leading role of the working class and its Party should be expressed.

Acting in this way we are not departing from Marxism-Leninism. True, Lenin wrote, "the democratic republic is the best possible political integument of capitalism." Lenin also wrote: "We are for the democratic republic as the best form of statehood for the proletariat under capitalism," inasmuch as "the democratic republic is the nearest approach to the proletarian dictatorship," i.e., to changing the class nature of the state. And precisely because the democratic republic and the traditional forms of bourgeois democracy embody these two features (the best political integument of capitalism and the nearest approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat) our Party is striving to conduct its political activity and the activity of the masses so that the democratic republic should be not merely the best political integument of capitalism but that it should be the nearest approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That our objective is not a utopia but a tangible possibility on the road to realization is evident from the repeated attempts on the part of the ultra-reactionary ruling groups to curtail democratic liberties, bring

about a crisis of democratic institutions and deprive the masses of the right to participate in the life of the country. The reactionaries realize that the democratic republic is not the best integument of their political domination, that it is becoming the road along which the working class is advancing to the conquest of power.

Only blind sectarians can attack our concept of the Italian advance to socialism, deny the significance of the struggle for democracy and question the revolutionary value of the transitional objectives and gains. It is impossible in Italy today to conceive of the advance to socialism outside the democratic life of our society, outside the struggle for aims which express the interests of society as a whole and the achievement of which can and must pave the way to the advent of the proletariat and other working people to the leading place in the national life. Hence in the present conditions of political struggle in Italy and in view of the absence of an acute revolutionary situation, the class struggle cannot be confined to the struggle of the workers in the factories for rights and immediate demands, to exposing the ills and ulcers of capitalism and conducting propaganda for socialism.

As I have said, the path we have taken is only a relatively peaceful one. We know that the reactionary bourgeoisie is always ready to use violence to obstruct political and social progress. But it is our contention that through organizing and consistently heading the working class and by democratic struggle for the political and social goals we have outlined we can be best prepared both politically and organizationally to strike back and defeat the bourgeoisie when, in

the words of the *Jenminjihpao*, "the bourgeoisie will resort to violence in an effort to crush the revolution."

And this is what the *Jenminjihpao* qualifies as "modern revisionism," which "distorts Marxism-Leninism," "weakens" its revolutionary content, "disarms and immobilizes" the workers and working masses in their struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, for the victory of socialism.

Drawing on our experience we can say that thanks to our orientation and to our activity the Italian Communist Party has not only succeeded in repelling the attempts to revive fascism to date, in upholding the rights and gains of the working class through street fighting in which many workers have sacrificed their lives, but also in consolidating those rights and gains while delivering telling blows to the combined forces of the bourgeoisie, to the power of its ultra-reactionary groups. In this fight for peace, democracy and for the emancipation of the people, our Party and the working-class movement have won a position of recognized authority and prestige.

These are facts which our Chinese comrades would do well to bear in mind. Yet they claim that we have submitted to imperialism, that we have taken the way of revisionism, of immobilizing and disarming the workers and all working people.

These allegations are so absurd and so remote even from a semblance of objectivity that they cannot be taken seriously; they merely rebound against those who so lightly and irresponsibly presume to proclaim themselves the sole custodians and interpreters of Marxism-Leninism.

Monopoly "Integration" and Canada

Bruce Magnuson

THE FIRST struggle for Canada's national survival against earlier United States expansionism can be traced back to the war of 1812. On this, the 150th anniversary of this first struggle for national survival, Canadians are once again called upon to defend their independent existence as a nation. Already deeply submerged in a crisis of national development, Canada is now confronted with a new and extremely acute danger to its national survival in the event of Britain becoming a member of the European Common Market and when the U.S. Trade Expansion Act begins to operate as envisaged by those who framed it—the U.S. financial oligarchy.

The Communist Party of Canada at its Seventeenth National Convention in January 1962, adopted a resolution which went right to the root of the problem. This resolution stated that these latest developments "will put an end to the traditional pattern of Canadian trade, and unless steps are taken at once, will plunge our country into even greater dependence on the USA." The resolution pointed out that "the Tory government has no effective policy to counteract this new threat to Canadian Trade" simply because "it is tied hand and foot to American interests." "Unless an alternative to present Commonwealth markets is found," the resolution went on, "then President Kennedy's proposed 'customs union', put forward under the guise of reduced tariffs, will complete the subordination of Canada to the USA which was started by the Liberal government in 1948, and continued by the Diefenbaker government."

U.S. Domination and Crisis of the National Economy

The rapid expansion of United States capital investments and domination of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy have been facilitated at every turn by government policy dictated by the U.S.-Canadian monopoly oligarchy. This lump of big U.S.-Canadian monopoly capital includes that part of the Canadian bourgeoisie who benefit directly from the U.S. domination of Canada and who have therefore decided to turn their backs on Canadian independent development and have thrown in their lot as junior partners of

the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie. The result is a *U.S.-Canadian monopoly oligarchy in which U.S. monopoly capital occupies the dominant position*. This is the main enemy of the Canadian people.

Besides undermining Canada's sovereignty, this U.S.-Canadian monopoly integration has distorted the pattern of industrial development. Most of the larger industrial enterprises are branches of U.S. corporations who control their activities, including research, production programs and marketing.

Canadian subsidiaries of U.S. corporations operate with an enormous volume of parts made at parent factories in the United States. As a consequence Canada imports machinery and machine tools and has no developed and independent machine tool industry of its own.

Nearly 60 per cent of all capital in Canadian manufacturing is U.S. capital. In rubber it is 98 per cent, in auto 97 per cent, chemical industry 80 per cent and in electrical apparatus 77 per cent.

Since 1948 the whole industrial pattern of Canada has been developed as an appendage of United States industry. Many independent Canadian industries have either been merged with larger U.S. enterprises, or destroyed by the monopolies. Canada's merchant marine has been scuttled.

Between 1948 and 1958 the rapidly accumulating deficits in Canada's trade and balance of payments were covered by the import of U.S. capital. This capital was used in the main to develop U.S. ownership and control of Canada's raw material resources.

Since about 1958, however, the USA has itself experienced a certain drain on its gold reserves. A very noticeable shift in the economic balance of power as between the various capitalist countries has found its expression in capital movements to the detriment of Canada. Referring to this in a speech to the nation last June 24, Prime Minister Diefenbaker had this to say:

"Canada has become accustomed to large capital inflows from abroad. These capital imports have been approximately equal to the deficit in Canada's current international account.

"Canada's immediate difficulties, however, have been precipitated by a drying up of the

net capital inflow and very recently by a net capital outflow" (emphasis mine—B.M.).

What Diefenbaker omitted to say, however, was that everyone who accumulates a lot of debts will eventually be called upon to pay. In the case of Canada's import of capital the accumulating foreign-owned profits and interest threaten national bankruptcy.

Over one-quarter of Canada's national income depends upon foreign trade. This trade consists of exporting, in the main, industrial raw materials and agricultural products, on which prices are steadily declining, while importing manufactured goods on which prices are constantly rising.

Canada's one-sided dependence upon the import of manufactured goods from the United States, while paying for these goods in raw materials and cash, increases the burden of payments annually when added to the interest on previous borrowings and dividends on previous capital investments by the U.S. monopolies.

At the same time, and in terms of constant 1949 dollar value, production of goods per capita in Canada declined from \$1,479 in 1956 to \$1,425 in 1960.

The absence of growth and, in fact, actual decline in production in proportion to population has created chronic mass unemployment.

About 72 per cent of Canada's imports come from the USA, while 61 per cent of Canada's exports go to that country.

The obvious answer to this situation would be for Canada to change its national policy to conform to reality, to engage in a program of national industrial development, to increase employment and the domestic market, to open up trade with all countries regardless of social and political systems as in the case of trade with Cuba and the substantial wheat deal with China.

By using its technical know-how and its ample resources Canada could rapidly increase its manufacturing capacity, help the newly independent countries of the former colonial areas to industrialize their economies, expand our trade with them and with the socialist world. In this we would produce enough goods for our own consumption and to pay for necessary imports while raising our standard of living by improved productive activity.

But this is not what Mr. Diefenbaker proposed in his broadcast to the Canadian people. In fact his emergency program to meet the financial crisis is to prescribe more of the same policy which brought about the crisis

in the first place. A billion-dollar mortgage which will increase our debt and dependence upon the United States. An increase in interest rates which will tend to restrict rather than expand economic activity, with resultant increase in unemployment. Added duties on imports which in present conditions will not stimulate production but merely raise prices. A devaluation of the dollar, which on top of this tariff on imports will leave Canadians with a 75-cent dollar to pay for imported goods. An attack on wages and living standards to increase the earnings of the big corporations and monopolies.

The government's call to the employed worker is to "produce more and eat less." For the unemployed worker there is nothing. Efforts to balance the budget will be made at the expense of needed public works.

The Common Market and Canada's Prospects

At the present time Canada's trade with the United Kingdom is about 18 per cent of total annual foreign trade. The annual trade with other Commonwealth countries is about six per cent. Thus, outside of its trade with the USA and the Commonwealth, Canada's trade with other countries has so far been, relatively speaking, insignificant.

Hitherto Canada has exploited the Commonwealth preferential tariff structure for maximum exports in order to create a surplus in Canada's favor on Commonwealth trade. This surplus has then been used to reduce the deficit in Canada's unfavorable trade balance with the United States.

Exports to Britain from Canada consist of automobiles, some electrical goods, wheat and other agricultural produce, raw materials, lumber, newsprint, pulp, aluminum, ores and other base metals. In the way of imports Canada has bought general manufactures, machinery, cars and other vehicles, iron and steel. Canada has occupied the top position in the value of trade within the Commonwealth area.

Should Britain join the European Common Market the United Kingdom will cease to be the main market for agricultural products from Canada. The reconstruction of the industrial and commercial patterns that would follow could have a catastrophic impact upon whole branches of the Canadian economy. Entry would mean that the tariff and trade policies of the United Kingdom would be determined by the sum total of the interests of the most powerful monopoly groupings within the European Common Market, which

of course includes revanchist West Germany as the most powerful within the group.

Any resultant decline in Canada's trade with Britain and the Commonwealth would result in still more dependence and possible absorption by the United States.

There is no doubt that U.S. imperialism hopes to gain some trade advantages from the break-up of the British preferential trading area by means of the Trade Expansion Act passed recently by the U.S. Congress.

It must be remembered that today the stockpiles of various goods held by the USA is six times what they were in 1949, in view of U.S. efforts to pave the way for dumping its agricultural and other surpluses on the markets of Western Europe and elsewhere, including Canada.

The substitute now offered in place of Commonwealth preference is a system of general commodity agreements meeting the interests of the most powerful monopolies in the United States and Western Europe. All that Canada can hope to get through such means will be guarantees of strict production quotas, smaller markets and lower prices.

The close link-up between the capitalist state and the more aggressive of the monopolies assures a policy which will protect the overall class interests of the big investors. The financial oligarchy, for whom the state is the political instrument, will see to that. As far as Canadian industry is concerned, large sections of it could be wiped out in the process of the reconstruction of trade patterns as now envisaged by the cold war strategists of the NATO military setup. Above all, this refers to the relatively small enterprises.

In Canada there are tens of thousands of relatively small enterprises that operate on the periphery of large subsidiaries of the giant American monopolies. Only about ten per cent of Canadian industrial enterprises have more than 100 employees. The dollar value of goods produced per worker in these industries is twice that of workers in the smaller firms. Speaking recently to the Investment Dealers Association of Canada, Mr. H. George De Young, chairman of Canada's National Productivity Council and of Atlas Steels Ltd., is reported as stating that he thought no less than 32,800 manufacturing establishments with less than 100 employees each would be exposed to large market blocs with whom they could not compete.

It is useful here to draw attention to the fact that American subsidiary companies operating in Canada have been brought here to

serve the domestic and Commonwealth preferential tariff areas and are, in the main, prevented from competing with parent companies in other markets of the world. Mr. De Young is quoted as saying that he feared Britain's entry into the Common Market and the abolition of the preferences would bring about the closing of foreign-controlled branch plants in Canada, because assembly of parts here could become unnecessary if the entire commodity could be imported freely.

Not only workers and farmers, but small business and professional people, as well as the manufacturers and sections of the bourgeoisie who are not tied to the U.S.-Canadian oligarchy are already sensing the approach of an unprecedented economic squeeze and a downward pressure on the Canadian economy.

This was shown in June last year when a small group of manufacturers established a separate organization from the long established Canadian Manufacturers Association to be known as the Organization of Canadian Manufacturers. The President of the new organization has stated that the CMA and almost every other trade association in Canada is dominated by Canadian subsidiaries of foreign companies. The stated aim of the organization is to provide an official voice for Canadian-owned and Canadian-controlled firms "whose interests are not always identical with those of foreign subsidiaries."

Some Labor Movement Problems

Mr. Diefenbaker's statement that "there must be a concerted effort to set our economic house in order, to hold the wage-price line as firmly as possible, to cut back costs and to become more competitive in the world's markets" is an indication of the stiff drive that the monopolies are undertaking against the working people as a condition dictated by the world's bankers for the support of the Canadian dollar.

The propaganda by the big monopoly concerns that Canadian goods are not competitive in world markets because of high production costs, with particular emphasis on wages, does not stand up to serious examination when one considers that wage rates in Canada are much below wage rates in the United States, and the U.S. monopolies in fact engage in the double exploitation of the Canadian worker.

The monopolists hope to place themselves in strategic positions to reduce living standards, increase profits and place the cost of the ever-expanding arms program on the backs of the working class and the non-mono-

polized sector of the economy. In Canada the domination of the U.S.-Canadian monopoly oligarchy has already gone a long way in this direction.

Rationalization and automation are claiming a toll, with the result that the ranks of the permanently unemployed are steadily increasing. This is reflected in the state of the Unemployment Insurance Fund. In 1956 this fund held a reserve of \$927,000,000. But by May 1961 this had been reduced to \$110,052,000 and by May 31 last year was further reduced to \$19,851,162, which means near bankruptcy.

Much of the consumer goods is sold on credit and the majority of low-income earners maintain themselves only at the expense of mortgaging their future earnings. Between April 30, 1961, and April 30, 1962, total personal debts of Canadians increased by 21.2 per cent.

The labor movement experiences grave difficulties. Less than 30 per cent of the labor force is organized. A very small percentage of white-collar and office employees are organized. Only in some large mass production enterprises with strong industrial unions of production workers have there been any appreciable results in efforts to organize white collar workers.

Civil servants, teachers, and other professional workers are organized in associations which for the most part until now have stood apart from organized labor. Reformist illusions and influences are in many cases stronger in such groups than amongst the workers. Most of the unions are branches of U.S. unions with headquarters in the USA. Except for a small number of workers in Left-wing organizations and independent unions, the majority of the organized workers are under Right-wing leadership that follows, in the main, the line of policy laid down by the monopoly oligarchy. Right-wing social democracy has during the postwar years imposed its policy and leadership on many of the major unions.

The Communist Party, which in former years advanced to legislative offices and to leadership in the trade union movement, has, during the last 16 years of cold war offensive by the huge American monopolies and their junior partners in Canada, suffered organizational setbacks as well as ouster from official positions in the trade unions and from electoral positions. Nevertheless, the correct and fearless campaigning on main policy issues by the Communists has had a political impact far beyond the number of members and

sympathizers. The essential ingredients of Party slogans advanced in connection with the struggle for peace and independence have been taken up by an ever-larger number of people. While national consciousness has not yet asserted itself sufficiently to determine the line of policy in the political life of Canada it is coming rapidly to the fore.

The polarization into two main political camps is taking shape. On one side stand the forces committed to the policies of betrayal of Canadian independence and economic growth—the U.S.-Canadian financial oligarchy. On the other side will be found those—the working masses in French and English-speaking Canada—who in one way or another are searching for alternatives to challenge the oligarchy and its policies.

The commitment to the European Common Market and involvement in the Kennedy plan for a broader "Atlantic" trading community would deepen the crisis of national development and speed up the realignment of class forces in the country.

While it is understandable that the traditional capitalist parties, the Tories and Liberals, find common interests as spokesmen for the monopoly oligarchy which finances their activities, and that this same oligarchy should encourage special Right forces under other labels, such as Social Credit and perhaps others, if need be, when the parliamentary monopoly of the old-line parties collapses, it is, however, totally out of line with the aims and aspirations of the class forces which support the New Democratic Party that the leaders of this party should signal their support for the home and foreign policies of the big capitalists and their foreign partners, who conspire and act against the peace and independence of Canada and its people.

When leaders of the NDP and the main labor unions join in the chorus of support for such reactionary policies in the name of defeating communism they are undermining the authority of the great labor movement which has placed them in their present positions of power. Instead of being spokesmen for the democratic alternative, which their movement has every possibility of becoming, these leaders are going out of their way to obstruct the forward march of the working class and the people as a whole. These leaders will have to realize that such policies will draw upon them the wrath of the people as the struggle for the real alternatives develops.

What is obviously needed is united action to organize the majority of the working class and its allies for battles to win a better life

for the people, against the monopoly attack, to expand the domestic market as well as exports, to nationalize and control foreign monopolies in the interests of Canada, to put a curb on monopoly profits and prevent the flight of foreign as well as Canadian capital abroad.

The working class of Canada has both the power and the duty to lead this struggle now. The essential requirement is unity behind a common policy and a clear sense of direction, along with organization and action.

That is what the Communist Party of Canada has consistently fought for. Its struggle for alternative national policies found expression in the last national election in over one million votes for the New Democratic Party and the beginning of the fragmentation of the capitalist parties, neither of whom received a clear majority in the new Parliament. It is this battle which must now be intensified.

The Real Alternative for Canada

Big changes are taking place in the world, and Canadian foreign policy, including trade policy, should be brought into harmony with those changes, which include the disintegration of the colonial system and the inability of the United States monopolies to prevent this, and should take full cognizance of the new balance of forces in the world.

This means that Canada needs above all to lessen its dependence upon the United States and to break away from its clutches and steer an independent and neutral course in military and political policy whilst strengthening its economic power. Being a country rich in natural resources this offers fewer problems for Canada, providing we adopt a policy of expanded industry and agriculture, full employment and a larger home market, and trade with all countries without discrimination and regardless of economic and social system.

The Seventeenth National Convention of the Communist Party of Canada pointed to the alternative markets made available by the great world movements for socialism and independence:

"a) Latin America, in the throes of a democratic revolution the aim of which is to win independence and industrialize the economy, and especially Cuba, which is being reconstructed along socialist lines, offer prime markets for Canadian products. If the Canadian government were to sign mutually beneficial trade agreements with the Latin American countries, designed to help their industrialization, and if long-term state credits were to be arranged, this would not only strengthen Latin American independence but also would help industrialize our own country, whose economy is sorely in need of machine-construction and tool-making industries.

"b) The socialist world market, embracing more than one thousand million people in the fastest-growing area of the world, offers immense opportunities for beneficial trade if the Canadian government were to abandon its hostility to the principles of peaceful coexistence and peaceful economic competition and show good will and a desire to achieve mutually advantageous trade. This must include recognition of the government of China and an end to the farce of refusing to recognize that government while selling it our wheat.

"c) Canada's trade with the newly-independent countries, the former colonies, is pitifully insignificant. The export of industrial products, machinery and farm goods to these countries, with the aim of helping them to industrialize their countries, would help them to resist the attempts of the imperialists to fasten a new colonialism on them."

The Communist Party unflinchingly holds aloft the banner of national survival, calling upon the Canadian people to "put Canada first" against U.S. domination. To break through to victory in this great and historic struggle requires much more than the efforts of the Communists, particularly at this stage in Canada's development. It requires no more and no less than that the masses of people in French and English Canada join their forces and make themselves masters of their own house.

Brazil in the Grip of Contradictions

Jacob Gorender

CAPITALIST development in Brazil has proceeded at an accelerated rate in the past three decades, gaining particular momentum in the '50s. This has resulted in a marked increase in industrial production as the following table shows:

	1941	1950	1960
Electric power (1,000 kwh)	1,232.7	1,882.5	4,800.1
Steel (1,000 tons)	155.4	768.6	2,300
Oil (1,000 tons)	10.4*	44.3	3,871.0
Cement (1,000 tons)	767.5	1,385.8	4,442.6
Automobiles (1,000)	—	30.7**	133.1
Cotton fabrics (million meters)	989.7	No data	1,272.9***

*Data for 1945.

**Data for 1957. As in 1960, they include the output of automobiles, trucks and other vehicles.

***Data for 1958.

Industrial production, which until 1930 was about half that of agriculture in terms of value, has almost drawn level with the latter. As regards the output of the means of production, which in 1939 was about one fourth the output of consumer goods, it is now nearing the level of the latter and there is every indication that it may even surpass it.

There is no doubt that the economy of Brazil has undergone big changes both in volume and in structure.

This development has produced a crop of diverse theories. Bourgeois apologists, and especially the advocates of the so-called "theory of development," claimed that capitalist expansion would of itself lead to economic independence for the country and to prosperity for the people. The revisionists argued that the growth would automatically solve the tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. But the growing contradictions in Brazilian society are the refutation of these arguments.

An analysis of objective data shows that the development of capitalism in Brazil, far from having solved the basic tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, has, on the contrary, underscored their urgency. One feature of the development is that

by stimulating the growth of the productive forces it has intensified the old structural discrepancies and has given rise to new ones, thereby hastening the maturing of revolution.

In the Strangle Hold of Foreign Capital

The first thing to note is that economic progress has not rid the country of imperialist domination; it has merely compelled imperialism to adapt itself to the new conditions in which its domination became even more oppressive. Let us examine the more basic aspects of this question.

Expansion of foreign capital. Unlike the situation in the '30s and the '40s, direct foreign investment shot up in the '50s. The foreign investment was computed to be around \$3,500,000,000 in 1959. According to the same estimates foreign capital accounted for 25 per cent of the total invested in industry and trade in 1957, 31 per cent in 1959 and 32 per cent in 1960. These figures relate only to direct investments. It follows, then, that as a result of the ploughing back of profits and increased investments from abroad, particularly in 1957-1960, foreign capital far from declining showed a rapid increase.

The figures cited here do not, of course, give the whole picture. They do not take into account the credits issued by Brazil banks (state banks included) to foreign-owned undertakings and the recent mobilization of local capital through numerous investment companies or direct partnership between foreign and Brazil capitalists. The Brazilian economist Aristoteles Moura, who has studied this question, cited the data for 1950 published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, showing that 36 per cent of the capital of U.S.-controlled undertakings in Latin America was of local origin.* If we assume that the same proportion (which is undoubtedly understated) applies to overall foreign investments in Brazil we can safely conclude that the imperialists directly control over 40 per cent of all investment in industry and trade.

The capital invested in manufacturing industry directly belonging to foreign capital was distributed approximately as follows in

*A. Moura, *O Capital Estrangeiro no Brasil*, Ed. Banas, Sao Paulo, 1961.

1959: in the cellulose industry 22 per cent, in the paper industry 15 per cent, 62 in the pharmaceutical industry, 17 in iron and steel, 38 in engineering, 57 in the production of spare parts, 69 in the automobile industry, 37 in the chemical industry and 28 per cent in plastics production. Of the total for the same year 37.5 per cent was U.S. capital, Canadian 17.7, Federal German 9.3, British 7.4, Benelux countries 5.6, French 5.5 and Italian 4.5 per cent. Actually, however, the United States' share is bigger considering that about one fourth of the shares in the Traction, Light and Power Company, the biggest Canadian company in Brazil, are held by U.S. interests. The past few years have also witnessed big inroads by Japanese capital, particularly in the form of loans and credits.

In what way does the present foreign capitalist expansion in Brazil differ from the earlier process, and especially before the '40s?

Unlike the earlier period when foreign capital was channeled chiefly to public utilities (including electric power), transport, trade and other non-manufacturing branches, it is being concentrated more and more in the manufacturing industry, particularly heavy industry. According to the Foreign Trade Department of the Banco do Brasil, new direct foreign investment, registered in the form of import of equipment, totalled \$511,200,000 between 1955 and 1961. Of this sum \$379,500,000 was invested in heavy industry, the remaining \$131,700,000 in light industry.

The explanation for this is not so much the initiative displayed by the foreign capitalists as the economic headway made by the country. For a long time the imperialists did their utmost to prevent the industrialization of Brazil, which was engendered by the internal forces of capitalist development. Another contributory factor was the two world wars, and also the economic crisis of 1929-33 which compelled the country to cut down sharply on imports. During the period of rapid economic development, which covered the '30s, the '40s and the first three years of the '50s, the direct foreign investment (excluding reinvestment) and foreign loans did not play a very significant role. In the '50s, however, when industrialization forged ahead, the imperialist monopolies, changing their tactics, took part in the industrialization with a view to controlling the key positions in industry and gaining the maximum out of it.

To this end the foreign monopolies were granted preferential terms in the sphere of legislation, credits, currency operations, taxation, etc. The Government itself sought to attract foreign capital. The so-called National Goals plan, for example, drafted by the Kubitschek government to develop the key sectors of the national economy, provided that direct foreign investment, loans and credits would reach the sum of \$2,318,500,000 over the period 1957-1961. In fulfilment of this plan, foreign capital investment and financing totalled \$1,836,200,000 between 1957 and 1960. The National Goals plan embodies the conciliatory policy of the bourgeoisie, which, although favoring economic development, wants to achieve this in collaboration with imperialism. Thus it swings from intransigence to agreement, the outcome being mutual concessions. And it is undeniable that this policy of the bourgeoisie has, to a certain extent, been instrumental in forcing imperialism to modify its position.

This is particularly evident in the case of U.S. finance capital. According to U.S. Department of Commerce estimates direct American investment in Brazil's public utilities and transport totalled \$96,900,000 in 1929, and in the manufacturing industry, \$45,700,000. By 1959 U.S. capital investment in Brazil had reached \$1,201,000,000. Of this sum \$86,700,000 was invested in public utilities and transport, \$970,100,000 in manufacturing industry, and \$470,100,000 in the engineering and automobile industries alone. Characteristic, too, is the position of the West German monopolies whose direct investment in 1959 totalled \$320,200,000. Of this sum \$200,500,000 was invested in the engineering and automobile industries and \$30,700,000 in the iron and steel industry. U.S. capital began to display greater interest in heavy industry only after the West European monopolies, especially the Federal German, began to gain a foothold there. Although the imperialist powers have common interests in exploiting the Brazilian market, they at the same time compete with each other.

Fetters of the foreign debt. Another form of imperialist exploitation is associated with the foreign debt which in the '50s reached vast dimensions. This is due to a number of factors, among them the increased transfer abroad (legally and illegally) of capital held by foreigners, payments for patents, increased imports of raw materials, equipment and fuel, necessitated by the industrialization, which are accompanied by a chronic deficit

in the trade balance, compelling the country to resort to foreign loans and credits; the growing import-export price gap, especially since 1954 arising from the fall in the price of coffee and other export products, which, in turn, led to a decrease in the amount of foreign currency earned;* and, lastly, the illegal "flight" of Brazilian capital to Western Europe and the United States. These factors forced Brazil to indulge in heavy foreign borrowing and on very onerous terms. By the beginning of 1961, its liabilities in convertible currency reached the sum of \$3,515,300,000; in 1961 alone Brazil had to pay \$1,166,900,000 on its debts.** As a result of negotiations in the United States and Western Europe, the Quadros government was granted a deferment on payments and additional credits. In exchange for this the government, submitting to the dictatorial attitude of the International Monetary Fund, introduced reforms in the exchange rate, thus abolishing even those small protective barriers the country still had in the sphere of exchange and completely surrendering the money market to the mercies of foreign capital.

As might have been expected things became worse; 1962 saw a big deficit in the trade and payments balance. Hence the outlook is pretty bleak, especially when we bear in mind that foreign capital, which is rapidly growing, will siphon out of the economy bigger and bigger profits. This will make it still easier for the imperialist monopolies to make big reinvestments at the expense of the working people and to continue to pay big dividends to their shareholders. Hence the persistence displayed by imperialism through its organizations like the IMF, to get Brazil to accept the policy of "free" exchange, so essential to unhampered import-export of foreign capital. The steady shrinking of exports and the chronic deficit in the balance of payments will confront the country with more difficulties in importing essential goods. It will, therefore, have no choice but to seek more foreign loans on still more onerous terms. What is more, a sizable part of these loans will have to be used to pay the old debts. *The end result is a vicious circle which fetters and deforms the national economy*

*According to a statement made by ex-President Kubitschek last December, in the period from 1954 to 1962 the country lost \$500,000,000 as a result of the fall in the price of coffee. "The Latin-American states are in a peculiar position," he commented in connection with U.S. aid under the Alliance for Progress plan. "It reminds one of a sick person who is given a blood transfusion in one arm with the blood taken from the other."

**Relatorio do Banco do Brasil. 1961.

and forces the people to pay a colonial tribute to their foreign exploiters.

Much of the foreign debt has to be paid to the United States. Of all the credits extended to Brazil as of September 30, 1961, 51.3 per cent came from the United States. If we add to this the credits extended by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, both of which are under the control of U.S. finance capital, the figure will be about 70.8 per cent. U.S. imperialism thus has a powerful weapon for bringing pressure to bear on the Brazilian government and compelling it to make political and economic concessions. In the light of this it is clear why the Ministry of Finance, irrespective of who is the republic's President, has for many years been a sort of patrimony of the big bankers and industrialists closely associated with U.S. monopolies or with their top men in Brazil.

An end to the policy of compromise. The development of capitalism in Brazil while it has strengthened national capital, both state and private, has done little to abolish the imperialist domination. Just the reverse. It has pursued a policy of compromise with imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. The outcome is that it has intensified the contradictions between the people, on the one hand, and U.S. imperialism and its domestic agents on the other. Politically this is expressed in the intensification of the mass struggle for national liberation. This struggle is supported by those sections of the bourgeoisie whose interests have been hurt by the policy of betrayal of the country's interests and compromise with imperialism. But their nationalism notwithstanding, these sections are inconsistent and hesitate to take a definite stand.

Important gains have been won in the struggle for national independence, such as the establishment of a state oil monopoly, some positive changes in the country's foreign policy — the establishment of diplomatic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, support for Cuba's right to self-determination, etc.

The big bourgeoisie is using these gains of the people to strengthen its own bargaining positions with imperialism. Thus, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul the government has taken over the subsidiaries of the two U.S. companies, the American and Foreign Power Corporation and the International Telephone and Telegraph Company. While this measure did not greatly injure the more in-

fluent concessionaires, it did have the effect, since it was carried out on terms that were favorable to the nation, of raising anew the question of nationalizing those foreign-owned public utilities that were not keeping pace with the growing requirements of the national economy. Meanwhile, President Goulart who was constantly under U.S. government and press fire, although his policy has essentially been one of compromise with imperialism, hastened to propose his plan for a general take-over of the foreign-owned public utilities. Goulart's plan, however, provided that their owners be suitably compensated and enabled to transfer their capital to more profitable and "sounder" branches of the Brazilian economy. This anti-national decision was confirmed in the joint statement by Goulart and Kennedy, signed in April 1962 during the latter's visit to Brazil, in which the Brazilian President declared that his government would provide safeguards enabling private capital to play a vital role in advancing Brazil's economy, and that agreements with private companies on conveying public utilities to the state would be based on the principle of fair compensation and the investments involved transferred to other branches essential for the economic development of Brazil. President Kennedy, the statement said, evinced much interest in this policy.

The foregoing clearly shows up the compromising attitude of the Brazilian bourgeoisie.

In August 1962 the National Congress, yielding partly to the nationalist movement, passed a law imposing certain restrictions (it is true, weak and inadequate) on foreign capital, particularly as regards the outflow of profits. But even this law, though it falls short of what is needed to protect the national economy, is in danger of being curtailed because of the campaign started by foreign capitalists with the support of the conciliators both inside and outside Parliament.

However that may be, the compromising attitude of the bourgeoisie is powerless to prevent the aggravation of the antagonisms between the national interests and the interests of imperialism. As the masses in town and country begin to take a more active part in the political life of the country, under the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, the policy of betrayal and of compromise will be defeated and its place taken by national liberation and independence.

The Latifundists Against the People

Nor has the development of capitalism brought with it corresponding changes in the agrarian structure inherited from the times of colonial slavery and founded on the domination of the latifundists. Not only has this structure been preserved, it is being buttressed and adapted to capitalist conditions. An indication of this is the growth of the number of tractors from 7,000 in 1950 to 66,000 in 1960. On the vast coffee, cocoa and sugar-cane plantations, and the livestock ranches (the main branches of latifundist agriculture), capitalist methods go hand in hand, to a lesser or greater degree, with semi-feudal survivals. More capitalist in the south and more feudal in the north and northeast, the latifundia with their parasitic forms of exploitation of labor and the land are the obstacle to a rapid development in agriculture.

According to the 1950 census there were about 2,000,000 farms in the country. Of these 3.4 per cent were farms of 500 and more hectares and occupied 62.3 per cent of all privately-owned land (under the census rules the concept "farm" does not necessarily imply ownership, for it may refer to the farm of a leaseholder or a settler who has no title deed on the land). But 22.2 per cent of the farms were of less than five hectares each, in other words (discounting rare high-yielding crops), not enough for the peasant to sustain his family. These data give an idea of the degree of land concentration in Brazil.*

Only a small part of the 1960 census figures for agriculture have been published, which makes it difficult to draw a comparison with the census figures for previous years. But even they show a considerable growth in the number of farms: from 2,064,600 in 1950 to 3,319,200 in 1960, that is, by 60.8 per cent. It does not necessarily follow from this, however, that the growth has taken place at the expense of the latifundia. The organ of the National Confederation of Industrialists, *Desenvolvimento e Conjuntura* in its issue of June 1962 commented as follows on this process: "In general the increase in the number of farms took place without breaking up the big and medium-sized estates which are not being touched. The cultivation of new areas in Maranhao, Bahia, Espirito Santo, Parana, Goias, Mato Grosso and other states, was accompanied by a tendency to set up small farms."

*Rui Faco, *Brasil seculo XX*, Rio de Janeiro 1960.

In reality, the increase in the number of farms is due to the crisis in the agrarian structure, which is driving the peasants en masse from the latifundia-dominated districts to the towns and also to areas where there is unused land. A large part of the new farms belong to the so-called posseiros, that is, peasant squatters who cultivate it themselves but who have no legal right to it, because the government has made it well-nigh impossible for them to obtain this right. But only to a limited degree can the new areas serve as an outlet to lessen the congestion caused by the latifundist monopoly. The thing is that the latifundists and speculators of all hues are trying, with government connivance, to entrench themselves in the areas after the small farmers have brought them under cultivation. Hence the frequent agrarian conflicts in the past few years, conflicts which often grow into armed clashes between the peasants and the retainers of the latifundists.

An indication of the slow penetration of capitalism into agriculture can be seen in the fact that in the decade between 1950 and 1960 the rural population increased by a bare six million — from 33,000,000 to 39,000,000. Although the rural population is declining in proportion to the population as a whole it is increasing in absolute ratio. In other words, we have here a process the reverse of that typical for countries where agriculture has undergone technical reconstruction. And this absolute growth of rural population aggravates the contradictions between the exploited peasant masses and the ruling clique of latifundists.

Preservation of the latifundists' land monopoly is depressing the already low standard of living of the peasants and, consequently, considerably restricting the home market. It hampers the development of the productive forces not only in agriculture but in industry as well. Whereas output of means of production has created its own market, having replaced imports and substantially expanding in the last ten years the market for its goods, production of consumer goods is encountering difficulties precisely because of the restricted home market. Such industries as textile and footwear, for example, despite growth of production taken over a long period, have been stagnant for years.

The latifundist monopoly is felt also in food consumption. Whereas the production of foodstuffs for the home market increased approximately 48 per cent between 1950 and 1960, the growth in population for the same

period was 36.6 per cent, reaching 70,967,000, the rural increase being 17.5 per cent and that in the urban population, 70.3 per cent. (In 1950 the urban population totalled 18,000,000, or 63.2 per cent of the total; by 1960, according to preliminary census figures it had reached 32,000,000, or 45.1 per cent of the total.) Although food production is outstripping the total population growth it is lagging behind the urban growth and behind the demand for foodstuffs. To make matters worse, the latifundist monopoly either excessively inflates the price of land or allows soil exhaustion, thus more and more pushing the agricultural producing areas into the hinterland, away from the big cities along the coast, causing transportation costs to go up and leading to a waste of agricultural products. Food prices, as a consequence, are constantly rising, there are frequent interruptions in supplies which are further aggravated by profiteering, especially on the part of the wholesalers who are organized on monopoly lines.

The land monopoly, the high prices for agricultural and animal products, the penetration of capitalist relations into agriculture — these factors are sending up the prices of land near the towns, that is, in the very places where the latifundists hold sway. This has greatly increased the rent extracted by them and intensified their social parasitism. It is only natural, therefore, that the growing contradictions in agriculture should be reflected in the sweeping peasant movement and in the popularity of the demand for a radical agrarian reform.

Inflation as a Means of Robbing the Working People

In order fully to appreciate how capitalist development is adversely affecting the conditions of the working people, mention should be made of another of its features, viz., the chronic inflation, the greatest, perhaps, in the world.

Inflation in Brazil has its source in the complex of trade and financial relations with imperialism, which has led to chronic devaluation of the cruzeiro, especially since the Second World War. The exporters (the latifundists and wholesalers) view the devaluation of the cruzeiro as a means of compensation (advantageous to them but at the expense of the economy) for the fall in the prices of their exports. Inflation is also the result of the latifundist structure which, as we have said, is causing agricultural prices to soar. Another inflationary factor in the

past five years is the policy of piling up coffee in the warehouses. According to the president of the Brazilian Coffee Institute the government had in its warehouses as of July 12, 1962, 52,000,000 sacks of coffee for export. In terms of the average price for the period from January to April 1962 inclusive, this mountain of coffee was valued at \$2,079,000,000; this was paid for in cruzeiros which aggravated the inflation.

Despite world coffee overproduction and the fall in coffee prices on the world market (this was evident in 1957), the coffee plantations were enlarged from 3,672,000 hectares in 1957 to 4,420,000 hectares in 1960. In other words, another 748,000 hectares were cultivated to replenish existing supplies, although the people are short of cereals and other primary products. But the coffee growers do not have to worry. They are assured credits from the Banco do Brazil and their coffee crop is guaranteed a market at profitable prices in cruzeiros, the government buying the surpluses left over from export. With calamity now knocking at the door the government intends to carry out a costly and bureaucratic plan of destroying the unprofitable coffee plantations. This is the price the nation has to pay for the preposterous waste of material values and labor — a glaring example of irrational management of economy.

The foregoing, however, are not the only factors responsible for the inflation. There is also the inflation policy, deliberately pursued by the bourgeoisie, especially in the last decade, through the state system of note emissions and credits. The Brazilian economist Celso Furtado, an advocate of the "theory of development," frankly writes in his book *Development and Underdevelopment*: "... There can be no doubt that the industrialization was aided by inflation. The latter did not stand aside from the process of industrialization; it served it as a means for removing obstacles." Another economist, J. P. de Aemeida Magalnaes, stated that "... in countries like Brazil, inflation can for an indefinite period play a positive role." This positive role, we are told, is that by compelling the working people to economize it could increase investment. The author holds that theoretically it is possible to get rid of the inflation gradually, in the course of a few years without hurting investment, *provided the workers voluntarily agree to economize, that is, agree to wage cuts*. Here we have in a nutshell the bourgeoisie's idea of an inflationary policy. In some instances state capitalism in Brazil is of a progressive

nature, but its financing was promoted by big inflationary emissions, from which private capital received and continues to receive generous state credits. In the final analysis this means that part of the working people's income is used, without compensation, for investments in state and private undertakings. The bourgeoisie has used inflation as an instrument to intensify the exploitation of the working class, to clamp exorbitant prices on the consumer and to realize, in the end, a kind of primary accumulation of capital.

An idea of the scale of the inflation can be gleaned from the cost-of-living index in Rio de Janeiro, which, according to the journal *Conjuntura Economica* increased tenfold between 1948 and 1961. Even the bourgeoisie who have waxed rich on the inflation are taking fright at its gallop. The cost of living in Rio de Janeiro and San Paulo in 1954-1957 which, according to the journal *Desenvolvimento e Conjuntura* (February 1962, p. 57), rose at a rate of 20 per cent annually, and in 1959-1961 the rise exceeded 33 per cent.

Inflation has seriously affected the conditions of the working class. Average real wages in Rio de Janeiro, according to official data, have never topped the 1920 level, and in the '50s they were rarely higher than the 1940 level. The short-lived rise in wages in 1956-1958 was followed by a drop in real wages, as shown by the data of the Inter-Trade Union Department of Statistics and Social-Economic Research, and the Economic Department of the National Confederation of Industrialists. Even the official statistics cannot conceal the fact that the economic law of the relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class under capitalism, discovered by Marx, is operating in Brazil. To prevent a further worsening of their conditions the working people are putting up a fight against the intensification of labor, from which the bourgeoisie—national and foreign—are amassing huge profits.

The contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which are becoming more acute, are reflected in the class struggle which is growing sharper as the proletariat gains in strength organizationally and politically. Although these contradictions cannot be radically solved at the present stage of the revolution (it not being a socialist revolution as yet), they are, nevertheless, leaving their imprint on developments.

It is difficult in the limits of one article to examine all aspects of the economic development in Brazil, for example, the develop-

ment of state capitalism, the restriction of foreign trade, the uneven development in the different states, etc. Our purpose has been to give the reader a picture of a system rent by contradictions, a system that is highly unstable.

Radical Reforms and Revolution

How to solve the contradictions caused by the imperialist domination and the monopoly of the latifundists—this is the subject of a political debate that revolves round the problem of so-called radical, or structural reforms. The compromising sections of the bourgeoisie and landowners want them to be reforms that will not lead to a break with imperialism, but on the contrary, will help to win some concessions from it without essentially affecting foreign monopoly capital's plunder of the country. These reforms should not, in their view, abolish the latifundia, but rather assist in running them on capitalist lines, with only minor concessions being made to the peasantry (settlement on state-owned lands, easier terms of leasing and sub-leasing, etc.).

Abroad this attitude of compromise dovetails with Kennedy's Alliance for Progress which, aside from everything else, aims at coming to terms with the bourgeoisie by promising it more credits on favorable terms. At the same time this plan holds out the bait of pseudo-reforms designed solely to reduce the social and political tension in Latin America and to protect U.S. investments from an advance of the national-liberation movement which might follow the splendid and inspiring example of the Cuban revolution. A subtle hoax, designed to preserve and consolidate imperialist domination, the Alliance for Progress has, for all that, brought its initiators rather discouraging re-

sults in the first year of its operation.

The united nationalist and democratic front now taking shape in Brazil is represented in the main by the working class, peasantry and middle sections in the towns, and also by the national bourgeoisie whose interests, despite its inconsistency and tendency to compromise with foreign capital, are linked with general national aims.

The reactionaries, who are resisting revolutionary changes and structural reforms, are steadily losing ground, exposing themselves in the eyes of the masses. This is borne out by the unsuccessful military coup d'état of 1961-1962, and by the results of the general election in October 1962 and the national plebiscite on January 6, 1963, at which the overwhelming majority of the people (over 75 per cent) voted in favor of restoring the executive power of the President, curtailed by the reactionaries and the military clique during the political crisis in the summer of 1961.

The revolutionary forces, headed by the working class, hold that radical reforms should bring with them the complete liberation of the country, the abolition of latifundism and structural reorganization of the social and economic system; this reorganization should accord with the radical tasks of the profoundly popular, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution that will pave the way to the independent social and economic development of Brazil from which the working people of town and country will stand to gain. In conditions of the consolidation of socialism on the world arena, and with due regard to national peculiarities, such a revolution, led by the working class, will save the people of Brazil from the torments of capitalist development and enable them to pass on directly to socialism.

The Technological Revolution and Modern Capitalism

A. Barjonet and M. Rubinstein

THE world has entered into a period of revolutionary advance in science and technology opening unprecedented vistas in the cognition and utilization of the forces of nature.

This revolution is worldwide in character. But the world itself is no longer a single entity; it is divided into two competing socio-economic systems—capitalism and socialism.

Owing to this the unfolding of the revolution in science and technology proceeds in two fundamentally differing sets of conditions.

Under the Iron Heel of the Monopolies

The capitalist relations of production hinder the development of science and technology. Due to these relationships, the process is extremely uneven, extending only to certain countries and certain branches of production.

All the achievements of modern science and technology notwithstanding, the more than two-thirds of the population of the capitalist world who live in the underdeveloped countries suffer from undernourishment and disease. In South-East Asia the average annual income per capita is less than \$100. The technical achievements in farm production which have substantially increased yields in the developed capitalist countries find no application in the underdeveloped countries, although agriculture is the basic branch of their economy.

According to the estimates of F. Baade, a West German agricultural economist, of the 350 million families engaged in agriculture throughout the world some 250 million, or more than 70 per cent of the total, have no implements apart from the hoe and the wooden plough, tools that at best only scratch the soil and may well serve as symbols of backwardness and poverty. About 90 million families use the iron plough but have only oxen, horses or mules for draught power. Replacing these draught animals by machines would save enough farm produce to feed hundreds of millions of people. Even in the developed capitalist countries there are many areas, such as the Deep South of the USA and Southern Italy, where millions are denied the benefits of scientific and technological progress.

The root cause of this distorted, uneven development of science and technology in capitalist society is the basic contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation. This contradiction is now reflected in the growing subordination of the technological revolution to the profit interests of the monopolies, which make extensive use of the capitalist machinery of state to further their ends.

With the advance of science and technology the monopolies have turned research into one of their main weapons in the competitive struggle, using new products to capture markets and capitalizing on patents and licenses. As the President of the Westinghouse Electric once said, the seed of the profits to be garnered seven, eight or ten years hence must be sown today. At the same time it is obvious that only the most powerful monopolies can afford the big expenditures on research that promise returns only after the lapse of years, a fact which has made their role the dominant one in industrial research.

The concentration of research in the laboratories of the biggest monopolies is a formid-

able obstacle to the extensive application of scientific and technical achievements in the interests of the people. Moreover, the monopoly capitalists, representing as a public service the drive to use the research for their own purposes, want to make the state foot the bill. In the United States and a number of other capitalist countries the state budget has become the principal source of funds for research. As often as not the huge government allocations for this purpose are channelled through contract arrangements to the biggest monopolies and to universities dependent on them. Herein lies one of the contradictions of the scientific and technological revolution in the conditions of modern capitalism.

The scientific and technological revolution leads to further socialization of production both in the various countries and on the scale of the entire capitalist system. Concentration of capital is gaining momentum. All branches of the capitalist economy are unified by a comprehensive system of division of labor, and production becomes a gigantic social organism.

The productive forces, their development accelerated by the new discoveries, are seeking outlets for expansion. Planning, designed to ensure the correct proportions between production and consumption, between supply and demand, and between the various branches of the economy, becomes imperative. Because of this, scientific and technological progress in the imperialist countries is accompanied by growing contradictions and economic cataclysms. The mode of production is in conflict with the mode of distribution, and the productive forces with the mode of production from which they stem. These contradictions and cataclysms are expressed in economic and structural crises, in militarization of the economy, in the chronic destruction of part of the social product and in inflated production capacity. As Lenin observed, "the extremely rapid rate of technical progress gives rise to increasing elements of disparity between the various spheres of the national economy, to anarchy and crises."* The faster the rate of scientific and technical progress, the more rapidly fixed capital becomes obsolete, and this, in turn, tends to shorten the cycle. It is not fortuitous that the postwar USA has already had four slumps.

Capitalism is searching for a way out of these contradictions through greater state-monopoly regulation of the economy. But although this may help monopoly capital to find a temporary solution for one or another

*V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

problem, it can only aggravate the contradiction between the productive forces and the production relations of capitalist society, for the basic purpose of the regulation is to consolidate the private property of the monopolies, which is the chief obstacle to the free and natural development of the productive forces. By offering palliatives instead of radical solutions, state-monopoly capitalism only aggravates the tangle of contradictions rending modern capitalist society.

No less acute is the problem of markets. Every advance in technology, especially automation, rapidly expands production capacity, and this in turn makes it imperative sharply to extend both the home market and foreign market. Yet the fact remains that in those capitalist countries where the biggest headway has been made in automation, the home market tends to shrink—not only in relative but sometimes even in absolute terms—as a result of reduced employment and the elimination of the technologically backward enterprises.

The monopolies are trying to resist these tendencies by means of supra-national state-monopoly associations of the Common Market type. But although measures of this order may temporarily expand markets for the biggest and technologically most advanced monopolies, in the long run they engender new and sharper contradictions which are particularly aggravated by the introduction of the new technology and especially automation in countries that formerly lagged behind technologically. A striking example of this can be seen in the competitive struggle between the automobile trusts of the USA, Britain, France and West Germany in the compact car market.

The revolution in science and technology has engendered another set of contradictions in the sphere of capitalist social relations. Whereas formerly only the end results of scientific research were used in production, today science is playing a growing role throughout the production process, from the very beginning (and even before production proper begins) to the finished product. In the technologically advanced branches research is becoming the mainspring of development, and the forms of production organization and management are gradually changing. The production process has become too complex and requires too wide a range of knowledge for the capitalists to direct it themselves. Hence their place in the actual management of production is taken by a growing stratum of managerial experts. The monopolies seek to buy the loyalty of this stratum, which includes

the top engineers, economists and scientists, by paying them high salaries, through profit-sharing schemes and issuing them blocks of shares. As a result, monopoly capital is becoming more and more depersonalized. The top men of the finance oligarchy spend most of their time in shaping the overall policy of state-monopoly capitalism; it is now common for the biggest monopolists to head governments in the imperialist countries or to occupy other key positions in them. Although this serves to camouflage capitalist exploitation in the enterprises, it at the same time opens the eyes of the working people to the fact that the capitalists are superfluous to modern social production, and it lays bare the parasitic nature of the finance oligarchy.

The Consequences of Scientific and Technological Progress in Capitalist Society

The basic manifestation of the conflict between the productive forces and the capitalist relations of production, (and one fraught with the direst consequences) is the use of the scientific and technological revolution for military purposes. Marx and Engels foresaw that at a certain stage of capitalist development the productive forces would cease to be *productive* and become *destructive*.

Lenin carried forward and concretized this idea as applied to the epoch of imperialism. He showed that imperialism used all the achievements of technology and large-scale industry mainly for the mass production of shells, explosives and other instruments for the "manufacture of cripples" and destruction of the productive forces. A further development of this thought is the conclusion reached in the Program of the CPSU that "imperialism is using technical progress chiefly for military purposes . . . turning the achievements of human genius against humanity."

The technological revolution has caused a *revolution also in the military sphere* by producing monstrous means of wholesale annihilation. Tests have already been made of hydrogen bombs each of which exceeds many times over the aggregate explosive power of all the bombs used during the Second World War. Estimating the direct results of nuclear attack on countries likely to take an active part in a new world war, the U.S. scientist Linus Pauling says that with nearly 1,000 million people inhabiting territories exposed to probable nuclear strikes, 500 to 750 million people may perish in the first 60 days after such an attack.

What is more, nuclear war would cause inestimable damage to the peoples of countries not subjected to direct attack. Scientists

state that following a large number of nuclear explosions on the territories of the belligerent states clouds of radioactive fallout of varying degrees of intensity would spread over the rest of the globe. The result would be millions of deaths in the non-belligerent countries as well.

It would be a *complete repudiation of Marxism-Leninism* as the most humane teaching of our time *to ignore this new character of modern warfare, the fact that it spells total annihilation, the ultimate disaster.* The founders of Marxism-Leninism foresaw the possibility that the time would come when militarism would create the conditions for its own destruction. Today man has reached a point in history when the abolition of war has become an objective imperative. Either the peoples will abolish war or war will hurl humanity into the abyss of destruction, degradation, hunger and disease.

The apologists of capitalism claim that there is no exploitation in the automated plants inasmuch as the productive functions are performed by systems of machines supervised by a handful of workers. Actually, however, the opposite is the case—there is a considerable *intensification of exploitation*, although it takes more complex and disguised forms. For one thing, automation vastly increases the productivity of labor. In the USA, for example, the introduction of printed circuits in the radio industry has enabled two workers operating an automated assembly line turning out 1,000 radio sets a day to produce more than 200 workers could before. At an Esso refinery in Britain a shift crew of a few workers processes millions of gallons of oil daily.

The higher productivity of labor at automated enterprises sharply reduces the necessary labor time and increases the proportion of unpaid labor. As a result the rate of surplus value and the degree of exploitation of the workers are increased. Furthermore, cost of production is lower in the automated enterprises. Yet the monopolies maintain high prices on their output, netting lush profits out of the growing difference between cost of production and monopoly prices.

The tendency of the average rate of profit to decline prompts the monopolies to raise the monopoly prices and to step up expansion abroad, especially in the technologically less advanced countries, using the mechanism of monopoly prices to rechannel into their own coffers value and surplus value created not only at home but in other countries as well. The living standard of the working population

of the capitalist world is lowered accordingly. The monopolists are tightening the squeeze on the workers in order to compensate for the devaluation of operating capital as a result of rapid technological progress and the consequent obsolescence of plant. Moreover, modernization frequently acts as an indirect stimulus to intensified speed-up also in enterprises unable to afford modern equipment, chiefly small and medium-sized plants whose owners seek to shift the burden of the competitive struggle onto the shoulders of the workers by employing sweatshop methods.

A corollary of the technological progress under capitalism is the *threat of large-scale unemployment*. For automation, which raises productivity of labor to an unprecedented level, spells redundancy for ever greater numbers of workers.

Another direct result of automation is a sharp rise in the organic composition of capital. The share of constant capital in the total capital (and of the values of machinery in the total constant capital) is rapidly increasing, while the share of variable capital, expended on labor power, decreases. This is an economic law. The workers and their trade unions in the capitalist countries realized from the very inception of automation the danger this boded for the working class.

True, the decrease in labor power caused by automation may only be relative if the branch of industry in question is on the upgrade. In this event variable capital may show an absolute increase, reflecting a growing demand for labor power. But as a rule variable capital tends to increase at a slower rate than constant capital, and only over short periods of time. A case in point is that of the Renault Motor Works in France. In recent years this plant has undergone extensive modernization; the die press, paint, engine assembly and other departments have been automated. Yet the number of workers not only did not decline but actually increased for a time.

The reason for this was the greatly increased demand for automobiles in France. Exports also went up as the French small car made successful inroads in the U.S. market. The Renault works, notwithstanding its modern plant, was unable to meet the demand. The working day was extended, the production pace stepped up, and more workers were taken on. But this did not last long. The home market began to shrink and exports declined. This made itself felt at once in the workers' conditions. Three thousand employees (five per cent of the total) were dismissed and short-time working begun. Short-time working

meant wage cuts for the remaining workers. The situation improved later and workers were again taken on, but far fewer than had been dismissed. This sort of thing is typical of many branches of industry in the capitalist countries where considerable advance has been made in automation.

Automation, then, creates even in boom periods conditions tending to reduce employment, engendering *potential unemployment* which becomes actual unemployment the moment the rate of economic growth begins to decline.

Many apologists of capitalism concede that capitalist automation is accompanied by wholesale dismissals. Yet they argue that it compensates for the redundancy by creating new jobs. This is simply a refurbished variant of the old theory of "compensation," the absurdity of which was shown by Marx. As we know, the exponents of this theory claimed that, while replacing workers, machines simultaneously released capital. This capital, it was said, ensured work for the displaced workers and provided them with the means of subsistence. Actually, however, as Marx showed, what happens is *not that means of subsistence are released for the worker but that the workers are deprived of the means of subsistence*. For machines, as a rule, replace far more workers than the number needed to make the machines themselves. If this were not so the capitalists would hardly see any point in turning out new machines.

Present-day realities have produced new arguments disproving the "compensation" theory. The overwhelming majority of all newly-built plants are distinguished for their high degree of automation. Consequently, they require far less labor power than the old-time factories. Even a non-Marxist investigator like Friedrich Pollack, who made a detailed study of the problem of "compensation" in his book *Automation*, concludes on the basis of a study of extensive statistical data that in the final analysis automation creates much more redundancy than it does new jobs.

Office workers, too, are hard hit by automation. If in industry the way to the technological revolution was paved by gradual mechanization over a long period, the same cannot be said of office techniques which remained primitive until recent years. Now electronic computers perform in minutes work which hundreds of office workers would need a month to do. Large numbers of clerical workers are threatened with unemployment or transfer to jobs bringing in less wages.

The technological revolution necessitates

far-reaching changes in the structure of the productive forces. Under capitalism this process, though generally dictated by economic laws, assumes the form of destructive structural crises affecting entire economic areas and large segments of the working class.

Take, for instance, the crisis in coal mining caused by the replacement of coal by oil and natural gas. In the USA many coal-mining areas (especially in Kentucky and West Virginia) are in the throes of a chronic crisis. Mining settlements in these districts have become "ghost towns" with boarded-up homes, schools and shops. The once powerful miners' union has lost four-fifths of its members and with them the place it once occupied in the labor movement. Deep-going structural crises have repeatedly paralyzed coal-mining centers in Western Europe, especially in Belgium.*

The technological advance in the war industry is likewise accompanied by certain adverse effects on the working class. For example, missile development has led to the closing of a number of aircraft plants in California (USA).

This means growing *insecurity* for considerable sections of the working class. Many workers live in constant fear of being thrown out of their jobs.

This feeling of insecurity haunts not only the workers but also other sections of the population in the capitalist countries. In agriculture -mechanization, -electrification and scientific methods are undermining the position of the small and middle farmers who cannot afford the latest implements and machines. In the USA, for example, large numbers of farms are constantly going under. In retail trade one of the manifestations of the technical progress is the rapid increase in the number of supermarkets, automatic vending machines, etc., which accelerates the bankruptcy of the small shopkeeper. Many sections of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, especially owners of small and medium-sized enterprises, are unable to compete with automated mass production. Despite all the efforts to keep their heads above water by intensifying the exploitation of the workers, they are doomed to go under.

The Attitude of the Working Class

During economic crises many bourgeois theorists advance all sorts of "pick and shovel" schemes, advocating the substitution of hand labor for machines and urging that the

*The crisis which has now gripped the French coal-mining industry is the result of the "Atlantic" policy of the government. The "technical" reasons cited are more of an excuse than the real cause.

"Prometheus of science" be bound by proclaiming a ten-year moratorium on technological improvements. There are scientists in the capitalist world who, awed by the fearful consequences of nuclear energy being used for military purposes, propose halting all nuclear research and space exploration so as to lock the Pandora's box which has released ills that humanity can no longer cope with.

The working class, personifying as it does the future of humanity, by virtue of its very nature, is far from being opposed to scientific and technological progress. The revolutionary workers and their parties resist not the scientific and technological revolution but the utilization of its achievements in the interests of the capitalist monopolies, the use of science and technology to intensify the exploitation of the working people and to prepare for another war.

The class-conscious workers are, of course, fully aware that socialism alone can free them once and for all from the negative consequences of technological progress. But the working class cannot afford to wait passively for the turning point which the victory of socialism would mark in resolving the problems of the technological revolution. Therefore, while capitalism still exists, the working class offers to all sections of capitalist society—to the farmers, the intellectuals and the small and non-monopoly bourgeoisie—a democratic solution to the problems posed by the technological progress under capitalism. The objective conditions created by this progress are highly favorable for rallying all sections of the population suffering from the monopolies for joint struggle against them—a struggle to curb their influence on the technological revolution, to free the key positions in science and technology from the stranglehold of the monopolies and place them under the control of scientists and engineers who have severed their ties with big capital and are linked to the masses.

A big role in breaking the grip of the monopolies can be played by *democratic nationalization* of sectors of the economy having the most direct bearing on scientific and technological progress. This applies above all to all spheres of nuclear energetics, production of radioactive isotopes and rockets, the aircraft industry, certain branches of the synthetic materials industry, precision engineering, electronics and other branches. A number of Communist parties in the capitalist countries are spearheading the struggle for nationalizing the power industry, which plays a paramount role in technological progress in

all branches of the economy.

Working-class struggle to place technology at the service of the people is part of the struggle for *general and complete disarmament*. Disarmament alone will make it possible to put science and technology on civilian street, to rechannel for rational purposes the vast resources and the many researchers now working on instruments for destroying human life. According to official data, the U.S. government spends annually about \$8,000 million on research of a military nature. Up to 85 per cent of all state expenditure on science in that country goes for military purposes. More than half of all American researchers, including the overwhelming majority of physicists, are engaged on military problems. Returning all these people to constructive labor and utilizing the vast military appropriations for public works and promoting the civilian branches of the economy would not only greatly accelerate technological progress but also make it possible to raise the standard of living.

Besides these general problems the workers in the capitalist countries are confronted with tasks connected with the introduction of new production methods, in particular automation.

The working class is fighting to prevent these new methods from increasing unemployment and worsening working conditions. The basic demand is shorter hours without wage cuts, a demand directly linked with the struggle for better educational opportunities and recreation facilities for workers and a democratic reform of the system of public education. But these demands are more easily advanced than won, for the employers prefer to have a reserve army of unemployed as a deterrent to working-class action for better conditions and higher wages. Nothing but mass pressure can compel the employers and the capitalist state to reduce working hours without cutting wages. However, workers who can augment their earnings by overtime do not always clearly see where their real interests lie. Patient explanatory work is often essential to enlist these workers in the common struggle.

Important, too, is workers' control over the new technology so as to prevent any increase in the accident rate, the spread of occupational diseases and nervous exhaustion. As regards wages, the employers should not be allowed to take advantage of automation as a pretext for introducing such pseudo-scientific systems of organization of labor and rate setting as "job evaluation" and other schemes designed to drive a wedge between the different sec-

tions of the working class and to downgrade skills.

These tasks can be carried out within the framework of capitalism. For they correspond to the fundamental interests of all sections of the population except the finance oligarchy and the militarists. At the same time the struggle for democratic uses for the scientific and technological achievements is an important stage in the struggle for socialism, in paving the way to the fulfilment by the working class and other sections of the working

people of the tasks which will confront them after the victory of the new social system. It should be borne in mind that technological achievements—contradictory though they are under capitalism—accelerate the creation of the material basis of socialism. As Lenin said, socialism “now looks out at us from all the windows of modern capitalism . . . its contours emerge directly, *practically* from every major progressive step taken within the framework of this new capitalism.”

National Democracy—The Way to Social Progress

A. Sobolev

History in general and the history of revolution in particular is always richer in content, more multiform, diversified, dynamic and “knotty” than the best parties, the most conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes, can visualize.

V. I. Lenin

THE hurricane of freedom is continuing to shake the colonial system of imperialism. Hundreds of millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America, determined not to live any longer in the old way, are dealing blow after blow at colonialism. Throughout these vast areas the class struggle is growing in intensity, against the background of the main conflict of our time, the conflict between world socialism and world capitalism; indeed, it is one of the manifestations of this conflict. As a result of the complex interaction of internal trends—which are primary—and international relationships, revolutionary conditions arise now in one, now in another Asian, African or Latin American country.

Naked colonial rule has been swept away in the main, but the countries that have won political independence still have a difficult path to traverse in order to achieve genuine independence, freedom and economic well-being. The achievement of this goal depends above all on the correct choice of the road to be followed.

I. What Road to Take? The Non-Capitalist Road Is the Practicable Way

The search for the way forward has been, and still is, accompanied by heated controversies. And, indeed, the problem is extremely complex.

The countries fighting for national freedom have features that are peculiar to each as well as certain common features.

There are countries which have gone a long way along the capitalist path, have their own national industry and a working class; some of these countries even have a monopoly bourgeoisie, although foreign capital and feudal survivals play an important part in their economy.

More numerous is the group of countries with a colonial, feudal economy with more or less pronounced elements of developing capitalism. Here we find a national bourgeoisie, though it is still small in numbers, and a working class, but the feudal and even pre-feudal forms of exploitation weigh heavily on the people.

Further, there are countries where capitalist relationships are only beginning to emerge, where the national bourgeoisie has either not taken shape or exists only in embryo, where the working class is in the formative stage and where the feudal class has gone, although survivals of tribalism are preserved in the countryside.

Then there are the countries where capitalism has not yet appreciably developed, where the economy is dominated by foreign capitalists or feudal overlords, and where the national bourgeoisie has not crystallized as a class.

The features common to all these countries are: they are economically dependent on imperialism; their productive forces, the different levels notwithstanding, are underdeveloped; and their relations of production represent a crazy-quilt of diverse property relationships.

Any classification of countries in groups can only be an approximation, incomplete and relative. But whatever their specific features, the basic features of their socio-economic relationships and the dominant trends of their development are such that some generalizations can be made. Tentatively, then, these countries can be divided into two main groups.

First, the countries where capitalist development is already well under way and the capitalist system is more or less established, but which are largely dependent on foreign monopolies and retain a substantial dead-weight of feudal survivals. The economy of such countries can be described as semi-colonial and semi-feudal with one or another measure of capitalist production.

Second, the countries where capitalism has not made appreciable headway or is only emerging, and where the economy is dominated by the colonialists while semi-feudal, feudal or even pre-feudal relations are preserved in agriculture.

Highly important from the standpoint of the historical perspective of these countries is a scientifically grounded answer to the key question: does the capitalist way provide the opportunities for achieving genuine national independence, or does it not? In other words: has capitalism a future in the economically backward countries?

To this one cannot answer yes or no. In the sphere of production, for example, the capitalist way unquestionably still leaves room for advance, and sometimes for quite a substantial advance. This applies especially to the countries where the capitalist system already exists. But at the same time it is clear that nowadays the capitalist way does not provide a solution to the basic social contradictions and, consequently, makes it impossible to remove the obstacles to progress.

By pursuing the capitalist way the economically underdeveloped countries will remain within the orbit of world capitalism (even though they constitute a distinct group within it) and will be compelled to submit to the international division of labor imposed by the imperialists which prevents their independent economic development.

By virtue of the objective laws governing its development, imperialism seeks to perpetuate its stranglehold on the underdeveloped countries and to obstruct the advance of their productive forces. Ensconced in the key positions in the economy of their former colonies, the imperialists plunder these countries and undermine their economy through non-equivalent exchange, and prevent the accumulation of productive capital by pumping out practically all the profits. Although the Latin American countries achieved political independence long ago, they have not been able to win real economic independence or to build up truly prosperous industries because they remained in the capitalist orbit; to this day they are in one way or another in the position of an exploited, often economically lopsided, appendage to the economy of an imperialist power (in the given case the USA). Their plight is typical for all the countries dependent on imperialism.

Imperialist efforts to retard the development of the national productive forces were aptly characterized by Sukarno: "Imperialism in Indonesia, from its very inception to our times, came down on every major enterprise owned by our people and destroyed it root and branch, strangled every handicraft enterprise, every industrial plant, every plantation belonging to Indonesians."* The same can be said by every past and present colony.

In recent times, in view of the role played by the socialist countries, the imperialists have been compelled to maneuver. At times they grant credits to underdeveloped countries or help them build factories. But these credits, as a rule, have political strings and in most cases are intended for non-productive purposes or for promoting the type of branches which make the recipients even more dependent on the imperialist countries.

The imperialist monopolies then, can be described as a parasitic, predatory growth in the overall set-up of production relations in the economically dependent and colonial countries, as an alien, anti-national economic-political force. Imperialism seeks to prevent the emergence of modern productive forces where they do not exist as yet and to fetter them where they do exist. Real economic independence can be won only by consistently carrying the anti-imperialist revolution to completion.

Nor does capitalist development make it possible to do away completely with the survivals of feudal and pre-feudal tribal relations, which also act as a brake on production.

*Sukarno, *Indonesia Accuses*.

Imperialism is not at all interested in doing away with the remnants of pre-capitalist relations in the agriculture of the dependent and colonial countries; it intertwines with these survivals and adapts them to its own ends. The contradiction between the need for an outlet for the productive forces and the archaic survivals in the economic structure can be solved only in the course of the anti-feudal agrarian revolution which carries out democratic tasks, effects agrarian reforms and sweeps away the feudal, semi-feudal and pre-feudal remnants.

It should also be borne in mind that private capital in the economically lagging countries is unable to provide the accumulations needed for the rapid establishment of a modern industry.

The historical senility of capitalism is obvious to many political leaders and parties in Asia, Africa and Latin America—even to those remote from Marxism.

These leaders look forward to a socialist perspective, though their idea of socialism still has little in common with scientific socialism.

Nehru, for example, declares that the capitalist method has nothing to offer the underdeveloped countries. Socialism is India's aim, he said, not only because Indians consider it acceptable and useful but also because they have no other way of solving their economic problems. At the same time, he claims that the Communist concept is unsuitable for India since communism speaks in the "language of violence."

President Sukarno of the Indonesian Republic advocates as the ultimate aim the building of a just society — "Indonesian socialism"—and has defined the basic tasks the solution of which should pave the way to socialism.

The Revolutionary Council in Burma, which came into power as an organization of revolutionary democrats expressing the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and the Left wing of the national bourgeoisie, has published a program envisaging a "Burmese way" to socialism. The program declares that in carrying out this task the Council will base its organization primarily on the peasants and other working masses who form the great majority of the nation, and that it will work to build a socialist economy and a democratic socialist state as the instrument for creating this economy.

Diverse concepts of socialism are widespread in Africa. Even leaders like Nasser reject the capitalist perspective and declare that they can only visualize a socialist future.

Much attention is paid by Kwame Nkrumah to elaborating what is called "African socialism."

The Sixth Congress of the Sudanese Union in Mali, held in September 1962, declared that "socialism is the country's final and unalterable choice." The Congress also noted that Mali would go through two phases of reconstruction, the first being the transition from the colonial-type economy to a semi-socialist economy, to be followed by the building of the socialist society proper.

Could anything of the kind have happened half a century ago? Certainly not. Today the most diverse sections of society in the newly-emerged national states are drawn more and more to socialism.

What should be the attitude of the Marxists to these developments in the light of the struggle for social progress?

There is no doubt that the various concepts are not identical as regards purpose and aims. Some bear the stamp of petty-bourgeois blundering; others represent illusory attempts by the national bourgeoisie to combine the incompatible—the advantages of socialism and their own narrower interests; still others clearly reveal elements of demagoguery. But the fact remains that most of these concepts emerged in the course of bitter struggle against imperialism, reflecting an agonizing search for effective ways of speedily solving urgent problems. They contain a sound democratic core, a still latent germ of the future. Indeed, they resolve into a program of national-democratic revolution, an essentially anti-imperialist agrarian revolution of a new type destined to sweep away all the remnants of feudalism and tribal relations.

But some of the authors of these concepts are not altogether consistent. Under the influence of the achievements of world socialism and the mass movement, they have framed many of their views along rather radical lines. But they are not in any haste to carry them out, evidently regarding them more as propaganda than a plan for action.

Marxists criticize the limitations of these theories from the standpoint of the perspectives of development, and support them from the standpoint of the tasks of the day. They hold that social progress at the present stage of the struggle can be accelerated by working for the speediest implementation of the democratic programs.

In the given instance, the Marxists, paraphrasing Lenin, put the question thus: If a revolutionary democrat or a member of the national bourgeoisie is willing to take one

step forward, it is the duty of the Marxists to help him take two.

It is likewise noteworthy that in elaborating a program for the democratic stage of the revolution the patriotic forces are orientating on socialism. This shows that socialism as a system indeed exerts a powerful influence by its example, winning sympathies and revolutionizing the attitude of the non-proletarian classes. It shows, further, the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, which overcomes the ideological concepts of other classes and offers a scientific theory toward which some of the political leaders of the revolutionary-democratic type are gravitating.

There is, then, the possibility that many revolutionary democrats will come over to the positions of scientific socialism, to the positions of the working class. In the 19th century and the first half of the 20th this was a rare happening. But today the powerful influence of the socialist system and the acceleration of the revolutionary processes have given added momentum to this tendency, while at the same time imperialism and European Right-wing Social Democracy are redoubling their efforts to counteract it. Clearly, the rate of development of the national-liberation revolution will be hastened or slowed down depending on which of these trends gains the upper hand. Adoption of the positions of scientific socialism by larger numbers of revolutionary democrats will make for a better understanding of the motive forces of the revolution and the role of the various classes in it.

Marxism offers a clear-cut concept of the perspectives of progress in the economically underdeveloped countries. Exposing the fallacy of the capitalist way, the Marxists also reject the idea of a third way as utterly untenable and show that socialism is the future of all nations, although most underdeveloped countries, both because of the state of their productive forces and the international situation, cannot at once launch out on the building of socialism.

"The development of the countries which have won their freedom may be a complex multistage process," says the Program of the CPSU. "By virtue of varying historical and socio-economic conditions in the newly-liberated countries, the revolutionary effort of the masses will impart distinctive features to the forms and rates of their social progress."

From the standpoint of the socio-economic and the international situation, the most effective way to ensure the progress of the newly-emerged countries, to solve the democratic

tasks, to develop the economy and to lay the social, economic and political groundwork for building socialism, is the non-capitalist way.

This way rejects capitalism as the historical perspective, as the form of social organization, but it does not at once ensure the transition to socialism. It is only the initial stage in socio-economic development leading to socialism.

The most important aspect of the non-capitalist way is *socio-economic and class development leading from colonial, feudal or semi-feudal economy, bypassing the capitalist stage, to socialism.*

The non-capitalist way is feasible also in those economically underdeveloped countries which have already taken the capitalist road but have not as yet attained the mature industrial forms of capitalism, countries which are in one way or another dependent on imperialism and still have considerable survivals of feudalism, but in which possibilities exist for curbing or halting the growth of private capital and, ultimately, for breaking with capitalism altogether. In other words, it is the *social mechanism for the transition of a number of countries from a semi-colonial, semi-feudal economy with more or less pronounced capitalist relationships to a socialist economy, bypassing the stage of mature industrial capitalism.* Only after sufficient material and class preparation will these countries be able to begin building socialism.

II. The Non-Capitalist Path and National Democracy

The possibility of the non-capitalist path objectively stems from the sum total of the economic relations in the world capitalist system, which is under constant pressure from the socialist forces; theoretically it is substantiated by the thesis that at present the capitalist world as a whole as well as its separate parts, even the most undeveloped, is ripe for transition from imperialism to new and higher forms of social relationships.

This transition, however, will not take place spontaneously, solely as the result of objective processes. The primary role in non-capitalist development is played by the subjective factor, i.e., by the activity of the revolutionary classes, by their correct policy.

Historically, the non-capitalist path is a revolutionary process reflecting the possibility that has emerged under the present conditions, i.e., under the influence of world socialism, of departing from the traditional sequence of social formations (feudalism—capitalism—socialism) and going over to socialism either

by skipping the capitalist stage entirely or by skipping the stage of mature (industrial) capitalism. In other words, the non-capitalist path to some extent fulfils the same role (laying the material and social groundwork for socialism) as capitalism should fulfil according to the laws of social development. But with non-capitalist development this process takes less time and is less painful.

The political forms of social organization in this case can be extremely varied. However, we believe that as things are, the most expedient and effective form, although of course not the only one, is the *state of national democracy*.

National democracy springs from a broad movement of the masses, in some cases as the initial step and in others as the culminating point of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. The establishment of the state of national democracy is the tangible expression of the victory of the patriotic democratic forces over reaction, i.e., over the imperialists, the compradores and the feudal overlords. It is the first stage of genuine popular government.

The concrete shape and contours of national democracy cannot be determined in advance for a particular country. It is impossible to tell exactly how the national-liberation revolution will develop in all countries, and no universally applicable pattern of class alignments can be prescribed. National democracy will be translated into the language of each country and will emerge on the historical scene in a distinctive national garb.

The idea of national democracy was advanced by the Moscow meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties. The Communist parties of a number of countries are elaborating this idea, working out the concrete mechanism of its realization in the conditions of the different countries. Though it still remains a scientific forecast, it is gradually being materialized in the diverse aspects of the new social and political relationships which are coming into being.

National democracy is an amalgam of genuine national independence, broad democracy in social life, and rapid development of progressive forms of production along non-capitalist lines, which lead, through struggle, to the victory of socialism.

Here I should like to say that I disagree most emphatically with those comrades who completely identify the non-capitalist path with the building of socialism, who divorce national democracy from the non-capitalist path (see the journal *Asia and Africa Today*,

No. 10, 1962, p. 5). I am more inclined to agree with the views expressed in the Indian weekly *New Age*. "The so-called national democratic state," we read in an article signed A. K., "is a specific form of non-capitalist development which makes wide use of the experience of socialist countries."* This view is supported by Mohit Sen, who writes: "Hence, to counterpose the non-capitalist path to the national-democratic path is a false poser."* Of course the non-capitalist way is closely connected with the state of national democracy. And this is the main thing. In some countries, however, depending on their economic level and given a favorable balance of class forces, the national-democratic state may also be a form of transition to laying the material and technical foundation of socialism.

The possibility of taking the non-capitalist road arose after the October Revolution in Russia, but the actual realization of this possibility was contingent on the degree, the extent and the form of the direct aid of the victorious proletariat of Russia.

Independent non-capitalist development of nations and the emergence of the national-democratic state as an effective socio-political form of that development became a tangible prospect only in the present third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, in a situation where

—world socialism has demonstrated its superiority to world capitalism, where socialism determines the main direction and the basic content of the historical process and, by its example, influences social development in all countries;

—capitalism has grown weaker, its reactionary essence has been laid bare and it is now clear that genuine social progress under capitalism is impossible;

—the national-liberation struggle is spreading rapidly and its social implications are becoming more far-reaching;

—the revolutionary factors in the world arena and the motive forces of the revolution are growing;

—the national-liberation movement has become a component of the world revolutionary process leading to the abolition of capitalism and the victory of socialism.

Let us examine this last point in greater detail. The national-liberation movements of the 19th century and the early 20th century were bourgeois-democratic in content. After the October Revolution they began to acquire

**New Age*, No. 7-8, 1962.

**New Age*, No. 9, 1962.

an anti-imperialist character. This was reflected in Lenin's slogan: "Proletarians of all lands and all oppressed peoples, unite!"

"Of course," Lenin said, "from the standpoint of the *Communist Manifesto* this is wrong, but the *Communist Manifesto* was written in entirely different conditions, whereas from the standpoint of present-day politics this is correct."*

In the present conditions the oppressed peoples are the genuine and permanent allies of socialism, of the workers of all countries in the struggle against imperialism and its aggressive colonialist essence, for social progress. Beginning with the fight for social reforms of a democratic nature, these peoples, by the logic of history, will inevitably advance to the stage of anti-capitalist measures.

The non-capitalist path is a period of revolutionary change embracing all aspects of the life of a nation. It begins as a rule with the political victory of the masses over the imperialists, the feudal, compradore and other reactionary forces. It is difficult, indeed impossible, to determine beforehand the exact course of these changes or the type of society that will emerge in each country or group of countries. All the facets and aspects of this society are in a state of flux, determined at the given moment by the alignment of forces, the development of the class struggle and the concrete conditions.

The course of development in countries with a colonial, feudal economy will naturally differ from that of countries with a semi-colonial, semi-feudal economy. In the former instance the transition to socialist relations will bypass capitalism, in the latter, the stage of mature (industrial) capitalism. The alignment of class forces, in particular the existence or non-existence of a proletariat, a national bourgeoisie, etc., will be an important factor.

Much will depend too on the degree of development of the national-democratic revolution. The socio-economic physiognomy of the nation taking the non-capitalist path, and the state of national democracy itself, will acquire new features at each new stage of progress. The change will be quite considerable by the time the final stage is reached and the transition to socialist lines begins.

Lastly, the duration of the non-capitalist stage will not be the same in all instances. In some instances it will be a mere episode in the life of society. In others, it may involve many years of gradual change in the socio-

economic relations.

But with all the diversity of the concrete processes in the different countries, the features of the whole complex of social relations representing the political, social, economic and ideological organization of the life of the peoples embarking on the non-capitalist path are already taking shape today. This complex of social relations is stable to a point and bears the semblance of a system. But at the same time non-capitalist development is a state of revolution, a period of concentrated, accelerated change leading to socialism. In present conditions national democracy is the most likely political and socio-economic form of the development of the national-democratic revolution.

A feature of national democracy, and one that lends it its transitional character, is that it is not a state of a single class, or even of two classes—workers and peasants; nor will it be a dictatorship of a single class or even of two classes. It will be a state representing the interests of the entire patriotic section of the nation vis-à-vis the deposed reactionary classes. The political tenor of the life of society will be determined not by one class or by one party, but by all the patriotic classes, by a bloc of the democratic parties. At the same time, the relations between the democratic classes which have defeated reaction and taken over power and which are united in a national front, are marked by long-term alliance of these classes and struggle between them to promote the national interest.

This struggle within the framework of the alliance is aimed at preventing any attempt to place narrow class interests above the interests of the nation, at cementing national unity and ensuring social progress in all spheres. In the course of the struggle the position of the classes and their social role will change, as we shall show below.

Within the framework of the national democracy, economic relations of a transitional character will emerge and develop on the basis of a constantly growing state sector controlled by the democratic forces and exerting a decisive influence on economic life. The cooperative sector, which has already appeared and is making headway in most of the new national states, will be an important factor of progress.

The economic relations in a national democracy will be marked also by a complex combination of alliance and struggle. Against the remnants of imperialism and feudalism every means will be employed with the aim of

*V. I. Lenin, *Speech to Moscow Party Nuclei Secretaries*, December 6, 1920.

eliminating them altogether. As regards the small commodity producers and the intermediate capitalist sector, the attitude to them will be one of cooperation, even of aid, competition, mutual economic ties and at the same time economic pressure with a view to turning private property relations into public property relations. The possible next stage could be the elimination by peaceful economic means of private-capitalist production. Historically speaking, the advantage in this struggle is on the side of the public sector; the outcome, however, will be decided by the political orientation of the classes in power, by the balance of forces.

The influence of both world socialism and world capitalism makes itself felt in this struggle. The socialist countries help to promote the more progressive forms of the economy. Proceeding from their class interests, the monopolists to some extent facilitate the development of capitalism and the national bourgeoisie, but at the same time, reluctant to sacrifice any of their profits, they do their utmost to strangle the new capital.

Revolutionary changes along national-democratic lines are often carried out by means of reforms; as a result of the gradual accumulation of elements of the new and the destruction of elements of the old, there is an advance to a new quality, and though the process may appear to be slow, in reality it is rapid compared with the preceding centuries of stagnation.

After the defeat of reaction the class struggle in a national democracy will take a predominantly peaceful democratic course. The national-democratic revolution is a component of the world revolutionary process and at all stages, far from strengthening, it weakens the positions of capitalism.

What road will be taken by one or another country which has discarded the colonial yoke, how it will develop once it has established a national democracy and embarked on the non-capitalist road, will depend on the alignment of forces, on the class struggle.

Postwar experience shows that ceaseless mass struggle, the growing unity of the patriotic classes, steady advance, the initiative and correct policy of the revolutionary forces are the only way to ensure social progress.

A striking example of this is revolutionary Cuba. The people of Cuba defeated the reactionary bourgeoisie and the latifundists, expelled the foreign imperialists and established a democratic system. But they did not stop half-way. Having rid their country of the imperialist agents, the Cubans, cementing

their unity and aided by the USSR and the other socialist countries, are forging ahead to socialism.

A struggle for progress along national-democratic lines is underway in Indonesia, Bolivia, Burma and other countries. The reactionaries in Indonesia have been trying for years to divert the country from the democratic path. They have suffered defeat after defeat, but they still represent a serious danger. As a step toward a really democratic rule, the Communist Party is working for the establishment of a Gotong-Royong government based on the close cooperation of the main patriotic forces. The democratic, anti-imperialist agrarian revolution which took place in Bolivia in 1952 marked the first victory for the people of that country, but the development of the revolution has been retarded and the reactionaries, taking advantage of the inconsistency and vacillation of the national bourgeoisie, are dragging the country backward.

III. The Class and Economic Foundations of National Democracy

The patriotic classes and social groups—above all the working class, peasantry, handicraftsmen, intelligentsia and also the national bourgeoisie—are the class base of the national-democratic state. Hence the main task in the struggle for national democracy is to build a strong united national anti-imperialist front. To achieve this it is imperative to have a sound program taking into account the common national interests as well as the most important long-term demands of the members of the alliance so that each class and social group should clearly visualize its own future, its perspectives not only during the democratic revolution but also during the transition to socialism.

The most important and most active political force in the struggle for national liberation is the working class, and the overall tendency is for its role to grow in the fight for national democracy. It should be borne in mind, however, that the working class in the various countries differs greatly as regards numbers, degree of organization and structure. Some countries have a large militant working class headed by Marxist-Leninist parties. In others the proletariat is only emerging and does not represent as yet an organized political force. Then there are countries where there is no industrial working class or where it is only at the embryonic stage.

In order to enhance the leading role of the working class everywhere the revolutionary

forces are conducting extensive organizational and educational work aimed at uniting all its sections both organizationally and politically and at disseminating Marxist political views.

In this connection a number of questions of political and theoretical importance arise: is it possible to achieve national democracy in countries where the working class is weak? How is the question of leadership to be solved in states of national democracy?

At present when the whole capitalist system is ripe for revolutionary change, when the march of history is impelling the peoples toward socialism, the active forces of the national-liberation movement are steadily growing. National democracy can be established under the leadership of any democratic class—the working class, the peasantry, or the small urban bourgeoisie. In some countries the leading force may be the intelligentsia, including the revolutionary army officers.

In countries where there is no working class, or where it is only emerging, the peasantry too can play an independent revolutionary role, especially if it produces from its midst revolutionary democrats. This conclusion follows from the fact that the peasantry is entering the political arena in a situation where world socialism is exerting a growing influence on the development of the national-democratic revolutions. Directly and indirectly, socialism is winning over the peasantry of these countries. In other words, world socialism is, objectively, the embodiment of the leading role of the proletariat, providing—even in countries where there is no working class—that firm ideological foundation without which scientific socialism is impossible.

In the course of non-capitalist development, as the working class grows in numbers, its political role in effecting social changes will grow and the alliance of the working class and the peasantry will be decisive.

This means that society can launch out on the non-capitalist path under the leadership of any democratic class. But this path can be traversed to the end and the transition to socialism effected only under the leadership of the working class allied with the peasantry, headed by the Marxist-Leninist vanguard.

True, there have been instances of countries without a working class advancing to socialism. Mongolia is a case in point. A country with a feudal and colonial economy which for a long time had no working class, Mongolia was able to carry out far-reaching democratic reforms and then step out on the path of socialism. In this instance the Mongolian revolutionary peasants derived strength

from the fraternal aid of the Soviet people, from their alliance with the working class of the USSR organized as the state, from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the world proletariat.

It is important to remember that the general laws governing the transition to socialism determine the revolutionary change of formations on the scale of the whole of society. In the development of revolutionary processes all kinds of variants are possible under the overall impact of these general laws.

I should like to dwell on the problem of the revolutionary vanguard from this angle. Generally speaking, the working class is headed by Marxist-Leninist parties, but there are countries where these parties do not exist. Here the role of the revolutionary vanguard may to some extent be played by the trade unions. At the same time, the emergence and development of Marxist forces is gaining momentum in these countries; here and there Marxist groups have already sprung up. The rise of Marxist forces will inevitably continue in a variety of ways. In some cases Marxist parties as such may be formed. On the other hand, it is not excluded, indeed it is extremely likely, that the revolutionary democrats will come over to Marxist-Leninist positions.

The rapid development of events, sincere devotion to the interests of the country and genuine concern for the well-being of the people may well prompt revolutionary democrats to take the only correct path—the path of Marxism-Leninism.

It is important too to have clarity with regard to the role of the national bourgeoisie in the liberation movement, its place in a national democracy. In examining this question the Marxists take into account the general international situation, the contradictory behavior of the national bourgeoisie as a class and especially the stand taken by its various groups and factions depending on the amount of capital they possess (the big, middle and small bourgeoisie), the spheres where they operate (industry, foreign trade, internal trade, banking, etc.), their political sentiment conditioned by their links with the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, the feudal class, the foreign monopolies, etc.

As regards the national bourgeoisie, the view is gaining currency that its revolutionary potential in most of the newly-emerged countries has not been exhausted, that it can be an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal force and therefore capable of taking part in revolutionary movements. In the light of this it is of prime importance to work out a correct

policy toward the national bourgeoisie. Part of the bourgeoisie, at any rate its Left wing, can undoubtedly be regarded as an ally, even in the period of socialist reconstruction. Hence Marxists in the different countries are searching for ways and means conforming to the specific national conditions which would make it possible, in the process of the advance towards socialism, to abolish the capitalist relationships with a minimum of material and social sacrifice, to integrate elements formerly belonging to the national bourgeoisie in the emerging socialist structure of society.

Most difficult and complex are the tasks confronting national democracies in the economic sphere. These tasks fall under several headings:

—first, it is imperative to abolish all forms of pre-capitalist relations and all exploitation by carrying out an agrarian reform and overcoming the survivals of the primitive tribal system. Of prime importance is the expropriation of the latifundists and the big planters;

—second, all forms of economic dependence on imperialism must be done away with by alienating the property of the foreign monopolies, changing the structure of industry and ensuring the proper balance between its various branches, reconstructing agriculture and going over to diversified farming, and turning toward the socialist countries in the sphere of world economic relations;

—third, gradual industrialization must be effected. To solve these tasks it is essential to take the offensive against the ultra-reactionary classes which offer desperate resistance and undoubtedly will continue to do so. Consequently, the class struggle between the democratic and the feudal-compradore alignment may be expected to grow sharper.

In order to defeat the reactionary forces, the national-democratic state needs a solid material foundation. Such an economic foundation is the state sector, which has an extremely important social function to perform in these countries.

Writers on economics often define this sector as state capitalism. It seems to me, however, that this definition is too sweeping and vague for the period of non-capitalist development.

The state sector in the countries which have won their independence has its specific features. Even today, when national democracy has not yet been won, this sector bears a clearly defined anti-imperialist character and serves as an instrument for consolidating national independence, a basis for democratic advance.

At the same time it should be emphasized that even in these countries there are considerable differences in the social functions of the state sector. In countries like India, for example, where the capitalist relations are firmly established, the state sector is part of the capitalist structure and the national bourgeoisie is endeavoring to utilize it for its own class aims.

On the other hand, in countries where capitalist relations are not appreciably developed real opportunities are being created for utilizing the state sector in the interests of the people as an economic base for genuine independence and political democracy. In these countries the state sector is increasingly acquiring features which, while not socialist, are no longer capitalist, i.e., features of a transitional nature making it possible to lay the material and technical groundwork of socialism without going through capitalism. The future of the state sector in all countries will be decided in class struggle. Wherever the reactionary forces gain the upper hand this sector is bound to revert rapidly to private capitalist lines.

Cooperatives will, undoubtedly, play a growing economic role in non-capitalist development.

A prime factor in creating and consolidating the state sector is the aid of the socialist countries in the construction on the most favorable terms, of enterprises producing means of production — the cornerstone of independence.

The Communist parties, the revolutionary democrats and other progressives are fully aware that the sphere of socio-economic relations, the economy, has become the arena of bitter class struggle. They are putting in motion political and economic levers facilitating the development of progressive economic forms, thereby paving the way for national democracy. There is, however, a new enemy lying in wait for the newly independent states, an enemy which, though it may still be little more than a potential threat, may tomorrow become a powerful force and eventually be a formidable obstacle to the establishment of national democracy. This enemy is the corrupt and grasping bureaucratic bourgeoisie who sap the economy of the newly-emerged countries and whose interests are bound up with imperialism. Like a vampire, these grasping elements ensconced in the state apparatus, in the economic organizations, and sometimes in the officer corps of the army suck the lifeblood of the young and still weak economic organism.

A critical situation is now setting in in the state sector, which the reactionaries are determined first to discredit and plunder and then hand over to the private capitalists in order to obstruct economic progress and halt the advance of the revolution for years to come. Because of this subversive activity, labor productivity in many state enterprises is lower than at comparable private enterprises, and wages are often lower than at the latter, organization of production is more backward and the quality of output inferior. The reactionaries take advantage of this, claiming that the state sector, far from being a model to follow, is rather the acme of waste and inefficiency. Consequently, the struggle to consolidate and build up the state sector is one of the most important revolutionary tasks of all progressives fighting for national democracy.

Planning is another controversial issue. Effective utilization of the powerful economic levers, direct and indirect, possessed by the state in the newly-emerged countries could speed up things by diverting resources to the leading branches of the economy. But here too the reactionaries are offering desperate resistance. In some countries the planned targets are not reached because of inadequate financing, inadequate plant, raw materials

and skilled labor. The reactionaries pin their hopes on systematic non-fulfilment of plans that disillusion the people, cause them to lose faith in planning and discredit the very idea of a planned economy.

An important factor in carrying out the urgent revolutionary tasks is the training of cadres dedicated to the people. The problem of cadres in the countries we are discussing has two aspects: first, there is an acute shortage of trained personnel in all spheres of endeavor; second, the state apparatus is still honeycombed with reactionaries, and some office-holders are corrupt. The revolutionary forces, therefore, consider it their prime duty to train experts devoted to their people and capable of running the machinery of state, managing the economy and taking charge of education and culture.

* * *

The idea of national democracy has enriched the theory and practice of the world emancipatory process. And there is no doubt that the hundreds of millions who are now making history, breaking the chains of oppression and consciously entering the public arena, will further enrich the forms of the transition to socialism. This is one more indication that socialism is bound to win.

WMR Interviews

The "Democracy" of the French Colonialists

Last November France elected a new Parliament. In the first round of the elections the Communist Party received 4,010,809 votes, i.e., about 22 per cent of the total; the UNR, de Gaulle's party, polled 5,847,403 votes or 31.9 per cent. Thanks to the unjust electoral system and diverse machinations, the Gaullists have 235 seats in Parliament, the Communists 41. The discrepancy between the number of votes cast for the Communist Party and the number of seats it holds is obvious. As regards the elections in the "overseas departments," judging by press reports, not even the semblance of free elections was observed there.

The manner in which "free elections" are conducted in these "departments" was described in an interview given our journal by Comrade Paul Verges, First Secretary of the Réunion Communist Party, Comrade Serge Pierre-Justin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe and Comrade Armand Nicolas, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Martinique, who visited us recently.

PAUL VERGES: Réunion, like Martinique and Guadeloupe, is one of the few remaining colonial territories of France. The French government tries to maintain the fiction that Réunion is merely a "department" of France. But the attitude adopted by the government during the last elections in November 1962

made it plain that the regime in our country is one of colonial oppression. The machinations before and during the elections showed that the French government was bent on preventing our people from freely expressing their will and realizing their desire for freedom.

In a colonial country like ours, fraudulent

election practices are nothing new. With the victory of the democratic forces during the Second World War and the advent to power of a democratic government matters improved somewhat in this respect. But the improvement did not last long. The reactionary policy pursued by successive French colonial governments has for all practical purposes done away with general elections in recent years.

In Réunion the rigging of elections is the "usual" thing, and more recently downright gangster methods have been employed. In the 1956 elections, despite the "normal" machinations, the Communist Party polled 54 per cent of the votes. Two-thirds of the deputies were Communists. The authorities, as usual, juggled with the voters' lists, adding the names of persons dead, and bribing people to use the ballots of "dead souls" in the different polling districts.

The names of persons generally known to vote for Communist candidates were included in the voters' register at polling stations from 5-10 km. from their homes, so that on election day the Communists and their supporters had difficulty in getting to the polling station.

Buying votes is another "normal" election practice. Taking advantage of the poverty of our people, government agents induce the less public-minded citizens to sell their registration cards which are then passed on to their own people to vote with. The registration cards of those who do not take part in the elections (some 20-25 per cent of the electorate) are also used. It is enough to glance over the voters' lists for three or four elections to ascertain those who are unlikely to go to the polls and use their votes. This we call "normal" election frauds.

The colonialists now resort to outright gangster methods. During election campaigns gangs of rowdies in the pay of the big sugar companies are used to break up Communist Party meetings. If the audiences resist and the gangsters are in danger of being overpowered, the police hasten to their rescue.

The underlying purpose is to create an atmosphere of terror at election time. On voting day the thugs hide in the sugar-cane fields along the roads leading to the polling stations and the moment an "undesirable" voter appears, he or she is assaulted and forced to return home without voting.

A few words about the polling stations. By decree of the Prefect (representative of the French government) citizens are forbidden to approach within 50 meters of the polling stations on election day. This, however, does not prevent groups of thugs from being stationed

on the premises. If the Communist Party representatives, acting as scrutineers, protest against vote rigging or violating election procedure, they are set upon by these bandits.

Several of our comrades are at present in hospital recovering from knife wounds received in this way during the recent election. One of them, Comrade Viadère, is in a serious condition. Another, Eliard Laude, was murdered in March 1959.

After beating up the Communist Party scrutineers and ejecting them from the premises, the gangsters fill the ballot boxes with papers bearing the names of candidates nominated by the colonialists. Sometimes they overreach themselves and the ballot boxes are found to contain more ballots than registered voters, in which case the figures are hastily "doctored" to tally with the lists.

We have found that at all polling stations where we have managed to observe voting procedure the colonialist candidates have been defeated. At other stations where there were no observers, the colonialists "polled" 90 and sometimes 100 per cent of the votes. There is no doubt that the official returns by no means reflect the actual state of affairs.

SERGE PIERRE-JUSTIN: When it comes to falsifying election results Guadeloupe does not lag behind Réunion. Our politicians have plenty of experience in this respect. However, it must be said that not since the abolition of slavery in 1848 and the 1896 elections has there been so much blatant rigging of elections as at the present time.

The only elections which could be called free and honest were those held in 1946 when two Communist deputies and one Socialist were elected. With that sole exception, however, Guadeloupe has not known a single election campaign (whether parliamentary, municipal or a referendum) that has not been faked.

I should like to cite the following facts. In order to ensure their election, the mayors of some communities, or towns, besides appropriating all the votes registered in the voters' list, have no qualms in adding votes if they fail to poll the required number. For example, in the 1948 elections to the National Assembly one mayor discovered the number of voters in his community totalled slightly over four thousand, whereas he needed about seven thousand votes to be elected. He simply "supplemented" the voters' list himself. The fact that the "new" voters were non-existent did not worry him in the least.

Election organizers resort to all kinds of subterfuges and deception. Even when citizens are able to supervise the opening of the ballot

boxes and the counting of the votes, the chairman of the polling station contrives to compile another, falsified report for publication. Sometimes highly placed colonial officials themselves alter the figures of election returns in order to obtain seats for deputies loyal to the colonialists. Moreover, while the supporters of the colonial authorities usually vote several times at different polling stations, the rest of the voters have difficulty in casting their single ballot.

ARMAND NICOLAS: French imperialism has always boasted of having made Martinique, Réunion and Guadeloupe models of "benevolent colonialism" enjoying all the benefits of civilization. The imperialists have made our countries "overseas departments" whose citizens enjoy the suffrage. The outward trappings of democracy are there. In practice, however, the elections — parliamentary, municipal and cantonal — are a sham.

In Martinique, bribery and juggling with election returns are the usual thing. The only genuine elections, as Comrade Pierre-Justin has noted, were in 1946. They resulted in a resounding victory for the Communists who polled 65 per cent of the vote.

Election trickery is directed against all the parties which are waging a struggle against colonialism. There are three of these parties in Martinique, hence the fraudulent practices are spearheaded against all three.

I can add a few more examples of the methods used to falsify elections. In most cases the polling stations are run by lackeys of the colonial authorities. The law calls for a secret ballot. But the men in charge of the stations often prevent voters from entering the voting booths. In other words, they try to intimidate voters and to find out for whom they intend to vote.

Or take another of the frauds. The law stipulates that ballots bearing the names of all the nominees shall be available at all polling stations. Very often, however, the ballots with the names of the Communist candidates suddenly disappear, with the result that voters are unable to vote for the candidate of their choice.

Here is another example. A few years ago, under mass pressure, normal elections were held in the François community. After the voting, the ballot boxes were taken to the prefecture. During the night an official of the prefecture "corrected" the ballots, with the result that the official candidate was declared elected.

A common trick during the count is to take a ballot out of the ballot box and read out a

different name from the one actually there. In this way votes cast for Communist candidates, for instance, are counted as votes for their opponents. In communities where the mayor is more unscrupulous, the Communists sometimes find themselves without a single vote, despite the fact that the community has Communist organizations and many sympathizers and everyone knows that many voted for the Communist candidates.

If the Communist Party representative at the polling station protests against these fraudulent actions, the chairman of the election commission will summon the police and have him ejected. This is what happened in the Schoelcher community, for example. The mayor of this community is a notorious gangster. During the referendum in October 1962 there were 3,045 registered voters in the community. On the day of the referendum only some 500 people bothered to vote. But this did not prevent the mayor from announcing that all the electors had turned up and that all had voted "yes."

During this referendum the Communist Party urged the people to vote "no," but the authorities saw to it that no representative of the anti-colonial parties was allowed to enter the election precincts. This gave the officials a free hand to do as they pleased. There was no supervision over the voting.

The fact that those responsible for rigging the elections are rewarded by the government is proof that they enjoy official patronage.

QUESTION: *How do the people react to these malpractices?*

PAUL VERGES: Before answering that, I should like to repeat that the rigging of elections is mainly the work of the French administrative officials. The voters' register is falsified with the consent of the colonial prefecture. The election returns are doctored also with the consent of the prefecture and even on its instructions. When the people protest, the colonial authorities send out the police to protect the frauds.

The prefecture representative at the polling station invariably opposes us each time we expose the election machinations. For example, in 1959, during the municipal elections in our capital, Saint-Denis, the Communist deputies polled infinitely more votes than the other candidates. Yet, with the knowledge of the prefecture, a fake copy of the election results was issued. It so happened, however, that at one of the polling stations they forgot to destroy the original. But although the man in

charge of the polling station in question admitted that the results had been falsified, none of the guilty were punished.

And if in spite of all the manipulations the Communists win the municipal elections, the French administration promptly dissolves the municipal council and sets new elections, entrusting their preparation and conduct to two or three gangsters. In 1957, when the French government proceeded to dissolve the Communist municipal councils and to organize new elections, the public protested.

I should like to cite two more examples. On November 18, 1962, during the parliamentary elections the usual fraudulent methods were employed in one of the constituencies which included seven communities. In four of the communities, however, these methods failed to achieve the desired result. Public indignation reached such a pitch that although the Communist Party representatives had been forced out of the polling stations earlier, the crowd took possession of the stations, tore up the lists and smashed the ballot boxes. The people in charge of the polling stations fled. This happened in those very communities in which according to the official data, the Communists had received only 10-15 per cent of the vote or none at all in previous elections. The authorities still fail to understand how the mayors and other officials had to take to their heels in districts where Communist influence was regarded as being negligible.

Another example. During the last general election several Réunion newspapers protested against the fraudulent practices. Some of these were newspapers which four or five years ago had ignored the faked elections, considering this one way of combating the Communist Party. One of the papers commented that the rigging had been conducted in such a shameless way that it merely played into the hands of the Communists. Shortly after the elections the French newspaper *Monde* observed that rigging had distorted the election results on Réunion and the entire Réunion press unanimously denounced the malpractices.

SERGE PIERRE-JUSTIN: In order to understand the people's attitude to rigging elections one should know that in our country rigging is an instrument of class struggle and national oppression. With the exception of those who make a good thing out of the frauds, the people wholeheartedly condemn them.

Public opinion shows two basic trends. On the one hand, the Communist Party, women's organizations and the trade unions call for a vigorous struggle against falsifying elections. On the other hand, the petty bourgeoisie and

politically inexperienced people say that since it is impossible to do anything against election frauds the best thing is to boycott elections altogether.

Our Party supports the first view and tries to impress on the people that it is necessary to take more energetic action against election swindling. Now even the Catholic and Adventist groups are beginning to raise their voices against the rigging of elections. Faced with the opposition of the entire people, French government officials want to demoralize the population, trying to destroy the base of the Communist Party, to dissolve the municipal councils which have Communist mayors.

The municipal council of Le Moule was dissolved several times: in 1953, in 1957 and on October 26, 1962. And each time the government placed its own men at the head of the municipal council with instructions to hold new elections. Notwithstanding these maneuvers, the popular sentiment was such that in each election victory went to the Communists. For example, in 1952 before the municipal council was dissolved, the Communists polled 68 per cent of the vote, in 1957, 75 per cent and on November 18, 1962, 77 per cent. This shows that when the people are united and when they act resolutely, colonialism cannot prevent them from expressing their will, their desire for freedom.

ARMAND NICOLAS: The purpose of falsifying elections is to discourage the voters, to prevent the free expression of the popular will. However, in the last election, despite the machinations and the fact that two deputies representing the official line were returned, the majority of the electors voted for the anti-colonialist parties. This shows that the people of Martinique are not reconciled to the colonial regime, that under the leadership of the Communist Party and the other anti-colonialist forces they are intensifying their struggle to put an end to the colonial regime.

QUESTION: *What are the prospects for the democratic movement?*

ARMAND NICOLAS: On Martinique the prospects are good. Despite the repressions, the anti-colonial movement is spreading, and the forces working for the abolition of the colonial regime are growing. This applies especially to the students, to young workers and other sections of the working people, who, on the whole, are against colonialism. There is a good outlook also for unity of the anti-colonialist parties. Their main weakness at the present is disunity. But of late headway has been made

in the matter of establishing an anti-colonial front on Martinique.

SERGE PIERRE-JUSTIN: As regards Guadeloupe the struggle for political autonomy may be said to have entered the decisive phase. The French government, aware of this, is throwing all its reserves into the fight. Officials who speak in favor of autonomy are being removed from their posts and some even deported. At the same time provocateurs have been trying to direct our struggle onto the path of armed conflict with the authorities in order to evoke mass repressions and to drown our movement in blood. The aim of these provocations is to prevent our struggle for political independence from developing peacefully. But the Communist Party is exerting every effort towards uniting the people in their struggle for autonomy.

PAUL VERGES: As far as Réunion is concerned, we can say that the prospects are good. The historical and social conditions in our country are such that the Communist Party is the only organized anti-colonial force in opposition to the existing regime. It leads the anti-colonial struggle and has the support of the majority of the people.

In the Communist and Workers' Parties

Current Problems of Party Building in Hungary

THE Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the report of the Central Committee outlined the perspectives and tasks in the period of the all-out building of socialism in Hungary. The principal tasks at present are: to expand the productive forces and consolidate the socialist production relations in the shortest possible time; steady improvement in the living and working conditions of the people; to achieve the socialist unity of the nation and strengthen the moral and political unity of the people; to complete the socialist revolution in the national consciousness; to consummate the cultural revolution and fully satisfy the cultural and educational requirements of the people; to develop socialist democracy in every sphere.

The work of the Party must be wholly subordinated to these objectives. We must make Party work and Party leadership more effective, extend the political influence of the Party among the masses and strengthen it as the leading and organizational force.

For over a year our country has been experiencing a severe economic crisis, which has now been aggravated by the Common Market. The Communists are helping to organize demonstrations of protest against the consequences of this crisis. We are holding joint demonstrations and meetings of workers and peasants. These actions are being joined also by the middle sections of the urban bourgeoisie and the students. The French government is retaliating to this movement by taking reprisals. Its troops have fired on peasant demonstrations. In February and March last year 66 workers were jailed, and 12 Communist Party and trade union leaders were deported. The Communist newspaper *Temoignages* is frequently confiscated.

Notwithstanding the repressions, the anti-colonial movement is growing stronger. We are optimistic. But we cherish no illusions with regard to the difficulties.

We know that the struggle will be a hard one. But the influence of the Communist Party has grown steadily during these past five years. We shall do everything in our power to ensure that it continues to grow.

* * *

In the period between the Seventh and Eighth Congresses the Party correctly defined the basic tasks and objectives in all spheres, political, economic and social, and time has confirmed this. Our activity has been fruitful because the leading role of the Party has been consistently observed, because the personality cult and the sectarian and dogmatist policy and harmful methods of work engendered by it have been eradicated. Thanks to the fulfilment by the Party of its leading role, the dictatorship of the proletariat has functioned well as a system. All the components of the system now are working more actively and effectively. Under the ideological guidance of the Party, the leading administrative and economic bodies, the trade unions, the various public and mass organizations are independently tackling their own particular tasks.

Loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Party does not rule, it gives guidance and direction. It does not arrogate to itself the

functions, nor does it restrict the role, of the administrative bodies, the trade unions or other public organizations; it relies on their support in fulfilling its own duties. The leading role of the Party and its policy are expressed in consolidating people's rule, in developing socialist democracy, in fulfilling national-economic plans, in advancing science and culture, and in spreading Marxist-Leninist ideas.

Both during the period of the struggle for power and in the period of socialist construction the Party wins the masses by convincing them of the correctness of its policy. Only in this way will the masses come to understand and support the aims of the Party and strive wholeheartedly to attain them. Of course, it is easier to issue commands than it is to persuade, but in the final analysis, persuasion is the only correct and certainly the most fruitful method, far superior to the bureaucratic type of leadership which is utterly alien to the Party and which was part and parcel of the personality cult with its underestimation of the role of the masses. The Party is convinced that the method of persuasion is the only way to win mass support for the correct Marxist policy, the policy that reflects their vital interests. This, of course, does not mean that the role of the Party should be limited solely to ideological education. No, the Party is the leading and directing force of the proletarian dictatorship.

In the final period of building socialism the Party plays an even greater role in all spheres of social and economic life. By placing the national economy on a solid socialist basis, the proper balance between the productive forces and production relations is achieved, thus making for a more rapid development of the productive forces.

This, of course, is not a spontaneous process. With the development of the productive forces and the extension of the international socialist division of labor, more and more complex economic problems come to the fore; at the same time, a bigger role is played by scientific methods of management, and consequently by the Party as the organizing and directing force. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is acquiring more and more the features of a state of the entire people, the democratic foundations of which are constantly expanding, giving free rein to the initiative, talents and constructive endeavors of the people.

The Central Committee outlines the economic policy, the basic trend of economic upbuilding. At present this is expressed in the second five-year plan which sets the pace for the development of the productive forces and fixes the basic proportions of accumulation and con-

sumption.

During the past few years the Central Committee has adopted many decisions on general economic problems in the sphere of construction, the chemical industry, machine building, and the general management of industry, decisions reflecting the basic principles of our economic policy and directed towards realizing the basic targets of the five-year plan.

Practical implementation of these decisions is left to the economic executives. There is no need, and indeed it would be impossible, to provide ready-made formulas or stereotyped patterns. At the same time, regular verification of the fulfilment of Party and government decisions is essential at all levels of Party leadership. The Party and the other public organizations are called upon to assist in achieving the economic targets.

Of course, differences between Party organizations and leading economic bodies in the matter of carrying out one or another decision of the Party and the government, in interpreting and applying laws and decrees, in selecting personnel, and like matters, can arise in the course of practical work. Industrial managers sometimes place the interests of a single enterprise or locality before the interests of the economy as a whole. In some cases, in an effort to fulfil the plan, they countenance violations of laws protecting the rights of the workers, and instead of encouraging the initiative of the masses, they take a complacent attitude to the fulfilment of decisions affecting economic policy.

The Party organizations whose duty it is to render help and exercise control over the activities of industrial managers in the localities do not always understand their function correctly. At times they attempt to solve economic problems over the heads of the managers in charge of one or another branch of the economy.

Such practices must, of course, be vigorously combated. But this by no means implies that we must steer clear of all disputes or friction. On the contrary, this is precisely the way to root out mistakes in the work of the economic managers and Party organizations. Disputes which are aimed at rectifying mistakes achieve their object far more quickly than the sort of unprincipled "peaceful coexistence" between the Party leaders and the public organizations and economic managers which is to be observed in some places.

* * *

The heightened demands placed upon us at the final stage of the building of socialism make it more than ever imperative that all internal Party life should be based on the complete unity of Party democracy and centralism. Only

through democratic centralism is it possible to achieve the complete fusion of the initiative of the membership, their experience and outspoken criticism with strict discipline, and to ensure the militant unity of the Party.

The Party members and Party organizations do not confine their activities merely to carrying out Party policy; they also take a direct part in working out the policy. We have every opportunity for this. For example, the important draft decisions on the reform of the school system, the thesis of the Central Committee for the Eighth Congress and the draft of the Party Rules were published by the Central Committee and submitted for public discussion. Many questions of Party policy were debated at the Party meetings, both open and closed, and through other channels. These debates served to raise the ideological level of the membership and to broaden their outlook, and helped them to grasp the complex problems.

The significance of these discussions extended beyond the Party organizations and affected the whole of public life, extending the Party's ties with the masses. This has had the effect of enhancing the democratic features of our social system, developing democratic forms of leadership and administration, and improving the work of representative public bodies. In the course of the discussions approximately one hundred thousand people expressed their opinions on these important documents. Thus, the resolution adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Party can be said to represent the combined effort of thousands of people, Communists and non-Communists.

Constructive discussions, enlisting the masses in the work of evolving Party policy have always been features of Leninist parties, a fact which demonstrates the revolutionary strength of the workers' party. We know the dire consequences of the methods practised by Rakosi and his group in the 'fifties, when the existence of conflicting views in the Party was totally ignored, discussion muffled and attempts made to create the semblance of unity by the simple device of proclaiming it.

Of course the Party is not a debating society, where interminable discussion can be held and where there is no unity of will and action. However, we believe that every Communist should be able to express his opinion at Party forums and to have no fear of pointing up mistakes. It is easier to rectify mistakes revealed in this way than those which are passed over in silence. It is easier to dispel doubts that are voiced than doubts that are not. It is easier to settle differences brought into the open than differences that are concealed. The correct viewpoint

on all questions is reached only by the conflict of correct and incorrect opinions. He who fears discussion is, essentially, denying the right of criticism and self-criticism to exist in the Party.

An important measure of internal Party democracy is the realization of the principle of collective leadership at all levels. Collective leadership is a guarantee against the danger of subjectivism in the policy and practical work of the Party. It was only by eradicating the personality cult, by strict observance of the Leninist principle of collective leadership that our Party was able to pursue a policy based not on the subjective views of a few individuals, but on the solid foundation of reality. Thanks to collective leadership, it has become possible to be guided by the objective, sober opinion of the collective and not by the opinions of individuals in the matter of selecting personnel, and in judging people in general. The spirit of subjectivism has been rooted out of all work with cadres. At present a struggle is being waged inside the Party for impartial judgement of the work and behavior of people, for observance of Leninist principles in the work with cadres and in dealing with people in general.

Elective bodies now play a greater role at all levels. The wrong procedure when questions coming within the jurisdiction of elective bodies were decided by the Party apparatus or by individuals has been eliminated. A conscious effort is being made to enable the Party committees to direct and verify the work of the executive Party bodies. Autocratic, highhanded leadership of even the smallest group is no longer countenanced.

Experience shows that Party work is fruitful only when the leaders reckon with the opinion of the collective and adhere strictly to the collectively adopted decisions. The principle of collective leadership, collective discussion and adoption of decisions does not exclude organizing work on the part of the leader of a collective nor does it obviate the personal responsibility of each leader for the adoption and fulfilment of decisions. On the contrary, it presupposes all these things.

A big improvement can be observed in the character and methods of Party work. Voluntary Party work is becoming more and more widespread. In Budapest and other regional and district committees, various departments and sub-departments staffed by volunteer Party workers have been set up. These departments are regarded as an integral part of the Party apparatus and their functions are defined accordingly. In most rural localities the volunteer members take an active part in the work of the branches in the capacity of instructors and tutors. The secretaries of many district commit-

tees in the Komarom and Veszprem districts are working on a voluntary basis.

Volunteer work takes different forms in different areas, depending on the local conditions and the level of training and experience of the local cadres. But the purpose everywhere is the same, namely, to activize the members, raise the standard of Party work, reduce the number of paid functionaries and bring Party work closer to the people.

In fulfilling our current tasks and solving the problems arising in the course of our work it is imperative constantly to strengthen the unity of our Party. This can be achieved, on the one hand, by thoroughly discussing matters before adopting decisions, and at the same time by observing unanimity and discipline and by working together to carry these decisions into life. Once a decision has been adopted, every Communist is in duty bound to devote all his efforts and abilities to put it into effect.

The tasks connected with the all-out building of socialism raise problems of an increasingly complex nature. Naturally in this period of sharp historical change, there are people who are unable to grasp one or another question presented in an entirely new light, and who find it difficult to rid themselves of ingrained habits and obsolete methods of work.

In the interests of ensuring the unity of the Party and the unity of Party leadership it may be necessary in extreme cases to apply organizational measures with regard to individuals who cling tenaciously to their erroneous views. On matters of principle, when the welfare of the people is at stake, the interests of the Party as a whole must come first.

Our Party, in common with the entire international Communist movement, has the greatest respect for Communists with a record of distinguished service in the people's cause. But respect and trust are things that must be constantly earned, through day to day dedicated effort for the good of the Party and the people.

One of the basic principles of inner Party life is resolute exposure of mistakes, regardless of who is responsible for them. At present an atmosphere of freedom and candor reigns in our Party organizations, and criticism, the role of which as one of the motive forces of

progress grows in proportion to our advance, is becoming increasingly constructive.

The tendency to hush up and conceal mistakes and to gloss over problems is, of course, not a feature of socialism; it is the ugly legacy our system inherited from capitalism. During the period of the personality cult these phenomena, far from being eradicated, penetrated the work of our Party, thereby impeding and retarding our efforts.

We cannot claim to have done away entirely with such evils as toadying to authority, covering up mistakes and muzzling criticism. It still happens that people who honestly desire to serve the public interest or who stand up for their rights are treated unjustly. And these things cause much bitterness. But it is impossible merely by a single order from above or by repeated adjurations to solve once and for all the complex social problems associated with the thinking and behavior of people.

There is only one way out—and that is unrelenting struggle against the survivals of the past in the minds of people. An important condition for revitalizing Party life is to penalize more severely those who either overtly or covertly stifle criticism, or who persecute people for their criticism. We try to create in every Party organization an atmosphere in which people who expose shortcomings courageously and constructively should be accorded universal respect. No Party organization, no Communist should shy away from the "troublesome" people, those who frequently do not mince words in criticizing shortcomings; on the contrary, they should be given every support provided their criticism is justified and that it affects vital problems.

The policy of the Party and its objectives are clear, its methods are pure and worthy of its goal. This is the decisive guarantee of a close, unbreakable bond between the Party and the masses. The consolidation of the unity of the Party, the development of internal Party democracy, the spirit of criticism and collective leadership are aimed at enabling the Party with even greater dedication and success to serve the cause of the people, the cause of Communism.

Sandor GASPAR

From the Experience of the Italian Communist Party

COMMUNISTS AND THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS

THE theses issued for the Eighth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, based on the past ten-years' experience, charted the main direction of Communist activity among the masses and defined the Party's attitude to the mass organizations. The broad unitarian character of the democratic organizations in Italy—trade union, peasant, cooperative, women's and other organizations—was seen in the theses as the point of departure in this activity.

The split in the democratic and anti-fascist forces and the expulsion of Communists and Socialists from the government in 1947 was, as we know, followed by a split in the trade union movement, but the unity of the Communists, Socialists and some other, smaller groups was maintained in the Italian General Confederation of Labor and in other democratic mass organizations.

The idea of autonomy for the unions and other organizations (implying also autonomy from political parties); an idea reaffirmed in the theses of the Eighth Congress, was justified in 1944, when the General Confederation of Labor was re-established on the basis of the Rome Pact with the participation of the Catholic unions, and later, by virtue of two main reasons: first, owing to the existence in Italy of two working-class parties and the fact that they are represented in the leadership of the democratic organizations; and secondly, because unity was necessary in these organizations in order to achieve a larger unity of action and, in perspective, to arrive at organic unity with similar organizations led by Catholic, Social Democratic and Republican forces.

To speak about such autonomy, the theses pointed out, signifies recognition that "at present the role of the trade unions in Italy should not be limited or reduced merely to that of a 'transmission belt' working for one or another party." This means that it is not for the Party at any level to *run* the trade unions and the other organizations, it is up to the individual Communists who work in the unions or hold responsible posts in them, in the peasants' associations, and in the cooperative movement to take care that a correct line of action is adopted in these organizations. Moreover, this line should not be introduced from without, it should be determined by the requirements and experience of the organizations. It should follow from independent questing, discussion and even from a clash of opinions, all of which

make up the content of their democratic life.

If the line of action of the union and the other democratic organizations is worked out by them independently, with the participation of the various political forces, it may well be that in some instances it may not coincide with the line of one or another of the working-class parties. The parties and mass organizations look at things from different angles, and they have distinctive spheres of practical activity. But for all that it should be remembered that in Italy these organizations, and primarily the trade unions, have never confined themselves to "narrow corporative interests," nor have they adopted the questionable standpoint of being "neutral" or indifferent to politics. On the contrary, they have always posed the problems of economic and social regeneration of the country, have insisted on democratic change and they have upheld this policy against the encroachments of the government.

In recent times the question of autonomy has been particularly complicated in view of the divergence in the general lines of the Communist and Socialist parties. The solution to this question should be sought precisely along lines of reaffirming autonomy, of more clearly defining the character of the mass organizations, while preserving the responsibility of their members and leaders for working out unitarian positions free from rigid party directives imposed from without and not affecting the specific sphere of activity of the political parties. It is on this basis and in the struggle against the danger of a possible split that the inner unity of the Communist- and Socialist-led organizations can be consolidated and the conditions created for a broader unity.

There is yet another reason why autonomy—and especially trade union autonomy—both from the political parties and the government (but primarily, of course, from the employers) is of special significance in Italy today. We have in mind the possible introduction of economic programming in which the working-class movement is interested, since it wants to have a say in determining the direction the programming will take, but which some forces regard as a way to impose curbs on the struggle of the working people for their urgent demands. Confronted with these attitudes, not only the General Confederation of Labor but the other trade union organizations as well have reaffirmed their full sovereignty in choosing and im-

plementing measures aimed at upholding the interests of the working people, in assessing the economic and social policy and measures aimed at securing reforms, and also in drawing the conclusions which they with full responsibility consider should be drawn from all this. The importance of the step made by the unions to prevent the economic programming from becoming a means of preserving the rule of the big employers and weakening the militancy of the labor movement should not, in my view, be overlooked.

* * *

Our Party is working to strengthen the mass organizations in which our members are called upon to carry out persistent and responsible activities. But the tasks here are big indeed, necessitating a much bigger effort than has been made hitherto. So far as the trade union movement is concerned it can be said that the prestige of the General Confederation of Labor has grown enormously in recent years. But this has not been accompanied by an appropriate organizational consolidation: despite the progress there is still ample opportunity for drawing the younger generation of workers (most of whom have entered industry in recent years) into trade unions, for bringing the organization into line with the changes in economic and social life, for building an effective and modern trade-union organization in the more backward parts of the country (particularly in the South). As for the other important mass organizations, e.g., those of artisans and shopkeepers, and the cooperative movement, it should be borne in mind that they are strong only in some regions, and the question arises of extending their influence to other parts of the country. In tackling these organizational matters the Communists, and all other democrats, should display the utmost interest. Moreover, the Communists are making quite a big contribution, and will continue to do so, to secure the success of the democratic forces in elections for the unitarian committees, which include not only the internal commissions and other factory councils but also the mutual aid funds run by the small and middle landowners, handicraftsmen and shopkeepers.

The Party follows attentively the work of the mass organizations, mainly in order to ensure the necessary political action. The demands advanced by the workers cannot be satisfied only through economic struggle—political strug-

gle, too, is needed. Therefore the Party organizations should regularly study the conditions of the working class, the peasantry and the urban middle sections (and do so collectively, i.e., from below, with mass participation). They should take an active part in all working-class actions for the purpose of imparting a political character to the problems of the economic and social regeneration, to link the daily demands of the working people with the demand for far-reaching structural reforms and a new policy, to enlist the aid of the various political forces in solving these problems, to put them on the agenda in Parliament and in the local councils.

In recent times the broad and powerful movement conducted by the working class has advanced a series of demands to fight for which should be seen by the Party as a vital social task leading to far-reaching changes in economic policy and in social life generally. Recent working-class actions have brought to the fore such issues as training to acquire skills, the conditions of the worker beyond the factory, educational reform and public transport. These matters call for action by the political forces and above all by our Party both at the political level (national and local, in the legislative and other spheres) and at the administrative level.

The workers' movement has recently stressed the need for a genuine extension of democracy which could begin by creating an atmosphere of freedom in the enterprises, granting the worker the opportunity to exercise his constitutional rights, and granting new and more extensive rights to the trade unions with regard to collective bargaining. This, clearly, is a political matter, and the task of the Party is to make it the test of the democratic aspirations of the political parties and government of Italy.

Our mass work, then, is being developed more and more in the direction of encouraging Party initiative aimed at supporting, strengthening and extending the democratic organizations. The Party continues this struggle on the political arena (not to mention the struggle for the daily needs of the working people) thus furthering the formation of broad unitarian movements of public opinion to solve the main problems of the political, economic and social regeneration of the country.

Giorgio NAPOLITANO
member of the Leadership,
Italian Communist Party

THE SIENA SHARECROPPERS

SHARECROPPING is the main occupation in the agricultural province of Siena where we live. And every year since 1945 has seen mass actions by the sharecroppers against the landlords, the government and the police. Each year sees action to back up the demands for the annulment of the sharecropping contracts dating from fascist times, for a more equitable distribution of the products and for a social insurance and public health scheme similar to those enjoyed by industrial workers. Besides these immediate demands, the actions have the long-term aim of securing a general agrarian reform which (especially in our province) would put an end to the labor relationships typical of sharecropping. So that this aim should correspond both to the needs of the peasants and to the interests of economic development, it is not enough merely to abolish the unjust and obsolete labor relationships, today particularly hateful seeing that they date from fascist times. It is essential, the Communists say, to transfer the land to the tiller and to make the government provide aid in the matter of building modern enterprises capable of producing for the market and united along voluntary lines in appropriate cooperatives.

The Communist Party has played a big part in these actions of the sharecroppers (actions which, as we shall see later, are acquiring more and more a unitarian character). They have, in fact, been the backbone of the movement.

The Party has summoned sharecroppers to action, has advanced its own slogans and pursued a policy in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the peasants. This is seen from the support and trust reposed in our Party by the working people: in the provincial elections the Party won an absolute majority (51.7 per cent of the votes), while 35 of the 36 communities (including the administrative center Siena) are run by Communists jointly with the Socialists.

Equipped with a correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of the agrarian problems and upholding the true interests of the working people, the Communists have established close unity with the socialists and together with them carry out joint measures aimed at resolving the agrarian problems.

Moreover, the Siena Communists played the decisive part in building up the united trade union of sharecroppers (the Sharecroppers' Federation affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor) with a membership of 25,000. During all the years of struggle the closest unity between the various trends headed by the

Communists, Socialists and independents, has always been a feature of this organization. And far from undermining the autonomy of the different trends, it is precisely in this autonomy that the unity finds its justification. The strength of the Sharecroppers' Federation lies in that it is a united body.

The splinter organizations which arose as a result of the split in the General Confederation of Labor, brought about by the disruptive Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and the Republicans, are weak and enjoy much less support. For instance, the sharecroppers' organization led by the Catholics and Christian Democrats and affiliated to the Confederation of Free Trade Unions has a membership of just over four thousand, while the Social Democratic organization, Union of Labor, numbers only a few hundred.

For many years the Communists, Socialists and the independent sharecroppers' federations, while they have not concentrated on polemics with the Catholic and Social Democratic organizations, have, nevertheless, revealed the weaknesses of the latter, their policy of giving way to the landowners and the government, and have rejected all the attempts to destroy the autonomy of the union. They have worked persistently for unity of action with other sharecroppers' organizations with a view to solving the real problems of agriculture and upholding the interests of the working people. Discussion of these questions has been fruitful. The Catholic and Social-Democratic organizations had to reckon with the fact that there can be no trade union worthy of the name without united action.

From 1960 onward wider unity of action has been built around the sharecroppers' struggle against the landowners and the conservative political forces (chiefly the Right-wing Christian Democrats). At first unity was reached on some of the immediate demands (for instance, social insurance and the repeal of the fascist agreement governing sharecropping), then with regard to all the immediate demands and, lastly, with regard to the abolition of the system altogether. The three sharecropper organizations in the province unanimously called for transferring the land to the tiller.

In the past two years the three organizations have sponsored mass actions, held meetings, demonstrations and rallies around these demands on a platform which, in addition to purely agrarian questions, also included other issues: defense of peace, struggle for the complete realization of the republican Constitu-

tion, extension of democracy through the setting up of regional councils*, strengthening the autonomy of the elected bodies in the cities and province.

A united rally of sharecroppers held in August last year in Siena was addressed by Communist, Social Democratic and Catholic speakers. The Catholic speaker, Grazzini, who made the main speech, denounced not only the landowners, who had refused the modest demands of the sharecroppers, but also the Christian Democratic governments of the past which, instead of carrying out a genuine agrarian reform, had put billions of Government money into the pockets of the big landowners through all kinds of financial machinations. Nor did Grazzini pass over in silence the Center-Left government which has not honored its pledges to the sharecroppers; he scathingly criticized the so-called agricultural centers, which, as conceived by the Center-Left government, give the impression of being auxiliary instruments of the landowners or else bureaucratic offices without any powers whatever.

The urge for unity in the trade union movement, which is felt also on the political arena, could be used for the purpose of rallying and stimulating other forces to fight for a democratic reconstruction of agriculture. For example, the council of Siena University has declared support for the peasants' struggle and has voiced the need for a deep-going and general land reform.

The unity of the peasant struggle is evident also in the activities carried out by the communal and provincial councils. The Communists, it will be recalled, have always said that if the local authorities want to be the true servants of the population, they should not confine themselves to purely administrative functions. They should be active in finding solutions to the outstanding political issues, be it action against nuclear testing or the fight of the workers in industry and agriculture.

In the summer of 1961 the communal councils

*Provinces in Italy are united into regions which have taken shape historically. Although the Constitution provides for the setting up of regional elective bodies, the latter have not hitherto been in existence.

took the initiative in convening local agricultural conferences which made a thorough analysis of the crisis in agriculture and its effects on the life of the population and on the communal bodies themselves. The conferences arrived at the conclusion that in order to ensure a really democratic development in agriculture the pressing demands of the sharecroppers and their unions had to be met, and that the basic demand—that of abolishing sharecropping altogether, transferring the land to the tillers, and government aid in the matter of promoting co-operatives and, hence, of setting up modern enterprises owned by the peasants themselves—was also a pressing matter.

In the face of these just decisions, the Christian Democrat and Social Democrat minorities in the communal councils often had no choice but to take the side of unity and approve the decisions of the agricultural conferences.

When the Center-Left government failed to keep its promises in 1962, the Communists together with the Socialists took the initiative in reconvening the agricultural conferences to examine the latest developments in agriculture and to pool efforts with a view to drafting a law on abolishing sharecropping.

In implementing Party policy the Siena Communists pay close attention to establishing contact with the other democratic forces. And, as experience has shown, the time is ripe for unity, especially in the mass organizations.

It must be frankly admitted, however, that whereas good use is made of the opportunities in the trade unions and in the local government bodies, more could be done on the political arena. So far not all working people in the towns and in the countryside, and in the democratic movement generally, have been won for a large-scale united struggle for land. Success in the fight for land reform largely depends on overcoming these shortcomings, and it is towards this that the efforts of the Party organizations are directed.

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FOR UNITY OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

IN recent years the Women's Union in Florence has concentrated on urgent problems of the women's movement and above all on working for radical changes in the conditions of female labor. This activity is closely associated with the discussion now under way in all branches of the Union throughout the country with a view to drawing up a unity program of women's emancipation.

The Florence Province, mainly agricultural in the past, now has a sprinkling of industrial enterprises. Instead of being confined mainly to household chores or working in the fields as sharecroppers, women in large numbers are migrating to jobs in industry and in the public services.

Particularly hard are the conditions of those women whose work is associated with the more

backward social and economic relationships. Remuneration for work done at home is miserable indeed, and female laborers in the sharecropping system get only 60 per cent of the wage of a male sharecropper. Discrimination with regard to women's wages still remains in industry, despite some improvements in this sphere. This state of affairs is not helped by the fact that public opinion in general (including women) tends to regard female labor as of secondary importance and their wages as "supplementing" the family budget.

In these circumstances the Women's Union had no choice but to take as one of its main jobs the fight for a new look at female labor both from the economic and ethical standpoint. A campaign was launched for pension rights for housewives, which would signify recognition of the importance of their work. The movement was unanimously supported by the local councils. In 1958 a law was enacted protecting the interests of women working at home. A campaign was launched to collect signatures to a bill drafted at a regional conference designed to end the discrimination with regard to peasant women.

The Women's Union pays close attention to problems arising from the mass influx of women (especially girls) into industry. Whereas in the past we gave priority to the demand for equal pay for equal work, and made good headway in this, we are now stressing problems deriving from woman's role in industry and in the family and, arising from this, the need for a wide network of public services. These problems are especially important both from the standpoint of the health of women and children and of achieving genuine emancipation for those women who want to take part in the economic, political and cultural life of the country. We are campaigning for a network of state-owned kindergartens and nurseries. Enquiries are now being made in the factories to establish the real needs in this regard.

While working to secure normal conditions of labor for women, we are preserving the specific features of our organization since its functions differ from those of, say, trade unions; in addition to economic matters we tackle family and ethical problems. Now that more women are entering industry, such questions as changing family relationships, replacing the obsolete laws and combating the backward customs and habits come to the fore. Having discussed these matters with specialists and educationalists, we are now planning to get as many women workers as possible interested in them.

By advancing the demand for equality (with

regard to the right to work, wages, family and social life generally) the Women's Union is actively joining in the struggle to remake the entire economic and social set-up. For us, however, the campaigning on these issues is not something mechanical, nor is it a propaganda gimmick (it would be wrong to think that a "better," more advanced and democratic society will resolve overnight all the problems affecting women). The very urge of women for equality and their movement to secure the necessary changes are simultaneously support for the more general demands such as land reform, reorganization of the social security system, greater autonomy for the local government bodies, and so on. And the sum-total of the women's demands is a new and important factor backing up our steadfast struggle for peace.

It is clear that in a country such as ours where the mass of women follow one or another of the big parties and where there are many women's associations, any women's organization seeking to align itself with a particular political trend or even acknowledging the leadership of this trend would but cause injury to the broad unitarian possibilities in the specific sphere of the emancipation movement. Hence, beginning with 1956, the demand for autonomy as a condition of the broader unity of the women's movement has been asserted. The development of this concept has resulted in the quest for a new political function for the Women's Union, for new tasks for the women's organizations.

In addition to the objective factors, the movement owes its growing unity to the regeneration of the policy of the Women's Union, namely: organizing mass action for unity with socialist women; reinforcing the officers of the Union in the provinces with forces drawn from the varied political and social milieu; new and interesting experience of arranging meetings, cooperation and even reaching organic unity with other women's organizations.

The women's organizations in Florence, once completely disunited, have now established a committee for women's equality charged with the task of working for the principles proclaimed by the Constitution. This committee has held debates on such topics as granting women the right to work in all fields of endeavor, on family laws, and on social security for women. The documents and recommendations of the committee have been submitted to Parliament and to the municipalities. For a number of years now International Women's Day, March 8, has been celebrated under the joint auspices of the provincial administration and a strong group of women's organizations.

Although the Catholic Women's Union still keeps aloof from this activity, many of its members and leaders are taking part in the joint actions.

Thanks to the united action the women's organizations have begun to play a new role in the life of the town—that of democratic spokesman of the women, upholding their interests vis-à-vis the government bodies. Their activity is thereby becoming a part of the general struggle for democracy.

Women Communists are making a useful contribution to the work of the Women's Union. Our Party has pointed out that the women's problem is one of the key issues in the democratic regeneration of the country. It has stressed the specific character of the women's question and that the struggle to resolve it should neither be subordinated to nor identified with the general struggle of the working class. Embracing forces which are much broader than a single class and its traditional allies, this struggle presupposes a mass movement of women for unity and autonomy, a movement capable of winning genuine emancipation of women at any stage of social development. The task, therefore, of the working class is to further the growth of the women's unity movement, to elaborate the autonomy platforms that will facilitate unity in the fight for emancipation.

Some people maintain that at the present stage of monopoly capitalism in Italy the women's question has, in effect, been resolved and that, consequently, the existence of women's organizations is no longer justified. These views reflect both a sectarian standpoint (with the growth of female employment there is a tendency to identify and confuse the women's question with the general working-class movement) and an attempt on the part of the Christian Democratic Party to utilize the women's movement for its own ends by depriving it of its unity. The Communist Party, exposing these views, declares that the women's question is still with us, and is even more acute. Hence the women's unitarian and democratic movement acquires an ever-growing and special significance.

The activity of women Communists in working for the program of the Women's Union is not aimed at making the Union adopt the attitude of their Party. It is aimed at achieving a unity platform on all issues, a platform that will help resolve the women's question and which sees in the democratic principles of the Constitution a basis for activity.

Adiana SERONI
member of the Central Committee,
Italian Communist Party.

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ROME

THE difficulties in the Italian working-class movement caused by the rupture of the unity pact between the Communist and Socialist parties are well known. Not so well known, however, is the emergence of a new and profound democratic unity as a result of the movement and struggle now taking place in the trade unions and among the peasantry, in the realm of culture and in the youth and student movement. This contradiction between the two developments is one of the more typical aspects of present-day political life in Italy; it is a feature which at once complicates and enriches the activity of our Party.

Since unity is measured not only by the existence of signed pacts (important though these are) but above all by the militancy and the qualitative level of the mass movement, it will not be without interest to look at the experience gained in the University of Rome, which, with its enrolment of 50,000, not only is a big cultural center, but represents the greatest concentration of young people in the country.

Our difficulties in the university began back in 1947-48 with the split in the ranks of the

anti-fascists caused by the Christian Democratic Party under pressure from U.S. imperialism. A campaign of slander and discrimination was launched which resulted in the relative isolation of the Communists, in a crisis of all the democratic organizations which sprang up in the University at the time of the anti-fascist struggle in 1943-45. In 1956, when the Communist group in the University hotly debated both the issues posed by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and those associated with the Italian road to socialism, some of the lecturers and many students left the Party. The debates, however, cleared the air with regard to our political line, thanks to which a new influx of activists strengthened our organization, the isolation was overcome and the beginnings of a new unity appeared in the mass movement.

In recent years the membership of the University Communist group has reached a record level, and in the elections for the University bodies the list which included Communists, Socialists and other Left forces polled a record vote. Between 1960 and 1962 the vote cast for the nominees of the "Goliardi Autonomi" in-

creased from 12 to 21 per cent; the Catholic vote dropped from 28 to 24 per cent, and the Liberals and Neo-Fascists, who commanded a majority only a few years before, now became the minority.

Visitors to the campus in Rome, noteworthy for the monumental style and pomposity typical of the fascist-time architecture, can see a small building (the students still call it the "barracks" because it used to be the headquarters of the military organizations of the fascists) which today houses the various student organizations. On the walls of the "barracks" two slogans, inscribed in large, though now slightly discolored, letters, are visible: "No to Fascism!" and "Democracy in the University." These slogans were inscribed in June 1960 at the time of the nationwide struggle against the clerical-fascist Tambroni government (which was brought down by the great mass movement in July that year) when the reactionary groups in the University tried to manipulate the elections and defeat the Left list of the "Goliardi Autonomi." To this swindle the students and democratic lecturers replied by issuing a manifesto and an appeal to the Rector. When their overtures were ignored, they seized and barricaded the "barracks" and for forty-eight hours resisted the fascist attacks and the threats of the police. Only after the National Students' Union accepted their protest did they leave the barracks singing partisan songs.

The year 1960 was a year of change in the political thinking of the students, or at any rate among their leading groups. The old tag about students "not being interested in politics," which prevailed in Italy as it did in most capitalist countries, was found to be wanting. First the militants and after them growing numbers of students through their organizations began to have their say in deciding the vital issues of the day. A demonstration against the U.S. aggression in Cuba was held in the University. When the agents of imperialism murdered Lumumba, students reacted by forming a University Anti-Colonial Association, which included both Italian and foreign students (from Somali, Latin America and elsewhere). This movement reached its peak in November-December 1960 when the National Students' Union jointly with the three trade union centers (the General Confederation of Labor, the Catholic Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Social Democratic Labor Union) held a day of united struggle for peace and independence for Algeria.

The fascists could not become reconciled to the unity reached by the students and working people; after the defeat suffered by them in

July they tried hard to gather forces for a counter-offensive: they attacked the premises of the National Students' Union, beat up African students in the University, and broke into the students' center in Rome during the vote on the resolution in support of Algeria. The police turned a blind eye to the nefarious activity of the fascists, but the democratic forces refused to budge: the biggest and most militant demonstration of students and lecturers in the history of the University was held on December 9 in the hall of the Faculty of Literature. The fascist hoodlums were bundled out of the University. Amid enthusiastic applause the Socialist Senator Ferruccio Parri, one of the leaders of the Resistance struggle, said: "You, young Catholics, Socialists and Communists, have come here not merely to protest but also to teach a lesson to the provocateurs. You have something greater which unites you. And that something is the common ideals which made it possible to reach unity in the struggle for liberation, a popular and national struggle. So our struggle is now your struggle; from the same glorious positions you are again setting out on the march for democracy. Today we have a new Resistance which extends its hand to the old Resistance— and you, young comrades, you are this new Resistance!" These words, undoubtedly, reflected the two outstanding developments in Italian life in recent years: the emergence onto the political arena of a new generation of fighters and the failure of the old schemes of anti-communist discrimination.

Thus the will to regeneration has effectively asserted itself amid the traditional conservative University strata of Rome, which in their majority are the products of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois upbringing. The aim of the regeneration is to fuse the school and university reform with the vital issues affecting Italian society, to oppose the designs of the ruling groups to subordinate the University to the industrial requirements and policy of the capitalists.

In their election program, the "Goliardi Autonomi"—a secular and democratic organization—specify the content of a democratic university reform in the following way: "Our school and university education is experiencing a grave crisis for the solution of which government measures have always been incomplete and inadequate. Educational reform is our goal. We want the University to be a truly democratic institution capable of performing its role in modern society . . . Our demands are not confined merely to the elementary needs of school and university education (more funds, for example); we insist on a thorough-going

revision of the curricula in the faculties and a reform of the University regulations. The present concept of a student, which is still founded on principles of class discrimination, should be radically changed. It is essential that the student should be able to study with state aid, not with money supplied by his family, a state of affairs which the ruling circles would like to perpetuate. Students should be regarded as mental workers and as such should be paid and have the same rights as all working people. Public education should be safeguarded against authoritarian actions of the state and against clerical interference. Within the walls of the school the cultural and civic training of the youth should fuse completely and organically with its professional education. What we need is a free and democratic school which would train the new generation of workers and pave the way for the cultural and civic development of Italy."

Arising from this, big changes have taken place in the other political groupings in the University: the Christian Democrats opposed the so-called Fanfani Plan because it did not provide for an organic school reform; on more than one occasion the Socialists frustrated the attempts made by the leadership of their Party to enter into a compromise. Other movements got under way: students in the Faculty of Architecture declared a strike against Professor Muratori whose methods of instruction were regarded as being obsolete; in the Literature and Medical faculties the students held meetings at which they demanded that the subjects taught should be brought up to date.

The new contingent of students are well to the fore in this struggle; in recent years, however, post-graduates too joined their drive for an education reform, and on occasion tutors, too, have taken part in the movement. In 1962 tutors, post-graduates and students jointly called for a three-year plan providing for more funds for education, an increase in the number of Chairs, more teachers, full employment for assistant professors, and grants for students.

Thanks to the support of the trade union organizations, the government has been forced to endorse a bill on student grants (15,000-30,000 lire a month depending on the distance from the place of residence). The fight of the University staff is still going on. It should be stressed that their joint demands are far in advance of the action program agreed upon by the Center-Left parties for the duration of the present Parliament.

New relations are taking shape between the University and the working-class movement. The Communists and to a large extent the So-

cialists support the student struggle for university reform. It is worth noting that the movement is urging Parliament to approve the two bills submitted by Communist senators. Some University tutors are members of the Communist Party. The Communist Youth Federation also has a branch, which not only holds debates on the general political issues but has its members working in the mass associations. The recent branch meetings which discussed the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, capitalist development in the Rome region and the struggle in the FIAT works, evoked a lively response. The section at the Literature and Philosophy Faculty arranged readings of the Marxist classics and took part in the debate of the current problems of Marxism by sending a letter to the journal *Rinascita*.

A new type of contacts, original and highly promising, can now be observed in the student and working-class movement. Thus, a group of students jointly with intellectuals and tutors and supported by trade unions and groups of working people have begun to study the problems placed on the agenda by the working-class movement. Students specializing in economics and statistics investigated conditions of labor on building sites; others investigated the capitalist agricultural enterprises in the Rome region; still others—students of the Medical Faculty—studied occupational diseases among workers employed on road and rail transport. They linked their study with the transport workers' struggle for shorter hours.

The contact between the students and the workers is not confined to examining particular problems. In connection with the metalworkers' strikes in October 1960 and the farm laborers' struggles in the summer of 1961 and 1962, groups of students took their place in the picket lines and conducted organizational and propaganda work among the people. Their participation in the strikes was not simply a manifestation of sentiment or solidarity in the abstract; it was the embryo of new political relations founded on an understanding of the tie-up between the arbitrary rule in the capitalist enterprises and the dead weight which is hamstringing education, founded on the understanding that school and university reform depends on a strong working-class movement which would support it and inscribe it on its banners.

There are still many difficulties and obstacles in the way of developing the struggle in Rome University and in the other universities in Italy. A weak point is that even when the democratic organizations succeed in directing, and at times also in heading, the student struggle, they do not organize it all the time, nor do they systema-

tically guide political and cultural activities. Because of this many in the University remain passive, in the grip of a conformist or openly reactionary spirit. But the fact that many others take part in the big anti-fascist battles and in the strikes for an educational reform, that the steeled democratic minority is popu-

larizing the ideals of democracy and socialism instils hope and imparts new strength to the working-class movement in the capital.

Giovanni BERLINGUER
Committee member, Rome Federation,
Italian Communist Party.

The Communist Party of Germany Is Growing

NINETEEN SIXTY-TWO in West Germany was marked by militant actions in defense of the workers' rights. The miners of the Saar and paper-mill workers throughout the Federal Republic downed tools. Ruhr miners and steel workers advanced wage demands. Commenting on these struggles, the 16th All-German Workers' Conference in Leipzig noted that they "were successful wherever the Social Democrats, Communists, Christian Democrats and non-party workers took united action against the common enemy." During the Saar strike a spokesman of the Christian trade unions said at a meeting of a strike committee consisting of Social Democrats, Christian workers and Communists: "I shall never forget today. At last we have gathered around one table and are not fighting among ourselves." The strike committee unanimously decided to put out a leaflet criticizing the government's armament policy and calling upon the public to support the strikers.

The Communist Party of Germany, though outlawed, is working steadfastly for working-class unity in the Federal Republic. As a platform for joint struggle the Party recommends the recent decisions of the Sixth Congress of the German Trade Union Federation which call for the repeal of the "emergency" laws, condemn the arms drive and demand better conditions for the workers.

The central Party press devotes much space to day-to-day work among the Social Democrats. One instance reported was the establishment of a commission by a North German area committee of the Party for work among Social Democrats. The commission members contacted Social Democrat acquaintances and had talks with them; after the talks an open letter addressed to all members and functionaries of the district organization of the Social Democratic Party was compiled and circulated. The letter pointed out some of the erroneous ideas about Communist policy which have been an obstacle to united action. The commission recommended to all members of the Party to contact Social Democratic workers in the

factories—on the factory councils and among trade union functionaries.

Letters to the editors of the newspaper *Freies Volk* show that many Social Democrats can be won for joint action. For instance, one Communist Party branch arranged a conference of factory council members at which Communists, Social Democrats and non-party people discussed joint action against anti-labor legislation. The conference decided to call a meeting of the local trade union to discuss a resolution condemning the "emergency" laws. The resolution was adopted and forwarded to the higher trade union bodies, and eventually submitted to the trade union congress.

Wissen und Tat, a journal published by the Central Committee of the Party, carries interesting accounts of how documents issued by the Communist movement are studied by non-party workers, Social Democrats and young workers in classes organized by the Communist Party. In one South German city, where there were six study groups consisting of 10-12 persons each, half of the enrollment were non-Communists. In another town, besides study groups, educational work was also conducted among the workers at home. One Party member acted as tutor at 20 such classes, acquainting 120 people with the decision of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. In a town where the Communists organized seven classes for young people, 30 of those who attended joined the Party.

During the first half of 1963 elections to the factory councils will be held throughout the Federal Republic. Working for unity of action in order to make the factory councils instruments of the class struggle, the Party advocates cooperation between its factory branches and those of the Social Democratic Party. It also urges the workers in each factory to put forward joint demands based on the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Trade Union Federation and to nominate joint lists of candidates in the elections.

In connection with the elections emphasis is laid on the role of the Party's factory bulletins

in explaining its policy and promoting united action. *Freies Volk*, for instance, stresses that the factory bulletins should not only pin-point grievances but also show the connection between the conditions of the workers and the policy of the government, exposing the class character of the Bonn state. Strong defense of the workers' interests will win support for the Communists and enhance their prestige among their fellow workers. At one Ruhr coal pit, for instance, the appearance of a militant Communist bulletin brought the activities of the Party to the attention of the workers and won new members for it. The arguments advanced by the bulletin played no small part in getting the pit delegates (mostly Social Democrats) to an area conference of the union in Dortmund to vote for strike action.

The policy of working-class unity pursued by the Communists is winning support for the Party. This is evident, in particular, from the growth of its membership and the vigorous activities of its branches. During last year's recruiting campaign the Party won many new members, mostly young people; more than 2,000 members who had lost contact with the Party returned to its ranks; nearly 300 new branches were formed, including 100 in factories, and more than 130 factory bulletins were started.

Success in their work to promote united action reinforces the West German Communists' faith in their strength and is proof that illegality is not an insuperable obstacle to the growth of the Party's membership and influence.

W.R.

Ceylon: Patriotic Call of the Communist Party

THE Communist Party of Ceylon has launched a campaign to unite the Left movement and the progressives in the ruling Sri Lanka Freedom Party (the SLFP). A statement issued by the Central Committee of the Party contains a detailed analysis of the situation which has set in as a result of the policy adopted by the government under pressure from foreign imperialism. This policy endangers the whole line of advance initiated by the progressive forces in April 1956 and resumed, after a temporary set-back, in July 1960, when the present government came to power with the support of the Left.

The statement points out that on the basis of unity with the Left, the government made important advances in its first 18 months of power. But since then it has increasingly sought to shed its relations with the Left, and has relied more on emergency powers and on the top echelons of the armed forces, on the police and the administration, which are riddled with reactionaries.

This switch in policy has had deplorable consequences. The most dramatic result was seen on January 27, 1962, when the very forces on which the government relied to combat the Left attempted a coup d'état.

But even the attempt at a Right-wing coup did not make the government change its policy. It has continued to shun any alliance with the Left, nor has it broken the political, economic and social power of the foreign and local vested interests who were behind the attempted coup. It has failed to carry out its promise to reorganize the armed forces, the police and

the public administration by removing reactionaries from leading posts.

The statement points out that by making numerous concessions to British, American and West German capital the government has opened the door to neo-colonialist penetration of Ceylon.

The government, trying to solve its financial crisis at the expense of the people, has turned a deaf ear to the proposals made by the Communist Party in the "People's Budget" campaign. It has refused to nationalize foreign investments in Ceylon which would have yielded a profit of nearly Rs. 400 million a year. It has allowed foreign firms to continue to export their profits and dividends freely, and has abandoned many important projects for economic development with aid from the socialist countries.

Saying that the economic situation has worsened as a result of the government policy of going against the people, and that it is likely to deteriorate still further in 1963, the statement points out that unemployment is likely to increase; prices will soar, and the already low standard of living will sink lower and the difficulties of the middle sections increase.

This policy has produced a political crisis in the government and in the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. The reactionaries have taken heart and are becoming more active. Chauvinist forces have again begun to unfurl their banners and threaten new conflicts between nationalities. The United National Party—the main enemy of the progressive forces—is trying by means of demagoguery to make political capital

out of the discontent; it has donned the false mask of "democratic socialism" in an endeavor to muster support.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party addresses itself to all progressives whose unity defeated reaction in 1956 and 1960, calling on them to close their ranks to see that the intrigues of imperialism and the UNP are defeated, the vacillations and retreats of the government overcome, and the progressive course started under the leadership of the late S. Bandaranaike in 1956 continued and developed.

The main responsibility for seeing that this is done, the statement goes on, rests with the Left—the Communist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Socialist Party) and the Mahajana Eksat Peramuna (People's United Front). Although these parties differ on questions of theory and practice, they have the clear duty to find a basis for unity among themselves so that the Left may give a lead to the entire progressive movement in the present critical situation.

Stressing that the forces of foreign and home reaction are trying to take advantage of the lack of Left unity, the Central Committee appeals to the other Left parties to seek a solution by uniting with the C.P. and with each other around a minimum program that can attract the progressives in the SLFP as well and thus galvanize the entire progressive movement into united activity.

The Communist Party disagrees with those

in the Left who argue that there is no essential difference between the SLFP and the UNP. The statement stresses: "The Communist Party does not identify the SLFP as a whole with the present capitulatory policies of its government. It considers that this party and the social forces it represents should be in alliance with the Left in the fight against imperialism and the reaction at home."

It is only when the entire progressive movement is united that the UNP and the foreign and local vested interests who support it can be defeated and smashed. "That is as true today as it was in 1960," the statement goes on. "The Communist Party therefore calls on the members of the SLFP to reject the present capitulatory policies of their leaders and to return to the path of progress in alliance with the Left on the basis of an agreed program. The so-called 'middle path' has come to a dead end. There is no way forward along this path. If the members of the SLFP want to go forward, they must turn Left."

Simultaneously with the statement the Central Committee of the Communist Party published a minimum program as a basis for agreement. The program is a carefully worked out plan of concrete measures aimed at wiping out the centers of reactionary subversion, solving the economic crisis, ending the stranglehold of the foreign monopolies, developing the economy and extending democracy in the country.

O.B.

Communists of Nicaragua Oppose the Tyranny

ALTHOUGH the Latin American republics are links in the chain of countries dependent on U.S. imperialism, the historical and social peculiarities of the development of each differ appreciably, a difference which should not be ignored by the political forces of these countries. By this we certainly are not suggesting that our small country—Nicaragua—is an exception. Still, we would like to recall this for the benefit of those who try mechanically to apply in our country formulas which have proved their worth in other countries but who ignore the specific features of our development.

In our country the big landowners have the decisive say in the affairs of state, a fact which finds expression in the Somoza family dictatorship. The parties of the bourgeoisie, reactionary to the extreme, obediently bow to the insolent interference by U.S. imperialism. The

country is in a state of extreme economic backwardness. The traditional methods of monopoly rule add to the backwardness of the economy and further aggravate the situation. As of old, the privileged classes continue to wax fat at the expense of the peasants and workers; but the working people have no prospect whatever of being able to raise the low standard of living. In the very first year of the Alliance for Progress the cost of living rose by 20 per cent.

The outspoken colonialist nature of the Somoza dictatorship renders it impotent vis-à-vis the social and national problems. The ruling Liberal Party is an obedient tool in the hands of the foreigners. And the Conservatives, who play at "opposition," act the same role. Hence the policy pursued by these parties has led the country to national enslavement. During more than fifty years of U.S. imperialist domi-

nation, the predatory international treaties and loans imposed on our country have crippled the economy and undermined our sovereignty. For two decades the country was subject to invasions by U.S. marines. Interference is also effected indirectly, through military missions which, in effect, play the part of staff of the National Guard, which is a kind of colonial army.

But these same years also saw the beginning of the anti-imperialist struggle for independence under the leadership of our national hero, Sandino. Sandino began his revolutionary activity under the banner of the Liberal Party when it still adhered to a national standpoint, but he parted company with the Liberals when they degenerated into a party "trading the motherland." In 1934 Sandino was treacherously killed, after which the reactionaries gained ground and the scales of the struggle temporarily tipped in favor of the foreign rule.

After the anti-imperialist movement headed by Sandino had been suppressed, the banner of this great fighter was carried forward by the advanced representatives of the working class and the intellectuals. Today the anti-imperialist struggle is attracting increasing numbers of people with the result that the task of building a national anti-imperialist front is now on the agenda.

The Socialist Party—the fighting organization of our young working class—forced to work illegally, is working for a broad national anti-imperialist front. This, naturally, is not an easy task, for the U.S. imperialists and the home reactionaries never relax their efforts to crush the progressive forces and frustrate their unity.

An important part in the struggle for unity is played also by the Republican Mobilization Party, a mass party since its inception and which is working to unite all who have parted company with the Liberal-Conservative "barterers of the motherland." Its organizational flexibility makes it easier for this Party to win large numbers of working people and democratically-minded national bourgeoisie.

The upsurge of the democratic movement has resulted in the emergence of several petty-bourgeois parties. Thanks to the efforts of the

Communists and the Republican Mobilization Party, a democratic front opposed to the dictatorship—the Front of National Opposition—was formed at the beginning of 1962. It was not an easy matter to bring together all five petty-bourgeois parties, but experience has taught the people that only the unity of all the progressive forces will bring about the downfall of the hated Somoza dictatorship.

The success of the Cuban revolution, which found a great response among the working people of Nicaragua, has redoubled their militancy. We are doing much work in defense of Cuba in order to develop this revolutionary spirit of the masses.

In recent years the youth movement, too, has been active in public life. The National Front of Revolutionary Youth has been established and embraces four youth organizations. Particularly active in this Front are two organizations, the Socialist Youth and the Patriotic Youth. The police came down on the youth leaders in view of their active stand in support of Cuba and the liberation struggle. Thus, Rolando Alvarado, first secretary of the Patriotic Youth, and Guillermo Baltodano, a youth leader, are in jail. The young Socialists E. Altamirano and another comrade were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The crisis in the Caribbean coincided with brutal reprisals against the anti-imperialist movement. Despite this, however, we intensified our fight for peace and in defense of Cuba, a struggle which has become an important aspect of our efforts to win the masses and the progressive intellectuals. Dozens of workers' unions, of youth and student organizations have responded to the Communist call for peace. The idea of upholding peace is also finding response among the non-working-class people.

Despite the adverse conditions, our Party is boldly going forward, working for unity of the working class. Fighting for agrarian reform, for national and social emancipation, the Party is rallying the workers, peasants, the youth and students into a united front capable of winning the decisive victory over imperialism and its allies in Nicaragua.

Pablo SEGOVIA

Forthcoming Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain

THE Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain has circulated among the Party branches the draft political resolution to be submitted to the Twenty-Eighth National Congress to be held next April.

"The main duty of the Twenty-Eighth Congress of the Communist Party," the draft says, "is to present to the people the policy which can solve their grave problems and unite the working class and all progressive forces in the struggle for an independent, prosperous and happy Britain."

The British Communists emphasize that a policy of peaceful coexistence is the essential need. They support all measures for the relaxation of tension, the settlement of disputes by negotiation. They call for international agreement to ban and destroy all nuclear weapons, and for general and complete disarmament, and insist that the American military and nuclear bases should be closed down, and that Britain withdraw from all aggressive blocs. The Communist Party opposes the rearmament of West German militarism and calls for recognition of the German Democratic Republic, a peace treaty with both German states and the establishment of a Free City of West Berlin. The remnants of colonialism must be abolished.

With regard to the home situation the Communist Party draws attention to the serious situation of Britain's economy, aggravated by the policies of the Tory government. The resolution voices the demand to nationalize the key

sections of industry, banks and big insurance companies; East-West trade restrictions should go. The Party criticizes the policies of the Right-wing Labor leadership, which has failed to present a real alternative to Tory policy. "The Communist Party's aim," the draft says, "is a socialist Britain. And our Program, *The British Road to Socialism*, shows how it can be won."

The draft of another resolution deals with the organization and future of trade unionism in Britain. At present the employers and the government are seeking to restrict the movement for higher wages and shorter hours, and have brought pressure on the unions, in which two concepts are in conflict today: the Right-wing concept based on acceptance of cooperation with the employers, and the progressive concept that the unions should preserve their independence from all forms of state regulation and from entangling alliances with the employers.

Noting the present dismemberment of the unions (several unions in one industry), the Communist Party regards it as one of the main tasks of the working-class movement to establish amalgamated unions on a democratic basis. It stresses that the unity of the Communist Party and the trade union militants will win the majority of British trade unionists for the policy of advancing to socialism in Britain.

Meetings of Central Committees COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

THE recent meeting of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Australia, discussed and endorsed the report delivered by Lance Sharkey, General Secretary, containing an analysis of the international situation. Dealing with the lessons of the recent crisis in the Caribbean caused by the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism, Comrade Sharkey stressed that the action of the USSR was needed in order to avert nuclear war which would have destroyed Cuba and caused unprecedented worldwide destruction, and which would have thrown back for decades the building of socialism and communism in the socialist countries and exposed the human race to possible nuclear extinction.

R. Dixon, President of the Party, who spoke at the meeting, criticized the Left sectarians and their attack on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence.

"There are those," he said, "who slander the Soviet Union by calling the Cuban settlement an act of appeasement. . . . Today Cuba is free. The U.S. imperialists have lifted the naval blockade, the threat of invasion of Cuba has receded and likewise the danger of thermonuclear war. Surely these were the central issues in the Cuban crisis and they were resolved in the interests of Cuba and world peace."

In the present situation, Dixon said, the Party, whilst ever vigilant against revisionism, must pay particular attention to the struggle

against Left-sectarian views, implicit in which is non-acceptance of the idea that war is not inevitable.

The statement issued by the meeting and entitled "Lessons of the Recent Crisis" points out that during the crisis, in a situation of tension "the leadership of the Soviet Union stood calmly and firmly on the agreed line of foreign policy of the 1960 conference of the 81 Communist parties of the world—the struggle for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, and the prevention of thermonuclear war," that the Soviet leaders found a solution which staved off the war threat and which the Kennedy government was forced to accept.

The Central Committee statement calls for rallying the fullest, united support for the independence of Cuba, against the aggressive

policies of the USA and "for the strong, skilful and patient policies and actions of the Soviet Union, now demonstrated more clearly than ever as the outstanding leader of the powerful and growing forces for world peace, national independence, progress and socialism."

The Communist Party opposes the dangerous policies of the Menzies government which is deeply involved in the schemes to transform Australia into a U.S. nuclear base. It urges the people to demand that the government stop encouraging continuation of the conflict between China and India and to support the efforts of the government of the Chinese People's Republic aimed at achieving a peaceful solution. Australians, the statement says, must demand prohibition of foreign bases in Australia and support for the proposal for a nuclear-free southern hemisphere. V.M.

POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

THE Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party met in December 1962 to discuss the tasks of the higher educational establishments and the research targets for the 20-year period up to 1980.

The advances made in science and higher education are among the most remarkable achievements of people's Poland. Today there are 73 institutions of higher education with an enrolment of 173,000. Capitalist Poland had only 32 such schools. In the 17 years of people's rule the higher educational establishments have trained more than 300,000 specialists, or nearly 90 per cent of all the professional workers with a higher education.

But the economy, as well as the universities and colleges themselves, are, nevertheless, experiencing a serious shortage of personnel. It is estimated that the number of specialists should exceed 800,000 by 1980.

The meeting charted the basic lines of organizational, pedagogical and research work as well as ideological education with a view to ensuring the proper ideological and professional training of the researchers and other experts.

One of the tasks of the higher schools is to make the instruction more effective. The Central Committee has stressed the need to improve the content and methods of study, while ensuring close contact with the latest achievements in science and production.

Noteworthy is the plan for a considerable expansion of educational facilities for those working in industry. It is estimated that 35 per cent of all university and college graduates in the coming 20 years will study in correspondence courses.

The meeting also pointed to the need to improve the ideological and political education of students, which should be one of the main concerns of the higher schools, researchers and Party organizations. In particular, it was decided to revise the present social science courses, especially Marxist philosophy and political economy. "These subjects and the method of their presentation," the decision of the Central Committee states, "should ensure a correct understanding of the key political and economic problems. The curricula should place special emphasis on subjects connected with the problems of building socialism and communism. Attention should also be paid to the correct selection of teachers."

Highly important are the tasks posed with a view to accelerating research, increasing its efficiency and gearing it to practical requirements. To bridge the gap that still exists between the scientific institutes and production and to ensure integrated guidance in the sphere of science and technology it was decided to reorganize the former Technological Committee as a Committee for Science and Technology. This committee will coordinate scientific and technological work, advise the ministries on scientific matters, supervise the introduction of scientific achievements in industry and promote cooperation in science and technology with the other socialist countries within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

Much attention was paid to the social sciences. Since the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, good progress has been made in elaborating Marxist ideas

in the sphere of the humanitarian sciences, which have been freed from the straitjacket of dogmatism. This applies especially to political economy, history and philosophy. At the same time the Central Committee drew attention to shortcomings, stressing the need to bring about in certain scientific subjects a proper balance between the formal technical achievements and the ideological content. The shortcomings to be overcome are, above all, false objectivism, inertia, sometimes even a reluctance to combat bourgeois concepts and evasion of polemics with revisionist views.

The meeting stressed that the Party organizations among scientific workers should concen-

trate on overcoming these weaknesses and display more initiative in the sphere of the Marxist social sciences. The Party committees should strengthen their contact with the scientific workers, both Party members and non-members, and activate the committees handling scientific matters.

Besides Party members, non-Party researchers took an active part in the meeting. This shows that "the world of science is with the Party and that the Party is with the world of science," as Comrade Gomulka, First Secretary of the Central Committee, said in his closing speech.

F. TARNOWSKI

Reviews

Philosophy and the Building of Communism

(Problems and Perspectives)

THE power of attraction of Marxist-Leninist theory, the dialectical materialist outlook, has never been so great as it is now. One indication of this is the worldwide interest in the work of Marxist scholars in the realm of philosophy, and especially of Soviet philosophers. On the other hand, this work itself, and above all the healthy revival of philosophical thought in the USSR, also contribute to the power of attraction of Marxism-Leninism. For this reason we believe that an examination of the condition of philosophical science in the USSR will not be out of place.

Soviet Marxists have produced a number of works covering a wide range of subjects—dialectical and historical materialism, the theory of scientific communism, philosophical problems of natural science, logic and psychology, a critique of contemporary bourgeois philosophy and sociology, the history of philosophy, ethics and aesthetics. To examine all this wealth of new material would require a book in itself, and it may be that one day such a book will be written inasmuch as the absence of a work of this kind is seized upon by men like Wetter, Bochenski and other opponents of Marxist-Leninist philosophy to purvey all manner of allegations served up as "objective" and "unprejudiced" views about philosophical thought in the USSR.

In this article we should like to speak of the problems which interest Soviet scholars and the perspectives of philosophical studies in the USSR as formulated by the scientists them-

selves. In this connection the book by P. N. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is of undoubted interest.* Reflecting the problems on which the attention of Soviet scholars is focused as well as the organizational aspect of research in the USSR, the book includes reports on philosophical studies delivered by Fedoseyev after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, his speeches at international philosophical and sociological congresses and at conferences of Soviet philosophers.

All this affords a general picture of the basic trends in philosophical science in the USSR.

Fedoseyev's book opens with a paper on the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the steps taken to overcome the shortcomings in philosophical work. The Twentieth Congress and its criticism of the personality cult freed philosophy from the stultifying influences that had hampered it for so many years. The glorification of Stalin's writings and the striving to limit philosophical activity to a mere commentary on these works resulted in dogmatism, schematism and isolation from reality, and prevented creative application of the philosophical heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the solution of the new problems. In point of fact the last three congresses of the CPSU, examples of the creative approach to the theoretical problems of our times, laid a solid foundation for Marxist theoretical work. The

*P. N. Fedoseyev, *Communism and Philosophy*, Moscow, USSR Academy of Sciences Publishers, 1962, 480 pp.

new situation ushered in by the Twentieth Congress enabled Soviet philosophers to tackle a number of complex problems with signal success. For example, they have begun to correct the erroneous philosophical views held by Stalin and to subject them to penetrating analysis, administering a decisive rebuff to the revisionists, who speculated on the criticism of the personality cult and attacked the basic principles of Marxist philosophy. In restoring the link between theory and practice, the Soviet philosophers have applied themselves to solving the new problems posed by the building of communism and by scientific progress.

Studying the Dialectics of the Epoch

The guiding principle of Soviet philosophical research is that philosophy should not be confined to abstract reasoning, to comparing and systematizing philosophical categories. The main purpose should be to investigate and reveal the living dialectics of our epoch.

We should like here to touch on two of the problems in Fedoseyev's book: 1) the contradictions in the formation and development of socialist society; and 2) objective social laws and their conscious application under socialism.

The problem of contradictions is frequently seized upon by our opponents to slander socialism. In defending moribund capitalism, the bourgeois ideologists, on the one hand, seek to minimize the contradictions rending capitalism, and, on the other, to represent the antagonistic form of contradictions as an absolute law valid for socialism as well. Merleau-Ponty, Chambre and others accuse the Marxists of having "renounced" dialectics, on the grounds that they do not recognize the existence of class antagonisms under socialism and speak of the emergence of new conditions for resolving contradictions. Such accusations are a libel of socialist reality; they are used to justify the antagonisms in class societies, and also to ascribe to Marxists the ridiculous assertion that socialism means the end of social development.

The dialectical law of the unity and the struggle of opposites is a general law, but the forms in which it is manifested depend on the concrete conditions, on time and place, i.e., on the sum total of the factors conditioning the operation of the law. This applies also to socialist society.

For a long time, however, Stalin's incorrect standpoint on the question of contradictions was an obstacle to any concrete study of this problem. Stalin distorted this law in two ways: on the one hand, he separated the unity from the struggle of opposites, laying the emphasis

solely on the struggle and omitting the factor of unity, the interconnection between opposites. This view was reflected in the unsound and harmful theory according to which the class struggle grows sharper even after socialism has been built. On the other hand, Stalin held that under socialism there is full conformity between the productive forces and the production relations. The result here was an embellishing of reality, and concealing the actual contradictions attendant on the development of socialist society.

There are no class antagonisms under socialism, but it would be wrong to assume that socialist society develops without a struggle, without contradictions. However, in socialist society, where the productive forces and production relations develop harmoniously, where there are no antagonistic classes and where society is politically and morally at one—in these new conditions the character of the contradictions changes as do the forms and methods of resolving them. Social contradictions here appear and are resolved on the basis of socialist public ownership, on the basis of the unity of friendly classes. Hence the resolving of contradictions leads not to the disintegration of the existing society, as in societies where class antagonisms exist, but on the contrary, to a higher stage of the socialist society.

Fedoseyev analyzes also such concrete contradictions as the essential distinctions between town and countryside, between mental and manual labor and how to erase these distinctions. He shows that these contradictions can be resolved not through bitter social conflicts, in which one aspect of the contradictions is eradicated by force, but by the combined development and conjunction of the opposing aspects.

The need for a concrete and differentiated approach to social contradictions is confirmed also by the experience of socialist construction in our country, Hungary. Marxist dialectics has helped our Party to discern in the complex political, economic and ideological processes of the socialist revolution the contradictions which had to be resolved, and also to choose the correct, differentiated form of their solution. The Eighth Congress of the Party noted that, with the laying of the foundations of socialism, part of the contradictions had been eliminated, but in the period of full-scale building of socialism, contradictions still remain to be solved: on the basis of the now predominant socialist production relations, the productive forces must be further developed and relations of production perfected. Through

the socialist development of the public consciousness, the contradictions between the new life of society and the relatively backward public consciousness can be resolved. The Congress also pointed out that these contradictions are resolved in conditions where antagonistic classes no longer exist, but where the survivals of antagonisms still remain, and the class struggle is not yet over. At the same time, the crystallization of socialist national unity is a new and positive factor in the solution of contradictions.

The experience of building socialism and communism has made the objective laws of social development and their conscious application under socialism a special problem of Marxist theoretical study. Thanks to socialism, it is now possible for the first time in history to plan social development, and to effect the planned solution of the problems arising in the course of this development. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has elaborated an all-embracing plan for building communism, and the Soviet people are now fulfilling this plan. Planned construction of socialism is proceeding in other countries as well.

This, however, does not remove objective historical necessity nor does it obviate the need to study the objective laws of social development. On the contrary, a conscious application of objective laws is the bedrock of the planned social development. Planning highlights the advantages of the socialist society and gives impetus to its progress. But there is another aspect: planning presupposes a skilful and creative direction of social processes, a good knowledge of life, the ability to discern the new in the development, to study and utilize the experience of the masses, to heed and promote their initiative and encourage their activity. And this is impossible without a correct understanding of the interacting objective and subjective factors.

Soviet philosophical writing after the Twentieth Congress put an end to the confusion introduced by Stalin on this question. In his *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, Stalin, as we know, opposed—at least in words—the voluntarist interpretation of laws, condemned subjectivism and stressed the objective nature of economic laws. In practice, however, the personality cult led to subjectivism. While emphasizing the objective nature of laws in theory, Stalin ignored the specific ways in which objective laws are manifested under socialism, and this gave rise to a fatalistic approach to the operation of objective laws. Stalin's mistakes were a distortion of the dialectical conception of the interaction of

objective and subjective factors in the manifestation of the laws of socialism, and resulted in underestimating the role of the masses, the part played by the people in remaking society.

The struggle against subjectivism and fatalism is still going on. Their overcoming is rendered difficult by the fact that they are seldom manifested in "pure" form. But, as our own experience shows, in solving the complex problems of building socialism, the danger of subjectivism and fatalism should never be lost sight of. This danger appears, now in the form of a tendency to ignore the demands of the moment, to set unrealistic tasks, or to violate the principle of material incentives, now in surrendering to spontaneity, in a passive acceptance of "automatic development," or in underestimating the subjective factors. The theoretical source of mistakes of this order is failure to perceive the specific nature of the dialectics of objective and subjective factors, in other words, to distort them.

Concrete sociological research is of the utmost importance in studying the philosophical problems associated with the development of socialist society and the building of communism.

Bourgeois sociologists attack historical materialism on the grounds that it "fits" the social processes into abstract sociological formulae instead of making a concrete study of society. This charge will not hold water. The entire history of Marxism confirms that historical materialism, evolved by Marx and Engels on the basis of a concrete study of the social facts and analysis of reality, continues to develop through the concrete investigation of the life of society.

Those who believe that Marxist philosophy precludes topical social studies are gravely mistaken. The fact that for a time such research was neglected was due to the personality cult. Historical materialism is a combination of concrete sociological studies and theoretical generalization.

Naturally, historical materialism could never be limited to a mere registration of phenomena from superficial observation. It probes deeply into the social processes in order to make profound scientific generalizations. We, therefore, agree with the view expressed by Fedoseyev at a conference of the heads of the social science departments of higher schools (1962) that concrete sociological research and historical materialism cannot be separated one from the other. What we need is not scholastic disputes about the relationship between historical materialism and sociology, but concrete social studies essential for broad sociological generalizations from the standpoint of histori-

cal materialism. And it is most gratifying that this line (which we consider our own) is being followed in the Soviet Union.

Union of Philosophy and Natural Science

At the dawn of the socialist revolution, Lenin spoke about the alliance of science and socialism: "The alliance of science, the proletariat, and technology," he said, "will be more than a match for the forces of darkness." The example of the USSR shows that this alliance, acting as an acceleration of social progress, is a boon to science. The program of building communism, however, confronts science with problems of even greater magnitude.

Marxist philosophy can develop only by relying on the latest achievements in the natural sciences and by generalizing scientific knowledge; on the other hand, the natural sciences, unless they are guided by a Marxist world outlook, will be incapable of solving the increasingly complex problems of the methodology and logic of scientific knowledge.

During the years of the personality cult this alliance was, in many respects, distorted. The activities and collaboration of Marxist philosophers and natural scientists were greatly impeded. Since the Twentieth Congress, philosophers and natural scientists in the Soviet Union have done much to remedy this situation. A landmark in this respect was the All-Union Conference on Problems of Philosophy in the Natural Sciences, held in 1958. The closing speech summing up the work of the conference is included in Academician Fedoseyev's book. The conference was preceded by considerable preparatory work, and since then philosophical discussions in the various branches of science and the issuing of joint publications have become an established practice. For example, the possibilities of collaboration in the study of the Earth, the substance of life, philosophical problems of the physics of "elementary" particles, cybernetics, higher nervous activity and psychology have been examined in recent years by natural scientists and philosophers.

What has had a particularly beneficent influence on work in Marxist philosophy outside the Soviet Union as well is the correct interpretation of the interaction of Marxist philosophy and the natural sciences, the cooperation between philosophers and natural scientists. Soviet philosophical literature emphatically rejects any one-sided interpretation of this cooperation. In the past, during the period of the personality cult, there were philosophers who regarded cooperation as a matter of the philosophers issuing "directives" to the natural scientists and passing final judgment on partic-

ular questions of natural science. This led to grave blunders. Time and again philosophers and natural scientists, proceeding from their own particular philosophical bias, branded as idealistic and rejected certain new trends in science (this was the case with cybernetics, the theory of relativity, the study of the physico-chemical factors of heredity, etc.). The proof that these mistakes have now been rectified is the remarkable advance made by Soviet science.

No less pernicious, however, is the interpretation of the alliance of philosophy and the natural sciences which metaphysically separates the development of philosophy from that of the natural sciences, thereby implying that although the natural sciences provide the material for philosophical generalization they, nevertheless, develop independently of philosophy, and philosophy can play no part in their development. This, in essence, is a manifestation of the influence of positivism which regards any intervention by philosophy in the sphere of natural science as harmful and unnecessary.

In reality the rapid development of the natural sciences makes the correct solution of philosophical problems and—on the basis of the latest scientific achievements, the elaboration of a single synthesized world outlook—of vital importance for natural science as well. The job of philosophy, basing itself on the new advances in science, is to elaborate the theory and logic of scientific knowledge. Here are some of the questions to which scientists in different fields have every right to expect an answer from the philosophers: the substance of the natural sciences and sociological concepts, logical methods of working up empirical material and experimental data, summarizing these data and discovering scientific laws; problems of scientific abstraction, modelling, the role of symbolization; the logical structure of scientific theories, etc.

In his articles, Fedoseyev examines some of these problems. The differentiation between, and integration of the various branches of natural science and their interweaving show that while Nature is basically homogeneous, this homogeneity represents the unity of the multiform. To understand the correlation between this unity and multiformity, the general and the particular, is one of the most difficult problems of cognition, one which can be solved only with the aid of materialist dialectics. The function of materialist dialectics is to equip the natural scientists with the correct outlook and method, to help them guard against a one-sided approach, such as ignoring the qualitative features of the higher forms of the

motion of matter, or, vice versa, ignoring the link with the lower forms of motion and overestimating the qualitative distinctions.

Strengthening the alliance of Marxist philosophy with the natural sciences is a condition also for overcoming the diverse forms of idealism, which misuse the latest developments in the natural sciences, as is done by various schools of positivism as well as by neo-Thomism. Moreover, exponents of outright fideism attempt to falsify the achievements of natural science, and "reconcile" science with religion. Hence in discussing the philosophical problems of natural science we should not forget to criticize idealism and religion. However, this criticism cannot achieve its purpose—to expunge idealism from the natural sciences—unless it is accompanied by a positive solution of the new problems through cooperation between Marxist philosophers and natural scientists.

The alliance of Marxist philosophy and the natural sciences is one of the problems facing us in Hungary too. The progress made in this sphere in the Soviet Union has enhanced the prestige of Marxist philosophy in Hungary, and today such eminent scientists as Academicians Lajos Janossy and Tibor Erdey-Gruz are working jointly with the philosophers on philosophical problems in the natural sciences. The work done by Soviet philosophers and natural scientists is of the greatest value to us.

The Struggle Against Bourgeois Ideology

Criticism of contemporary bourgeois philosophy and sociology is an integral part of the work of Marxist philosophy. Socialism cannot win in the contest with capitalism unless socialist ideology triumphs over bourgeois ideology. The Communists stand for general and complete disarmament. But we cannot give up our ideological weapon, nor can we agree to the "ideological disarmament" of socialism.

Indeed, peaceful coexistence means that in the struggle between capitalism and socialism it is not weapons that will decide the issue; in the course of the peaceful competition of the two systems the superiority of socialism and its power of attraction will become increasingly apparent. The bourgeoisie, in its attacks against socialism, has allotted no small role to the modern capitalist philosophy and sociology. Hence the policy of peaceful coexistence presupposes that the Marxist philosophers should take the offensive in the ideological struggle.

In this respect, too, some new features are to be observed in the work of Soviet philoso-

phers. Criticism of bourgeois philosophy and sociology in the past was often marked by a formal, superficial approach, by generalities instead of convincing arguments. The complex conditions in which the ideological struggle is being waged, the uncompromising offensive against bourgeois ideology made it imperative to eradicate these mistakes and work out effective methods. The spread of Marxism has influenced the thinking even of those who are not entirely free from bourgeois ideology. The scientific and cultural exchanges between socialist and capitalist countries have been extended. The ideological struggle has necessitated more differentiated, more flexible methods and forms of criticism and debate.

In recent years Soviet philosophers have attended many international congresses and conferences in which both Marxist and bourgeois philosophers, scientists from both East and West, have participated. Since 1956, for example, Soviet philosophers have regularly attended international sociological congresses. These and other direct contacts with representatives of bourgeois philosophy and sociology are, as a rule, the occasion for debates between Marxists and anti-Marxists and have aroused considerable interest.

At these conferences Soviet philosophers, together with Marxist philosophers from other countries, cross swords with anti-Marxists, find convincing forms of debate, uphold their point of view and back it up with weighty arguments. In the discussions at the recent Fifth International Sociological Congress, for example, the cruder anti-communist sallies were relegated to the background, and Marxism held the center of interest for the majority of the participants.

Soviet philosophers have entered the lists mainly against the more influential and widespread bourgeois trends. "The important thing," Fedoseyev says in his book, "is not to collect all the fables invented by our opponents and try to answer all the absurdities, but to concentrate on the main trends, those which have the widest currency and exert the greatest influence."

The principal ideological and political weapon of imperialism is anti-communism. Hence exposure of anti-communism is the primary task of the Marxist philosophers. But we would be making a mistake were we to simplify this task and narrow it down to an exposure only of the more blatant anti-communism. It is necessary to turn our attention to the efforts of contemporary bourgeois ideology to counter Marxist answers to the basic issues of our time with the pseudo-scientific explanations which

misrepresent by seemingly scientific arguments the basic content and character of our age.

These pseudo-scientific explanations boil down to questioning the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism and the victory of communism. Since the realities of our time can no longer be dismissed out of hand, the capitalist sociologists, if only for the sake of appearances, are forced to reckon with the facts, and hence they dress up their denial of social progress in new garb. As Fedoseyev writes, they try to obscure the real trend of social progress by using the vague term "social change." To conceal the basic content of our epoch, to gloss over the fundamental difference between capitalism and socialism is the purpose also of the theory of the so-called "industrial society," a school of thought to which such bourgeois sociologists as W. Rostow, R. Aron and others belong. One of the tasks of the ideological struggle is to expose the fallacy of these spurious theories.

Fedoseyev's criticism of the stand taken by the bourgeois sociologists on the questions

of war and peace is likewise noteworthy. These "theoreticians," he writes, are opposed to the idea of peaceful coexistence, and hence it is of utmost importance to combat their views.

We have dwelt on Academician Fedoseyov's book in order to deal with a few of the main trends in the development of philosophical thought in the USSR, some of the basic problems engaging the attention of Soviet philosophers. We know that on many of these problems only the tasks have been correctly posed to date, but here, too, the trend and the scope of the work is encouraging, and this in itself is a valuable contribution to the solution of the general tasks confronting Marxist philosophy. If there is to be fruitful international collaboration among Marxist philosophers they must concentrate first and foremost on solving the practical problems in their own countries. In this respect, too, the work of the Soviet philosophers is an example to Marxist scholars in other countries.

B. VESZI, A. WIRTH,
J. SZIGETI, P. SANDOR

Preaching Neo-Colonialism

THE aim of the book *Africa and the West** whose author, Arnold Rivkin, is Director of the African Economic and Political Development Project at the Center for International Studies of The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is to grapple with the problem of how the "free world" can maintain, and even extend, its domination over the continent of Africa in face of the rapid advance of the liberation struggle and the resolve of many newly independent States to develop their own national economy.

The book is a kind of reference material on neo-colonialism, filled with the author's views on how more rationally to reorganize the system of colonial plunder.

Rivkin advises the colonial powers to forego their rivalry and act together in Africa. At the same time they should make room for, and raise no obstacles to, the U.S. penetration of the continent.

What emerges clearly from this book is that the author, far from being concerned with economic development in the new African States, is extremely anxious to ensure that the imperialist countries have even greater opportunities for exploiting the resources and peoples of Africa.

It is argued that economic advance in Africa is only possible by keeping and strengthening its links with the United States and the "free world." A glorified picture is presented of the economic "aid" which the United States has already given to underdeveloped countries, though it is admitted that only a minute share of this has been extended to the African continent.

Bilateral "aid" (direct loans, grants and investments from "free world" countries) is still the main channel for extending "aid" to the underdeveloped countries. Of the total sum of \$12,912 million advanced through bilateral and multilateral channels in the two years 1960 and 1961 no less than \$8,498 million (or 66 per cent) was advanced by the United States. However, these sums are not as generous as they seem. In April 1962 the State Department presented a report to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to convince them of the great benefits for the United States. It pointed out that: "U.S. assistance commitments in the fiscal year 1946 through the fiscal year 1961 have totalled \$90,500 million, and about 75 per cent has been spent or will be spent in the United States. It is estimated that between '80 and 85 per cent in the fiscal year 1962 will be spent in the United States. For the fiscal year 1963

*Arnold Rivkin, *Africa and the West. Elements of Free-World Policy*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1962, 241 pp.

we expect the percentage will be near the upper end of this range."

No wonder the magazine *U.S. News & World Report* commented: "The true story of foreign aid is that it has become a built-in subsidy for the American economy."

This reveals the essence of the new methods of imperialism to maintain and extend its domination. Since the Third All-African Peoples' Conference in Cairo in March 1961, when "neo-colonialism" was the subject of the main resolution, this term is understood very well by millions of Africans.

Another aspect of the strategy of neo-colonialism is the increasing effort of the separate imperialist powers to *join together* to achieve neo-colonialism, with the USA determined to have the leading role in the future amalgamation.

Rivkin describes the benefits and the advantages of the multilateral colonial plunder in these words: "It is likely that it would be easier and more palatable for a formerly dependent territory to accept assistance from its former colonial overseer in the context of multilateral aid arrangements instead of on a bilateral basis. . . . New African states and their leaders—likely to be sensitive to any charge, no matter how groundless, of changing one colonial master for another—would more readily request and accept aid from the United States in a multilateral setting."

In order to push through his neo-colonialist design, the author suggests that an Organization for African Economic Cooperation and Development should be set up to act in close contact with NATO and the Common Market. But, says Rivkin, "if the allusion to NATO should be distasteful to some of the African leaders," it could be dropped. The best solution, in his view, would be for an African leader to advance the proposal for Rivkin's NATO-Africa. But in the event of the Africans being so slow-witted as to keep silent even after reading Rivkin, the West should encourage "an African initiative of this type through traditional diplomatic channels." The author pins his hopes on close ties with the leading circles of the African states.

Should the Africans be too "suspicious" about the imperialist aid, Rivkin recommends that it be carried out through dummies like Israel. A glorified picture is presented of the extent to which Israel is now "assisting" the new African states. True, the author explains that Israel has "many things in common with the underdeveloped countries," including limited natural resources, short supplies of capital, fundamental social problems, etc.

If this is so, how is it possible for Israel to extend this assistance to Africa? The truth is that it is not Israel. Israel is used as a channel by the United States and West Germany to disguise the real source. The United States has been doing this for years, and West Germany is now following suit.

Rivkin would like to see the scale of the operation extended: "West Germany or the United States, for example, might extend special Deutsche mark or dollar credits to Israel, to be repaid by deposits in a special account in Israel earmarked to finance additional Israeli assistance to African countries." Quite brazenly the author states: "The Israeli model may well prove to be a sort of economic 'third force' — an alternative differing from the Western pattern, but certainly far more compatible with free world interests than any Communist model."

This lets the cat out of the bag. For in reality Israel is one of the instruments of neo-colonialist strategy in Africa. This was clearly recognized at the Third All-African Peoples' Conference, when Israel was linked with the United States, Federal Germany, Britain, Belgium, Holland, South Africa and France as "the main perpetrators of neo-colonialism."

The author complains that Dr. Nkrumah's advocacy of a "jet-propelled" rate of economic growth in Ghana is influenced by the "forced pace" of development in the socialist countries which puts African leaders "under a compulsion to show tangible results within a single generation," and to "consider private ownership of the means of production a dangerous relic of the colonial past." Israel is presented as an alternative to this dangerous path!

For Rivkin the "villains of the piece" in Africa are Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, and the United Arab Republic, which are most strongly opposed to domination by Western Europe. It is therefore not surprising that he favors the "Brazzaville bloc" comprised of some of the ex-French territories, as against the five states which form the core of the "Casablanca bloc."

Africa and the West is a striking revelation of United States imperialist aims in Africa. Beneath all its pretended concern to assist African economic development is expressed the clear aim to extend imperialist domination, to keep Africa as an agrarian appendage of imperialism, and to step up the exploitation and robbery of the African peoples.

Imperialism's biggest nightmare is that the independent African states will learn too much from the rapid economic development of the

socialist countries. It fears the extension of socialist economic aid.

Rivkin warns the African countries that "once committed to authoritarian techniques of planning, underdeveloped countries would find it hard to cut loose from Communist planning concepts, technology, trade and aid."

The purpose of the book is to hold back the

growing African trend towards closer cooperation with the socialist countries and the "terrible threat" this holds out for imperialism.

For the ordinary African, and a growing number of African leaders, this is not a frightening prospect, but a new opportunity to speed the end of colonialism in all its forms—economic as well as political.

Idris COX

Communications and Comment

The Heroism of Julius Fucik

DEAR EDITORS,

I would be obliged to you if you would publish this letter.

It was with interest that I read Comrade Hao Tsi's article on the subject of life and death, published in the *Jeminjihpao* of December 15, 1962. The article begins with the reflection that revolutionaries, working-class fighters of the distant and recent past have with their own blood inscribed many pages on this subject, that their exploits will be treasured for generations, and that today, at a time of revolution not all are genuine revolutionaries and fearless fighters. These are the conclusions reached by Comrade Hao Tsi after having read Julius Fucik's *Report from the Gallows*.

I am the widow of Julius Fucik. All the years we were together I worked along with him in the Communist Party for a better life for our people. For this reason I would like to comment on some of the thoughts expressed by Comrade Hao Tsi.

"Some people," we read in the article, "have somewhat strange views on the subject of life and death. They believe that sacrificing one's life is to be avoided in all circumstances. that a life on bended knees is preferable to dying. The enemy hits them on the right cheek and they hasten to offer the left. . . . To save their own lives they think nothing of relinquishing the principles and ideals of the working class. . . ."

True, I have met such people. I met them at the time I was working in the Czech and Slovak Workers' Trade Union Center in capitalist Czechoslovakia. Until 1929 the top posts in the Center were held by men who professed to champion the working-class cause. But when the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie launched its offensive against the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, these people who at the time were members of the Party, aban-

doned the principles and ideals of the working class. They appropriated the workers' money, the Trade Union House that had been built with workers' money and settled down to a quiet life in the ranks of Social Democracy. The Communist Party was hounded at the time and faced the threat of being outlawed. Unemployed workers who demonstrated for work and bread were shot down. Party activists who voiced the demands of the unemployed and fought for the legal existence of the Party were thrown into prison.

The Communist Party, naturally, could not afford to have all its functionaries arrested. Many of them were therefore instructed to go underground; others were sent to the Soviet Union, among them Julius Fucik. The same thing happened, as we know from the history of the international revolutionary movement, with the German and Chinese comrades and with representatives of other countries.

The Party acted in this way not because it wanted to keep the comrades out of the struggle or to give them a quiet life. It sent them to the USSR to study, to prepare themselves for the struggles ahead. Besides Julius Fucik, there were the Sinek brothers, Oto and Viktor, Jan Zika and Jan Cerny, to give but a few names mentioned in *Report from the Gallows*. But their number included many other comrades who, like Julius Fucik, gave their lives during the Hitler occupation.

The policy of the bourgeoisie brought the Czech and Slovak peoples to Munich, to the rape of the country, to the fascist occupation of the Czech lands. Hitler, as we know from Nazi documents, had decided after winning the war to banish the Czechoslovaks to the Arctic wastes, and to turn those of them who survived into slaves.

During the occupation the SS officer who guarded the group of Czech political prisoners

of whom I was one, used to boast that Hitler had promised him and his fellow officers after the "victorious end of the war" estates in the Ukraine where Ukrainian helots would slave for the Nazi supermen.

The very existence of the Czech and Slovak peoples hung in the balance during the occupation, and the Communists, along with tens of thousands of other Czechoslovak revolutionaries, fought a life and death struggle against the fascist enemy. Julius Fucik and I knew many of these comrades personally. The news of the death of the first comrades in fascist concentration camps was a terrible blow to us. We knew how they had revelled in life, how they rejoiced in everything — a strike won by the miners, the publication of a new and really good journal, or a walk on a fine sunny day.

When the Hitler fascists, with the backing of international militarists and the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, made their Munich deal, the Czechoslovak Communists, Julius Fucik among them, were ready to sacrifice their lives to save the freedom and independence of the Czech and Slovak peoples. But even if all the country's Communists had sacrificed their lives at the time they could not have saved the independence of Czechoslovakia.

Does it follow from this that the Communists betrayed their principles by saving their lives? Of course not! Was theirs the philosophy of cowards and traitors? Of course not! They were not reckless romanticists who sacrificed their lives when there was absolutely no need for it. The Communists fought against Hitler and their struggle has brought the Czech and Slovak people its fruits. Our freedom was won not only by the Soviet Army, by Czech and Slovak volunteers abroad at the time of the occupation; it was won also by the revolutionary fighters on occupied territory, by the Czech and Slovak partisans in the mountains, by the workers in the munitions plants who sabotaged fascist orders and obstructed the transport of arms.

These were people who loved life dearly. That is precisely why, in response to the call of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, they battled for the future of our two peoples, sometimes at the price of their own lives. How they loved life! This is evident from the many letters written by the comrades shortly before they were beheaded by the fascist executioners.

You get an idea of this in *Report from the Gallows*: "And so few people live in the sun. It will, yes, it will shine, and people will live in its rays. It is glorious to know this. And yet you would so like to know something

infinitely less important: will it shine—also for us? . . . Oh, Dad, but I would so like once to see the sun rise!"

In his testament in this book, which has been translated into 82 languages, Julius wrote: "Oh people, can you imagine how we should live if we were to find each other again after all this suffering, if we were to find each other again in a free life, beautiful in its freedom and creativeness, when that day dawns for which we have longed and striven and for which we are now going to die. Oh indeed, even dead we shall still live somewhere in a little bit of your great happiness because we have put our lives into it. And this gives us joy in spite of the sadness of parting."

But death, even the most heroic, was not the purport and aim of our struggle. Its ultimate aim was life, a free and better life. That is why every Communist regarded it as his duty to safeguard the life of his comrades in the action group, even at the price of his own life. How different from the "philosophy" of the petty-bourgeois adventurists who betrayed their associates, their maxim being "if I must die then let all the others die with me."

We Czechoslovaks are not big numerically. We are counted in millions, not hundreds of millions. But the deeds of our people are inscribed in big letters in the annals of history. After Munich, when our country was literally dismembered, Julius wrote: "Not every people would have been able to take the heavy blows our people took without being deeply shaken morally. . . . But they have not lost their courage and hopes of the morrow, and in these times of stress these are qualities worthy of respect. And the fact that they are characteristic of the Czechs does not imply a particular talent on our part or that we are in any way superior to others. That is not at all my point. The Czechs are displaying these qualities because theirs is a distinctive history; they are displaying these qualities because of their history which nobody is likely to envy but which in the present situation is particularly valuable."

In 1938 Munich was still possible. It was the beginning of a world war which took a toll of 50 million lives. This figure may not appear large to countries with large populations. But to us, to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, it is nearly four times the population of our country.

That is why I was very much surprised at the comment in the Chinese press on the Caribbean conflict, and especially the allegation about a "second Munich."

I happened to be in Karlovy Vary when the

United States provoked this conflict. Taking the cure in this famous health resort at the time were also Russians, Germans, French, Italians, and people of many other nationalities. We were all deeply concerned over the fate of faraway Cuba with its seven and a half million people who are so dear to us. We realized that not only the future of the Republic of Cuba, but also the future of the world was in jeopardy, for the threat of a thermonuclear war loomed large. We realized that the imperialists, desperately bent on maintaining their domination, were prepared to go to all lengths, even to the point of nuclear war. We also realized that the Soviet Union could not stand aside in the event of an attack by the USA. We felt the murderous breath of a nuclear war. It was no longer a question of the death of individuals or even nations. It was a question of a threat to all mankind. Entire nations would have been wiped out, nothing would have remained of the priceless monuments of culture created down the centuries by craftsmen and artists.

And at this dreadful moment, a moment of incredible danger, the voice of the Soviet Union rang out. It was not the voice of the nuclear weapon, the voice of death. It was a call for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, a voice guaranteeing the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cuba. It was not a cry of humiliation, a plea for mercy, a whimper of fear. This voice, the most humane of voices, rang out loud and clear when the world was on the brink of a disaster. That, at any rate, was how we and our foreign friends assessed it. That is how the people of Czechoslovakia and of other countries assessed it. That is how it was assessed by all to whom life is dear, who treasure their children, their native towns and villages, the monuments of culture and the freedom of peoples.

A child can set fire to a house with a match. A madman can destroy a town by fire. Society teaches the child and binds the hands of the madman. We have no right to reassure ourselves with the thought that it is only one house, or only one town, and that we still have many houses and many towns. The imperialist adventurers with their nuclear weapons are the menace. We know that they are capable of using this weapon and of gloating over its effects, even at the cost of destroying their own people. That is why we are not sitting back with arms folded. That is why we call on all sincere people throughout the world to bind the hands of the imperialist madmen. Our joint efforts have produced the world peace movement. The idea of peace is uniting the working people of all countries,

creating in this way an organized force capable of averting war.

The voice of the Soviet Union which rang out at that moment of tension was the voice of sanity, the voice of humanity, and this has won for it the eternal gratitude of people everywhere.

The reactionary press in the West, trying to cloak the ugly face of militarism, is defaming the Soviet Union. But here in Czechoslovakia our people are deeply grateful to the Soviet Union for its humane action. It averted war, it chose life instead of death for hundreds of millions. Only a country with a truly humane social system, only a socialist country can act this way.

We in Czechoslovakia firmly believe in the peaceful coexistence of the two social systems, in peaceful economic competition between them. We hold that war is not needed for socialism to triumph in the world. We are confident that the socialist camp will be able to repel any imperialist attack. We are not relaxing our vigilance. But we know that our most powerful weapon is the force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which is winning us increasing numbers of friends and supporters also in the capitalist world.

We know that today when socialism has triumphed on the vast territory of two continents—from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean—the imperialists can no longer hope to defeat the socialist camp by force of arms, can no longer hope to gain anything in a military conflict. We know that the disintegration of colonialism is sapping the strength of the imperialists. We know that our firm unity and the progress of the socialist economy are swelling the ranks of the peace forces.

Hence our firm belief that peaceful coexistence is possible, that it is least of all a concession, that it enables socialism to advance. To doubt this, that is, virtually to believe in the inevitability of a nuclear war, is tantamount to having no confidence in one's own forces, to doubting the strength of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the possibility and need to surpass capitalism in economic progress. In short, it is tantamount to maintaining that the only course open to mankind is destruction and death.

But we are proving to the whole world that communism spells not death and destruction but man's radiant future. This is the underlying idea of Julius Fucik's testament, the heroism of his life which gave no quarter to cowardice and suicidal despair, the reverse side of fear and unbelief.

Prague, January, 1963

Gusta FUCIKOVA

The Demands of the Peasants of Cyprus

CYPRUS is a backward agrarian country. The greater part of its population of 580,000 lives in the rural areas. And although agriculture is the chief occupation, it accounts for only 22 per cent of the gross national product. The extreme backwardness of agriculture can be seen also from the fact that the average annual income per farmer is only £68 as compared with £145 among the population as a whole.

The reasons for this backwardness and low standard of living should be sought in the 82 years of British colonial rule. During their occupation, the colonialists did nothing to solve the land problem. Just the reverse. By their reactionary policy they further aggravated the crisis in agriculture.

Problem No. 1 — the Land Problem

Land is the problem of problems agitating the Cypriot peasant today. Out of 3,500,000 donums (1 donum=0.134 hectares) of land suitable for cultivation, 520,000 belong to non-working elements (big landowners, the church, monasteries and Turkish mosques); 720,000 donums are government land which is leased to peasants; 99 sq. miles of fertile land have been confiscated by the British army and turned into airfields, training grounds, etc. The end result is that more than half the farms are only 40 donums each, barely enough to sustain the peasant.

Irrigation is another problem; only 160,000 donums of land are regularly irrigated and another 440,000 from time to time. It has been estimated that the construction of dams alone would provide water for another 160,000 donums and would double the yield of the irrigated area. Right now many citrus-fruit orchards are suffering from a shortage of water.

Another problem is that of markets and satisfactory prices. The absence of a government scheme to promote agriculture, its high cost and the inadequate measures to find markets are primarily responsible for the difficulties encountered in selling the produce.

The anti-peasant policy of the previous colonial government, the low prices paid for agricultural produce, the absence of government support and, finally, the frequent droughts have combined to ruin many farmers. There is hardly a peasant family that is not burdened with debt. According to the latest data the total debt is in excess of £15,000,000, that is, equal to the gross annual income from agriculture. The average debt per peasant family is £260. The credit cooperatives are unable

to meet their members' requirements and the latter have no choice but to borrow from money-lenders at very high interest. The need for credits on normal terms is all too obvious.

We have here mentioned only some of the vital problems that are awaiting their solution.

The AKEL's Program

Considering the role of agriculture in the national economy and the present state of affairs in agricultural production the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) has advanced, as one of the most important demands in its program, the development of agriculture and raising the peasants' standard of living. To this end it has proposed the following measures:

- — the transfer of the land held by the landowners, the church, monasteries and government to the landless peasants and peasants with small plots;
- — irrigation and amelioration work on a wide scale;
- — the solution of the problem of peasants' debts and credits;
- — scientific and technical assistance to peasants;
- — the development of horticulture and cattle-breeding, and combining crop raising with cattle-breeding;
- — a steady market for agricultural produce and fixed prices;
- — the development of the fishing industry and poultry breeding;
- — an improved social-insurance system;
- — the solution of the numerous municipal problems (electrification, road building, telephone communications, etc.).

Realization of these proposals would further the development of agriculture, ensure bigger incomes from it and in general would make for an upswing in the national economy. To cite a few facts in corroboration:

a) The poor peasants pay £1,500,000 annually in rent for the 520,000 donums of land leased from the big landowners and from the church. This land, and government land (since it does not belong to the producer), should be distributed among the peasants. As a result 15,000 landless peasants and peasants with small plots, that is, one-fourth of all the peasant families, would receive land. Coupled with state aid, this would greatly increase agricultural production and improve the conditions of the peasants.

b) Extension of irrigated land by another 160,000 donums would give agriculture an addi-

tional income of £6,000,000 a year.

c) A solution of the debts and credits problem would release the peasants from their financial burden. The conversion of debts into long-term loans, and credits at low rates of interest would enable the peasants to increase production.

d) Securing a market for agricultural produce and satisfactory selling prices, to cover cost of production, would considerably promote the development of agriculture. The principal items (tobacco, potatoes, dairy produce, tomatoes and watermelons) are often sold at prices far below the expenditure incurred by the producer. Dairy farmers, for example, lose £45,000 annually on milk alone (3,000,000 litres a year). Fixed state prices, combined with measures to develop production and reduce costs would make it possible to eliminate one of the basic causes of the disastrous situation in agriculture.

e) The establishment of a special fund to compensate for losses caused by natural calamities (droughts, plant diseases, etc.) would be a boon to the peasants. In the Morfu area, for example, the peasants of 12 villages lost over £180,000 because of the failure of the potato crop. They received no compensation, however.

Experience Bears Out the Validity of Our Proposals

More than three years have passed since the Ninth Congress of the AKEL which discussed and endorsed the party's program. Time has fully borne out the validity of its proposals in the sphere of agriculture. These proposals have become the peasants' watchword in their daily struggle. At congresses, meetings and in resolutions thousands of peasants have demanded distribution of the land, irrigation work, guaranteed prices, solution of the debt problem, an insurance fund, solution of the many municipal problems, etc. It should be noted also that a considerable part of the AKEL's proposals were incorporated in the five-year plan published in 1961 by President Makarios. In a number of cases Patriotic Front* deputies in the House of Representatives supported proposals that accorded with AKEL's proposals.

AKEL did not limit itself to putting forward a program. It also showed how to give effect to it. The program states that a "solution of the agrarian problem and a higher standard of living will depend on the cooperation of the peasant organizations and on the unity of the peasant masses generally." In pursuance

of this the peasants of differing political views, Greeks and Turks alike, are joining the struggle for land, satisfactory prices, irrigation works and for a solution to the many other problems agitating the peasantry.

Significant in this respect was the joint meeting of Greek and Turkish peasants of seven villages in the Paphos area held in 1961, under the watchword: "Land to the Tiller!" The meeting was addressed by the leaders of the various peasant organizations.

To cite another example. In January 1962, the inhabitants of the village of Gizu (Famagusta area) demanded, under the leadership of the peasant organizations, that British army maneuvers in the area be discontinued.

Never before in the history of Cyprus have the peasants taken such vigorous joint action as in the past few years. The proposals to improve their economic conditions, and the correct tactics of the AKEL, have united the peasant forces as never before. This unity is a major factor in building a united front of all progressive forces; it plays an important part in the anti-imperialist struggle being waged by the people of Cyprus.

The joint action has compelled the government to tackle a number of problems of vital importance to the peasant. Thus:

- in 1961 parliament passed a law prohibiting the compulsory sale of movable and immovable peasant property;
- in 1962 a law was passed on the adjustment of peasant debts, converting part of these debts into long-term credits at low interest;
- the price of barley was raised;
- the state viniculture purchasing plan was amended and storage space was expanded;
- a number of irrigation works were installed;
- in 1963 it is planned to introduce a scheme to insure agricultural produce;
- finally, £1,000,000 has been earmarked for peasant credits.

These measures, which in part meet the demands of the peasantry, are the outcome of united peasant action and the interest taken by the government and the House of Representatives in the matter.

Cyprus and the European Common Market

The anti-imperialist struggle of the Cypriots, developing in conditions of the unity of the working class and alliance of the working class and peasant masses, has seriously alarmed the imperialists. The embassies of the United States, West Germany and Britain have stepped up their activities. They blatantly interfere in the internal affairs of various

*Patriotic Front — the ruling political party which is headed by Makarios, president of the Republic. — Ed.

organizations and carry on undisguised propaganda, with a view to whipping up anti-communism and splitting the people. By playing on the national feelings of Greeks and Turks they are fanning antagonism between the two communities, creating tension among them and causing strife.

Another danger threatening Cyprus at present is the plan to draw it into the European Common Market. Needless to say, realization of this plan would be a blow to the government's neutralist policy, let alone Cypriot foreign trade. It would add to existing difficulties in finding a market for our agricultural produce which, because of high cost price, will not be able to compete with the member-countries of the ECM. In short, the entry of

Cyprus into the Common Market would have disastrous consequences for the country's economy, and specifically for the peasant population.

In the face of the intrigues of the imperialists, their attempts to meddle in the internal affairs of the country, and the danger of economic enslavement, the people are intensifying their struggle, and in this struggle to satisfy the demands of the people there is taking shape, step by step, a united, anti-imperialist front of all patriots—workers, peasants, intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie—whose watchword is: consolidation of Cypriot independence, abolition of military bases, for peace and democracy.

Chambis MICHAELIDIS

Trade Union Opposition in Spain

IN the second half of November, the Spanish Trade Union Opposition, an underground body, held a conference to discuss the general conditions of the Spanish workers in the light of recent government measures. The delegates, who had come from the chief industrial centers and agricultural areas, issued an appeal to all working people of Spain.

The strike of April and May last year, as well as the actions that followed in Bilbao, Asturias, Barcelona and elsewhere, states the appeal, have confirmed the impotence and bankruptcy of the "vertical" trade unions and exposed the demagoguery of Franco's social legislation.

In order to safeguard their interests, the delegates stressed, the workers had no choice but to defy the law.

The lessons to be drawn from the strikes are:

1. In addition to utilizing all legal opportunities the workers must learn to make use also of illegal forms of struggle (e.g., strikes and demonstrations, which are banned in Spain), and to use them more resolutely.

2. The Trade Union Opposition committees should be set up in every enterprise. Since the workers have no real class unions, these committees will enable them to coordinate and organize the fight for their demands.

The government's decision to restore the system of shop stewards* (abolished in 1960) is an attempt to "revitalize" the "vertical" unions and check the strike wave. The delegates believe that, on the one hand, this is a maneuver aimed at retarding working-class

action, and hindering the formation of workers' committees, and on the other, it is a concession forced from the government by the militancy of the workers.

How should this concession be utilized? In the first place the view that it is a maneuver and nothing else should be emphatically rejected. Genuine shop stewards, loyal to the interests of the workers who elected them, would be valuable to the committees of the Trade Union Opposition. The delegates, therefore, urged all the workers to prepare at once so that the "election of shop stewards, if and when they take place, should be animated by the same striving for freedom that was manifested during the historic actions of April and May."

The Trade Union Opposition drafted a program which was ratified and amended by the workers during the April-May strikes.

Here is a brief outline of the program:

1. The minimum daily wage of unskilled workers for an eight-hour day should be not less than 140, 150 or 160 pesetas, depending on the branch of industry. This minimum should be the basis for calculating rates according to skills.

For a sliding wage scale.

2. Observance of legislation recently adopted by the government establishing the principle of equal pay for equal work for women.

Equal working conditions for women.

Granting young workers skill ratings conforming to the work actually performed.

3. Abolition of the "contract" system and of temporary employment; workers on temporary

*At enterprises employing more than 200 workers.

jobs should be accorded the rights of permanent workers.

4. Proportional increase (according to new wage scale) of family allowances, sick benefits, old age pensions and other forms of welfare.

5. Revision of the present output quotas which, owing to the low technological level and obsolete machinery, increase the physical strain on the worker.

6. Payment of unemployment benefits up to 75 per cent of the minimum wage.

7. Trade union rights.

8. The right to strike.

9. Amnesty for all social and political prisoners.

10. Removal of the foreign military bases from Spain.

Some of the points of this program, for which the Trade Union Opposition will fight by all possible means, legal or illegal, have been clarified and amended. Take, for example, the point concerning trade union rights. "At present," states the program, "when there is no independent, democratic class trade union center, the Opposition holds that the workers should take vigorous action in the enterprises and in the existing unions to ensure that in each factory their representatives should work together and jointly reach agreement; that they should be responsible to the workers, and that the workers should be able to recall their shop stewards if the latter fail to fulfil the demands placed upon them; that regular meetings of workers be held at which the shop stewards report on their work, and hear the proposals and instructions of their electors; that local meetings of workers as well as provincial and national congresses be held regularly; that the social *juntas* should be elected by direct vote; that the provincial or national *junta* be elected at congresses; that all trade union posts created in accordance with the so-called "political line" be abolished; that employers who already have their class organization should not be admitted to trade unions and that the latter should consist exclusively of workers; that a trade union of agricultural laborers be formed; that trade union membership should not be compulsory.

Clarifying its position with regard to the possible restoration of the system of shop stewards and the holding of elections for this purpose, the delegates declared:

— — their opposition to the appointment of shop stewards by trade union leaders, since this would mean that the stewards would be

not the spokesmen of the workers, but the agents of the leaders;

— — opposition to holding elections without preliminary notice, since this would take the workers unawares and would be tantamount to appointing shop stewards from above;

— — the election of shop stewards to take place with the observance of minimum guarantees.

The delegates warned the workers against harboring any illusions with regard to the guarantees the dictatorship might give. The workers must fight for these guarantees and defend them. These guarantees are as follows:

a) the elections must be held simultaneously throughout the country; two months should be allowed for preparation, so that the workers might have time to choose their candidates and campaign for them;

b) all candidates nominated by the workers must be included in the lists without any discrimination on political, ideological or religious grounds or because of previous prosecution for political or social reasons;

c) the candidates and electors must be guaranteed against police violence;

d) election commissions should be headed by workers, and no one should interfere with their work; the results of the voting should be published;

e) no shop steward or member of a factory committee should under any circumstances be persecuted by the police or employers for his activities on behalf of the workers.

The delegates expressed the conviction that these demands can be won and consolidated only by the action of the workers.

Should the elections be held without guarantees, the workers will register their protest by boycotting the elections en masse.

In any event the delegates "urge all workers in all enterprises to form workers' committees where these do not yet exist, and to strengthen those already functioning; they also call upon the workers to adopt the program and proposals set forth in this document, supplementing it with their own proposals and demands."

The delegates expressed their readiness to enter into negotiations with any group pursuing similar aims, including trade union officials who realize that it is no longer possible to continue following the government line and the "vertical" trade unions, and who honestly want to help effect the changes proposed by the Trade Union Opposition.

The delegates appeal to all democrats, groups and trends to support the lawful demands of the working class and all working people of Spain.

S.G.

APROPOS THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DISARMAMENT

In connection with the article "A Triumph for the Idea of Peace" published in our issue No. 9 for 1962, the editors have received a letter from Professor Pistolese (Italy) asking for a fuller exposition of his views on the economic consequences of disarmament. We reproduce here a passage from his speech at the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace:

"Disarmament is essential and basic to economic development in those countries where

imperialist exploitation has so far retarded this development. True, in the capitalist countries disarmament may be accompanied by some economic complications, though these can be held in check and overcome. Many people, myself included, believe that even if difficulties should arise in some countries, say in the United States, the more they are seen in the widest context and not in the context of the national economy the sooner and more easily can they be surmounted."

Pages from History

Path of Struggle of the German Working Class

THE Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany states that "with the triumph of socialist production relations in the German Democratic Republic the all-out building of socialism can now proceed apace. . . . In the specific conditions of the existence of two German states with different social systems every step requires to be carefully studied and tested. Of the utmost importance here for us—and of no less importance for the working people of West Germany—is the knowledge and experience acquired in the course of our work."

At its 16th Plenary Meeting, the Central Committee of the Party in its document "Outline History of the German Working-Class Movement" summed up the experience of the German working-class struggle. This document has been submitted to the Party members, the working class of the two Germanys, the citizens of the GDR and all progressives in West Germany.

The "Outline," for the first time, gives in condensed form a complete and scientifically exact account, based on historical materialism, of the development of the German working-class movement from its inception in the 'thirties of the last century to our day. It is designed as the basis for a 3-volume history of the German working class which is being written, by decision of the C.C. of the Party, by a group of historians, headed by Walter Ulbricht.

The "Outline" sees the history of the German working-class movement as an integral part of the history of the international working-class movement and divides it into five main periods.

The first period covers the time from the rise of the working-class movement in Germany, and the appearance of *The Communist Manifesto*, to the founding of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany in 1869 and the Paris Commune. In this period the foremost people in the German working class, led by Marx and Engels, dissociated themselves from the bourgeoisie politically, ideologically and organizationally; scientific socialism gained ground with the advanced section of the German working class.

The second period covers the time from the Paris Commune, and the shift of the center of the international working-class movement to Germany, to the onset of imperialism. In this period the working class mustered its forces under the banner of revolutionary Social Democracy. Led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, German Social Democracy developed into a mass revolutionary Marxist Party. But it had not as yet drawn the necessary conclusions from the experience of the Paris Commune. The question of the conquest of power in Germany by the working class remained an open one.

The third period begins with the entry of the world into the epoch of imperialism and the shift of the center of the revolutionary working-class movement to Russia where Leninism originated and where the first revolutionary party of the proletariat, the party of the new type, came into being. This period ends with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. By now German Social Democracy had degenerated into a reformist labor party which

was split by a deep crisis at the outbreak of the First World War; only its Left wing, headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, carried on the militant revolutionary traditions of the German working-class movement.

But their revolutionary services notwithstanding, the Lefts failed to appreciate the complex of new problems posed by the era of imperialism. They lagged behind Lenin and the Bolsheviks in their interpretation of the basic issues of the class struggle. Hence the absence in Germany at the time of the First World War of a Party capable of measuring up to the new conditions and of which the German working class stood in need if it was to fulfil its historical mission.

The fourth period begins with the October Revolution in Russia which ushered in the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the Revolution of November 1918 in Germany and the founding of the Communist Party of Germany, and ends with the victory over Hitler and Germany's liberation from fascism. In this period the CPG, in bitter class battles and in combat with Right-wing opportunism and Left sectarianism, developed into a Marxist-Leninist Party which took firm root in the working class and the working people generally, and worked out the strategy and tactics of the conquest of power by the working class in keeping with the conditions of the struggle in Germany.

The fifth period covers the period beginning with the defeat of Hitler fascism in the Second World War and the people's democratic revolution in East Germany up to our day. In this period the German working class won its biggest victories. In the eastern part of Germany it overcame the split in its ranks and formed a united Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class—the Socialist Unity Party. This enabled it, being at the head of the masses, to clear the way for the socialist revolution also in Germany, to found the German Democratic Republic as a state of workers and peasants and put into practice the ideals of the founders of scientific socialism. Thus the German working class, in alliance with the progressive forces united in the National Front of Democratic Germany, realized in East Germany the ideals for which it had battled over the past hundred years.

One of the cardinal problems examined in the "Outline" is that of elaborating the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary party of the German working class. The "Outline" is the first attempt to give a picture of the interrelation of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics and how these were worked out in keeping

with the conditions in Germany, to show this process in all its complexity and with all its weaknesses. From Lenin's teaching on revolution the "Outline" draws the important conclusion from the defeat suffered by the German working class in the November 1918 revolution that, in view of the conditions of the class struggle in Germany at the time, it was impossible for the working class immediately to take power into its hands. The experience of Germany showed that in a highly-developed imperialist country where state-monopoly capitalism was in the saddle and reformists still wielded strong influence on the proletariat, it was necessary first to smash the power of the monopolists, militarists and junkers and to establish an anti-imperialist, democratic system before the working class could win political power. The forms and stages of this struggle are determined by the historical conditions and the balance of class forces at the particular moment. Historical development in Germany has shown that this is the course to take to overcome the split in the working class, to form an alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, to muster all the democratic forces under the leadership of the working class and thus secure the necessary balance of class forces to carry through the socialist revolution.

By the time of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Brussels Conference of the CPG in 1935, the Party had elaborated a policy that corresponded to the conditions in the country. This struggle produced Leninist leaders like Ernst Thaelmann, for many years Chairman of the Party, Wilhelm Pieck, Fritz Heckert, Walter Ulbricht, Wilhelm Florin and Ernst Schneller.

Drawing on historical facts, the "Outline" comprehensively shows the role played by the Party and its Central Committee in the resistance movement against the Hitler regime. Party organizations and individual Communists, acting as the core of the anti-fascist resistance movement, from the very first day of the Hitler dictatorship fought side by side with Social Democrats, trade unionists, bourgeois democrats, anti-fascist intellectuals and people of various Christian trends. At a time when the bourgeois parties capitulated and many of their representatives deserted to fascism, when the Right-wing Social Democrats called on their members not to take action and themselves collaborated with a section of the big bourgeoisie and the Wehrmacht, the Communist Party alone gave guidance to the anti-fascist resistance.

The Party leadership drew the necessary

lessons from the defeat of the German working class in the struggle to halt the rise of Hitler fascism. In the light of its experience and the assessment made by Georgi Dimitrov at the Leipzig trial, and taking into account the lessons of the anti-fascist struggle in France, Austria and Spain, the Party leadership, having overcome the sectarian and opportunist views in its ranks, worked out the policy of the anti-fascist united front and a people's front. This policy, which corresponded to the political line of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, was adopted by the Brussels Conference of the CPG in the autumn of 1935. The Berne Conference of the Party in January 1939, carrying forward this line, elaborated the Party's program for a German democratic republic, which it circulated among all Germans fighting Hitler.

The anti-fascist resistance reached its peak in the grim years of the Second World War. Anti-fascists drawn from all walks of life fought in the resistance groups, under the leadership of the Communists, against Hitler and for a democratic and peace-loving Germany.

After the debacle on the banks of the Volga, the Central Committee of the Party succeeded in uniting in the Soviet Union all German patriots—from Communist Reichstag deputies to high-ranking Wehrmacht officers—on a common political platform in the Free German National Committee to save Germany from national disaster. The National Committee guided the struggle of the resistance groups in Germany and the German anti-fascists in other countries.

The National Committee was essentially a German anti-Hitler coalition. Tens of thousands of German anti-fascists courageously fought under its slogans for the aims which had united the peoples of the world in the struggle against Hitler fascism. After 1945 the ideas of the National Committee were embodied in the measures taken in East Germany to unite all democratic and patriotic forces under the leadership of the working-class for a democratic reconstruction.

With the defeat of Hitler by the armies of the anti-Hitler coalition, a turning point began in the history of Germany. An important factor in this was the unification of the working class on a revolutionary basis. From its very inception the Communist Party of Germany had worked to this end. The experience of the struggle against imperialism and militarism during the Weimar Republic, and, primarily, the experience of struggle against Hitler, brought home to the Social Democratic workers that peace, democracy and social progress could be won only if the workers were united.

This experience helped finally to overcome also the sectarianism in the Communist Party, which ran counter to its basic political line on the question of a united front and a revolutionary united party of the working class.

The statement of the Central Committee of the CPG of June 11, 1945, deriving from the decisions of the Brussels and Berne conferences, indicated the pattern for an anti-fascist democratic system in the whole of Germany and was the cornerstone for united action between the Communist and Social Democratic parties. Out of the joint struggle to remove from public office all active Nazis, war criminals, the monopolists and junkers, there arose the united revolutionary party of the working class of East Germany. With the formation of the Socialist Unity Party the split in the working class was healed for the first time in a highly-developed capitalist country in the heart of Europe, and unity achieved on the revolutionary basis of Marxism-Leninism.

In working to unite the working-class movement the Communist Party correctly applied the Leninist principles of struggle for unity in the concrete conditions of Germany. When fascism was still in power the Central Committee was guided by the principle that a united revolutionary party of the German working class would be established not by bringing Social Democrats into the Communist Party but by fusing the Communist and Social Democratic organizations. And that is how the workers' parties in East Germany were fused in April 1946.

The experience of the CPG coupled with the urge for unity on the part of the working class made it possible to resolve fairly quickly the basic questions concerning the policy and theory of the working-class movement in the struggle against reformist views and sectarian tendencies.

In the process of clarifying ideological positions Leninism became firmly established in the Unity Party, clarity was introduced on the question of the attitude to the Soviet Union and the leading role of the CPSU, and a proper assessment was made of the role of U.S. imperialism, so inimical to humanity. At the same time the opportunist theory concerning the "special German way to socialism" was smashed. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany soon developed into a politically and ideologically solid party which firmly adheres to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The "Outline" shows this process of unification and the development of the SUPG into a party of the new type.

It deals at length with the transition to the

socialist revolution and the fight for socialist relations of production. Under the leadership of the Central Committee, headed by comrades Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht and Otto Grotewohl, the Party was able correctly to apply Lenin's teaching on socialist revolution in the conditions of the class struggle in Germany.

In the fight to remove the monopoly magnates, fascists and militarists from leading positions in East Germany the Party succeeded in drawing the majority of the working class and working peasantry, as well as other sections of the working people, into the struggle to establish the political power of the working class. The change in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism and the weakening of world imperialism made it possible after the victory of the anti-fascist and democratic order in East Germany to begin building socialism in the German Democratic Republic.

Socialist construction has made the GDR a bulwark of the peace-loving forces in the two German states, a model of the future united, peace-loving democratic and socialist German state.

By laying the foundations of socialism in the German Democratic Republic the Socialist Unity Party has demonstrated that in a highly-industrialized country in the heart of Europe national, political, economic and cultural problems can be resolved only by socialism. The enemies of communism have maintained that this Marxist-Leninist postulate is valid only for economically backward states or agrarian

countries, but the German Democratic Republic has proved that the general laws governing the replacement of capitalist society by socialist society and the building of socialism operate also in a highly industrialized country.

The experience of the GDR has enriched the general teaching on socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Party has elaborated forms and methods of socialist construction which hold out the prospect of a happy and peaceful life in socialist society for all sections of the population. To a considerable degree this has furthered the moral and political unity of this society.

The "Outline" dwells in detail on the experience of socialist construction in the German Democratic Republic, thus equipping the working class of West Germany as well with conclusions pertinent to settling the national question of the whole of Germany.

In his report to the 16th Plenary Meeting of the C.C., Walter Ulbricht, summarizing the importance of the "Outline," said: "It tells the German people about the lessons of the revolutionary struggle of the German and international working class. It will help to achieve the unity of the working class of all Germany, and it will further the victory of socialism in the German Democratic Republic and the victory of the working class and all the peace-loving forces in West Germany over imperialism."

Lothar BERTHOLD

Ernst DIEHL

Against the Persecution of Democrats

THE PEOPLE WILL WIN!

(Letter from Salvador)

SAVAGE reprisals against the democratic and revolutionary movement have been intensified of late in Salvador. Last September over 150 people were arrested, including several members of the Communist Party; 35 leaders of various democratic organizations were exiled to Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Guatemala.

In October dozens of young factory workers, students, professional people and peasants were arrested. The police raided many houses. Large numbers were tried on the basis of an anti-communist law envisaging severe punishment. Several of the arrested men told the judge they were unable to withstand the interrogation because they had been tortured and denied food for days on end.

In November, after a protest meeting against

the U.S. blockade of Cuba, the police arrested Raul Gastellanos Figueroa, a journalist and one of the most popular leaders of the April and May Revolutionary Party, an organization which enjoys considerable support among the population. A number of officials of the General Confederation of Labor were also arrested, among them Antonio Velasco Iglesias, secretary of this organization. The young poet Tirso Canales and a worker named Lazaro Garcia were arrested and tried on a charge of conducting revolutionary propaganda. The democratic organizations fear for the lives of these patriots, since the police refuse to disclose their whereabouts. It is generally known that the prisoners are being subjected to torture.

The authorities have begun trials of many other democrats. The workers Virgilio Marro-

quin and Miguel Angel Martinez, for example, were charged with having committed an act of terror, although in fact the incident was a provocation on the part of the police. Ernesto Ramirez Guatemala and the workers Oscar Valladares and Jorge Alberto Garcia were charged with causing damage to the U.S. Embassy. In reality, however, the Embassy was damaged during the demonstration on July 1, 1962, when thousands of workers protested against the North American interference in the internal affairs of our country. The students Roberto Ayala, Lisandro Cortez and others were charged with being in possession of "propaganda materials of a subversive nature." Felix Rodolfo Villatoro was arrested at the end of October immediately upon return from the Pan-American Student Games in Havana. A visit to revolutionary Cuba was enough to throw the young man behind bars.

Recently the military dictatorship amended the Criminal Code to provide more severe punishment for democrats, especially Communists. Even U.S. news agencies qualified this act as the creation of the sharpest anti-communist juridical instrument ever seen in Salvador where numerous attempts to destroy our Party and any progressive movement have been made for the last 30 years. Beginning with 1932 when some 30,000 workers, peasants and students were executed simply because they demanded land, freedom and a people's government, the dictators in Salvador have based their policy on a frenzied anti-communism. This policy has now been intensified and the persecutions are acquiring a fascist tinge.

Why does the dictatorship resort to these means?

The explanation is that the U.S. imperialists are in mortal fear of the Cuban revolution, and are conscious of their impotence to halt the revolutionary process in Latin America. They dream of the day when they will be able to strangle the Cuban revolution. But the courage of the Cubans, the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, plus the solidarity of the Latin American and other peoples render their efforts fruitless.

Aided by the government, the imperialists want to turn our country into a colony. Administrative functions are being transferred to organizations controlled from Washington. In this sense the Alliance for Progress is an effective instrument of colonization.

On the other hand, the internal situation is characterized by a profound crisis. Antagonisms between the ruling classes are growing. Sections of the oligarchy are in opposition to the government. Various camarillas are com-

peting for power in the army. The economic crisis has reached a level comparable only to that of 1929-1933. Foreign currency reserves are at a low ebb. Beginning with 1958 gross industrial output has been dwindling, although the annual population growth has been at the rate of 100,000. Because of the fall in prices for coffee, the country is losing at a rate of 100 million colons (\$40 million) a year. Never before have the working class and peasantry been so affected by unemployment, misery and hunger.

At the same time the democratic and revolutionary movement has entered upon a period of advance characterized by growing militancy and organization of workers, peasants, students and the small bourgeoisie. The link between these sections is stronger, and frequently they join in the struggle against the tyranny. Action after action is being fought against the regime, for civil liberties, for the release of the political prisoners, for world peace and in defense of the Cuban revolution. Practically every week thousands of people attend meetings despite the coercive measures of the authorities.

The militant actions of the patriotic organizations have won them the sympathy of the people. These organizations include the United Front of Revolutionary Action, the Youth Vanguard, the May and April Revolutionary Party, the General Confederation of Labor, revolutionary students' organizations and the Women's League. These are all representative democratic organizations whose members hold different political views and religious convictions but are united in their resolve to effect sweeping changes in their country.

We Communists are proud to be in the front ranks together with the other democratic forces in the struggle against the tyranny, for national liberation and the urgent demands of the people. Working in the difficult conditions of illegality, our Party takes the main blow of the enemies of the people, directing the popular actions, and strengthening its contact with the masses; it is drawing closer to them. Fulfilling its vanguard role it draws its strength from the people. It is stronger despite the blows inflicted upon it by imperialism and its stooges.

We are confident, therefore, that in the not-too-distant future our Party will become the genuine leader of the people in the democratic revolution of national liberation. The pro-imperialist and reactionary military regime is intensifying its attacks against the people in an attempt to check the growth of the movement, and is renewing its attempts to destroy

the Communists. But in this struggle victory will belong to our Party and our people who enjoy the support and solidarity of the world Communist movement and the peoples of the

world. There is no force capable of preventing the people of Salvador from smashing their chains!

Jose CASTILLO

LAWLESSNESS IN INDIA

(Arrests of Communists Continue)

THE wholesale arrests of Communists and trade union workers which began throughout India with the declaration of the national emergency are continuing. This crude violation of civil liberties lends a grim irony to the statement made last September in London by Prime Minister Nehru. If one compares India with other areas of Asia, he said, one can see that the tendency in the latter is to restrict democracy whereas in India democracy is being encouraged and extended in every way.

Exactly how many have been arrested and imprisoned without trial under the Defense of India Rules is not known, but it is estimated that nearly 900 Communists and active trade unionists are now behind prison bars.

The first to be seized by the police are the leading Party workers—secretaries of district organizations, members of the provincial and district executives and other functionaries. Among the arrested are 11 members of the Central Executive Committee and nearly 50 members of the National Council.

In Tripura, West Bengal, Gujarat, Punjab, Kerala, Mysore, Manipur and Madras almost the entire leadership of the provincial Party organizations has been thrown into prison, including 10 Members of Parliament and about 40 Members of the State Legislatures. Twelve out of the 13 Communist members of the Territorial Council in Tripura, among them two Communist M.P.'s for this territory, have been arrested. This leaves the lower house of Parliament without a single member for Tripura.

In a number of states the arrested Communists are held in outrageous conditions, often in solitary confinement.

The reactionary forces have thus mounted a large-scale offensive against the entire Communist Party, the principal opposition party in India, in order to crush it and thereby behead the Indian working class.

Many active trade unionists and union officials have been arrested. The Indian National Trade Union Congress, connected with the Congress Party, is taking advantage of the situation to undermine and, if possible, to destroy the influence of the All-Indian Trade

Union Congress among the working class. Many of the arrests have been made at the instigation of the INTUC leaders and the employers.

In a number of working-class areas an open reign of terror has been let loose by the police, INTUC people and professional hooligans organized into bands by the Right-wing Swatantra, Jan Sangh and Praja Socialist parties. The families of arrested workers are being evicted from their homes and driven out of residential neighborhoods.

In the light of all this how can anyone say that in India "democracy is being encouraged and extended in every way"? What price the Prime Minister's New Year's assurances that the national emergency would not affect democratic institutions?

The reactionaries are out to make use of the chauvinistic witch-hunt atmosphere to press on with their frenzied slander campaign against the Communist Party, to make short work of the progressive and democratic forces, deal a shattering blow at the vanguard of the Indian working class and impel the country from neutrality and non-alignment to involvement in military blocs.

The offensive against the Communist Party has thrown the doors open to the reactionaries, enabling them not only to whip up anti-Communist hysteria but to conduct extensive propaganda against the policy of non-alignment and other progressive aspects of Indian government policy. Already at the time when Parliament was debating the National Emergency resolution the parties of the Right moved an amendment calling for rejection of the policy of non-alignment. Today too they are stubbornly clinging to their bankrupt "no negotiations" slogan, claiming that negotiations would mean "renunciation of national defense," and conducting a high pressure campaign against the policy of neutrality and for the "closest contact" with the U.S. and British imperialists.

Not to see the long-range aims pursued by the reactionaries in their drive against the Communists and active trade unionists and to ignore the danger contained in the offensive against democratic institutions would mean closing one's eye to the obvious.

Prime Minister Nehru has tried to shift the

responsibility for the repressive measures taken against patriots to the state governments, conceding that not all the arrests were warranted and promising that the cases of a number of the arrested Communists would be re-examined. To throw dust in the eyes of the public this has been done in some cases, and a few of the detained have even been released. But at the same time scores of other Communists have been sent to jail. As for the arrests being ordered by the state governments, this is true enough. But, in the final analysis, whose responsibility is it to check the lawlessness and violation of democratic rights and freedoms? The Prime Minister has also said he regrets that there have been anti-Communist demonstrations and attempts to set fire to Party premises. But have any of the instigators and perpetrators of the lawlessness and violence been punished?

The Prime Minister claims that communism is associated with violence, that it seeks change not through persuasion or peaceful democratic action but through coercion and destruction. Yet it is precisely in Mr. Nehru's own country that violence and repressions with no justification in law have been resorted to.

The Defense of India Rules, under which the Communists are persecuted, stipulate that a person can be arrested if he is likely to act in a manner prejudicial to the national defense. So far the government has not been able to prove a single case in which a member of the Communist Party obstructed the defense efforts. Indeed, Mr. Nehru himself declared at a meeting in Delhi that the Communists are 100 per cent patriots.

The government, then, is disregarding its own law and has left it to the police and the local executive officers to decide as to who should be arrested, to throw any citizen

in prison irrespective of whether he is really guilty or is likely to do any harm to defense efforts.

The trumped-up charges levelled against the Communists become even more transparent when it is remembered that the Communist M.P.s were arrested after they had paid—like the M.P.s from the other parties—a month's salary each to the National Defense Fund. Similarly, members of the legislative assemblies of a number of states were arrested after they had made their contribution to the Defense Fund.

Besides the arrests, the reactionaries are using other methods to demoralize and disrupt the Communist Party. In a number of states the Right-wing press is printing series of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet articles. These papers readily open their columns to people like General Kariappa, who viciously attacks the Communists, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and advocates close alliance with the U.S. and British imperialists.

In West Bengal, Kerala and other states the local sections of the Congress Party are using every opportunity to undermine the prestige of the Communist Party and to recapture lost ground. In West Bengal, for example, the most popular Communist members of the State Assembly were arrested.

Indian public opinion is indignant at the illegal arrests of Communists and active trade unionists. The protest against the arrest of patriots is being joined by progressives in many other countries.

The Communist Party of India has appealed to world opinion to support the Indian democratic movement, to condemn the wholesale arrests and to demand that the government release all Communists and trade unionists without delay.

J. SHARIF

PROGRESSIVES HOUNDED

(Letter from Cairo)

MORE than 10 years have passed since the revolution in Egypt but the people are still denied democratic rights and freedoms. Communists and other democrats urging the implementation of the ideals of freedom, democracy and socialism proclaimed by the President himself are hounded and thrown in prison.

President Nasser claims that "repressions are incompatible with our conditions and our influence in the Arab world" and that "ideas must be fought with ideas." But how can progressives engage in the battle of ideas when

they are thrown behind the bars for doing so? Indeed, it is for their opinions that Egyptian Communists, other democrats and trade union leaders have been languishing in prisons and concentration camps for years.

The names of Mohamed Osman, Mustafa Shawki, Dr. Farid Hadad, Saad el-Turky, Mohamed Khalil, Said Amin and other Communists who have perished in prisons in the UAR are known to the whole world. Their only "crime" was loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and courageous struggle to win democratic rights and genuine freedom for their people.

And how many Syrian democrats died in

prison during the years of the Egyptian-Syrian union!

Brutal treatment of political prisoners and lack of elementary medical care are the rule in the prisons and concentration camps in the UAR. The conditions can be judged from the case of Abdel Fatah, writer and patriot, who lost the sight of one eye in prison. An urgent operation was needed to save the other eye. The authorities, however, denied him medical care. His fellow prisoners went on a hunger strike demanding that he be transferred to a hospital, but it took more than a year before the authorities gave in to the pressure exerted both by the prisoners and by public organizations. But shortly before the operation was to be performed the police sent Fatah back to prison although by this time he was practically blind.

In May 1962 a reign of torture set in in the prisons on the pretext that a "secret radio transmitter" had been discovered. Many suffered severe injuries during the beatings. All reading matter was taken away. Democrats in the UAR are treated worse than criminals.

This violation of the elementary principles of humanity cannot but evoke the protest of all those concerned about the future of the UAR.

To complete the ugly picture it should be said that the reactionaries continue to occupy key posts in the press, in the universities and even in the machinery of state, and that the authorities allow the printing and circulation of publications serving the interests of the imperialists, including pro-fascist publications. A case in point is Ahmad Khlik's book on "political economy" published by the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance. This effusion claims that fascism "answers the new requirements of historical and social development," that it "has nothing to do with violence" and that it "does not allow the employers to exploit the workers," and so on and so forth.

The people of Egypt want genuine freedom and democracy. Dr. Foad Morsy, a prominent Communist, was right when he declared during his trial in August 1959: "National liberation cannot be completed without democracy. . . . Nor can it be achieved by warring against the people."

All true patriots are continuing their struggle for genuine freedom and democracy. They know that in this struggle they enjoy the sympathy and support of progressive public opinion the world over.

Ali AHMAD

THE FACTS ACCUSE

THE torture and maiming of Julian Grimau Garcia, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, once again raised the curtain on the savage treatment meted out to patriots in Spain. Grimau suffered such grave injuries that for two weeks he hovered between life and death in the Yeserias prison hospital where he had to undergo operations to reset broken limbs. In spite of his critical condition, the political police continued interrogating him even in hospital.

On November 14, 1962, Fraga Iribarne, Franco's Minister of Information, replying to questions put by lawyers, doctors and foreign representatives concerning the fate of Grimau, declared that he was "under the protection" of the No. 8 District Court, that his case would be heard by an ordinary court, and there was no torture in Spanish prisons.

But patriots are still being tortured in Spain. Only a month after the Minister's assurances, a Madrid despatch reported that the political police had arrested on December 16 *Pedro Ardiaca*, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the Executive Committee of the United Socialist Party of

Catalonia, together with a number of other patriots. They were subjected to fearful torture in the police dungeons in Barcelona.

A few of the more outrageous instances of the terror will give an idea of the fascist savagery.

Vicente Cascarra Cremalles was beaten with rubber truncheons in the Barcelona police prefecture; one of the police agents twisted his arms out of their sockets; he was tortured for three and a half hours at a time for several days.

Manuel Dominguez Acuna, arrested together with other anti-Franco fighters in Seville, was bastinadoed and all but asphyxiated with a rubber mask.

Emilio Rodriguez Martin, arrested together with Acuna, was tied to a bench and his legs crushed until the skin broke. This was repeated several times.

Abelardo Jimeno and a group of his comrades were tortured at the Samaniego Street police station in Valencia. Their feet and fingers were beaten until they lost consciousness. They were then placed on a table and beaten again while their legs and arms were forced violently

against the table edge.

Luis Lobato Espronceda was forced to swallow bits of paper in the course of eleven days. The police used sticks to stuff the paper down his throat.

Simon Sanchez Montero, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, was tortured for seven and a half hours after his arrest. This was repeated several days running.

Juan Garzon Garzon lost his mind during torture by the Barcelona police. Garzon tried to commit suicide by cutting the veins on his wrists.

Miguel Nunez, member of the Executive Committee of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, was held for one month at police headquarters before being transferred to prison. The police strung him up by one hand to a hot water pipe so that his toes barely touched the chair below. During interrogation the chair was pulled away and the victim beaten until he lost consciousness. This went on for two days.

Jose Ramon Recalde, arrested on charges of taking part in political activity, was beaten at the police station. His legs were lacerated and he was forced to kneel on a heap of stones.

Describing the way Recalde was tortured, Miguel Castells, a former officer in the Judge

Advocate General's Department of the Franco army, wrote in a letter to the secretary of the international Pax Christi organization that "other prisoners were subjected to equally brutal torture."

That torture of prisoners is the common practice is testified by 353 clergymen from Basconia. "Suspicion is enough," they declared in a letter to their bishops, "for the police or Civil Guards to flog, torture or maim with impunity any citizen. . . ."

A group of political prisoners wrote to the International Association of Democratic Lawyers in May 1962: "Most of the arrested when they are brought to prison bear the traces of cruel torture. We all know what this torture is like: kneeling for hours on end on peas, rice or gravel, splinters driven under fingernails, beatings with bludgeons, whips or wet towels, being trampled on or hung up by one's hair or hands, mutilation of sex organs, or any other method of torture which Franco's police agents see fit to use."

The Spanish patriots call upon progressive people everywhere to intensify the protest campaign against the inquisitors and to build the solidarity movement in support of the struggle waged by the people of Spain against the Franco regime.

J. PEREZ

FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZANZIBAR!

(Letter from Zanzibar)

ZANZIBAR, known as the jewel of the Indian Ocean, is situated only a few miles from the coast of Tanganyika. Together with the adjoining small island of Pemba, Zanzibar produces the bulk of the world's supply of cloves. Officially the two islands, or the Spice Islands as they are called, are governed by a Sultan, but since 1890 when they became a British protectorate, they have been ruled by the Colonial Office through a Resident of Her Majesty.

The capitalist press has always been lyrical about this island paradise where peace and tranquillity reign. Of late, however, a somewhat different name—The Cuba of East Africa—has crept into the news columns. The powerful wind of freedom, blowing down flag after flag of the colonial powers from flag-staffs in African capitals, has removed the Union Jack from Kilimanjaro, the highest peak of Africa, and has reached the cloves plantation of the British crown.

In the general election held in June 1961 the Zanzibar Nationalist Party won a majority and

formed a coalition government with the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party. The Nationalist Party, which was founded in 1955, derives from a widely representative alliance of society insisting on unconditional independence. Together with this Party, the banner of independence is held aloft by the Trade Union Federation and by the Youth's Own Union.

Alarmed at the growth of the national-liberation movement, the colonialists incited in June 1961 race riots between Arab Zanzibari and Negro Zanzibari, which resulted in 72 deaths, 465 injured and over 7,000 rendered homeless.

These events, which became known as the Bloody Thursday, opened the eyes of thousands, and impelled the people onto the pathway of still more resolute struggle against colonialism.

Emergency regulations were enforced. British troops were brought in from Kenya. The colonialists struck hard at the Nationalist Party. Its General Secretary, Abdul Rahman Mohamed Babu, was arrested and charged with sedition. The charge was based on an article

by Babu in which he had denounced the role played by the colonialists in the June events

The local court which tried Babu imposed only a nominal fine for the article. At this stage the Resident "discovered" a "plot" to burn down the British Information Services in Zanzibar. The frame-up was hatched with the utmost care, in the fashion of Hitler's Reichstag fire. Most conveniently, a basket of bombs bearing the label "Made in Cuba" was "found" by the police, who then issued the order for the arrest of Babu and other leaders of the Nationalist Party, the youth movement and the Federation of Trade Unions.

The arrests evoked widespread indignation. The women's section of the Nationalist Party petitioned the Resident demanding the release of the patriots. Posters reading "Long Live Babu!" appeared everywhere.

Faced with a powerful protest movement, the colonialists changed their tactics. The police raided the premises of the *Zanzibar News* where they found another Babu article, this time denouncing the police lawlessness. Since the article had been written by Babu before

his arrest he was again charged with sedition.

The case came before the Supreme Court under the chairmanship of a British Judge. During the trial the police guarded the court which was besieged by the populace shouting "Release Babu!"; "Repeal the Emergency Law!" On June 16, 1962, Babu was sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment.

The brutal repressions have not silenced the Zanzibar patriots. The Nationalist Party and the Federation of Trade Unions are campaigning to unite all the people. Their call is for independence, for better conditions and the release of the freedom fighters.

In a statement in the magazine *Zanzibar Awakening*, the Nationalist Party has voiced belief that the progressive forces will win. "Our struggle in Zanzibar is not an isolated one," the statement says. "It is the accumulation of the struggles of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. . . . Through our united actions, we shall help the people towards their emancipation from capitalism, the system that brings misery to millions."

Mustafa FARHAD

Among Our Contributors

HENRY WINSTON: a leading spokesman of the Communist Party, USA.

LUIGI LONGO: Deputy General Secretary, Italian Communist Party.

BRUCE MAGNUSON: member of the National Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada.

SANDOR GASPAR: member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

JACOB GORENDER: Brazilian sociologist and journalist.

ANDRE BARJONET: French economist.

MODEST RUBINSTEIN: Soviet economist.

ALEXANDER SOBOLEV: Soviet journalist and philosopher.

ADAM WIRTH, BELA VESZI, JOSEF SZIGETI, PAL SANDOR: Hungarian philosophers.

GUSTA FUCIKOVA: widow of Julius Fucik, Czechoslovakia's national hero.

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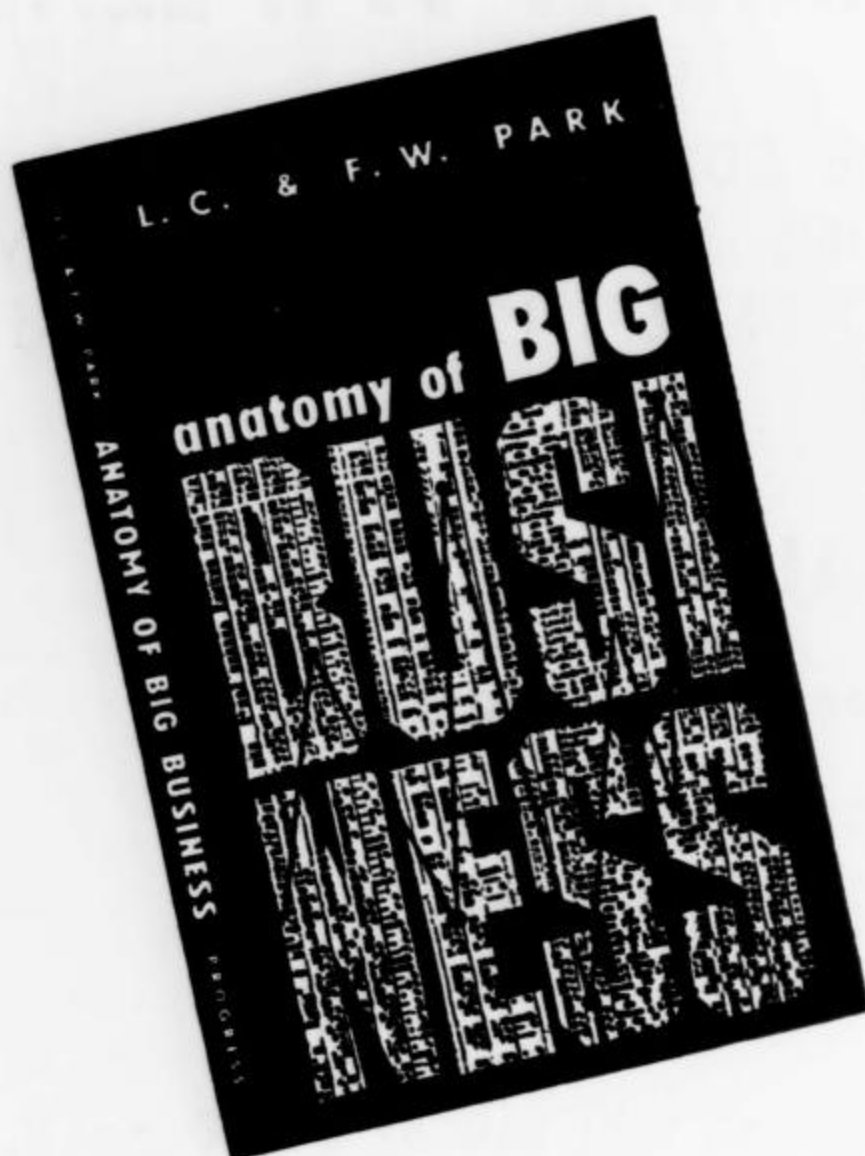
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