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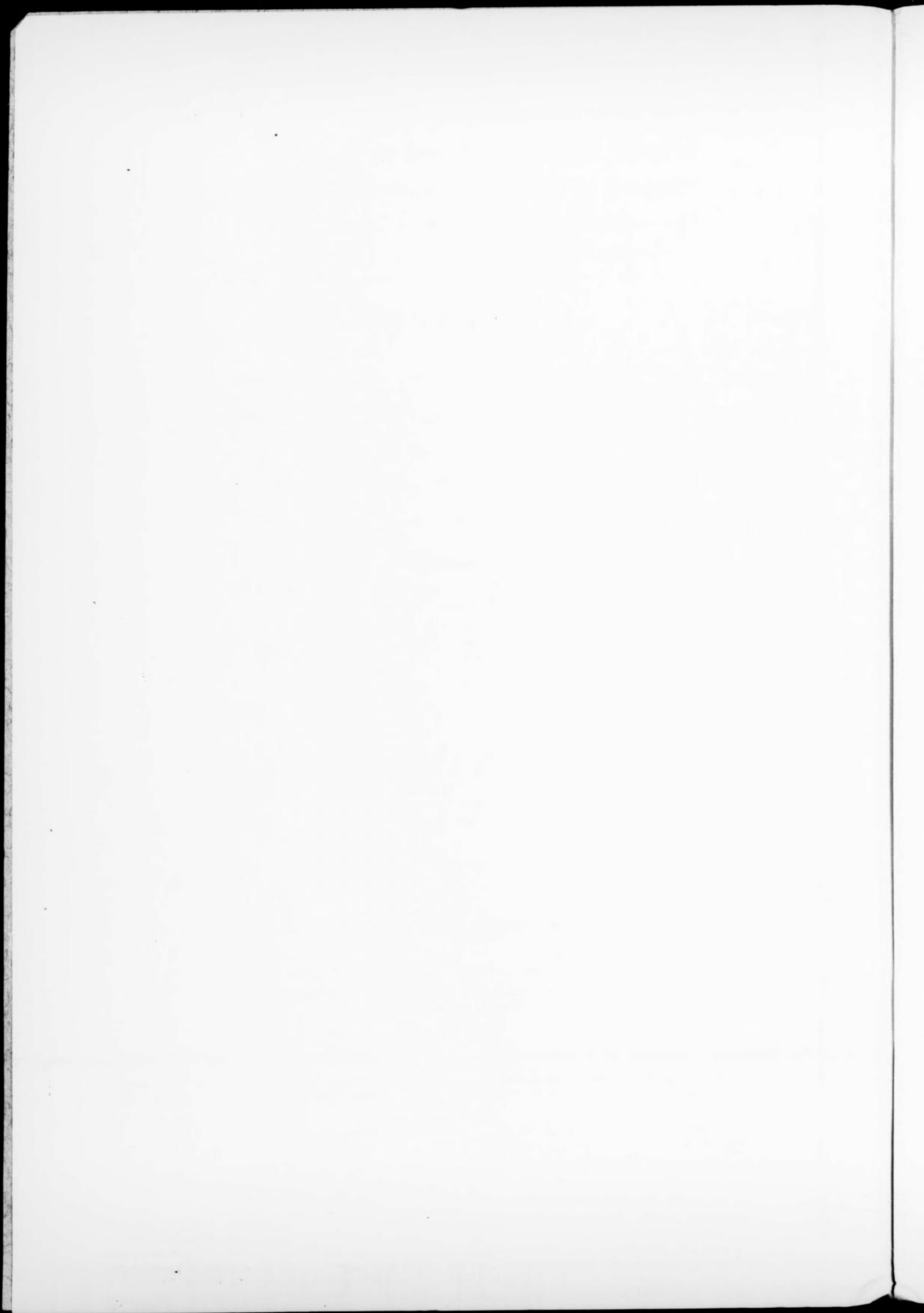
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The Forces of Socialism and the Situation in Europe

Marian Naszkowski

EUROPE is more than a geographical concept. It is also a political concept, which has changed again and again in the course of history. Throughout the 19th and the 20th centuries the European continent has been one of those sensitive areas where the clash of interests between rival capitalist powers has been most violent. As a result, Europe has time and again been laid waste by wars, each more cruel and devastating than its predecessor. Its soil has been the battlefield on which warring states have settled accounts with one another.

With the advent of new weapons of immense destructive power, this densely-populated continent with its cultural and industrial centers is threatened with disastrous consequences in the event of another armed conflict. Hence the question of the balance of the forces of war and peace in Europe today is of the most urgent and timely significance.

* * *

The Great October Revolution in Russia radically altered the balance of forces that had existed in Europe for centuries. Not only did it wrest tsarist Russia from the imperialist orbit and create the first socialist state in the world, it touched off a revolutionary wave that spread to all nations, it strengthened the positions of the working class in a number of European countries and, last but not least, brought independence to many oppressed countries.

The rise of the Soviet socialist state put an end to the "alliance of the gendarmes" of Europe which was formed in the early years of the 19th century. The forces of war and aggression were destroyed over a substantial area of Europe. Russia, freed from imperialist fetters, established new principles of international relations which exerted a powerful influence on the policy of all the European countries.

The proletariat of Western Europe, brought into action by the October Revolution, supported the foreign policy of the socialist country. For the first time in European history the people actively intervened in the foreign policy of their governments. The Hands off Russia movement and its impact on inter-

national relations was of exceptional significance at this period.

These developments, understandably, caused consternation among the imperialist governments. In the eyes of the bourgeois ideologists the changes wrought by the October Revolution signified the "twilight of Europe," and the desire to destroy socialism and to turn back the wheel of history became dominant. This desire lay at the root of the infamous Munich policy which finally led to the Second World War.

The imperialist bourgeoisie plunged the world into another world war in the belief that socialism would be destroyed or at any rate seriously weakened. But their hopes were fated not to be realized. The war ended in the defeat of Nazi Germany, the most reactionary force of European and world imperialism, and in victory for the forces of socialism. The Soviet Union emerged from the war stronger politically and its prestige greatly enhanced. But that is not all. The defeat of fascism brought with it further changes in the political map of Europe. Poland, Czechoslovakia and a number of other European countries broke away from the capitalist system. The people of these countries, taking the lessons of history to heart, decided to build their lives upon a new foundation. Today there is no longer only one socialist country in Europe but a whole group of socialist states. Socialist states have emerged in Asia as well. The historic victory of the revolution in China, achieved under the leadership of her Communist Party, which is now observing its 40th anniversary, led to the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic. The peoples of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Korean People's Democratic Republic are successfully building a socialist society. The states united in the socialist world system have become a powerful motive force of history, exerting a growing influence on the course of international developments and the situation in Europe.

At the same time the positions of the working-class movement in Western Europe

have been strengthened, the Communist parties, tempered in underground struggle against the fascist invader, have grown stronger and more mature. The European Communists have won prestige as courageous fighters for national independence and deliverance from oppression.

All this has brought about a radical change in the European situation and the correlation of forces in this area. What are the basic elements of this change?

First. The socialist camp in Europe embraces countries with a total population of over 300 million (i.e., more than half the population of Europe), and a territory of 6.5 million square kilometers (approximately 60 per cent of the total area). The European socialist countries, a great economic force, produce about 400,000 million kwh of electric power a year, over 900 million tons of coal, nearly 150 million tons of oil, over 80 million tons of steel and 60 million tons of cement. In other words, they account for more than half of the total industrial output of Europe. Developing at a pace far more rapid than that of the West European countries, the socialist countries of Europe are steadily gaining an increasing preponderance of strength.

The entire might of the socialist countries is used solely in the interests of consolidating world peace and security. All their activities in the sphere of foreign policy are directed towards safeguarding European peace and averting war. This is likewise the aim and purpose of the Warsaw Pact, an alliance of the European socialist states with a single purpose—peace.

It can be said with every justification that the socialist countries of Europe, being the most powerful force on the continent, are the principal determining factor of European policy.

Second. The rise of a group of socialist states in Europe, and the abolition of capitalist relations in these states changed the whole system of inter-European relations. An important component of this system in the recent past was the existence of "danger zones" artificially maintained by the imperialist powers. On more than one occasion these "danger zones," most of which were in Eastern Europe, were the source of military and diplomatic conflicts. With the victory of socialism, the "danger zones" in this area ceased to exist. The new socialist relationships between the nations made it possible to regulate matters between the Eastern European countries peacefully and quickly and, by so doing, to

abolish the danger zones over a large part of the continent.

The relations between Poland and the German Democratic Republic, for example, have been settled once and for all. The new Polish-German frontier on the Oder-Neisse, justly called the "peace frontier," is recognized de facto by all countries with the exception of Federal Germany. Hence the Polish "frontier problem" no longer exists. The Balkans have ceased to be the "powder keg of Europe" thanks to the existence in that vital area of a number of socialist countries which jealously guard the cause of peace.

Third. The establishment of the German Democratic Republic, the first workers' and peasants' state in German history, was an event of historic significance, chiefly because militarist Germany had always been the main source of war danger in Europe. Today the base of German imperialism and its potential have diminished.

In the German Democratic Republic the foundations of a socialist system have been laid and the forces of war eradicated once and for all. Prussian Junkerdom, which had its stronghold in the eastern part of Germany and provided the soil on which militarism fed, is no more; with the implementation of agrarian reform its economic base was abolished.

The existence of the GDR, a peaceful state growing in strength, at once restrains the aggressive forces in the FGR, and stimulates the people of West Germany to fight for peace and for a democratic settlement of the German problem.

Fourth. The existence of a powerful group of socialist states in Europe has had a tangible effect also on the policy of a number of European capitalist countries. If countries like Finland and Austria were able to turn to neutrality after the war this was due to the existence of the socialist camp; its presence curbs the aggressive imperialist forces that are again seeking to extend their pernicious influence to the neutral countries.

At the same time the appearance of neutral states in central and northern Europe has introduced a new element into the European scene, limiting the field of activity for the forces of war.

Fifth. The existence of the powerful socialist camp has invigorated the anti-war forces in the capitalist countries of Europe. Conscious of the support of the socialist countries, the people in Western Europe are taking an increasingly firm stand in favor of turning their part of the continent into a peace zone.

It can be safely said that the popular movement for peace, acting in close concord with socialist diplomacy, is becoming a factor of growing significance in European policy.

Such are the basic changes introduced into the international situation by the advent in Europe of a powerful group of socialist countries.

In this new situation, any possibility of European imperialism reverting to the policy it pursued on the eve of the last world war is completely ruled out. Not a single European problem can be discussed or settled today without the participation of the Soviet Union. Nor can the wishes of the independent countries of Eastern Europe be ignored; they have ceased to be pawns in the hands of the bourgeoisie. There is now a real possibility of turning the war-torn continent of Europe into a zone of peaceful co-operation between nations.

* * *

The friendly co-operation between the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition which developed during the war against fascism opened up opportunities for building postwar relations between the European states on the basis of collective security and enduring peace. The United Nations Organization was created, and its Charter reflected the peoples' yearning for peace, disarmament and friendly relations between states. The victory of the anti-Hitler coalition and the advance of socialism in the Eastern European countries laid the groundwork for lasting peace in Europe.

The ruling circles in the imperialist countries, however, blinded by their narrow class outlook, were unable correctly to assess the new balance of forces in the postwar world. Refusing to recognize the irrevocable nature of the changes that had taken place in Europe, they clung to their traditional policy of anti-communism. The most striking expression of that policy was the establishment of the Atlantic bloc envisaged as the center of a new political organization in Europe, an organization whose chief purpose was to restore the old imperialist order throughout the European continent. And since the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries constitute the main obstacle to the attainment of this purpose, it is against them that this military pact is spear-headed.

The chief inspirer of NATO and the principal advocate of the restoration of imperialist positions in Europe and the rest of the world is the United States, the leading capitalist power. It was the United States that dictated

the foreign policy of the Atlantic bloc, aimed on the one hand at the destruction or at least the disintegration of the socialist camp and, on the other, at furthering American plans to establish U.S. world domination. In effect the United States laid claim to the role of "leading" European power which would shape the destiny of postwar Europe.

NATO from its very inception has pursued a "positions of strength" policy. The Atlantic strategists believed that by building up a powerful armed force and encircling the socialist camp with U.S. military bases they could intimidate the Soviet Union and extort far-reaching concessions from it all the way to the abolition of the socialist system and the restoration of capitalism. Based on a monstrous arms drive, this "policy of strength" has sharply aggravated tension in Europe and has engendered a situation fraught with the danger of war. Thus from the first days of its existence the Atlantic bloc has been a permanent threat to European peace.

For decades German imperialism had been the most aggressive, the most malevolent force of world imperialism, one which brought untold misfortune to Europe. The two world wars unleashed by German imperialism ravaged the continent. Experience has shown that unless German imperialism is eradicated and its aggressive predilections nipped in the bud, European peace cannot be assured. The ruling circles in the West, however, have ignored the lessons of history.

A policy aimed at restoring the European positions of imperialism is bound to lead to the revival of German militarism, the vanguard of the imperialist forces in Europe. The inclusion of West Germany in NATO in 1955 was the logical outcome of this course.

Active participation in the anti-Communist policy of the Western powers gave the rulers of Federal Germany the opportunity to set the stage for their imperialist expansion.

Adenauer and company are doing everything in their power to prevent the slightest let-up in NATO's policy of "cold war" and aggression. Bonn is anxious to involve the Western powers in its policy of revenge with regard to Poland, its hatred for the GDR, and its efforts to swallow it.

The Bonn government is an active member of the Atlantic coalition and of the plans for "European integration"—a convenient screen for the predatory aims of revived German imperialism. Under its cover, West Germany is re-entering the neighboring West European countries, neutralizing the resistance to Ger-

man expansion on the part of certain sections of the European bourgeoisie.

Bonn aims at making West Germany the most powerful country in Western Europe, both economically and militarily. It already has the biggest army in that part of Europe equipped with missiles and is clamoring for nuclear weapons and the right to use them. Anticipating the possibility of strong opposition on the part of some Western circles to arming the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons, the Adenauer government is seeking to achieve its ends by pushing plans to equip the Atlantic bloc with weapons of mass annihilation.

The Federal Republic is the only country in Europe which openly advances demands for territorial expansion and a change in existing frontiers. This, combined with the steady growth of its military and economic power, makes West Germany the principal factor of disquiet in Europe and the main source of possible armed conflicts.

* * *

The hopes of the Western imperialists to build up, through NATO, a decisive preponderance of forces vis-a-vis the socialist camp and to restore the old imperialist order in Europe have gone awry. The military and economic power of the socialist camp and its political weight on the world arena have grown to such an extent that any attempt at the present time to speak to the socialist states in the language of force is doomed from the start.

The Atlantic bloc was created under the catchwords "save" Europe, "European unity" and "Atlantic solidarity." In the light of the contradictions with which the entire fabric of NATO is rent today, the groundlessness of these slogans is obvious. At its very birth the Atlantic bloc bore, as everybody knows, the seeds of profound contradictions, and with time these contradictions, far from disappearing, have become magnified.

To begin with, the interests of the United States, which is seeking to use NATO as the instrument of its expansionist policy, clash with the interests of the European countries. It is symptomatic that the imperialist policy of the United States in Laos, its aggression against Cuba and its support of the Chiang Kai-shek regime on Taiwan have aroused censure rather than sympathy in the political and public circles of Western Europe. The idea of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for Washington has little appeal to Europe.

Inside NATO the interests of the colonial powers come into conflict with those who are reluctant to give direct support to the colonial policy of the imperialists. The colonial powers would like to use the Atlantic bloc (and have indeed done so on more than one occasion) to consolidate their positions in Asia and Africa, and to crush the national-liberation movements in those countries. However, the other members of the bloc are well aware that in these times any act of colonial aggression is bound to acquire the character of an international conflict and may well involve them in military gambles for the sake of the interests of a few colonial groupings.

There is mounting friction also between the policy-makers of NATO and the smaller member countries, who are essentially in an inferior position within the bloc. Even the Western press has on more than one occasion described the Atlantic coalition as an "oligarchy of the great powers." The tendency to increase the domination of the Big Three or Four in NATO is growing, and this cannot but affect the position of countries like Iceland, Denmark and Norway.

Most bitter, however, is the struggle between the NATO members for status and role in the bloc, a struggle to decide which country will be the United States' chief partner in the NATO leadership in Europe. If formerly this role unquestionably belonged to Britain, today West Germany is laying claim, not without grounds, to the "honor" of playing first European fiddle in the NATO orchestra. The role of German imperialism has grown to such an extent that it seeks to take an independent stand even with regard to the United States. London and Paris, however, have no intentions of relinquishing their positions in Western Europe without a struggle. Britain, France and Federal Germany have been making one political deal after another, each of which is directed against the third party: Paris-Bonn, London-Paris, Bonn-London . . . This game of "third man out" on the European continent has been going on for quite some time.

Thus, in the 12 years of its existence the Atlantic bloc has not succeeded in cementing capitalist Europe. This is understandable, inasmuch as the community of aggressive aims can never be a lasting foundation for unity. Moreover, the whole Atlantic policy is at present in a state of profound crisis which is shaking the foundations of the unstable alliance.

The struggle for political influence among the members of the Atlantic bloc is aggravated by the economic contradictions between the Western European countries, contradictions which are now more acute than ever. This was strikingly manifested during the exploring of ways and means of "economic integration" of Western Europe, which ended in the creation of two rival economic groups—the Common Market and the Free Trade Area.

The Common Market, as we know, is one of the main links in the "European integration" plans. The imperialists regarded it as an important weapon in the struggle against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. They envisaged it as the economic base of the Atlantic bloc which would unite the member countries on an economic foundation. At the same time, bourgeois propaganda held up the Common Market as a sign that capitalism was being "transformed" into a system of planned social production.

It would be wrong of course to deny that tendencies favoring the creation of economic associations between various states exist in the capitalist world. As a whole, however, the Common Market, like other forms of capitalist economic integration, is an attempt to solve the profound economic and political contradictions of imperialism on an expansionist basis, and to strengthen the position of one group of monopolies at the expense of others.

The fact that the capitalists have a common interest in anti-communism by no means removes the antagonisms both between individual capitalist groups and between the capitalist countries. On the contrary, the European experience of the past few years shows that attempts to create economic associations aimed at protecting the interests of certain capitalist groups tend to aggravate the contradictions and create new ones. The facts show that the stronger partner always seeks to utilize the integration for its own ends, to gain the advantage over the weaker partners. For example, the Common Market gives the countries belonging to it some economic advantages over non-member countries. It is a weapon in the competition between the group of six states and the other capitalist countries, primarily Britain. On the other hand, the Federal German and French monopolies, whose alliance forms the backbone of this economic association, occupy a privileged position in the Common Market.

The West German monopolies have contrived to use the Common Market to expand

their sphere of influence in Western Europe. Bonn's participation, apart from the other political and economic factors involved, ensures the West German monopoly bourgeoisie the decisive advantage over their competitors.

The high concentration of production and modern plant, the experience of the German trusts in the struggle for markets, and the relatively rapid rate of production growth—all this strengthens the position of the West German monopolies in the Common Market. Moreover, membership in this group enables West Germany to add substantially to her industrial potential and to compete successfully on the world market. Despite French resistance, West Germany has derived no small political and economic benefits from her participation in the Common Market.

The creation of the Common Market in the interests of Federal Germany and France (but primarily the former), and the use of this organization by Bonn to intensify its struggle for European domination, prompted Britain to set up a rival group of seven countries known as the European Free Trade Association. Alarmed at the prospect of being squeezed out of Western Europe, Britain is doing her best to prevent France and Federal Germany from consolidating their positions on the continent. The competition between the Six and the Seven has developed into a regular trade war in Western Europe. The "Atlantic solidarity" slogan has been pushed into the background by the jungle law of capitalism.

It is the working people, however, who suffer most from contradictions between the capitalist countries, for the monopolies seek to make the working class pay for the losses sustained in the competitive struggle which is waxing fiercer from day to day. And this in turn leads to a sharpening of the class struggle, to strike action and violent clashes like the recent general strike in Belgium.

Consequently, the plans for the "economic integration" of Europe have further aggravated the contradictions between the West European states. At the same time they have served to strengthen the economic and political positions of the aggressive German imperialism on the continent and are one of the factors that have brought it to the fore as the leading economic force in capitalist Europe.

* * *

The socialist camp adheres to a single general line of policy, namely, to work consistently for the peaceful coexistence and economic competition of the two socio-economic systems. It counters the imperialist

policy of the arms race and preparation for war with the policy of peace, security and international co-operation; it appeals to the peoples of Europe, as to the peoples of other countries on the globe, to take the highroad of peace, the highroad of friendly co-operation among all states, general and complete disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The socialist states have always opposed the division of Europe into hostile blocs. The creation of the aggressive Atlantic bloc and the negative attitude of its members to their proposals for a system of collective European security compelled the socialist countries to create their own organization to safeguard their security—the Warsaw Pact.

Having joined in the Warsaw Pact organization, the socialist countries repeatedly advanced proposals calculated to ease the tension in relations between the members of the two blocs; among other things they proposed that the two blocs sign a treaty of non-aggression, and that both the Warsaw and Atlantic Pact countries undertake to refrain from rendering assistance to any aggressor whatever alliance he may belong to. Our countries firmly believe that given certain conditions both the Warsaw and North Atlantic pacts could be abolished.

To achieve a fundamental improvement in the European situation at the present time it is essential above all to remove the danger of new aggression on the part of German imperialism. The initiative in the matter of a peaceful settlement of the German question has always come from the socialist countries and they still retain that initiative.

All the proposals and all the moves taken by the socialist states toward the solution of the German problem have as their aim the establishment of a peaceful and anti-imperialist Germany. No one can deny that two different German states exist today. One of them is imperialist and militarist in character, the other is taking the path of building socialism. The two cannot be mechanically united. Their reunion can only be the result of a gradual coming together of both states on a foundation that would make for the establishment of a genuinely democratic and peaceful united Germany.

The government of the Democratic Republic has made repeated proposals to Federal Germany that would facilitate the establishment of a united, peaceful Germany. In doing so it has been prompted by a profound sense of responsibility for the future of Germany, and by the desire to secure a durable peace

in Europe. But its proposals have invariably encountered the stubborn resistance of the Bonn government. The reason for this is that the aggressive revanchist policy pursued by the Bonn government is incompatible with the interests of reuniting Germany on a peaceful, democratic basis.

In their desire to ensure a stable peace in Europe, the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and the other socialist countries have offered to conclude a peace treaty with the two German states. This is the only way to halt the growth of aggressive German imperialism, the only way to establish peaceful co-operation between the German people and the other European nations, and to safeguard the vital interests of Germany herself.

A brief survey, if only of the principal clauses of the draft peace treaty, will suffice to bear this out. Designed to prevent the revival of militarist and revanchist forces, the draft provides for the withdrawal of both German states from military pacts and alliances. It forbids the production or stationing of nuclear weapons on German territory and contains undertakings by the two German states not to resort to force to achieve German unity. And lastly, the draft includes a proposal for the settlement of the Berlin problem by turning West Berlin into a demilitarized free city.

This is a realistic way of eliminating the threat of German aggression and, consequently, of consolidating peace in Europe. European security depends in great measure on the conclusion of a peace treaty and on normalizing the situation in West Berlin. The concrete proposals made by the socialist states provide a sound basis for solving these problems.

Of paramount importance for the security of Europe is the program of universal and complete disarmament advanced by the Soviet Union with the agreement of the socialist countries. Implementation of this program would be of immense significance for the future of the world. Man would at last be able to breathe freely, no longer harassed by the menace of devastating atomic war.

The countries of the socialist camp, including Poland, made simultaneous proposals calculated to achieve a partial solution of the question, to halt the further aggravation of the world situation, ease the tension and pave the way to universal disarmament. This is what Poland had in mind when she proposed an atom-free zone in Central Europe between the two military groupings. An

atom-free zone, embracing both German states, Poland and Czechoslovakia would above all prevent West Germany from being armed with nuclear weapons. Millions of people deeply concerned for the fate of Europe regard the initiative taken by the Polish government in this respect as a means of substantially reducing the danger of an atomic conflict in Europe. Realization of this plan would be an important step toward safeguarding European security inasmuch as it would make for a *detente* in an area which has long been the nerve center of Europe, the focal point of European conflicts.

The Polish initiative met with favorable response in political circles in Britain, Scandinavia and other countries. Many bourgeois spokesmen support the idea of an atom-free zone.

But the imperialist circles in the European states have rejected the peaceful initiative of the Polish government or have avoided discussing it. The chief opponent is the Bonn government which is bent on obtaining atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr as soon as possible. But despite the negative attitude of the Western governments the Polish proposal has considerable appeal in the West.

The proposals made by Władisław Gomułka at the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly were also aimed at halting the atomic arms drive and the construction of new military bases, and at paving the way to a *detente* and agreement on universal disarmament.

An important contribution to achieving a stable peace in Europe is being made by the socialist countries in the Balkans. The socialist camp has become a prime stabilizing factor in the Balkans. The imperialists, however, have not abandoned their attempts to make the Balkans once again the seat of international tension.

The proposal for an atom-free zone in the Adriatic and the Balkans, made by the Soviet Union with the support of a number of Balkan countries, would, if adopted, be another victory for peace. The proposal suggests that the countries of this area should refuse to allow atomic and rocket bases to be installed on their territories. In order to facilitate agreement on this question the Soviet Union proposed that the establishment of an atom-free zone should not be made conditional on the participation or non-participation of the signatory countries in one or another military grouping.

Developing the initiative of the Soviet government, the Rumanian People's Republic

suggested a conference of the Balkan states to examine urgent issues affecting the area, including the proposal for an atom-free zone. The other socialist countries have supported the Soviet proposal. The matter now rests with the ruling circles of the capitalist countries who have a direct interest in the Balkans and who have so far refused even to discuss the peace proposals submitted by the socialist states.

Another idea that has been gaining ground of late is that of the co-operation of the Baltic countries for peace, the idea of a "peace zone" in the Baltic. Here, too, the initiative emanates from the socialist countries.

Co-operation among the Baltic countries is all the more important seeing that it involves countries with different political systems and foreign policies. Federal Germany and Denmark, for instance, belong to NATO. Sweden and Finland are neutral, while the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic are peaceful socialist states. Friendly relations between the Baltic countries would have a salutary effect on the entire European situation.

It goes without saying that the proposals of the socialist countries enumerated here do not cover all the problems that have to be solved before a solid and stable system of European security can be established. However they cover the most urgent and pressing problems, the need to solve which is recognized by people of the most diverse political trends. *These proposals create the broadest basis for a firm and lasting peace in Europe. They point to the most acceptable and realistic way of eliminating the threat of war on the European continent.*

The logic of the development of international relations at present is making it increasingly harder for the Western politicians to cling to their cold war positions. The constructive and flexible policy of the socialist camp, based on principles of peaceful co-existence and recognition of the shattering consequences of a nuclear war, are causing serious changes in the thinking and political orientation of broad sections of the public in the West, including various groups of the bourgeoisie and even some of the ruling circles. There is growing opposition to the immense expenditure on armaments and the heavy burden it places on the shoulders of the working people.

The peace movement in Europe continues to grow. Millions of men and women are coming out in favor of better relations be-

tween the nations, against the division of Europe into antagonistic groupings, and for more confidence in the relations between countries. Progressive opinion in the capitalist countries is demanding renunciation of the cold war and the "positions of strength" policy. The intensified adventurist tendencies in the policy of the new administration in the United States, despite President Kennedy's previous assurances, is causing alarm and increasing opposition among big sections of the Western public.

The meeting between N.S. Khrushchov, the head of the Soviet government, and U.S. President John F. Kennedy, which took place in Vienna on June 3 and 4, has given hope to people of good will throughout the world and created the possibility, given a constructive approach, of easing international tension and improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. During their talks the two leaders exchanged views also on questions of the utmost importance for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

The movement against the nuclear war threat has assumed particularly broad scope. Numerous conferences and congresses urging nuclear disarmament have helped to establish mutual understanding between forces and groups working for banning nuclear weapons and terminating nuclear tests. More and more pressure is being brought to bear on the Atlantic bloc governments by their peoples, who have no desire to become the victims of an atomic holocaust for the sake of the interests of the aggressive circles. A striking demonstration of this sentiment is the growing movement for nuclear disarmament in Britain, the struggle which people in Britain are waging against stationing American nuclear submarines armed with Polaris missiles in British waters. The efforts to turn Britain into a base of operations for American armed forces equipped with nuclear weapons is the cause of the serious split in the British Labor Party.

The stand of the European neutral countries could play an important part in ending the cold war and the arms drive. Although the views of Finland, Sweden, Austria and Switzerland differ on a number of international issues they have remained outside the military groupings, a fact which objectively serves to strengthen peace in Europe. However, certain vacillations can be observed in the policy of some of these countries due to the pressure exerted by the Western imperialist powers. The loyalty of these countries to the principle of neutrality will not only be of

benefit to themselves but will be a valuable contribution to easing the tension in Europe.

The experience of the postwar years, the reinforcing of Finland's neutral policy, notwithstanding the resistance of reactionaries in that country, Austria's opting for neutrality and the advantages she has derived therefrom—these and other factors are influencing the spread of neutralist sentiment among the countries belonging to military blocs. This can be observed, for example, in the case of Norway where the movement against stationing atomic weapons and NATO bases on Norwegian territory is growing.

With the deepening of the general crisis of the imperialist world system, the desire for peace in the West is rising and the demand for revising the cold war policy is becoming more and more vociferous. The struggle of the colonial peoples for their liberation and the powerful upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America evoke a deep response among the peoples of Europe, develop their solidarity with the freedom fighters and serve the cause of peace. A striking manifestation of this solidarity were the tempestuous protests in Europe and elsewhere in the world against the perfidious United States aggression in Cuba.

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The Polish people who have suffered so many tragedies throughout their history and who have repeatedly been the victim of the aggressive actions of the militarist forces and primarily German militarism, have a vital stake in an enduring peace in Europe and throughout the world. The Polish government, with the wholehearted support of the people, is doing everything in its power, together with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, to avert the danger of war. This is the object of the peace measures undertaken by the Polish government both within and without the United Nations.

The socialist camp is the staunch and reliable champion of peaceful coexistence; it stands for replacing the arms race by peaceful competition in raising living standards. Notwithstanding the resistance of the cold war men in the West, the idea of peaceful coexistence is a political factor of the utmost importance for peace and international security. With the present balance of forces in Europe and the world, characterized by the superiority of the socialist camp over the camp of imperialism, of the forces of peace

and progress over the forces of reaction and war, a superiority which is making itself felt more and more, there is a real and genuine

possibility of frustrating the designs of the aggressive imperialist circles and ensuring a life of peace for the people of Europe.

Current Political Problems of the French Communist Party

Leo Figueres

THE Sixteenth Congress of the French Communist Party, held over May 11-14 in the working-class town of Saint-Denis, was a big event in the political life of France. Its proceedings reflected the militancy of the French Communists, their faith in the righteousness of their cause, and the growing influence of the Party.

The Congress was preceded by a debate in the course of which the draft resolution was thoroughly studied by the membership. Forums were opened in *l'Humanité*, *France Nouvelle* and other Party newspapers. A Congress commission considered the merits of over 500 suggestions from departmental conferences and accepted many of them, with the result that the draft resolution was considerably improved.

The discussion showed the profound democracy of inner-Party life and underlined that the Party was united ideologically and organizationally around its Central Committee. None of the suggestions submitted to the Congress by the federations questioned the correctness of the Party's general line.

Thus the opportunist group of Laurent Casanova, Marcel Servin and Kriegel-Valrimont was completely isolated and defeated. This group had for a long time disagreed with the Party's policy. The cause of their disagreement is to be sought in their underestimation of the strength of the working class and the people, and overestimation of the strength of the class enemy. Hence the tendency to retreat under the pressure exerted by the latter, to deviate from the Party's proletarian line, to make concessions to petty-bourgeois and Social Democratic concepts.

Proceeding from an erroneous analysis of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers and among the French bourgeoisie,

Comrades Casanova and Servin ascribed to de Gaulle an intention to extricate France from U.S. domination, and held that he would pursue a more independent policy. Inevitably this contributed to weakening the struggle against the de Gaulle regime, to regarding it as the lesser evil and, hence, led to a moving away from the Party's class stand — defined at the Fifteenth Congress — in relation to this regime.

These comrades became infected with the spirit of conciliation towards overt and covert adherents of Gaullism in the mass organizations and in the associations fighting for democracy and peace. Laurent Casanova, for example, upheld and carried through in the National Peace Committee a motion which gave it to understand that it did not matter whether the vote would be "Yes" or "No" in the Gaullist referendum of January 8. The task set by the Party in the interests of peace in Algeria and of democracy, however, was to unite all forces with the object of obtaining as widespread a condemnation of de Gaulle's neo-colonialist policy as possible and of preparing the people for resolute struggle against the regime of personal rule.

On the pretext of "broadening out" and "introducing new methods," the opportunists began feverishly to seek potential allies, and decided that the Party leadership was partly responsible if the alliance they hoped to achieve was slow in maturing. They even spoke of "restrictive implementation" by the Party leadership of the policy charted at the Fifteenth Congress.

The fact that Laurent Casanova and Marcel Servin had for a long time (and always in unison) upheld these erroneous positions in the Political Bureau gave rise to a trend and led eventually to the formation of a group which began, at least in some sections

of Party work, to play the role of a second leading center, a position fraught with grave danger for the Party and for the elaboration and implementation of its policy.

The Central Committee meetings in January and February last laid bare the nature and sources of the opportunist deviation. And the discussion that followed showed that all members fully agreed with the Party's political line and the way in which it was being carried out by the Central Committee. The Party called for respect for the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership, which exclude all rival trends, to say nothing of factional activity. As a result of the discussion the opportunists found themselves politically isolated and the Congress, in the course of which they maintained silence, did not re-elect them to the Central Committee.

This broad political discussion raised the ideological level of the members, helped to prepare them for the forthcoming struggle for steadfast and bold implementation of the policy mapped by the Sixteenth Congress. This policy aims at achieving *an alliance of the workers and the democratic forces in the struggle against the capitalist monopolies, for progress, freedom and peace, for the re-establishment and renovation of democracy.*

The Struggle for Peace in Algeria

The colonial war in Algeria, which has been going on for over six years now, continues to be the center of public attention in France.

This war has brought misfortune to the Algerian people, and no little suffering to the people of France. French imperialism has a 500,000-strong army in Algeria and is squandering vast sums on the predatory war. Military expenditures will absorb a further 2,000,000 million old francs this year.

Political instability and chauvinism are the constant concomitants of colonial war. A war of this kind creates favorable soil for fascist intrigues — including in the army and the police. It was a colonial war that enabled the reactionary forces headed by de Gaulle to launch an offensive in May 1958. It was a colonial war which led to the fascist putsch in January 1960 and again in April 1961. The last coup by a group of rebel generals in Algeria was encouraged by the fact that those responsible for the previous revolt had either been acquitted or punished lightly. The Gaullist regime's leniency towards the plotters enabled them to act again.

They were further encouraged by de Gaulle's maneuvers to postpone as long as possible the negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

It was not the present government that quashed the generals' revolt, but the working class and the masses who intervened to combat the fascist threat. The Communists played a decisive part in mobilizing the masses. The anti-fascist action by the people during the April revolt took on an unprecedented sweep. Twelve million joined in the general strike of April 24 called on the initiative of the General Confederation of Labor. Thousands of anti-fascist committees were set up on the basis of broad unity at that time and, around them, detachments of people's militia for which the working people, students and democrats demanded the wherewithal to fight the fascists, including arms.

This demonstrated that obstacles placed by leaders of various parties and organizations in the way of a united front are swept away when the people come into action and when the masses unite in struggle.

On the one hand, illusions concerning de Gaulle are dispelled and on the other the masses become more conscious of their role in the life of the country, of the need to rely primarily on their own actions and not on any one man if the problems facing the nation are to be solved.

Mention should also be made of the important part played by the soldiers in Algeria — the sons of workers and peasants — in the action against the rebel generals and officers. The delegates got to know of this from messages sent by Communist soldiers and read out at the Congress. The vast majority of the soldiers, nurtured by the popular struggle in France, refused to support the fascist plot and isolated and even arrested officers acting in concert with the rebel leaders. This attitude of most of the soldiers confirmed that the Party's policy vis-à-vis the army was correct. The Party was right in criticizing Left elements like the authors of "The Statement of the 121," which appealed to the soldiers to evince their opposition to the Algerian war not by mass struggle, but by individual action such as deserting from the army. Adherence to this erroneous line would have deprived the soldier masses of their most politically-conscious and stable elements, precisely those who organized resistance in the army to the rebels at the time of the fascist putsch.

Paying tribute to the young Communist soldiers who have been jailed for opposing the colonial war, the Party recalled the Leninist principles, according to which revolutionary soldiers go to war, even a reactionary war, to conduct work in the army as politically-conscious fighters and to win over the mass of the soldiers to the struggle for freedom and peace.

The French people resolutely opposed the rebels, not, needless to say, to save the present reactionary regime, as its representatives claim, but to win two basic demands:

1. Severe punishment for the ringleaders of the revolt, for their inspirers and accomplices; a purge of the army, police and administration; defense of the democratic freedoms still remaining and on which de Gaulle would like to make a new attack.

2. Peace negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic based on recognition of the right of the Algerian people to genuine self-determination with no preliminary conditions.

The Party has emphasized time and again that despite the thoroughly reactionary nature of the regime, the objective of ending the Algerian war is realistic and not necessarily conditional on the abolition of this regime.

The Gaullist regime, a striking expression of the domination of the big capitalist monopolies, wants to impose "association" on Algeria. This is merely a new form of colonialism, by means of which the big companies and French imperialism as a whole would be able to maintain their major economic and political positions. The solution of the Algerian problem proposed by the Gaullist government is, then, an imperialist solution although it differs in form from the one demanded by the ultras representing the interests first and foremost of the colonialist landowners and wishing to preserve the old forms of colonialism unchanged. Hence the contradictions and clash of interests between the two groups of French colonialists, which our Central Committee foresaw as far back as October 1958.

Action by the French people, supplementing the heroic struggle of the Algerians, and the support of the latter by friends all over the world have already forced the Gaullist government to take steps towards establishing peace — and can do so again. That is what happened when de Gaulle was obliged, albeit in words, to recognize the Algerian people's right to self-determination. That is

what is happening now, when he has had to agree to negotiate with the Provisional Government in Evian. But the opening of negotiations does not mean that peace has been achieved. De Gaulle is maneuvering and resorting to guile in an attempt to impose his neo-colonialist solutions. On the first day of the talks he dramatically announced the unilateral cessation of offensive operations in Algeria, which, in effect, is simply a propaganda trick. It is obvious that the Algerian people will not lay down arms until they have obtained all the necessary guarantees for the free exercise of their right to self-determination. The opening of negotiations in Evian is to be regarded as a victory for the peace forces in France, in Algeria and throughout the world. But the mass struggle should be continued and intensified until a settlement is reached, a settlement which will assure the Algerian people the realization of their objective — the integrity and independence of their country.

The innumerable delegations from town and countryside which have gone to Evian and Geneva in response to an appeal by the National Peace Committee are convincing evidence of the growing desire of French men and women for an end to the war in Algeria and the full satisfaction of the aspirations of the Algerian people.

This solution of the Algerian problem accords with the national interests of France. Only when French colonial domination has been completely eradicated in Algeria can the two countries become equal partners, and new mutually beneficial relations be established between them.

This also applies to France's relations with other countries which were, or still are, oppressed by French imperialism. In this context the fact that the Sixteenth Party Congress was attended by official delegations of our friends from the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon and the African Party of Independence is most significant. It was, as Comrade Maurice Thorez said, "a prototype of the new relations, relations based on friendship and mutual interest; and when it comes to power in France the working class will establish relations of this kind with all the peoples who were colonized by French imperialism, and will recognize their sovereignty and freedom." The confidence shown in the Communist Party by the representatives of these peoples is a spur to the French working class to intensify their struggle on the side of the oppressed peoples for the complete

and final abolition of the detested colonial domination.

The Crisis of French Imperialism

The Algerian war is a striking manifestation of the profound crisis of French imperialism, a crisis which has led to the latter's losing nearly all its colonial empire, originally second only to the British, in the space of a decade. The war is one of the factors contributing to the weakening of French imperialism, a process which proceeded at a rapid pace during the Second World War and still more rapidly after the war. The law of uneven political and economic development of the capitalist countries operated against French imperialism in other spheres too. Despite some industrial expansion French economic advance on the whole has been less marked than that of other European capitalist countries, in particular West Germany and Italy. One should also bear in mind the profound class contradictions obtaining in the country. In France capitalism is meeting with strong opposition from a well-organized working-class movement, from the Communist Party, which has deep roots among the proletariat and the working people generally.

An analysis shows us that the opportunist talk of French imperialism's having become stronger is all wrong; on the contrary, its world positions are steadily weakening.

To get at the root of the matter, we should bear in mind the dialectical connection between the fact that French imperialism has declined to the rank of a second-rate power, that it is trying hard to defend its undermined positions from the onslaught of the other imperialist powers, and that, in order to withstand the opposition of its own people and the peoples still under its yoke, it is forced to seek support from the USA, now the most powerful of the imperialist countries. Only from this angle can we properly evaluate the real significance of the conflict and antagonisms which may at any moment flare up between French imperialism and the other imperialist powers.

De Gaulle's nationalist pronouncements are merely a demagogic cloak for his policy. Fundamentally, French policy generally and towards the socialist countries in particular is subordinated to U.S. policy. That explains why de Gaulle gave unreserved support to the U.S. leaders in torpedoing last year's summit meeting in Paris. That explains why he pursues a policy of alliance with revenge-seeking West Germany, a policy detrimental

to the security of France. De Gaulle has even gone so far as to grant Adenauer training bases on French soil; all patriots in our country are now fighting to get this decision revoked. The Gaullist policy of false grandeur and cold war, aimed at consolidating the Atlantic pact and blocking any agreement on disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, should be still more resolutely condemned and combated.

The establishment in 1958 of a regime of one-man rule was, as the Fifteenth Congress underlined, a sign of the weakening of French imperialism. This regime, which has tried to present a strong front to the masses fighting for better living conditions, for peace and democracy, has proved extremely weak vis-à-vis the fascist elements who sow confusion and political anarchy and with whom it is connected by origin.

The people must be told of the danger with which one-man rule is fraught for the nation. This should help them to realize even more deeply the need to combat the regime and to get rid of it as quickly as possible.

Reactionary Policy in All Spheres

De Gaulle governs in the exclusive interests of finance capital, of the big banks and the big companies. Everything is done to forward these interests, while the conditions of the working class, the working peasantry and the middle urban sections are steadily deteriorating. State subsidies to capitalist enterprises amounted to 335,000 million francs in 1959 and even more the following year. At the same time consumer taxes (paid mainly by the working people) rose by 308,000 million. Gifts to capitalist companies in the form of preferential power and freight rates added up to 362,000 million old francs in 1959. It has been admitted by the employers' bulletin of the Paris metallurgical industry that the purchasing power of the hourly rate paid to metal workers (who are among the best paid) has declined 30 per cent compared with 1938. Intensification of labor, wage cuts, a longer working week, and other measures have enabled the capitalist companies to make bigger profits than ever. But new hardships face the workers.

The same can be said of the conditions of the peasants. Prices of farm produce rose four per cent between 1958 and 1960, those of manufactured goods 11.7 per cent. The government's low-wage policy and the greater competition which French goods have to face as a result of the Common Market have struck a blow at the peasants as well.

In agriculture, as elsewhere, government policy encourages large-scale capitalist economy to the detriment of the small and medium producer. There is even a law whereby the state can render material and technical aid only to farms of a certain size. The government of the monopolies hopes in this way to liquidate in the next few years some 800,000 small farms which do not use hired labor. To this policy the Communists counterpose the principle of "land to those who till it." The way to improve the lot of the small peasants is not to deprive them of land, but to distribute part of the land belonging to big owners and rural capitalists among the land-hungry.

The government's reactionary policy is also apparent in its attack on the secular traditions of French education. While there are not enough teachers, buildings or funds at all levels of state education — from the primary to the higher schools — the Gaullist government subsidizes Catholic schools to the tune of thousands of millions of francs. It also helps employers to establish control over technical education, and big capital and the army to control higher education and research.

The Communist Party's Struggle for Democracy

The French Communist Party is intensifying its opposition to the reactionary policy pursued by the government in all spheres of the country's life, a policy which runs counter to the interests of the working people. Commenting on the magnificent struggle in France, which played a decisive role in crushing the generals' revolt in Algeria, *Le Peuple*, organ of the Belgian Socialist Party, admitted that "three years of Gaullism in France do not appear to have weakened the civic sentiments or militant spirit of the French working people." This is truly an achievement. But it cannot be attributed to leaders like Guy Mollet who have done their utmost these past years to get the people to transfer responsibility for the destiny of the country to de Gaulle. This achievement is the fruit of the clear-sighted and firm policy pursued by the French Communist Party.

The Party has worked hard to extend the mass struggle in all spheres of national life, and despite the tremendous difficulties has maintained and consolidated its political and organizational positions as the Party of the working class, and has spared no effort to achieve unity of the working people, an

alliance of all the democratic forces in France. By preserving the unity of its ranks and successfully combating all attempts to turn it away from its positions, the Party has done a great service to the democratic movement, in which it is the most important and consistent force.

It was not only in the struggle against the war in Algeria and the fascist threat engendered by this war that the militancy of the working class and the masses showed itself but also in the actions against the government's social and economic policy.

In France, as in all imperialist countries, the political power of the state and the power of the capitalist monopolies are merged in a single mechanism — state-monopoly capitalism — whose job is to ensure maximum profits for big capital, and to intensify the exploitation of the workers. In France this function has been undertaken by the Gaullist government which has, however, encountered opposition from the working people.

We will take the recent period as an illustration. The strike movement has gained momentum, especially among civil servants, teachers and workers in the municipal services and nationalized industries. The struggle for economic demands was particularly intense in May when nationwide strike action by railwaymen and the Paris transport and electricity workers paralyzed life for 32 hours.

Despite the government's threat to "requisition" workers who exercise their right to strike, actions by the working people for better conditions are increasing both in the private and state sectors. This struggle has already forced employers and the government to make some concessions, including limited wage increases.

There is therefore strong evidence to prove that the working class, far from being "apathetic," as the petty-bourgeois politicians affirm, has faith in its strength and potentialities, although the conditions in which it is fighting are, under authoritarian rule, more difficult than they were in the past. The fighting ability of the working class has proved it to be worthy of assuming the role of leader of all sections of the community who have to protect themselves from monopoly domination.

In view of the mounting difficulties of French imperialism and the growing militancy of the masses, representatives of big cap-

ital want to strengthen de Gaulle's authoritarian regime.

Using the recent events in Algeria as a pretext, de Gaulle has arrogated to himself absolute power under Article 16 of the Constitution and has, in effect, established a regime of personal dictatorship. The facts show that de Gaulle regards Article 16 as a weapon against the people. For, whereas none of those responsible for the increasing number of bomb explosions in France have been arrested, and an outrageous leniency has been shown to the rebel generals, Article 16 has already enabled the government to prohibit one workers' meeting and demonstration after another and to seize Communist and democratic newspapers. There is even talk of de Gaulle's intention to use Article 16 to revise the present Constitution with a view to making it even more reactionary.

The Communist Party calls for action to scotch the Gaullist government's attempts to carry out its reactionary designs. The popular struggle should extend into all spheres and pursue a common objective: that of undermining the foundation of monopoly power and paving the way for the re-establishment of democracy.

This democracy will not be the same as that which existed in France before 1958, but an infinitely more solid, a genuine democracy, for it will be based upon the popular will. It is in this spirit that the Communists are waging the struggle against the campaigns launched by apologists of the present regime and its accomplices, especially against the Right-wing Socialist leaders who are seeking to root out the life-giving idea of democracy from the peoples' minds.

The Communist Party stresses that the task of renovating France cannot be carried out by one man or by one party, it is a matter for the whole people. It therefore denounces the campaign of discrediting the political parties, a campaign that is part and parcel of Gaullism's general offensive against the very concept of democracy. While they continue to combat the policy of parties upholding the interests of the exploiters, the Communists speak out unequivocally for the right of political parties to exist, for in a class society they more or less directly reflect the interests of various social sections. The Communists hold that co-operation between the Communist Party and other democratic parties is not only possible but essential if the regime of personal power is to be abolished, a program of democratic and na-

tional renovation implemented and socialism built in our country.

Guided by the wish to facilitate the unity of all the forces opposing personal rule and desiring to re-establish and renovate democracy in France, the Sixteenth Congress of the French Communist Party endorsed and augmented the program elaborated earlier by the previous Congress.

The basic provisions of this program were recapitulated as follows by Comrade Thorez in his concluding speech at the Sixteenth Congress:

"The government would be formed by a one-chamber Parliament to which it would be responsible. Deputies could be recalled and would be elected by proportional representation.

"The rebel organizations would be dissolved, the professional army abolished, military formations be in the exclusive service of the nation, and the police force purged and democratized.

"The rights of the local authorities would be respected and extended, the post of prefect abolished, and judges elected.

"The monopolies would be nationalized — the atomic energy, oil and natural-gas industries, big metallurgical plants and chemical works, big shipping companies, banks, etc. All nationalized industries would be under strictly democratic management. Conditions would be created for expansion of the basic branches of industry.

"The standard of living of the working people and all sections of the population who are victims of the monopolies, would be raised and their pressing claims satisfied, both in town and countryside. Far-reaching democratic reforms would be carried out in the spheres of culture and public education. Young people would be guaranteed an education, a profession, leisure and the possibility to engage in sports.

"The new France would prohibit nuclear weapons, support a policy of effective disarmament and control, pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence and co-operation with all peoples without exception."

This program contains bold democratic demands. It is not, of course, socialist in character, for it does not lead to the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. Nevertheless its implementation would restrict monopoly power, increase the political weight of the proletariat in the life of the nation, weaken and isolate the more reactionary forces

of society, give a powerful impetus to social progress and forward the working-class struggle for socialism.

As it has done previously, the Communist Party submitted this program for discussion by the working people and the democratic parties and organizations in the belief that this would facilitate the elaboration of a common platform for the democratic forces, that it is proposing the only thing that can effectively replace the reactionary Gaullist government — a renovated democracy achieved through the unity and struggle of the forces interested in abolishing the present regime.

Unity From Below

The Party lays special emphasis on the problem of working-class unity and the alliance of democrats, for it regards unity as the guarantee of effective struggle against the Gaullist government and its policy. The Party has denounced the opponents of unity, in particular the Right Socialist leaders like Guy Mollet who, from 1958 on, have played into de Gaulle's hands.

Criticizing the defeatism of the Right Socialist leaders and their policy of class collaboration, the Communist Party has set its organizations and members the task of winning the Socialist workers and all Socialist Party sympathizers for the cause of unity. The fact that many members and organizations of the Socialist Party participated actively together with the Communists in the struggle against the fascist putsch and were drawn at that time into actions for peace in Algeria, shows the great possibilities in this field.

In his concluding speech Maurice Thorez said:

"Practice has shown — especially the united front realized in the localities — that many prejudices are whittled down and disappear only when people start working together. Our Congress emphatically repeats the old slogan of the Communists: Discard everything that divides us, concentrate on what unites us!"

The Party holds that, in its relations with Socialist workers and with the activists in the United Socialist Party and other organizations who claim to be democratic, the main effort should be directed at achieving unity from below. There are two reasons, tried and tested by experience, for this.

First and foremost, the United Front implies struggle and the organization of mass

actions. Hence the importance attached to establishing unity committees at the base, irrespective of whether they are Algerian peace committees or anti-fascist committees.

On the other hand, success in achieving joint action by the working people at the base is the sure way to surmount the obstacles erected by the leaders of some organizations against a united front. Furthermore, the fact that the Party put the accent on the need to multiply the actions and improve the organization of the masses has not prevented it from forwarding corresponding proposals to the leaders of various parties and organizations whenever the situation demanded it. Thus the Party called on the democratic parties and movements to join in action to force the government to begin negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and, more recently, for unity of all in the struggle against the generals' revolt. The Party proceeds from the premise that proposals to national, departmental and local committees of other parties ought to promote, not paralyze, the unity and struggle of the working people. In no event should mass struggle be made conditional on a preliminary agreement between all democratic parties and organizations. The Party's firm stand on this question ensured the success of the joint action in the political and economic struggle of the recent period.

Organizational Questions

The social composition of the Party reflects its character as the Party of the French working class, a Party whose ranks also unite a large number of intellectuals and the more progressive elements of the working peasantry and the middle sections in the towns.

The Sixteenth Congress demonstrated the strength and influence of the Party. More than half (54 per cent) of the 496 delegates were workers, mostly metal workers. The delegates also included 39 peasants and farm laborers, 73 office workers, 50 teachers and intellectuals, etc. Most of the delegates came to the Congress straight from the factories, offices, fields and schools.

The Congress was a young one. The average age of the delegates was under 38, while 221 were between 20 and 35. This is a telling rebuff to reaction, which asserts that the Party is ageing and no longer has any young militant functionaries.

This year the Party issued 407,000 membership cards to the federations. Twenty

thousand new members have joined the Party this year and 530 branches — 154 at enterprises — have been formed. Seven thousand new members have joined the Communist Youth Movement since March. However, the situation is not the same in all the departments. While some of the big federations are doing good work in recruiting new members and setting up branches, others are marking time. The opportunist activity of Marcel Servin has told on organizational work. As Central Committee secretary for organizational matters, he underrated the importance of Party work proper, and the Party's vanguard role in the work of educating, organizing and guiding the masses. The emphasis was laid on work in the mass organizations which, although unquestionably of vital importance, should not belittle the Party's paramount and major role in preparing and leading the struggle of the working class and other sections of the working people.

The Party underlines the decisive importance of the branches, especially in the enterprises, in popularizing and implementing its policy. The branches should be as numerous as possible, even though some may have only a few members, for it is by increasing the number of local organizations that the Party can take even deeper root among the masses. Factory branches should not confine themselves to the economic struggle, for that would mean that they would be doing the work of the trade unions. Their task is to carry out the policy of the Party, popularize the solutions it proposes, combat the bourgeois ideology of class collaboration, draw all the workers of an enterprise into the political struggle for peace and the renovation of democracy and to turn them into class-conscious adherents of the socialist cause which will bring them emancipation.

These efforts should not divert attention from the need for area branches and rural branches. Comrades responsible for work in the countryside have been appointed in many federations and this has already resulted in setting up or re-establishing a number of Party organizations in the villages.

The Communists can work better in the mass organizations when they have an active Party behind them, a Party indefatigably spreading its ideas and solutions, and organizing the actions of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. They can help these organizations to develop and become stronger, channel their activities in the right direction, without infringing on their independence,

with due regard to the specific features of each organization. Party members should not make a point of taking on themselves all the work of these organizations but should endeavor to enlist as many non-Party people into it as possible. These are the lines along which our members are successfully working in the trade unions and in the big mass organizations such as the peace organizations, where they co-operate with non-Communists in the struggle for common aims.

By extending Party work among the masses and, simultaneously, Communist activity in the various organizations — even in those headed by reactionaries — the Party will enhance its prestige and influence and win new members. It will mould young and militant cadres who will join the ranks of the 30,000 branch leaders, 25,000 section leaders, 3,300 federation leaders and the thousands-strong army of working people's deputies and leaders of mass organizations whom the Party already has at its disposal.

* * *

The work done by the Central Committee and its Political Bureau in implementing the policy charted by the previous Congress, was approved by the Sixteenth Congress. It was resolved vigorously to combat opportunism and revisionism — the main danger — and to thwart all attempts to bring bourgeois ideology into the Party. Waging this struggle, the Party will also bear in mind the danger presented by dogmatism and sectarianism, which undermine contacts with the masses. In pursuing its political line, the Party will resolutely combat all deviations, no matter where they appear.

The Sixteenth Congress, which took place 90 years after the Paris Commune, demonstrated anew the might and cohesion of the international Communist movement, the strength of the working class and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, the perennial youth of Marxist-Leninist ideas, which inspire the people's noble struggle to end all forms of exploitation and oppression.

Despite the government's refusal to grant visas to delegates from the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, the Sixteenth Congress was a magnificent demonstration of proletarian internationalism and fraternity of the peoples. The speeches were permeated with the ideas of the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Parties, and the historic Statement and Appeal to the Peoples of the World.

The French Communists make no secret of the difficulties of the struggle, but the successes already achieved in various fields are clearly visible. And they are determined to cope with their task of leading the struggle

for the vital interests of their people and their country, for peace in Algeria and throughout the world, for the renovation of democracy, for socialism.

The Working-Class Struggle in Belgium — Its Achievements and Prospects

Ernest Burnelle

FOR many months now the whole world has followed developments in Belgium. There are many reasons for this—events in the Congo, Belgium's economic difficulties, political changes at the top and, above all, the struggles of her working class.

The strike actions last December and January were the biggest ever fought by the Belgian working people and the political struggle that followed in connection with the general election resulted in a victory for the working class.

I. A Myth Blasted

Although one of the smaller countries of Europe, Belgium ranks economically among the leading powers. Thanks to her industry, high per capita output of steel, pig iron and engineering products, and her exploitation of the wealth of the Congo, she is a relatively rich country. The gross national product per capita in France amounts to 95 per cent of the Belgian level, in Britain 85 per cent, and Italy 54 per cent.

It goes without saying that in Belgium, as in all other capitalist countries, the lion's share of the national income is appropriated by the monopoly bourgeoisie. At the same time the ruling classes have created a threat to the sources of the country's wealth by joining the Common Market — for example, the dying coal fields in Borinage where pit after pit is being closed down.

Despite this, the income of the working people has so far been higher in Belgium than in many other Western European countries.

Hence the "theory" evolved by bourgeois sociologists and Right-wing Social Democratic leaders that the Belgian workingman has lost his proletarian spirit.

Strictly speaking this thesis is not a specifically Belgian invention. In essentials it is common enough in all the countries of Western Europe where the standard of living is relatively higher. Recent developments, however, have dealt a smashing blow at theorizing of this kind. The strike struggle, in which all sections of the working people from the highly-skilled and best-paid to the lower-paid took part, showed that a relatively high standard of living is no obstacle to the class struggle developing and gaining ground.

Even if an insignificant percentage of the workers buy TV sets and refrigerators (mostly on deferred payments which shackle them) the causes of class antagonisms and the class struggle are not removed. For the class status of the workers is not altered as a result of their living slightly better today than they did yesterday. It is still an exploited class even if its conditions have changed and if the exploitation as such has, in many cases, assumed more subtle forms.

Nor should it be forgotten that if the Belgian working class is better off today than it was 20 or 50 years ago, this is by no means the automatic result of developing civilization or a blessing bestowed by the capitalists. Whatever the workers have gained, they have wrested from the capitalists in struggle. The working people can win nothing except in battle against the capitalist system. Moreover, the exploitation has been greatly inten-

sified. The share of the working class in the national income is shrinking. And, lastly, the proletariat in capitalist society is in constant danger of losing whatever he has won, for the trusts are bent on regaining every inch of the ground they have been forced to yield to the workers.

This is precisely what has happened in the case of the Belgian working class. The bourgeoisie, confronted with grave difficulties, launched an offensive to deprive the workers of the gains they had won in the course of long years of struggle.

Three main difficulties confront Belgian capitalism.

The first is connected with the Congo, where the Belgian monopolies suffered a major defeat that cut heavily into their profits.

The second is associated with Belgium's involvement in the Common Market and the threat it presents to her economy. The monopolies counted on holding their own in the growing competitive struggle within the Common Market at the expense of the Congo, and when this hope crashed they sought to recoup themselves by raiding the pockets of the working people at home. For this purpose they carefully elaborated the "austerity law" as a streamlined system of plundering the working people through tax increases and cuts in unemployment benefits, pensions, etc. The *Loi unique* is, in essence, a direct consequence of the Common Market. Similarly, the struggle of our working people against the "austerity law" has a European significance. No wonder, then, that the working people of the other European countries so readily supported our workers when the strike broke out.

The third and most serious problem facing Belgian capitalism is the direct consequence of the armaments drive in which Belgium is involved as a NATO member. With expenditures on armaments running into astronomical figures, the state debt soared from 255,000 million francs in 1950 to 388,000 million in mid-1960. The *Loi unique* was to provide the means to plug up the gaping hole in the budget.

The rulers of the country took everything into account except one thing—that the times had passed when the workers submitted without protest to the diktat of the monopolies. The working class rose solidly to uphold its rights. Imperialism was taught a bitter lesson.

II. Class Consciousness, Unity, Militancy

The fight against the "austerity law" with its "economies" and tax increases has gone on for months, with civil servants and employees of the state-owned industry and private enterprise—from unskilled laborers to white-collar workers—and tradesmen's organizations taking part. An active part has been played by the youth. The high point of this unprecedented popular movement was reached in December and January when more than a million came out in a general strike.

The December-January strike movement was a magnificent demonstration of the courage of the working class, which did not falter in the face of the concentration of strength on the part of the bourgeoisie and its unprecedented repressions. A feature of the movement was the militancy of the workers and other employees in the state sector (public service workers, railwaymen, municipal employees, electricians, power plant workers and schoolteachers), who often took the lead and, for the first time in the history of Belgium, set an example to the workers employed by private enterprise.

Another feature was the part played by the Catholic workers who defied the threats of Cardinal Van Roey and did their duty as members of the working class. Although in some districts the leaders of the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions exerted every effort to break the strike and managed to prevent Catholics from taking part, many of the local unions belonging to the confederation (municipal workers in Antwerp, metal workers in Charleroi, and miners in the central districts) voted for strike action.

The efforts of the Right-wing Catholic Union leaders and the employers to set the Flemish workers against the Walloons also failed, and the Flemish dockers and other workers in Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges took an active part in the movement.

The strike afforded proof of the political maturity of the working class, which did not succumb to the lies spread by the government but realized that the *Loi unique* was but the forerunner of a broader plan of social repressions.

In reviewing the events connected with the strike it will be useful to examine the sources of the class consciousness and militancy of the workers.

Of all the factors at work here, unquestionably the most important is the character of our time as defined in the documents of the

Moscow Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. We are witnessing the decline of capitalism, a decline which cannot but facilitate the deepening of proletarian class consciousness and the further development of the working-class struggle.

The working class of the West has before it the inspiring example of the socialist countries and thanks to this socialist ideas are spreading faster than ever before. The existence of the socialist camp is a constantly growing source of support for the Belgian workers too, who derive renewed inspiration and strength from such achievements of socialism as the sputniks and spaceships, and particularly the first manned space flight.

"You say that tax increases are necessary?" the strikers said, in effect, to the employers and government spokesmen. "But we know of a country where taxes are being abolished. This proves they can be done away with. We want a system without taxes."

Another factor that helped to activize the working people was the offensive launched by the monopolies against their vital rights and interests. Intensified speed-up and a mounting accident rate are the rule in industry. The workers' demands for wage increases are not met, although the cost of living has soared in recent years and is continuing to rise.

Time and again the class struggle has assumed exceedingly sharp forms. Nor was the latest movement a "bolt from the blue," as some bourgeois commentators claimed; it was prepared by the class battles of 1957-1959. In the course of these struggles, especially the Borinage miners' strike in 1959, and the general strike of 1960-1961, the class consciousness of the workers has steadily grown, for their experience has brought home to them that they have nothing in common with the monopolies.

Awareness of the gravity of the danger of another war is also a major factor impelling the working people to action. This feeling of alarm has become particularly widespread with the establishment on Belgian territory of military bases for the new Wehrmacht.

A big role in creating the general political climate, from which the staunchness shown by the working people stemmed, was played by the Left organizations of the working class which had campaigned against the proposed "austerity law" from the middle of last year. This was true of the Lefts in the Socialist Party, contradictory and half-hearted though their stand was (we shall

dwell on this later); it was true also of the Lefts in the leadership of the Belgian General Federation of Labor, who jointly did much to prepare for the strike, and, above all, it was true of the Communist Party.

Sometimes people say that the Communist Party is too small to have any appreciable influence on Belgian political life. True, our Party is still numerically small — though we are working hard to increase its membership. But is the impact of a political organization determined by numbers alone? One should not forget the strength that accrues from the Party's consistent devotion to class principles, its close bonds with the working class, its ability to assess developments from the Marxist standpoint, to guide the working class in the right direction, to advance the proper slogans, to suggest the right weapon of class struggle at the right time, and to teach the workers to wield these weapons so as to achieve success.

But to carry due weight the Party must above all base itself wholly on the Marxist theory of the class struggle, recognize the class struggle as an objective factor of social progress, as the only road to socialism. It is imperative to bear this in mind in our country, where reformism has struck deep roots and where social demagogy has developed far above the "European mean."

In these conditions it is of utmost importance to adopt a correct attitude to all theories of "class peace." Our working class is highly sensitive on this issue and keeps a watchful eye on organizations to see whether they are seeking to solve the key issues of the day through struggle against the monopolies or through conciliation with them, that is, by subordinating the workers' interests to those of the employers. The hard-learned lessons of recent years have taught it to regard the advocates of "class peace" with extreme caution.

The workers know that all their gains, both big and small, have been won in class struggle. Therefore, if we want to ensure our success in the future, we must never forget the words of Joseph Jacquemotte, the founder of our Party, who said: "You cannot side at once with both the poor and the rich; you have to choose either one or the other."

Even our enemies admit that the Communist Party played a cardinal role in the recent events, that it stood in the vanguard of the working people. We Communists are proud of the place our Party has taken in the life of the nation.

The Communists indeed were in the forefront of the strike struggle. They fought courageously and stood firm in the face of pressure and persecution. They took an active part in every meeting, demonstration and strike action. But most important of all was the fact that the Party's political role was greater than it had ever been before.

As far back as September we advanced a number of key slogans which prepared the ground for the initial action of November 8. We proposed to the Socialist trade unions that a general strike be called for the day the debate on the *Loi unique* was scheduled to open in Parliament, and called on all M.P.'s to oppose the bill. We also advanced the idea of dissolving parliament.

A simple comparison of these proposals with those of the other parties shows that we were abreast of the situation.

When the strike broke out the Communists were the main advocates of discipline and democratic order in the workers' ranks. From the beginning we insisted on consultations with the trade unions and the strikers at public meetings, that is, on a democratic way of conducting the strike as the workers' principal weapon against the provocative and splitting activities of the class enemy. The broad strike committees in the localities were greatly strengthened by the active participation of Communists.

Highly effective, too, was our campaigning with the Party paper *Le drapeau rouge*, which won the esteem of millions by its truthful coverage. We also put out more than one million leaflets.

The Party passed with honor this test in the class struggle and entered upon a new stage in its development as the genuinely militant party of the proletariat. No wonder the influx of new members is increasing.

Although we believe that on the whole we worked well, we do not close our eyes to the shortcomings. The need for self-criticism does not diminish at times of success; on the contrary, it is more necessary than ever, for it helps to prevent mistakes, guards against overconfidence and paves the way for bigger successes. We would list our shortcomings as follows:

- the reluctance displayed by some local branches to lay sufficient emphasis on the role of the Party in the strikes and to submit proposals to the strikers in its name;

- delay by a number of branches in carrying out the decisions made by the leadership

of the Party, owing to which some incorrect slogans were advanced;

- explanatory work among the non-strikers and among those who had returned to work was begun too late;

- mass meetings held for agitational purposes tended to overshadow concrete leadership;

- no nationwide appeal was made to the middle sections.

The Central Committee analyzed the shortcomings immediately after the strike and recommended to the local federations to review their activities in order to rectify the mistake.

III. From Economic to Political Struggle

What were the overall results of the strike movement? Were the sacrifices worth-while?

The struggle failed to achieve its immediate objective. The *Loi unique* received a majority both in the Chamber of Representatives and in the Senate. Yet it would be a mistake not to see the positive results of the strike.

The most important of these is the grave crisis which has developed in the camp of reaction. Eyskens's Liberal-Catholic government proved totally incapable of ruling the country, even from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie. Hence he was forced to dissolve parliament towards the end of February and announce a general election for March 26.

The bourgeois parties had nothing to offer the electorate but general, meaningless slogans; none of them advanced a serious program worthy of the name. The Socialists went to the polls with a more detailed but still vague, platform. Even its sound planks — those that corresponded to the vital interests of the nation — were not sufficiently concrete.

The Communist Party, in drawing up its election program, sought to combine the demands of the working people on a generally acceptable basis. In other words, to concentrate on common demands corresponding to the national interest and meeting the needs of the largest possible number of working people.

These demands were: repeal of the *Loi unique*, release of all imprisoned strikers and an end to the reprisals for participation in the strikes, immediate tax reductions and increases in unemployment benefits, pensions and wages, a state health service and a democratic educational reform.

Besides these the Party also proposed far-reaching financial reforms to ensure satisfaction of the basic popular demands, viz.,

—cut military expenditure by 10,000 million francs, and

—divert 20,000 million francs from the coffers of the monopolies to the treasury by revising the tax system and also by confiscating funds from the millionaires.

Lastly, we proposed structural changes in the economy, in particular a reform compelling the private monopolies to invest under public control 50,000 million francs in the areas experiencing difficulties, and also nationalization of the key branches.

We believe that these measures taken as a whole could be the starting point for directing economic development along truly national lines.

The general election of March 26 and the response to our program showed that our appraisal of the situation was correct. It will be recalled that Eyskens's Social Christian Party—the party that evolved the *Loi unique*—suffered a heavy defeat, losing nearly 300,000 votes, eight seats in the Chamber of Representatives and six seats in the Senate. The Left forces, including the Communists, registered substantial gains. The Communist Party won five seats in the Chamber instead of its former two, and the Socialist Party gained five additional seats in the Senate.

The election was important primarily because it signified a set-back for the reactionaries and a victory for the working-class movement. The people of Belgium gave their unequivocal support to the working class, approving the December-January strikes in which the workers had upheld the national interest.

It goes without saying that the Left gains at the polls do not mean that all problems will now be automatically resolved. The issues confronting the nation still await decision. The long drawn-out backroom intrigues around the formation of the new government, which was formed on the basis of a pre-election deal between the Right-wing Socialists and the Catholics, the composition of the cabinet in which the discredited Social Christian Party predominates, and the fact that its first step was to increase a number of indirect taxes cannot but put the working people on their guard.

Nevertheless, the situation after the election is much better than it was before. The atmosphere has cleared and there is a fresh

breeze that augurs well for the outcome of coming battles.

We have seen from the foregoing how the economic struggle of the working class developed into a sharp political struggle. This fact in itself is symptomatic, and we believe it will be of interest to dwell briefly on the exceptional political role which the struggle for the economic demands of the working class plays at the present time.

The example of our country and the experience of our Party show that economic struggle today is the starting point, the springboard for working-class political action. Why?

Because in our times, when state-monopoly capitalism occupies an increasingly important place in economic life, any struggle for economic demands inevitably involves a political examination of questions affecting the state finances, the national income, the home market, international economic relations and foreign policy.

The economic struggle also poses questions pertaining to democracy, the struggle against the capitalist machinery of state, helps to bring home to the masses the importance of nationalization and structural reforms, and facilitates the formation of the political alliances which can achieve these aims.

By rallying the masses to fight for such demands as a reduction in military expenditure, the economic struggle helps to activate the democratic forces generally in the crucial sphere of the struggle for peace.

Lastly, it should be remembered that struggle for economic demands is one of the principal manifestations of the national mission of the workers as a class striving for social progress. The more actively the workers fight for their demands, the more rapid will social progress be. The more active the workers' organizations, the weaker will capitalism become.

The struggle for the economic demands of the working class is a touchstone of the true aims of any political organization or trend in the labor movement.

What is the attitude of the Social Democrats to this struggle?

There was a time when they regarded socialism as the end result of successful struggle for economic demands, claiming that in the course of this struggle the capitalist system would gradually become less and less capitalist and more and more socialist in character. Time and experience have made nonsense of this vulgarized socialism.

Today the Right-wing Socialist leaders no longer speak of fighting for economic demands. Instead they claim that the transition to socialism is nothing short of an automatic process the motive force of which in the final analysis is capitalism itself, which, they claim, is ceasing to be a system based on exploitation. The Right Social Democrats advance economic demands only when forced to do so by pressure from the working class. For, like the bourgeoisie, they are well aware of the implications for capitalism of the working-class struggle for economic demands, and, being closely bound up with capitalism, they faithfully serve its interests.

A Left wing emerged in the Belgian Social Democratic movement. But much as we welcome its appearance, it must be noted that it is not having an easy time in ridding itself of the weaknesses of the Right. It too often scorns economic struggle as an "obsolete" form that leads nowhere, as some of the Left Socialists put it.

Struggle for the vital economic demands of the masses is, then, an essential prerequisite of the political struggle. But we know that one does not evolve into the other automatically. Needed for this are political organizations able to show the working people the connection between the two, and also the means of struggle capable of ensuring victory, and methods adapted to the specific conditions of each area and enterprise. While fighting for immediate demands, the perspectives of the movement as a whole should always be kept in sight, and it should be constantly emphasized that the pressing social problems can be solved only by establishing the political rule of the working class, only by socialism.

Hence the Party organizations in the factories and in the various communities are obliged to take an active part in the fight for immediate demands and at the same time to educate the masses in the spirit of the basic political ideas of the Party and thereby stimulate political struggle — the struggle for the rule of the working class.

IV. The United Front

The general strike and the election once again brought to the fore the question of the united front. Although the response to the strike and the Left gains at the polls were primarily due to united front action on the part of the working class which repulsed the efforts made to split it, we know that the unity achieved to date has been largely spon-

taneous. This unity from below must be consolidated and co-operation achieved between the Communist Party and other working-class organizations.

Most important among the latter is the Socialist Party, in which Left trends are making definite headway. We noted the emergence of these trends at our last Party Congress early in 1960, when we pointed out that the desire for political change, though still weak, was making itself felt both in the local organizations and at the Socialist congresses.

Today the hopes which the Socialist rank and file reposed in securing changes in the leadership have been bitterly disappointed. If they once thought that everything depended on having a leader who could tell them what to do, they now realize that the way to a genuine change of policy is much more complex and difficult.

Only a few of the Socialist M.P.'s favor a change of policy. And even these few are timorous about speaking up for the workers and championing the demands raised at the factories.

As for the Left trade union leaders, they are expending their energies in debates on secondary issues. Although their efforts in defense of the workers' interests should not be minimized, they are limited as a rule to isolated declarations and are not part of any broad program of action.

The rallying points for the Left groups in the Socialist Party are the newspapers *La Gauche* and *Combat* in the Walloon areas, and *Links* in Flanders. But all the groups are inconsistent, even timid. Above all, their ties with the people and the popular struggle, aspirations and demands are weak. On the whole it should be said that the true Left forces are developing not among the upper crust of the Socialists but down among the rank and file, and in the course of the mass actions.

The conflict between the Right and Left in the Socialist Party sharpened during the debate on the "austerity law" and especially during the strikes and the election campaign.

When the general strike broke out, the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party and in the General Federation of Labor not only failed to support it, they actually worked against it. They retarded the spread of the movement by refusing to lead it. They thereby gave the Catholic leaders a free hand to conduct their demoralization campaign and facilitated the government's efforts to split the workers.

Once the strike was on, the Lefts in the leadership of the Socialist Party and in the trade union federation dissociated themselves from the Rights. This was a major success for the trade union rank and file, for it was undoubtedly their pressure that forced the Left leaders to take this step. But although the Lefts in the Federation of Labor played a part in the strike, they fell far short of the mark, as we frankly told both the leaders and the rank-and-file following. Our purpose in criticizing the Left leadership was to help it in its fight against the reactionaries.

In our opinion the main failing of the Left Socialists was their rejection of strike committees; instead they sought to lead the strike exclusively through exhortations at public meetings. They failed to pay sufficient attention to the middle strata and underestimated the significance of a united front of the workers, small businessmen and the peasants against the *Loi unique*. Moreover, they resorted time and again to outwardly spectacular but essentially incorrect slogans that could only divert the strikers from the basic issues (one was the idea of turning Belgium into a federation of Flanders and the Walloon districts, which could hardly further the movement if only because it had very little to do with the fight against the "austerity law"). The Left Socialists also adopted an incorrect attitude as regards sabotage and individual violence which gave the government a pretext for occupying the enterprises and clamping down on democratic public opinion.

But whatever the mistakes and failings of the Left Socialists, there is no doubt that a great deal depends on the attitude of the Socialist Party and the relations between the Socialists and the Communists.

At present the Socialist leaders are doing their utmost to prevent the masses from moving leftward. If the rank and file are able to resist this pressure, the groundwork will be laid for a united front of the Socialists and Communists, and perhaps even of the Left Catholics. And this would open the way to truly concerted action.

What is the Communist attitude to unity in the present circumstances? We consider it imperative to bring all sections of the working class into a single alignment without compromising in matters of principle.

In recent months we have taken steps time and again in this direction. The Party has repeatedly urged the Socialists to join with it in co-ordinating efforts against the *Loi unique* — both during and after the strike,

at the time of the Socialist congress convened to elaborate an election program, and then after the general election when the formation of the government became the central issue. After the election we also submitted for discussion by the Socialist workers a program that could have served as the basis for a coalition government of the Left forces in parliament. (In our opinion, a Left government could have been formed if the Socialist and Catholic Left and the Communists in the Chamber of Representatives gave it their backing.) But our proposals found no response among the Socialist leaders, although many rank-and-file Socialists welcomed them.

What are the immediate basic tasks of the Party in building working-class unity?

First, every Party branch should conduct extensive explanatory work and discuss the issues with the Socialist and Catholic workers as well as M.P.'s, who are already feeling the impact of public opinion.

Second, workers' meetings and trade unions should be asked publicly to submit their demands to the government and the employers. This is already being done in many localities.

Third, the workers should insist at public meetings and through their unions on discussion of a united action program which would bring all working people together in a single mass alliance.

Fourth, actions of the most diverse kinds should be organized at the enterprises and throughout the country in support of concrete political and economic issues. We must work to enhance our leading role in the struggles of the working class, advance slogans which would cement its unity, never forgetting our long-range perspective and the workers' will to victory.

V. The Party and Its Main Tasks

Belgium is now in an entirely new situation. In essence it is experiencing an acute political crisis. The formation of the Lefèvre-Spaak government as a result of huckstering between the Socialists and the Catholics (with the program of the Catholic Right as the basis of the compromise) only highlights the instability of the political situation. The bourgeoisie, of course, wants to solve the crisis which the strike and the general election failed to resolve by trying to swing the country to the right and establish a "strong-man" regime. Evidently the example of de

Gaulle is spurring on Belgian capital to look around for a dictator. The working people, on the contrary, are searching for the way out in a turn to the Left, in a genuinely national policy.

The working class is the only force capable of solving the problems facing Belgium. And the mission of the Communist Party — the true party of the working class — is to awaken it to its role and tasks and help it to carry out this role.

Our Party has experienced trying periods in its history. Seven years ago at our Vilvorde Congress we had to introduce certain changes in the forms of our activities. The issue we discussed then was how to achieve working-class unity and how to ensure the victory of our slogans and principles. Today, summing up some of the results of the decisions adopted at Vilvorde, we can say that we did the right thing.

At the Thirteenth Congress last year we defined our basic tasks. It was imperative, we pointed out, to improve our organization, to recruit new members, to carry on an active struggle through the medium of the press and improve the Marxist education of our cadres.

Today we can say that the experience since then has proved the correctness of these prin-

ciples. In all these respects we have had gains. The Party has grown numerically, its members have been tested in the struggle, they have become seasoned fighters and have advanced politically. In the future, too, we must work along these lines, for only in this way will we be able to build the Party as the militant vanguard of the working class.

We should not close our eyes to the difficulties ahead. And we should make a thorough assessment of the changes taking place.

On the whole the changes show that monopoly rule is becoming more and more discredited. Highly important is the development of new trends within the Social Democratic movement and the growth of the Left in the Catholic trade unions. More and more often the rank-and-file Communists, Socialists and Catholics are joining forces for united action. And the popular response to the slogans of the Communist Party is growing.

There will be more changes as time goes on. Taken together they will create the prerequisites for the unprecedented alliance of Left Socialists, Left Catholics and the Communists, and will open up new vistas. This will be no short-lived, transient alliance, but one providing a firm basis for the coming struggle for a new Belgium.

Anti-Imperialist Unity —the Guarantee of Victories of the Chilean People

Orlando Millas

"The working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favorable conditions for rallying these forces.

"Communists hold that this unity can be achieved on the basis of the struggle for peace, national independence, the protection and extension of democracy, the nationalization of key branches of the economy and democratization of their management, the use of the entire economy for peaceful purposes in order to satisfy the needs of the population, implementation of radical agrarian reforms, improvement of the living conditions of the working people, protection of the interests of the peasantry and the small and middle urban bourgeoisie against the tyranny of the monopolies."

(From the Statement of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, November, 1960).

IN an article on Chile published over two years ago in the *World Marxist Review* confidence was expressed that the growing prestige of our Party and the consolidation of the anti-imperialist unity in the country would guarantee future victories and, in particular, success in the forthcoming general elections.* Subsequent events have confirmed this analysis and provided new material for carrying it further.

The Crisis of Monopoly Domination

The Cuban revolution has had broad repercussions in our country. It has helped our people to appreciate the urgency of the demands which the democratic forces, rallied in the Popular Action Front, advanced in their recent general election program. The heroism displayed by their Cuban brothers has inspired our working people, particularly the youth. The impact of the Cuban revolution was felt also in the militant demonstrations and in the 24-hour general strike in protest against the U.S. invasion of Cuba.

In Chile, as in all Latin America, the policy of bowing to the U.S. *diktat* encounters failure upon failure. What are the consequences of this policy? Industry is stagnating; the country is threatened with bankrupt-

cy for there is a chronic budget deficit. Schools, hospitals and transport facilities are badly needed; food and even water, the latter because of the defective water-supply system, are in short supply. Real wages have declined, peasant poverty is widespread. Infantile mortality is exceedingly great (approximately half the annual deaths are of children up to 15).

In these circumstances it is not surprising that among all sections of the population there is a strong feeling for a new policy, for ending the omnipotence of the monopolies. A sign of this feeling is the big sale of *Concentration of Economic Power*, a book by the Left Radical Ricardo Lagos. The book is an indictment of the monopoly bourgeoisie which rules the country to the detriment of the national interests.

For purposes of camouflage the reactionaries have adopted a new terminology. Like Kennedy, for whom the colonialist policy of retarding the independent development of Latin America is "revolutionary," the Chilean latifundists declared (during the 1961 general election) the projected development of waste land as "agrarian reform," though this measure will in no way change the condition of the peasantry.

For years most of the political parties have advocated rapid economic development in

*See Luis Corvalan, "Strengthening the National-Liberation Front," No. 4, 1959, pp. 39-46.

Chile. When the Yankees prompted a plan to denationalize the oil fields and to hand over some of the big national enterprises to the U.S. monopolies the plan was opposed both by the Left (Communists, Socialists and National Democrats) and the Center parties (Radicals and Christian Democrats). A call for the immediate establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist countries, first of all with the Soviet Union — since this trade would greatly benefit Chile — is supported not only by the working people but also by the national bourgeoisie and even by some of the monopoly circles. The delay of the Alessandri government in meeting this demand was one of the reasons for the decline of the prestige of the Rights (Conservatives and Liberals).

The reactionary policy is sharply opposed by the working class. The successful coal strike was one of the longest in the country's history. Arms were used against strikers—metal-workers employed by the MAD-EMSA company and the MADECO copper company. But the workers, undaunted by the shooting, fought on and won their demands. In the course of strikes and demonstrations the employees in the public health services reinforced their trade union organization. But the most impressive action of 1960 was the November 7 national strike. Generally speaking, 1960 was a record year for big strikes. And so far the current year has been no less stormy; in March, immediately after the general election, port workers all along the coast struck work, as did the workers in the iron and steel works in Huachipato.

Mass action is a decisive factor. Besides the strikes and demonstrations it assumes the most varied forms. It has become usual, for instance, when thousands of homeless families, particularly in Santiago, occupy waste land and, backed by the solidarity of the working class, stay put, despite the efforts of the police to evict them; the squatters build dwellings and then campaign, often with success, for installation of essential public utilities.

From this brief survey of the situation in Chile it will be seen that the slogans advanced by the Popular Action Front in its election program were timely, which explains why they gained the powerful backing of the working people. Many of these slogans reflect economic demands: abolition of unemployment and guaranteed work for all; agrarian reform; nationalization of the copper, nitrates and iron ore mines, against denationalizing the oil industry; nationalization of

the credit, insurance and communal institutions; an end to monopoly domination, rapid economic development through the medium of state planning, raising the purchasing power and solving the crisis in housing, public education and in the health services. Other Front slogans called for genuine democracy based on a new constitution, for universal suffrage and effective administrative and economic autonomy. In foreign-policy matters the Front called for diplomatic and trade relations with all countries, defense of the national sovereignty, for ending relations which impaired the national interests, for the unity of all Latin American countries.

The General Election. A Heavy Defeat for the Rights

On March 5 a new Chamber of Deputies of 147 members and a part of the Senate* were elected in Chile. The Right-wing government was confident of victory. But it miscalculated.

To assess the election results it is necessary to bear in mind some of the features of political life in our country.

Chile is a republic. The President, elected by direct vote for a term of six years, has wide executive and legislative powers. Parliament also enjoys rights which, if realized, could be a powerful weapon in the fight for the people's demands. But the realization of these rights can be guaranteed only by the people, provided the Left forces are united.

Chile is still without universal suffrage. Under the present Constitution illiterates (about 20 per cent of the adult population), citizens under 21, soldiers and non-commissioned officers are disfranchised. And since the registration of voters is carried out at the places of residence and during working hours, the majority of workers, peasants and women workers especially, are in practice prevented from taking part in elections. Under the anti-democratic electoral system the Liberal Party — one of the parties of the government coalition — needed on the average 9,250 votes to get its candidate elected, whereas the Socialist Party needed 10,500 and the Communists 11,050 votes.

The reactionaries spend vast sums on propaganda, particularly through the press. They indulge in the wildest demagoguery; the bourgeois candidates are lauded as possessing every conceivable virtue. Immediately before the general election — as is usually the case

*Deputies are elected for a term of four years, Senators for eight. In March elections were held for only 25 of the 45 Senators, the remainder come up for election in 1965.

in election campaigns — the bourgeois parties acted as philanthropic societies. Everything was done to woo the voters; they helped parents to get places for their children in the schools, applied for pardons for convicted relatives, helped people to get credits in semi-state banks, to cancel fines, etc. Even the aid sent from all over the world to the victims of the May 1960 earthquake was not distributed immediately — it was held back so that its disbursement would coincide with the election campaign.

Nor did the reactionaries scruple to use provocations. Shady elements and police agents tried to persuade the people that nothing good would come from the elections and incited them to riot. An important role in this was assigned to the so-called lumpen-proletariat. The Communist Party actively intervened and warned the electorate to beware of the traps laid by the provocateurs.

As we see, the election campaign was conducted in an atmosphere of tense political struggle. Comrade Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Party, said with every justification: "If we regard the election campaign as a battle, waged energetically and with maximum exertion of effort, there is the chance that we will be able to break through the political barriers and clear the way for a people's government brought about by the most powerful struggle and the most powerful movement we have ever known." And this battle was won. If in 1957 the Popular Action Front polled 150,000 votes, in March 1961 it polled 410,000; the parties of the coalition government and the Center parties received 431,000 and 518,000 votes respectively.

How is this success of the Left reflected in the new Parliament? The table below shows the representation (Independents are not included):

Main political groupings	Chamber of Deputies 1957-61	Chamber of Deputies 1961-65	Senate 1957-1961	March elections to the Senate	Senate 1961-1965
Right parties	59	44	15	7	12
Center parties	62	62	12	9	18
Left parties	25	40	13	9	13

This was the first time in our country that the ruling groups, who operated all the levers of the election machine, suffered such a defeat. The 15 seats lost by the Right parties in the Chamber of Deputies went to the Popular Action Front. A resounding success was won by the Communist Party which

raised its representation in the Chamber from 6 to 16. The Socialist Party also won more seats and the recently formed National Democratic Party strengthened its positions.

There had been no Communists in the Senate before, now there are four — one of them Luis Corvalan. In one constituency the Party supported the candidate of the National Vanguard — a small party affiliated to the Popular Action Front — thanks to which it is represented in the new Parliament. In the Senate, too, the Right parties suffered a serious defeat.

The results of the general election reflected the change in the correlation of social forces. There was, and is, a pronounced swing to the Left. The decline of the Conservatives and Liberals is evident. Also evident is the stagnation in the Radical and Christian Democratic parties. It is significant that all the candidates of the Center parties who contested the election under the banner of anti-communism suffered defeat, whereas those who favored agreement with the Left, particularly with the Communist Party, were successful.

As was the case in the presidential election in 1958, the March general election showed a shift to the Left in the countryside, previously the mainstay of reaction. The big vote polled by the Popular Action Front in the agrarian provinces of Aconcagua, O'Higgins, Colchagua, Talca, Linares, Maule, Arauco and elsewhere is proof of the political awakening of the agricultural laborers and the peasants.

Our Unity, Its Conditions and Perspectives

The electoral success is largely explained by the broad unity of the anti-imperialist forces, first and foremost of the working class. A strong Communist Party is the decisive factor of this unity.

The reactionaries have always tried to isolate the Communists, to put roadblocks in their way in order to prevent any contact between the Party and the masses still under the influence of other ideological trends. Repressions were supplemented by intrigue, by distorting the views and actions of the Communists. But this approach failed to bring the desired results, for the Party educates its members and sympathizers in the spirit of selfless struggle on behalf of the working class and all the people. That is why it is easy for us to find a common language even with those who at first glance might seem to be far removed from us politically.

The first victory won by the Party over anti-communism was in preventing a split in the trade union movement. In 1948 when the Party was outlawed, the authorities placed the trade unions under the control of police agents and the employers. Many workers, out of sympathy with the comrades held in concentration camps and prisons, refused to have anything to do with the unions headed by traitors. But this refusal was tantamount to leaving the field clear for our enemies. The Party conducted extensive explanatory work among the masses to convince them of the need to join the unions, including the reactionary ones, to work in them with circumspection but boldly, to pose urgent problems and organize mass action in the course of which the corrupt leadership would appear in its true colors. This was done, and soon life was made unbearable for these agents of the bourgeoisie.

True, in this difficult period the trade union center — the Confederation of the Working People — was split. Nevertheless united trade unions remained in every branch of industry. In those unions where most of the members expressed the desire to join the breakaway center, the supporters of unity submitted to their decision. And conversely, where the supporters of unity were in the majority, the dissenters were given every opportunity to expound their views. In this way, and by promoting a broad democratic discussion, the unity supporters finally won the day in the breakaway confederation. At one of its congresses the agents of imperialism were removed from the leadership. As a result, the trade union centers reached agreement on joint action which in 1953 led to the emergence of a single, united trade union center.

Another of our successes on the way to unity was that, notwithstanding all the difficulties, we achieved mutual understanding with the Socialists. There were years when the reactionaries succeeded in provoking bitter clashes between the two parties. In 1940 the Socialist Party withdrew from the Popular Front. In 1948, under President Gonzalez Videla, some of the Socialists supported the reactionary government which outlawed our Party. What was the result of this anti-Communist line? The Socialist Party was weakened politically and splintered up into a number of conflicting groups. This was of benefit only to the Rights who indirectly at first and then directly took the leadership into their hands.

From a critical analysis of our relations with the Socialist Party we realized that some of our activity, sectarian tendencies and underestimation of the alliance with the Socialists had prevented us from making full use of the opportunities. The first thing was to stop calling the Socialists names, words which explained nothing and which merely offended them. But the main thing we did was to bring to the fore the really important things of concern to the people and in this way we developed joint action. But in the branches and at the top we have followed the sound practice of holding discussions with the Socialists not in an abstract way but with due consideration to mass activity, to ensure the best guidance of the working-class and popular movement and to strike telling blows at imperialism and the oligarchy.

Experience teaches that one cannot merely appeal for joint action. It is extremely important that both the Communists and their allies display initiative in achieving unity and in advancing proposals. The main thing is to get results that benefit the working people. The Communists should never indulge in boasting that it was they alone who showed how to get things done.

Some ten years ago the Left was broken up into a large number of splinter parties. It was necessary to regroup and rally them. The Popular Action Front included first the Communist, Socialist and Democratic parties. About a dozen smaller groupings, supported by various sections of the working people, remained outside the Front. Thanks to a flexible and militant policy which posed before the other Left parties the perspective of a more effective struggle for their aims and guaranteed their interest, we managed to extend the Popular Action Front. All the groupings joined the Front. Influenced by the common desire for unity the Popular Socialist Party merged with the Socialist Party. The Democratic Party of Chile, the People's Democratic Party, the Agrarian Labor Party, the People's National Party, the People's Party and the Social Democratic Party fused into the National Democratic Party. The Intransigent Radical Anti-Imperialists, the Labor Party and the National Alliance of Working People merged and formed the National Vanguard of the People. As we see, the struggle for common demands of the people consolidated the Front as a whole and all its affiliated parties. The successful struggle against the Right is possible only as a result of this consolidation. Here is an example.

In an attempt to split the Left coalition during the general elections the Rights and Center approved an anti-constitutional law prohibiting electoral blocs. Because of this the Front parties had to put forward their own lists of candidates. But in practice they achieved a unity which made it possible to reach agreements and frustrate the designs of their adversaries. When the Communists were not sure of victory they withdrew their candidates in order to support, on the basis of mutual concessions, other Front candidates. The other Front parties did the same in relation to the Communists. Thus we avoided to a considerable extent a dispersion of the progressive vote. Another two Communist deputies were elected thanks to the vigorous support of the Socialist Party, while another three Socialist deputies were elected thanks to the support of the Communists. In a number of constituencies similar agreements were joined by the National Democrats. In places where each Left party, confident of victory, put forward its own list, joint meetings were held with all members of the Front concentrating on the propaganda of the common platform.

Unity is the result of everyday, often insignificant efforts exerted by the Communist Party as a whole, by its branches, by its members. In order to solve the new tasks the Communist Party branches in town and countryside enter into contact with all the Left forces. In places where branches of the Socialist, National Democratic and National Vanguard parties function alongside those of the Communist Party, they always consult each other on the issues. In arriving at common decisions the local committees of the Front never infringe the independence of the affiliated parties.

Strikes and other mass actions are the best school of unity. There was a time when we paid insufficient attention to unity with the other parties and groups only because in some of the big trade unions Communist influence was dominant. Experience has taught us, however, that it is not enough to have a majority, that it is necessary to have complete or almost complete unanimity, particularly when the mass movement is in question. The big coal strike in 1960 ended in success only because the strike committee was representative of all groups and because even minor decisions were always unanimous. We should not be afraid that scrupulous respect for the opinions of the minority might weaken Party leadership in class battles. On

the contrary, this impels the Communists to find cogent arguments for their point of view, and enables them to get the support of the people who have the final say.

The Communist Party is resolutely opposed, both within and outside the Front, to any action likely to prejudice the national character of our struggle. In recent times some small groups of the Trotskyite type, lauding the opportunist policy of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist League, have argued that a third world war is inevitable and have denied the possibility of a non-violent revolution. At the same time the admirers of Yugoslav revisionism indulge in Left phraseology, stressing the contradiction with the national bourgeoisie, and by so doing raise obstacles in the way of a united anti-imperialist front. The Communists steadfastly expose all deviations of this kind.

In arranging joint action through the Front with some forces of the Center and at times with the Center as a whole the Communists presuppose, of course, that this action will be combined with the everyday struggle against the bourgeois defeatist tendencies and conciliatory tendencies. We are aware of course, that in Chile there are bourgeois leaders who, while they talk big about the revolutionary accomplishments of the Cuban people, in reality show a preference for the Nasser line. Dreading the political independence of the working class and the growing role of the Communists, they are easily attracted by the idea of a coup d'état of the Batista type. They look hopefully to the army officers in the anticipation that they will brush the masses aside and head the anti-imperialist movement. These trends are fertile soil for cloak and dagger men of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Building a broad anti-imperialist front is an essential condition for realizing the Party's slogan about a peaceful development of the Chilean revolution. This slogan was advanced at the time of the People's Front and was officially proclaimed by the Tenth Party Congress in 1956 when the Party was still underground. Since then," said Luis Corvalan, "there have taken place events which confirm our view about the possibility of effecting revolutionary reforms in Chile without recourse to violence. These were the repeal of the reactionary Permanent Defense of Democracy Law, that is, the legislative restoration to the Communist Party of its political and electoral rights; an improvement, though very inadequate, in the electoral system by

introducing the single official electoral ballot paper and, lastly, the considerable vote polled by the presidential candidate Dr. Salvador Allende when the popular movement was within an ace of electoral victory and of forming a genuinely popular, democratic government consisting mainly of the representatives of the Communist and Socialist parties." The Communists, of course, realize that the situation may change tomorrow and that the Party must be ready for all forms of struggle.

* * *

Experience shows that unity can be attained only on the basis of principle and in the process of the mass struggle. Faithful to its ideological principles the Communist Party

is guided by the ideas of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the socialist camp, the ideas of the struggle for peace, against imperialism.

Without forcing its views on anyone and constantly expounding them in a convincing way the Communist Party seeks to direct the anti-imperialist forces headed by the working class along the road of creating a broad and militant democratic coalition the core of which will be the parties affiliated to the Popular Action Front. While we have no intention of making a revolution on our own, our aim is that the future national democratic government should help our people to step out along the highway to socialism.

Some Problems of the Independence Struggle in Africa

I. Plyshevsky

THE face of Africa is changing with amazing speed. The national-liberation movement, which finds full understanding and sympathy in the socialist camp and among all who hold freedom dear, is forcing the colonialists to retreat. Former colonies are winning political independence. And this is an important step forward in the struggle for genuinely independent statehood and freedom from imperialist oppression.

The imperialists are hard put to it today to defend the colonial system. This is evident if only from the adoption at the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which the Soviet Union sponsored. Eighty-nine delegations voted for the Declaration and none against. Nine abstained—such colonial countries as the USA, Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Australia and the Union of South Africa, and the Dominican Republic. Even these delegations realized that it would have been foolhardy to vote against, for the colonial system has been morally condemned by all peoples

and there is no force in the world capable of preventing its complete disintegration.

The adoption of the Declaration was a serious defeat for the forces of colonialism and war. But it alone will not be enough to force the imperialists to grant independence to the colonies. Experience has shown that the imperialists never bestow freedom on exploited peoples or leave of their own free will the countries they have seized. "The imperialists, headed by the USA, are making desperate efforts to preserve the colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and new forms," the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out. "The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions in the guise of economic aid, drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there."

Imperialist Plunder of Africa

What does Africa mean to the imperialists? Basic raw materials for the industries of the capitalist countries — copper, uranium ore, cobalt, manganese ore, iron ore, oil, tin, gold and diamonds, as well as rubber, cotton, coffee, cocoa, oil-bearing nuts and other products. The enormous mineral resources, still far from fully surveyed, the advantageous location of many of the deposits, the cheap labor power and the possibility of using forced and even slave labor—all this makes Africa a particularly coveted prize for the monopolies.*

The British, French, U.S., Belgian and West German monopolies have made huge investments in the African countries and are garnering enormous profits there. The capital of the British companies incorporated in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland totalled £20,200,000 at the end of 1956, and their annual dividends exceeded £10 million. The annual profit of some of the mining companies operating in Northern Rhodesia has run in some years to more than 200 per cent on the invested capital. In the Belgian Congo, the capital of the Union Minière du Katanga stood at 5,000 million francs in 1950. As a result of further investment, financed mainly by ploughing back some of the profits, its net return increased from 600 million francs in 1946 to 4,500 million in 1959. In the ten years from 1950 to 1959 the company's profits totalled 31,000 million francs. According to official figures, the companies operating in the Belgian Congo paid dividends totalling 4,900 million francs in 1955, 5,500 million in 1959 and 5,800 million in 1960.

Since the end of the Second World War the U.S. monopolies have been steadily increasing their African investments. According to incomplete data, U.S. state and private capital in Africa now exceeds 2,000 million dollars. Recent years have also witnessed the penetration of West German capital into this quarter of the world. Although their total investments are not very high as yet (172 million marks), the West German monopolies, now exceedingly active, are increasing their share in the plunder of the African peoples. Imperialist investments since the Second World War have mostly gone into expanding basic mining operations. In the period from 1948-1950 to 1955-1957, the extraction of manganese ore increased by 36 per cent, chromium 45 per cent, copper 55 per cent, asbestos 64 per cent, iron ore 88 per cent, cobalt 96 per cent, lead

113 per cent, zinc 124 per cent, and bauxites by 304 per cent. African oil output in 1960 exceeded 10 million tons, and by 1962 the Sahara alone is expected to yield more than 20 million tons. The proportion of African mineral raw materials to the total consumed by the industries of the capitalist countries is increasing year after year, as can be seen from the following table covering a 20-year span:

	In percentages	
	1937	1956
Copper	19	24
Manganese ore	24	37
Tin ore	11	15
Antimony	5	48
Gold	47	63
Cobalt	—	80

The available statistics do not cover certain strategic raw materials (uranium ore, etc.) which occupy a prominent place in capitalist production. It is known, however, that the annual export of uranium ore from the Belgian Congo in 1943-44 amounted to 8,000 tons and in 1945 to more than 9,000 tons. Eighty per cent of the ore mined went to the USA. No later data on uranium ore extraction have been published.

The foreign trade of the African countries is almost wholly controlled by the monopolies of the principal imperialist countries; both exports and imports go largely through their hands. In 1954, for example, 71.2 per cent of all exports from Africa went to Britain, France, Belgium, the USA, Canada and West Germany, and the principal imperialist powers supplied 70.6 per cent of the continent's total imports. Since then the picture has remained much the same. Nor has there been any appreciable change in the character of the economy of the African countries.

Most of them are still raw material producing adjuncts of the industrial capitalist powers—sources of industrial raw materials and agricultural and forest products. Monoculture, one of the hallmarks of colonial economy, prevails in agriculture.

Non-equivalent trade is the salient feature of the commercial relations between the capitalist monopolies and the African, as well as other, underdeveloped countries. In the 40 years preceding the Second World War, the quantity of industrial goods which the underdeveloped countries could obtain in return for a comparable volume of exports declined by 40 per cent. This tendency became still more marked after the war. Between 1950 and 1959

*See: Jack Woddis, *Africa. The Roots of Revolt*. Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1960.

the gap between export and import prices widened by 23 per cent in favor of the industrial countries. Non-equivalent trade is a form of plundering the economically underdeveloped countries, which, increasingly, get smaller quantities of industrial goods from the capitalist countries in exchange for their raw materials. Besides, raw-material exporters have been hard hit by the decline in the world market price of raw materials.

The foregoing explains the tenacity with which the imperialist powers are striving to hold the African countries in subjection. If we add to this the strategic importance of Africa as a location for imperialist military bases (NATO has seven naval and 17 air bases there), it will become all the more clear that the imperialists will not readily part with their possessions. They will not voluntarily give up the fabulous profits they are squeezing out of Africa or hand over to its peoples the vast natural resources that supply them with raw materials.

Independence Imperialist Style

Most African colonies have achieved formal political independence and more will do so in the near future. Actually, however, the majority of the new African states are still dependent on their former imperialist masters.

It should be borne in mind that so far it is mainly the political relations between the imperialist powers and their former colonies that have been affected, while their economic relations in most cases have not undergone any substantial change. The old economic bonds have remained as a rule, with the monopolies still holding the key positions. The emergent countries are still within the capitalist international division of labor. Even the political independence of many countries is purely relative.

It has been noted previously in our journal that in many of the former French colonies and trustee territories which have now become independent (Madagascar, Senegal, Congo, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Togo and Cameroon), the people are still denied the democratic rights they have fought for. Many fighters for independence have been thrown into prison or concentration camps, some by the colonialists, others by the newly-established governments whose domestic policies are by no means democratic. The people often have no opportunity to voice their views on the state of affairs or openly to put forth their demands.

Indicative in this respect was the fact that the public opinion of most of the African

countries subordinated to France was not represented at the Third All-African Peoples' Conference, which was held in Cairo over March 25-30, 1961. According to participants in the conference, the reason was that the governments did not allow delegates of opposition parties and organizations to attend for fear that they would expose official policies that ran counter to the national interest. On the other hand, the leaders of the government and pro-government parties and organizations did not send representatives for the simple reason that had they attended, they would either have had to join with the delegations from other countries in condemning the new forms of colonialism, including those employed by the French colonialists in their own countries, or defend French imperialism and thereby expose themselves before all Africa. Hence the decision not to take part in the all-Africa forum.

The policies pursued in the world arena by some of the new African states are not always in accord with the interests of their peoples. For example, the delegations from Cameroon, Congo, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Gabon, Upper Volta, Madagascar (the Malagasy Republic), Niger, the Central African Republic, Senegal and the Chad Republic obstructed the efforts of the Afro-Asian group at the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly to uphold the interests of the Algerian national-liberation movement and support the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. By introducing an amendment calling for negotiations between the parties concerned, these 11 African delegations succeeded in deleting from the draft resolution on Algeria its most important point—the provision calling for a referendum under United Nations control. Since de Gaulle aims at having Algeria either “associated” with France or partitioned, and at negotiating not only with the Provisional Algerian Government but also with puppet spokesmen, it is clear that this amendment actually served the interests of the French imperialists.

The French colonialists hope to save at least part of their African possessions by concluding unequal treaties with the governments of some of their former colonies. In this they are aided by some local leaders who, fearing their own peoples, are ready to enter into political deals with the French government in order to remain in the saddle. Typical of this type of leader is Felix Houphouet-Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast Republic, who held the African affairs portfolio in the French cabinet in 1956. An inveterate supporter of the French colonialists, this man took it upon

himself to persuade the political leaders of other former French colonies that it was in their interests to form a federation and enter into partnership with the West. According to the capitalist press, Houphouet-Boigny urged the African countries voluntarily to abridge their freedom and ally themselves with their former colonial rulers. Other leaders of the same type are Abbot Fulbert Youlou, President of the former French Congo; Prime Minister Mamadou Dia of Senegal, and President and Prime Minister Philibert Tsiranana of the Malagasy Republic who wants an economic and military alliance with France.

In view of popular opposition to the idea, the French imperialists have shifted the emphasis from the Franco-African Community (designed to make France the arbiter of its members' defense, finance and foreign policies) to a system of so-called "equal" treaties not entailing formal affiliation with the Community.

What these "equal" treaty relations amount to can be seen from the example of Eastern Cameroon. This former French trustee territory became an independent state, the Cameroon Republic, on January 1, 1960. In reality it is an African province of France under a treaty signed before independence by the Cameroon authorities subordinated to the French government at the time.

On the basis of bilateral agreements, France has military bases on Cameroon territory. Freedom fighters are still kept in prison. Some administrative posts in the republic are occupied by foreigners. Because of this, the people of the formally independent Cameroon are forced to continue guerilla war against a French army of 80,000 armed with American weapons and reinforced by the Foreign Legion.

This is not the kind of independence that the people fought for. It may be acceptable to Prime Minister Amadou Ahidjou, who is connected with the French ruling circles, but certainly not to the people. It is understandable, therefore, that although the government of the Cameroon Republic has a seat in the United Nations, the people do not feel they are independent and are continuing the national-liberation struggle. As Kingue Abel, Vice-President of the Cameroon Peoples' Union, said at the Cairo conference, the people will know they are independent only when the following points have been conceded: immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and technical personnel; termination of agreements (with France, Britain, and other

countries) disadvantageous to Cameroon and violating its sovereignty; recognition of the people's democratic rights and trade union freedoms; release of political prisoners, and appointment of Africans to all administrative posts. The Cameroon patriots propose that a provisional coalition government be formed of the representatives of both parts of the country (Western Cameroon is still under British "trusteeship") to draw up an electoral law and hold elections for a Constituent Assembly of a united Cameroon.

France has essentially the same kind of treaties with Niger, Dahomey, the Ivory Coast and some other countries, and in each the patriotic forces are waging a political struggle against the attempts of the imperialists to perpetuate their domination through unequal treaties. Nor is France alone in pursuing this type of colonial policy. On April 27 Britain granted independence to Sierra Leone, after having extracted an advance commitment that it would remain in the British Commonwealth and a pledge that the government would conclude a treaty with Britain on "mutual defense." This can hardly find support among the people, who no doubt will seek to abolish such limitations of their country's sovereignty. The struggle for *real independence* after achieving formal independence is a pressing problem also for other African countries.

This bears out Lenin's thesis that the imperialists sometimes find it *advantageous* to grant some dependent countries democratic freedoms, "including independent statehood."* In the present transitional period from capitalism to socialism, when there is a powerful socialist camp and the positions of imperialism have been undermined, the imperialists are compelled to retreat and maneuver in order to combat the steadily growing national-liberation movement of the colonial peoples. Aware that they cannot maintain the colonial system in its old form, the imperialists are forced to grant independence as a safety valve, a strategic move designed to prevent, or at least put off, complete loss of colonial possessions. But in granting political independence to their colonies, the imperialists, as is pointed out in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting, "endeavor to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the new countries, to misrepresent the principle of self-determination of nations, to impose new forms of colonial domination under the spurious slogans of 'independence', instal their puppets in these countries and corrupt a sec-

*V. I. Lenin, *Apropos of a Caricature on Marxism and "Imperialist Economism."*

tion of the bourgeoisie. They resort to the poisoned weapon of national strife to undermine the young states that are not yet strong enough." At the same time, they do not hesitate to embark on colonial wars whenever the monopolies are determined to retain their hold on a colony and all other methods of doing so are of no avail. At present colonial wars are being waged in Algeria, Angola and elsewhere.

How, then, are we to assess the independence achieved by African countries? *Political independence is above all the result of the struggle of the colonial peoples to overthrow the imperialist yoke.* It is an indication of the weakness of the imperialist powers, which are no longer in a position to use the forms of domination most convenient for them. Lenin stressed that "finance capital finds most 'convenient' and is able to extract the greatest profit from *such* a subjection as involves the loss of the political independence of the subjected countries and people."* Every time a colony becomes an independent country a blow is struck at imperialism.

The winning of political independence is a major success for the national-liberation struggle. Independence makes it possible for the former colonies to establish economic and political ties with other countries, including the socialist countries. The disinterested economic aid free of any political strings rendered by the latter opens up for the newly-liberated countries an opportunity to break away from the capitalist international division of labor. It also becomes possible to use international organizations to expose imperialism and uphold the independence of nations. The absolute sway of the imperialist monopolies is undermined, and this creates the prerequisites for a rapid growth of both industry and the working class, as well as for agrarian reform and expansion of the home market.

In a number of countries that have won political independence genuinely national leaders have come to the fore and are leading the struggle for the achievement of complete independence, both political and economic. Political independence does not signify the end of the struggle against imperialism, but its continuation in new conditions. In some African countries, however, state leadership has passed into the hands of vacillating, conciliatory elements, and even direct agents of the imperialists; here the struggle for real independence will, of course, be fought under more adverse conditions. But even in these circumstances, even if their political indepen-

dence is to a certain extent merely formal, the countries in question have emerged from isolation into the mainstream of world development, wider opportunities have been opened for the growth of the national bourgeoisie, and the masses, enriched by the experience of the struggle against imperialism, are spurred on to greater activity. Therefore the Communist parties throughout the world and all progressives welcome the political independence of the African peoples, even when it is not accompanied by genuine sovereignty.

Unions of African States and "Balkanization"

The question of the forms of association of the independent African states, an urgent issue, looms large on the agendas of conferences of African heads of state and is discussed at assemblies of the peoples. The colonialists, too, are seeking to solve it, but in their own, imperialist way.

Independence has not altered the old colonial and trusteeship frontiers, which grew out of imperialist domination and as often as not conflict with the interests of the peoples. For instance, there are two Congolese republics simply because one part of the Congo once belonged to Belgium and the other to France. Another example is the Cameroons; Eastern Cameroon, formerly under French trusteeship, is formally independent, while Northern Cameroon, where the British imperialists hold sway, has been joined to the former British colony of Nigeria which became independent last year. Many other anomalous situations could be mentioned. At the time of the partitioning of Africa the imperialists ruthlessly carved it up without regard for geographic, linguistic, national or tribal factors. How is this to be remedied?

Some African leaders advocate a union of states. At the end of April President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, President Sekou Toure of Guinea and President Modibo Keita of the Mali Republic signed the Charter of the Union of African States, thereby officially confirming their association in it. The Charter leaves the Union open to other African countries or federations.

Other leaders are in favor of federation, and some even advocate a Pan-African federation. But whatever the form of association, there are many obstacles to be overcome. "A federation is a union of equals, a union requiring *common consent*," Lenin said.* So far there is no such equality, and still less agree-

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

*V. I. Lenin, *Letter to S. G. Shaumyan*, November 23 (December 6), 1913.

ment, among most of the African states. The responsibility for this rests primarily on the imperialists, who have followed the "divide and rule" principle and still wield influence in many of the emergent countries. It will be recalled that no sooner had the French Sudan and Senegal united in the Mali Federation and seriously posed the question of creating a genuinely independent state, than the agents of French imperialism split the association and a regime more acceptable to France was set up in Senegal.

On the other hand, the British imperialists are trying to preserve the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland by force. Consisting of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, this Federation was set up in 1953, despite the protests of the African population; it is dominated by the white settlers, mostly from Southern Rhodesia, whose race prejudices are no less vicious than those of the South African racists. The architects of the Federation counted on the rule of the white settlers in the artificially created body strengthening the position of the British imperialists and enabling them to play the part of an arbiter between the white racists and the Africans, as they had done for so long in the Union of South Africa.

The patriots of Rhodesia and Nyasaland are waging a stubborn struggle against the Federation, associating its abolition with liberation from racist rule. The situation is so tense that, as M. Sipalo, secretary of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, has said, "every European in Northern Rhodesia now sleeps with a gun under his pillow." But, it is clear that the British ruling circles have not given up the idea of making the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland an anti-African racist state of the type of the Union of South Africa. Hence serious battles may be expected between the imperialists and the freedom fighters in Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The African peoples, reaching out toward unity, also have before them the deplorable example of Egypt and Syria. As is generally known, union in this case amounted to the subordination of Syria to Egypt. The African peoples can hardly accept such association.

Concerned for the genuine independence of the countries that have won political freedom or are fighting against the colonial yoke, progressive spokesmen of the Maghreb countries stress that union (not amalgamation) should be based on democratic principles and on anti-imperialist aims. These essential require-

ments are of vital importance since the main aim of the anti-colonial struggle is the winning and consolidation of independence. In other words, even after political independence is won the peoples have to combat the efforts of the colonialists to retain their positions in the liberated countries. Observance of democratic principles creates confidence between peoples and strengthens their hand against imperialism.

It is of the utmost importance that the complex question of national self-determination in Africa should be settled without any outside interference. Speaking of self-determination for the peoples of tsarist Russia, Lenin stressed that "Social Democracy will always fight any attempt to influence national self-determination by violence or by injustice imposed from without."* At present a grave threat of this kind of interference hangs over Africa. The imperialists offer their own patterns for national self-determination, patterns designed either to subordinate some nations to others or to break up national entities into puppet states.

Dismemberment of countries and artificially creating puppet states on their territories—the "Balkanization" of Africa—is a grave danger indeed. Clearly, the attempts made to splinter the Congo are aimed at restoring the old colonial status. The same applies to the proposals advanced by the French rulers to carve up Algeria as a possible solution of the Algerian problem. The imperialists have already created a tense situation in this area by severing Mauritania from Morocco. Franco's intrigues in Africa pursue a like objective. Still more tense is the situation in Somaliland, where the Somali peoples are not yet united in a single state.

The British imperialists, too, are creating new areas of strife by similar maneuvers. Realizing that they cannot keep the peoples of Uganda under their colonial yoke, they are sowing dissension among them. Deliberate efforts are being made to aggravate the differences between Buganda, which wants a federal structure with a monarch (the ruler of Uganda) as the head of state, and the Eastern and Northern provinces, which want a centralized state. The conflict is being waged in a situation strongly affected by the rivalry of three religious groups—Catholic, Protestant and Moslem. Numerous parties have sprung up on the basis of the various racial and religious groups. For the British

*V. I. Lenin, *The National Question in Our Program*.

imperialists this creates favorable conditions for concluding agreements with the various provinces with a view to preserving their power in Uganda even if, and when, political independence is granted.

The parties fighting for an independent Uganda, well aware of the aims of the colonialists, are taking measures to counter them. A conference of the leaders of six political parties held at the end of 1959 decided to coordinate their efforts. In March 1960 the progressive wing of the Uganda National Congress and the People's Union united to form the Uganda People's Congress, which enjoys wide popular support. The efforts of the leaders of the independent movement, backed by the masses to frustrate the colonialists' schemes were supported by the All-African Peoples' Conference which condemned the attempt to dismember Uganda and sow internal strife in the country.

Danger of Disunity in the National-Liberation Movement

The colonialists are not only sowing dissension in Africa and organizing internecine strife. They are planting their agents in the national-liberation movements, smuggling them into leading positions so as to use them later for their own ends. Among these agents we find members of the tribal élite, feudal chiefs, compradores, missionaries, corrupt careerists from among the local intellectuals and other shady elements. As one of the delegates at the Cairo conference aptly put it, "quislings are not the exclusive privilege of Western Europe." Today they present a growing problem in Africa. The Cairo Conference, for instance, laid special emphasis on the need to mobilize the masses to "expose the enemies of genuine independence and the agents of neo-colonialism whatever guise they might assume."

The danger of a split in the national-liberation movements of some African countries as a result of the intrigues of the imperialist agents and their hirelings who have penetrated into the leadership of the political parties, the trade unions and the youth organizations is now greater than ever. The process of the emergence of independent states is exceedingly rapid and it is of utmost importance for their peoples and for general peace that the right men should head the new states. The problem is all the more complex because in Africa class differentiation is at the initial stages and the progressive organizations are weak. Most African countries as yet have no

parties of the working class which would be able to formulate the national tasks at the various stages of the liberation movement and elaborate tactics in the anti-imperialist struggle. Not in all countries is the liberation movement headed by progressive parties like the Democratic Party of Guinea, which is leading its people forward along democratic lines. The imperialists take all this into account in their endeavors to sow dissension, to foster separatist, narrow nationalistic and even chauvinistic tendencies and to build up the prestige of their agents by representing them as genuine fighters for independence. No means are disdained to achieve these ends.

Political parties and organizations are now growing rapidly and the pulse of political life has quickened. This testifies primarily to the increasing activity of the peoples, who formerly were forbidden on pain of death to form anti-imperialist parties and organizations. But among the new parties and organizations there are also those that do not contribute to the strengthening of the national-liberation movement. Some of them are directly under the influence of the church, especially the Vatican. The leadership of others is in the hands of traitors to the national cause, stooges of the colonialists or simply careerists. Such organizations tend to disorganize the struggle for independence. This problem confronted the organizational committee of the All-Africa Peoples Conference, which was attended by 67 delegations from 32 countries. The committee had to refuse to accept delegates from many parties which it knew to be of an anti-national and essentially pro-imperialist nature. It was not by chance that the Conference laid emphasis on the need to expose such organizations and to isolate them.

The problem presented by the delegations from Kenya, for example, could not but give cause for alarm. Some of the delegates from that country made no secret of the fact that the trade union leader Tom Mboya, who also was present, was actually working for the imperialists, even though he vows loyalty to Jomo Kenyatta, the leader of the national-liberation movement who has spent more than eight years in prison. A document circulated at the conference showed that when Mboya was in London last year he pressed the colonial authorities not to release Kenyatta since the latter, if freed, would become the symbol of unity and hinder the plans of the British imperialists. At the conference Mboya insistently advocated the creation of an East-African Federation before its prospective

members—Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar—win their independence.

There are also the so-called "neutralists" who, on the pretext of preoccupation with internal affairs and adherence to the principle of non-interference, actually aid the colonialists. Some of these states, in the guise of non-interference, blockaded Stanleyville, the seat of the lawful Congolese government headed by Gizenga. As a result Stanleyville has had great difficulty in obtaining medical supplies and food from without, whereas the imperialists lavishly supply the traitors of the Congolese people with arms and ammunition.

* * *

The colonial system of imperialism is disintegrating throughout Africa. There is not a country on the continent which has not been stirred into action. The peoples demand independence without delay.

If two or three years ago the Belgian and Portuguese imperialists could refer to their African possessions as islands of "tranquility" in a turbulent continent, today probably the sharpest struggle for independence is taking place precisely in these colonies. In the Congo, forces are being consolidated around the legitimate Gizenga government in bitter struggle against the colonialists and their puppets. As for the Portuguese colonies, a colonial war is now under way in Angola,

where the Salazar fascists are using the army, the air force, paratroopers and forces specially trained for jungle fighting. Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea are likewise demanding immediate independence.

The colonial peoples are not alone in their struggle. The Communist parties in the metropolitan countries, faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are consistently demanding independence for the colonies and organizing a struggle at home against the colonialists. The socialist countries are on the side of the colonies fighting for independence. Progressive humanity condemns colonial slavery and demands the abolition of this shameful feature of our time—the colonial system. The issue has ceased to be an internal matter for the imperialists. The termination of colonial oppression has become a pressing international problem.

The progress of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the sphere of economy, technology and culture, and in solving national and social problems, are too great to be concealed from the peoples that are fighting for independence. The prospect of rapid all-round development and of successes such as those achieved by the socialist countries inspires the colonial peoples to still more resolute struggle for genuine national independence.

Socialism and Taxes

S. Borisov

THE abolition of taxes now under way in the Soviet Union is an event of worldwide significance, a striking manifestation of the concern displayed by the Communist Party and the Soviet government for the welfare of the people. It reaffirms the peace policy of the USSR, for only a country that entertains no thought of war is in a position to abolish taxes, and is a new demonstration of the vitality of socialist society and its superiority over the moribund capitalist system. And whereas the world's first socialist state has begun to abolish taxes, the workers in the capitalist countries are made to bear an ever heavier burden of taxation.

* * *

The history of exploiting societies—from slavery to modern monopoly capitalism—is simultaneously the history of the machinery of taxation. The capitalist countries spend vast sums on the police, the bureaucracy and the army whose job is to protect the exploiting system, on armaments, predatory wars, on subsidizing the private capitalist economy and other purposes having nothing in common with the popular interest. The capitalist state has, however, almost no independent sources of revenue.

To carry out its functions, therefore, the capitalist state *forcibly appropriates, by way of taxation, part of the national income created by the labor of the exploited masses.* As N.S. Khrushchov emphasized at the Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (May 1960), "taxes form the economic base of the capitalist state, the principal, irreplaceable, financial foundation for the execution of all its functions." And, indeed, from 85-90 per cent, and even more of the estimated revenue in the budget of any capitalist country is now made up of taxes.

At the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism, a stage marked by the growth of state-monopoly trends and militarism on the one hand, and by the sharpening of the working-class struggle against the monopoly oppression on the other, non-productive spending by capitalist governments and taxation to cover this expenditure are at an all-time high. The total volume of tax payments and social insurance contributions (the latter

differ little from taxes*) is a record for "peace" time. This is evident from the following data showing the proportion of taxes and social insurance contributions to the national income in the principal capitalist countries (in percentages):

Countries	1938	1959
USA	21	31
Britain	25	37
France	23	45

In the last 20 years the total of taxes (in comparable prices) has increased 4.2 times in the USA, 2.2 in Britain, and 3.2 in France. On the basis of the present price level, each inhabitant of the United States paid \$226 in taxes and social insurance contributions in 1938, and \$700 in 1959; the figures for Britain were 69 and 136 pounds sterling respectively; for France, 660 and 1,920 new francs. The tax burden is becoming heavier in the capitalist countries. The *U.S. News & World Report* recently acknowledged that American taxpayers are groaning under the heavy load.

Reams have been written in the West trying to prove that the capitalist tax system has nothing to do with "class," that it functions in the interests of the community as a whole and distributes the tax burden according to the principle of "equality" and "equity." The apologists of capitalism like to say that the "tax-gatherer" makes no distinction between the factory worker and the company director. But the facts prove otherwise. For there is no equality in the way taxes are distributed among classes in capitalist society. The capitalists, especially the big monopolists, exert political and economic pressure in order to get the utmost tax relief. The law looks after the interests of the ruling classes, and sees to it that they benefit from tax relief and privileges. The capitalists, especially the big ones, avoid paying all the tax to which they are liable under the law. They circumvent the regulations in a thousand and one ways, maintaining staffs of lawyers to ferret out legal loopholes and to conceal the true amount of their incomes. "If their (i.e., the capitalists—S.B.) tax returns were a correct measure of their standard of living, most of them ought to be on National Assistance,"

*In the USA they are actually designated "social security taxes."

Harold Wilson, British Labor M.P., once remarked in this connection.

The main tax burden falls on the broad sections of the working people. According to official statistics, in 1959 capitalist companies in France paid only 10 per cent of the total tax collected; in Britain about 17 per cent; in the USA some 22 per cent and in West Germany from nine to 10 per cent. The remaining 80 to 90 per cent was paid by the population. Thus the exploited masses, whose labor creates the national income, are also the principal taxpayers. And they are exploited still further by means of taxes.

Direct taxes, primarily the income tax, figure prominently on the revenue side of the budget in capitalist countries. The direct tax deductions from wages are increasing. Gone are the days when wages and other earned income were exempt from tax. Now, in effect, the entire working population in the capitalist countries pays income tax, and in some cases not even pensioners are exempted. In the prewar USA one in every 33 inhabitants paid income tax, in Britain one in 13. The figure now is one in three for the two countries.

The total amount of taxes (including social insurance contributions) taken by the U.S. Federal Government, rose nearly 14-fold between 1938 and 1959, with direct taxes rising 25-fold and income tax 32-fold. The American workers, who were not subject to income tax in prewar times, now pay from 75 to 80 per cent of the total federal income tax. Six times as many people pay taxes in Britain today as in prewar, while income tax paid by wage earners has increased more than 16-fold.

The tax burden is made heavier by lowering the minimum level of earnings subject to taxation and by raising tax rates. Under the federal income tax system, for instance, the untaxed minimum for an average family in comparable prices has been lowered almost threefold in the past 20 years; it has been halved in Great Britain. The minimum federal income tax rate was four per cent of the taxed income before the Second World War; it has now risen to 20 per cent.

In addition to direct taxation the working people are exploited as consumers through a system of *indirect taxes*. Indirect taxes (excise, custom, etc.) are charged on goods and services. They are, in fact, concealed deductions from wages.

Indirect taxes account for over 70 per cent of the revenue in Italy; 65 per cent in West Germany; over 50 per cent in France and more than 40 per cent in Britain.

Indirect taxes take no heed of whether the taxpayer is poor or rich, employed or unemployed, single or married. As Lenin put it: "Indirect taxation charged upon articles consumed by the masses is distinguished by its grave injustice. Its burden is borne entirely by the poor, creating a privileged situation for the rich. The poorer a person is, the larger the share of his income that he pays to the state in the form of indirect taxes."* Official U.S. data confirm this: families with an annual income of over \$10,000 pay about four per cent of it in indirect taxes; those with incomes from \$4-5,000—8.5 per cent, while those up to \$2,000 pay 13 per cent.

There are also a number of *local taxes*. So numerous are they that the people often have no idea why they are levied. In France and Italy, for example, local taxes and dues are numbered by the dozen. A person living in New York has to pay in addition to federal taxes—i.e., income tax, social insurance contribution and other charges—a state property tax, two automobile taxes, a state income tax, water rate, etc.

All this adds up to a sizeable deduction from wages. According to available figures taxes absorb about 30 per cent of the income of American working-class families; about the same in West Germany; some 28 per cent in France; 22 per cent in Britain and 20 per cent in Italy.

But these taxes, exorbitant though they are, no longer suffice to cover the growing military and other non-productive spending of the capitalist states. Chronic budget deficits are common. These, and the government loans floated to cover them, give rise to inflation which eventually increases the tax burden. Bourgeois economists have even elaborated an anti-inflation theory of taxation. Playing on the inflation danger they urge increased taxation. Income tax on the population, declares A. Hart, an American economist, is one of the most powerful weapons in the anti-inflation arsenal. Any overt or covert tax increase is a manifestation of the general offensive launched by the big monopolies against the people. And in view of this, action against the tax burden is inseparable from the struggle to curb the monopolies, democratize public life and raise living standards.

As long as the capitalist system exists, taxes will continue to be levied in some measure or other. The tax problem can be solved and the working people relieved of the tax burden only through the victory of

*V. I. Lenin, *Apropos of the Public Estimates*.

the socialist revolution. There is no doubt however, that by curbing the monopolies and democratizing public life the tax system could be changed substantially to the benefit of the working people even under capitalism. It is from this premise that the Communist and Workers' parties proceed in advancing the democratic demand for a radical tax reform. For instance, the policy-document of the Communist Party of Austria states that "it is working for a tax and finance policy aimed at the maximum taxation of the big capitalists and the rich, at easing the tax burden on the working people."

Inasmuch as indirect taxes are the most inequitable form of taxation, the burden of which is borne almost entirely by the working people, the working-class parties are demanding their abolition or sharp reduction, and progressive taxation on incomes and profits. Thus the Greek Communist Party's program of national-democratic demands calls for a substantial reduction of indirect taxes and levies on mass consumption goods.

The radical reform of the tax system envisaged in the program of the Communist and Workers' parties is in accord with the vital interests not only of the working class and the peasantry, but also office workers, intellectuals and the small urban bourgeoisie suffering under monopoly domination.

* * *

With the triumph of the socialist revolution and the transfer of state power to the working class, both the social content of taxes and the purpose they serve undergo a radical change.

The abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production ensures the socialist state an independent and reliable source of income such as the capitalist state does not and cannot hope to possess. Under a system in which public ownership of the means of production is predominant, *taxes cease to be the economic base of the state.*

The socialist state obtains its finances primarily from the accumulations of its economy. It was this important feature of socialism that Lenin had in mind when he wrote: "In the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat and state ownership of the main means of production, the finances of the state should come from channelling a certain part of the income of the state-owned monopolies directly to the exchequer."*

The socialist state cannot abolish taxes immediately after the overthrow of the bour-

geoisie. For every socialist country has to pass through a more or less prolonged phase of development when taxes play a definite role in mobilizing financial resources for the state.

Socialist society does not at once become the owner of the bulk of the means of production, which provide an income adequate for satisfying the needs of the community. Taxes are still necessary during the transitional period, for the socialist production relations are not yet firmly established in all spheres of the national economy, and the principle of planned production and distribution is not as yet all-embracing.

Taxation is needed at this stage to implement the class policy of the victorious proletariat. In a way taxes resemble a weapon which can be turned in the direction desired by those who wield it. The capitalists level it at the working people, while the working class, having deprived the bourgeoisie of power, turns it against the exploiters, using taxes as an important means for undermining the economic power of capital. At the same time the socialist state endeavors to keep taxes on earned incomes down as much as possible, in a way compatible with the existing economic conditions, no taxes at all being levied on low incomes. Whereas rising taxes are inevitable under capitalism, the socialist state lowers taxes whenever conditions permit this and then abolishes them altogether.

The Soviet Union is a case in point. The extraordinary levies and contributions imposed on the propertied classes in Russia immediately after the October Revolution were a major instrument in undermining the economic power of the bourgeoisie and crushing its resistance. With the end of the civil war and particularly during the New Economic Policy (NEP) the Soviet state used taxes first to regulate incomes and restrict the economic activity of capitalist elements in town and countryside and afterwards to oust these elements altogether. It stimulated socialist reconstruction in the countryside by means of taxes. The tax policy, under which the kulaks paid relatively high taxes, the middle peasants received tax relief and the poor peasants were exempt, helped to sap the economic power of the kulaks and enabled the millions of small peasant households to go over to large-scale collectivized farming.

And, lastly, the proletarian state's temporary recourse to taxation is explained by the specific economic and political conditions of socialist construction in each country which,

*V. I. Lenin, *Draft Program of the RCP(B)*.

at times, necessitate a maximum national effort either to achieve the objective of the revolution with the utmost speed or to safeguard its gains from imperialist encroachments. In these circumstances the socialist state's tax system serves as a channel along which part of personal earned income is conveyed for state and public needs. This was the case, for example, when, in the difficult conditions of capitalist encirclement, the young Soviet state was laying the foundations of its industrial and defense might without any material aid from outside, relying solely on its own resources.

While the Soviet state utilizes the tax system in some measure or other, it has at all stages of its development *consistently pursued a policy of expanding non-tax sources of income and of reducing tax payments by the citizens*. It was only in the early years of the socialist revolution that tax receipts made a more or less sizeable contribution to the revenue of the state. As the socialist economy developed and gained in strength, the share of taxes steadily declined. In 1924-25 they amounted to 51.4 per cent of the total budget revenue; in 1932 they were down to 10 per cent, to 8.5 per cent in 1950 and seven per cent in 1961.

The Soviet experience in solving tax matters is being creatively applied in other socialist countries. It should be stressed, however, that the specific national features in these countries, their varying economic levels and other economic and political factors predetermine the way in which taxation is utilized for socialist construction, although the general laws governing the character, role and significance of taxes under socialism are common to all the socialist countries without exception.

Having used the tax lever in the onslaught on private capitalist ownership in the first years of people's rule and sharply reduced the tax burden on the working people by making the exploiting classes pay more, the People's Democracies began to develop non-tax sources of income and still further to reduce the taxes paid by the people. In most socialist countries income from the socialist sector now accounts for 80-90 per cent and even more of the budget revenue. In Albania, taxes paid by the population amounted to 2.9 per cent of the revenue in 1959; 4.8 in Bulgaria; 10.6 in Hungary; 9.4 in the German Democratic Republic; 11.6 in Poland; 8.9 in Rumania and 11.7 per cent in Czechoslovakia. In the Chinese People's Republic the share of the basic form of taxes—the agricultural tax—in the budget fell from 29.3 per cent in

1950 to 6.3 per cent in 1959. Taxes paid by the population account for eight per cent of the revenue in the Mongolian People's Republic and for only two per cent in the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The fundamental difference between taxes in socialist countries and those in the capitalist countries is in the purpose they serve.

Bourgeois economists maintain that in capitalist society too, taxation has its compensations in the public "services" rendered by the state. The facts show otherwise. In the USA, \$107,000 million were collected in 1959 in direct and indirect taxation, excluding social insurance payments. What "benefits" did the people get in exchange for this sum? About \$50,000 million were squandered on war preparations and on an aggressive foreign policy, and more than \$8,000 million on the upkeep of the police and other government bodies. Payments on the national debt and other expenditure to sustain the capitalist economy absorbed a further \$28,000 million. All in all, some \$86,000 million or 80 per cent of the tax receipts were spent on purposes having nothing in common with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the taxpayers. Under capitalism only the ruling classes benefit from taxes. For the huge state apparatus of repression, on which the greater part of the budget resources is expended, serves the interests of the ruling class, not the people. A considerable part of the tax revenue is redistributed among the capitalists indirectly in the form of highly profitable government contracts, interest on loans, subsidies, and so on. The big U.S. corporations paid less than \$19,000 million in taxes in 1958, and received nearly \$27,000 million from the federal budget in payment for military orders and contracts alone.

In contrast to capitalism, *the socialist state guarantees the full return of taxation*. As Marx said, "what the producer is deprived of in his capacity as a private individual benefits him directly or indirectly in his capacity as a member of society."* All budget revenue, irrespective of source, serves the interests of socialist society and not those of a handful of exploiters. The value of the material and spiritual benefits given free of charge to the working people in the socialist countries, is several times as great as the taxes collected from the population. The funds transferred by the people to the state in the form of taxes are reimbursed a hundred times over through the free public health system, state pensions,

*Karl Marx. Critique of the Gotha Program.

free education, etc. In the Soviet Union, for example, budgetary expenditure for social and cultural needs exceeded the amount of taxes levied on the population 3.3-fold in 1950, 4.2-fold in 1959 and nearly fivefold in 1961.

In the People's Democracies, too, similar budgetary payments to the population are greatly in excess of tax receipts.

Here are some figures for 1959 (thousand millions in the currencies of the given country):

	Tax receipts from the population	Budget expenditure on social and cultural needs
Albania	0.8	5.7
Bulgaria	1.3	5.6
Hungary	5.6	16.3
GDR	4.3	17.4
Poland	21.7	53.4
Rumania	4.6	11.9
Czechoslovakia	11.3	38.4

* * *

By emancipating the working people from exploitation, the socialist revolution relieves them of a heavy tax burden. Then, as the socialist system gains in strength, conditions are created—for the first time in history—for abolishing taxes altogether.

With the completion of the building of socialist society, the tax system in the USSR has fulfilled its purpose, both from the standpoint of mobilizing financial resources and implementing a class policy. The rapid expansion of the socialist economy has created the economic conditions for the final withering away of the tax functions of the state.

For a long time now in the Soviet Union there have been no exploiting classes or capitalist elements whose incomes had to be restricted through taxation. In the USSR, therefore, the class function of taxation has outlived itself. The financial significance of the taxes paid by the people is diminishing year by year; income from the socialist enterprises now predominates in the budget, its share in 1950 being 83.8 per cent, and 91.5 per cent in 1961.

Planned guidance of all branches of the economy has relieved the Soviet government of the need to redistribute part of the national income through taxation and enabled it to go over to direct distribution to satisfy the collective and personal needs of the people.

Lastly, — and this is highly important — the Soviet Union is now rich enough in resources to abolish taxes. Industrial output has more than trebled over the past ten years,

while the national income has grown nearly 2.7 times since 1950.

This rapid growth in industrial output and in the national income is the sound financial base of the Soviet state. In 1960 the budget was more than 80 per cent larger than in 1950—and this at a time when state retail prices were reduced by 25 per cent. "It can be affirmed without any exaggeration," said Khrushchov, "that our state has finances and a budget the firmness and stability of which might be envied by any capitalist state."

In contrast to capitalist countries where inflation and depreciation of the currency are widespread, the Soviet budget shows no deficit, while the exchange rate of the ruble is steadily rising.

On the basis of these factors the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union set the task of abolishing in the next few years the taxes paid by the population. In May 1960, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a law which envisaged the gradual abolition of taxes on factory and office workers.

The complete abolition of taxes, naturally, will take some time. The benefits it will bring to the working people are undoubted; due regard however should be paid to what the state can afford, and to the interests of the people as a whole. A sound and economically justified solution of the problem was found in phasing the abolition.

Why was this particular way chosen? Firstly, in view of the size of the population and the steadily rising earnings, tax payments, even though they do not amount to a big proportion of the budget, still add up to a considerable overall figure. Last year the figure was in the neighborhood of 5,900 million rubles, and if the present method of taxation is maintained it will increase to 8,400 million by 1965.* Were the budget revenue reduced by this amount immediately and the money channelled to personal consumption, it could give rise to an imbalance between supply and demand. Furthermore, there would not be enough funds to finance all aspects of the economic and socio-cultural development program.

Secondly, if taxes were abolished automatically the higher-paid workers would benefit most, whereas the aim is to narrow the gap between the wage levels of the different categories of workers by abolishing taxes. For this reason taxes are abolished first for

*Here and later all ruble amounts are given in the new currency.

the low-paid workers, and later will be abolished for other categories. The eventual result will also vary; low-wage workers will gain most, while the increase for higher-paid workers will be less or in some instances their wages will not be increased at all.

Under the new law those earning less than 100 rubles a month are exempted from income tax. The earnings of this category will increase by the sum formerly deducted from their pay in income tax. Wages ranging from 100 to 200 rubles a month will likewise be increased, not, however, by the total of their former tax deduction, but from 10 to 79 per cent of it. And only the wages of a numerically small category, those earning over 200 rubles a month, will remain the same as previously after the payment of taxes. For the overwhelming majority of the factory and office workers in the Soviet Union the abolition of income tax will mean a virtual increase in earnings; and only an insignificant section of the people will not gain anything. The bachelor tax and the tax on those with small families are abolished altogether.

The complete abolition of taxes means that by 1966 the income of factory and office workers will have risen by 7,400 million rubles.

The phased abolition of taxes, which began in October 1960 with the exemption of wages up to 50 rubles will be completed in October 1965. *Thus, in five years' time the USSR will become the first country in history in which the people will not pay taxes, the first country in the world without taxes.*

The abolition of taxes now under way in the Soviet Union has made a big impression on the world public. In progressive circles it is assessed as a victory for the socialist system. "The phased abolition of taxation," comments the Indian weekly, *New Age*, "is unique in history, and is the kind of 'propaganda' for socialism which can influence people everywhere."

The reactionary press on the other hand is doing its utmost to belittle the significance of the measure and to distort the essence of taxation under socialism.

The apologists of capitalism have trotted out the hoary formula about the turnover tax paid by the socialist enterprises in the USSR. Some bourgeois economists continue to claim without any supporting evidence, that the turnover tax is a variation of the indirect tax.

They are either under a delusion or are deliberately distorting things. How do matters really stand?

In the interests of rehabilitating and expanding the socialist economy with the utmost speed, the Soviet government levied indirect taxes in the transitional period — mainly charges on luxuries and other non-essential goods. But this was a temporary measure made necessary by the existence of a private sector in the economy and the fact that the Soviet economy had to be built up without the aid of foreign loans or credits. These factors not only called for a considerable labor effort on the part of the people, but also for the mobilization of part of their personal incomes for purposes of capital investment. Subsequently, in view of the progress made by the socialist economy, the Soviet government abolished the multifarious forms of taxation and went over to the form of direct transfer to the budget of the income of the socialist enterprises. This was dictated by the nature of planned socialist economy—the necessity to plan prices, production costs and accumulations and to introduce cost accounting.

The budget revenue derives from a single economic source—the accumulations built up in socialist enterprises by extending production, greater productivity of social labor and lower production costs. These accumulations are transferred to the budget in different ways: in one case the payments are made in the form of deductions from profits, in the other in the form of a so-called turnover tax. As a rule all enterprises pay deductions from profits. The turnover tax, on the other hand, is paid by those enterprises which, by virtue of the conditions of production and features of planned price fixing, have bigger accumulations. The bulk of the turnover tax comes from the light-industry enterprises.

A feature of the price-fixing system in the USSR is that the prices paid for the output of heavy industry and other branches manufacturing means of production are, for a number of reasons, lower than the actual value of the goods. The result is that accumulations in the former branches are only part of their net income. On the other hand, light industry which buys means of production at less than value, has bigger monetary accumulations. The latter include not only the net income of light industry, but also part of the net income derived from heavy industry but not fully reflected in the price paid for means of production. In order to have also this part of the net incomes of the socialist enterprises at its disposal, the Soviet state obliges the light-industry enterprises regularly to pay definite

sums, traditionally called turnover tax, into the budget.

Only in externals does the turnover tax resemble a tax in the sense that payment of it to the state in fixed amounts and at strictly prescribed times is obligatory. Its economic substance has nothing in common with the category of taxes. Any tax, as we know, presupposes a change in ownership: upon paying his taxes the taxpayer-owner hands over money without compensation to another owner—the state. But in the USSR there is no change in ownership when the turnover tax is paid. The taxpayers are the socialist enterprises, which are owned by Soviet society as a whole; and the income of these enterprises also belongs to the state. It stands to reason, therefore, that there is no need for society represented by the state to tax its own property. By means of the turnover tax it receives in a planned way and for the needs of society part of the net income belonging to it as the owner of the means of socialist production.

Unlike indirect taxes, the turnover tax is not added to the price of commodities, which have already passed from the sphere of production to the sphere of circulation. On the contrary, it is a factor which contributes to fixing the price of goods in the process of production. The turnover tax is not an addition to the price, it is one of its components, and makes up the net income of socialist society.

The turnover tax and profit do not differ in any way in economic substance. It would be absurd to identify profits with indirect taxes.

The main thing is that the Soviet state uses the funds obtained from socialist enterprises in the shape of the turnover tax for the needs of society and above all for financing the national economy, on the growth and expansion of which depends the well-being of the working people. Hence the turnover tax is not an indirect tax on the population but a means of regulating and distributing the national income in the interests of socialist society.

An increase in indirect taxes leads eventually—as is the case under capitalism — to higher prices. How do matters stand in the Soviet Union? Receipts from the turnover tax between 1950-59 increased by about one-third; state retail prices during this time were actually reduced, while the real incomes of factory and office workers rose by 62 per cent and those of the peasants by 85 per cent.

The financial base of the Soviet Union will continue to expand and gain in strength by relying not on taxes, which will shortly disappear altogether, but on accumulation in the socialist economy. This sole source of state revenue — and this revenue will increase as socialist production expands, labor productivity rises and production costs fall—will ensure the people the financial resources needed to build a communist society.

In the Service of Man

(Notes of a Film Playwright)

Frantisek Bretislav Kunc

Few art forms have as wide a popular appeal as the cinema. Its influence on the minds of people, on their attitude to the world around them cannot be over-estimated. Hence the social import of problems associated with the future of socialist cinematography, of the struggle of progressive artists in the capitalist world for a truthful portrayal of reality, and the development of the cinema in the former colonial countries.

We are publishing the following article by the Czech script writer F. B. Kunc in the hope that it will initiate a discussion on the role of the cinema in the modern world. We invite film workers, artists, script writers and critics interested in the subject to take part in the discussion.

THAT the cinema is a powerful ideological weapon none will deny. At a time when the struggle between two social systems, between two world outlooks makes itself felt in literally every sphere of life, the contest is being fought out not only at the "top," but also at the "mass" level. Peace or atomic death, planned economic development or a desperate struggle for existence — these are the questions agitating men and women everywhere. What is this world we live in, and what sort of a world would we like it to be? This is the topic of discussion in parliaments and in the press, in the factories and in the home.

Thirty-Three Million Daily

Thirty-three million people queue up daily outside the box offices of cinemas all over the world. They come for entertainment or amusement, to learn something or to forget their troubles for an hour or two. But whatever brings them to the cinema, each of these 33 million people, whether he wants it or not, receives an answer of sorts to his problems. The answers, of course, vary; they are contained both in what is said and what is left unsaid, in the extent to which the author of the picture has succeeded in portraying human relationships or the skill with which the producer is able to put his "celluloid illusion" across. Thirty-three million people daily carry away with them from the cinema either some particle of the truth about the world around them or a few drops of the sweet potion of forgetfulness; ideas of human brotherhood or ideas of

violence and brutality. Thirty-three million tickets, therefore, stand for 33 million coupons entitling the bearers to their daily portion of truth or lies. This is a fact we cannot afford to ignore; it compels us to ponder over our work and to ask ourselves whether we artists of the socialist countries are making the maximum use of the vast potentialities of the cinema.

In recent years the cinema of the socialist countries has produced quite a number of outstanding films that have won universal recognition both at home and abroad. No one is any longer surprised when films from the socialist countries carry off the honors at international film festivals, and we frequently hear of successes scored by our films in all parts of the world — West Berlin and Paris, in San Francisco and San Sebastian, Delhi and Tokyo. Much has been accomplished, but much still remains to be done.

Over 2,000 full-length feature films are turned out annually in the world today. The socialist countries account for only one-tenth of this number. Of course, the power and influence of the cinema is not measured by quantity alone. Moreover, we have allies in the progressive artists and film workers in the capitalist world. Nevertheless the proportion of films produced in the socialist countries to that of the capitalist world gives us scant cause for satisfaction.

To some extent this unsatisfactory state of affairs can be traced to certain tendencies which manifested themselves in socialist cinematography in the postwar period. Rejecting the capitalist attitude to films merely

as a commodity and reacting against the mass production of trash, the socialist cinema tended to concentrate on the exclusive production of "masterpieces," forgetting however, that more films mean more film directors, script writers, cameramen, and actors — in a word, more artists capable of ensuring that creative atmosphere which alone can produce a true work of art. The "few, but better" theory proved unsuccessful. Though indeed few pictures were made, their artistic standard showed little improvement. And since the flow of new blood into the cinema had all but stopped, the growth of the existing cadres of artists could not but be affected.

This situation was discussed in the press in the socialist countries in the mid-50's and the mistakes criticized. Between 1955 and 1960 film production in the Soviet Union substantially increased, the number of pictures released in China rose considerably, and Czechoslovakia and the GDR began to turn out nearly twice as many films as before. Hundreds of new script writers, directors and cameramen entered the field. This influx of young artists undoubtedly brought with it serious problems. But the fact that many of these young artists — Chukhrai, Kulidjanov, Bondarchuk, Vylchanov, Klein, and Brynych, to mention but a few — have produced films which have won the highest praise at film festivals throughout the world is most gratifying.

For the socialist cinema to storm new summits of socialist art, the offensive had to be undertaken on a broad front, with the participation of as much talent as possible, of a great many artists each with his own "handwriting," his own individual style.

The Road to New Accomplishments

It is easier to overcome the survivals of the past in economics than in human thinking. Progress in the sphere of ethics tends to lag behind man's scientific and technological achievements. That is why we have always attached great importance to education, to the moulding of the new consciousness and to the role of art in this field. But today life and our everyday experience demand that more attention be devoted to these problems.

The new often asserts itself in men's character before they themselves are aware of it. We become accustomed to these new qualities and begin to take them for granted without fully appreciating them. To reveal in the "commonplace" the qualities of the

new man of the socialist society, the man who is changing himself while building the new life, to convey the spirit and purport of the new — that is the task our art must accomplish.

These questions were discussed at the Third International Conference of Cinema Workers of the Socialist Countries which was held in Sofia at the end of last year. The conference was attended by delegations of film workers from all the socialist countries and also for the first time, by prominent progressive Italian and French film personalities like Guiseppe de Santis and Louis Daquin. Like the previous conferences in Prague and Sinaia (Rumania), it was the occasion for a lively debate and a friendly exchange of views.

The Sofia conference reviewed the development of socialist cinematography in the past two years. The highlight of the previous gathering was Kalatozov's picture "The Cranes Are Flying." No such picture was shown in Sofia. But does this mean that the socialist cinema had not produced a picture of equal merit in the interval between the two conferences? Certainly not. On the contrary, it was in this period that such distinguished and widely acclaimed films as Bondarchuk's "The Fate of a Man" and Chukhrai's "Ballad of a Soldier," as well as outstanding works like "The Highest Principle" by Krejcik and "Romeo and Juliet and the Darkness" by Weiss had appeared. Each of these merited honors at film festivals. Other pictures worthy of mention were "The First Lesson" by the Bulgarian director Vylchanov, "Yesterday" by the Hungarian Keleti, "The Flaming River" by the Rumanian Ciulei, which won a prize at the Karlovy Vary Festival, and K. Wolf's intensely moving human document "Stars," a joint Bulgarian and German production. Highly successful also was "The Crusaders," an historical film by the Polish director Alexander Ford.

Thus not one, but a whole series of pictures of "first magnitude" preceded the socialist film workers' conference in Sofia.

Success No Justification for Complacency

The attention of the Conference, however, was focussed not only on the success of the socialist cinema but also on a problem which these successes have brought to the fore, one, moreover, which is of the deepest concern to all our film workers.

The feature common to all the films mentioned here is their authors' reversion to the

war period, the fact that the socialist humanism theme in all of them emerges from the conflict of the new man with German fascism. None of the films in question deals with the present stage in the building of socialism.

It would, however, be wrong to reproach the authors on this score, for in each case the treatment of the subject is unquestionably topical. After all, there can be no doubt that such a profound insight into the problems of the war years could only spring from an intimate knowledge and involvement in our contemporary reality. Nevertheless, the question arises: is it mere chance that the greatest success was achieved in this single, comparatively narrow field? True, the actions of the heroes of these war films move us deeply to this day. More than that, they are a challenge to us, because the struggle with imperialism is not yet over, because fascists of a new brand are still threatening the world with war. But the heroes of these war films must have worthy successors in the films about life today.

Hence the Sofia conference emphasized the need for a deeper portrayal of the contemporary theme. It called for films whose leading protagonist would be the hero of our time, the builder of the new society, the inspired champion of the Communist ideal.

Of course, it is to some extent harder for the artist to write about his contemporaries than about the past. Not only because of the kaleidoscopic speed with which life changes, but chiefly because human character and human relationships are changing as well. What Maxim Gorky said about the need for artists to adjust their vision anew if they wished to participate in the building of the new life applies in equal measure to the artist of today. Broad social experience, depth of insight and steadfast devotion to principle — these are the qualities essential to the artist who wishes to find his bearings amid the complex, swiftly-moving tide of life. And we do not agree with those who maintain that in order to produce works of lasting value the artist must have "perspective." The artist must naturally always be "above" his material, but this does not imply only a distance in time. The artist of the socialist world has one great advantage over his colleagues elsewhere, namely, his world outlook, which enables him to see far ahead into the future. This is the compass that helps him to find his bearings at any point of the journey, to make his way through the dens-

est of life's jungles into the clear. The "tower of history" is not the only vantage point from which life can be depicted with true artistic skill; there is also, figuratively speaking, the "tower of ideological maturity."

It is precisely our revolutionary world outlook that gives the artist a deeper and fuller insight into reality and its development, helps him to understand the trends and to perceive in the present the seeds of the future, to view it from the standpoint of the future. Herein lies the unity of the Marxist outlook and creative art, the strength of socialist art and the guarantee of future achievement.

Most of the films now being made in the socialist countries deal with the life of our contemporaries. True, so far few of them can rank with the best films on the war theme. But persistent efforts are being made and we are confident that they will be crowned with success, confident that the difficulty does not consist in some imaginary "crisis of the contemporary theme," and that really good films about the everyday lives of our contemporaries will eventually take their place alongside "The Fate of a Man" and "The Ballad of a Soldier."

For a Truthful and Skilled Portrayal of Reality

In speaking of the development of our cinema art there is one important ingredient of its success that should not be forgotten — namely, talent. It is the lack of talent and skill, the absence of any genuine spark of creative imagination that is to blame for the dull and mediocre films. An approximation of vision, inspiration derived from reason and good intentions rather than from a genuine knowledge of human character have resulted in a good deal of schematic work. A profound knowledge of life in all its concrete multi-form aspects is essential to the creation of a true work of art. And knowledge of life is not gained by mechanical contact with reality; the artist cannot be merely an interested spectator, he must be part of it, deeply involved in it, vitally concerned in all its manifestations.

But while admitting that some of our films fall short of the mark, we vigorously reject any suggestion that schematicism is an organic feature of the socialist cinema. The schematic and the superficial can be found in any art; mediocrity everywhere and at all times tends blindly to follow the stereotyped pattern. And this applies both to development

of subject matter and to portrayal of character. One might even say that this form of schematicism is typical of the capitalist cinema with its commercial approach to filmmaking. Every film hit in the West is almost bound to be followed by orders for a whole series of similar pictures. One need not look far for examples. Take the endless "Westerns," which are almost indistinguishable from one another and which indeed often use the same sets, or the "Ben Hur" series and other films on Biblical themes.

It is absurd, then, for some critics and "theoreticians" in the West, and in our own countries too for that matter, to proclaim schematicism an attribute of socialist realism. They would like to equate schematicism and socialist realism in order to discredit the latter method and induce artists to abandon it. Moreover, it makes no difference in principle whether in opposing socialist realism one attacks the first or the second part of this concept. Both are equally important. To delete the word *socialist* from it is to close one's eyes to the perspectives of our reality. And to reject the *realism*, though this might appear to be a purely aesthetic category, means not only rejecting the method of perceiving the world, but denying the social significance of art.

Socialist realism can hardly be defined as the sum of a number of specific features; still less does it presuppose any uniformity of style. It is not my purpose here to give any theoretical definition of the concept; it may perhaps be examined against the background of the broader discussion of the cinema which is being initiated in these columns. I should merely like to say that for those of us who work in the creative field, socialist realism is an artistic credo, which inspires us with confidence in the important *social mission* of our art, in the knowledge that our attitude to the world is the attitude of artists who are helping to *remake* it.

Window Into the Socialist World

Portrayal of the contemporary life of the society that is building communism has far-reaching significance not only for the peoples of the socialist countries. Our films are a "window into the future" for millions of workers and peasants in the capitalist world. Recall, for example, the impact on the international working-class movement of such films as "Battleship Potemkin," "The Old and the New" and "Chapayev." At gatherings held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary

of the Czechoslovak Communist Party veteran members told film workers of the unforgettable evenings spent years ago in some small cinemas on the outskirts of Prague, Brno or Ostrava. In those prewar days, when any mention of the first socialist country was taboo, the remarkable films produced by the new Soviet cinema brought us the ideas and the truth of the revolution. We hardly realize how much our socialist cinema art can mean to the workers of France, to the miners of Belgium, to peasants in Southern Italy. The revolutionary enthusiasm inherent in socialist reality appeals to the imagination of men and women the world over. But today this is not only the reality of the battlefield or the construction site. The workers in the socialist countries are beginning to reap the fruits of their labors. We can now speak about ordinary everyday affairs, about the new relationships between people, the new tenor of life in the socialist world.

The concept known as the "American way of life" is an invention of the apologists of capitalism. It stands for the widely-advertised world of Cadillacs, refrigerators and gadgetry, a world glamorized in innumerable subtly executed films depicting handsome men and women disporting themselves amid luxurious surroundings, blissfully unconscious of all but their personal lives and loves. It is pleasant to relax in this cloud-cuckoo land if only for the duration of the show. And it cannot be denied that the Hollywood and other bourgeois film makers do their job with professional skill. Indeed, they often perform incredible feats, contriving by the addition of one or two realistic touches to disguise a trivial and artificial plot so cleverly that even the most sophisticated spectator is taken in—for the moment at any rate.

The socialist cinema has no need to embellish reality, but decidedly we must learn how to show the *real beauty* of our life in all its manifold aspects. The peoples of the socialist countries have their own way of life. We have much to be proud of. Unfortunately our efforts are often marred by the persistent tendency to depict the working man — the man who is shaping his own destiny! — as an unattractive, uncouth, rather gauche sort of person. Nothing could be farther from the truth!

The new man, the new human relationships in the new society — these are themes to which socialist film art has yet to do full justice. But that is not all. We perhaps do not suspect how much harm has been done by re-

peating some of the external, formal methods of neo-realism. What a dubious impression is conveyed by the reproduction in some of our films of nothing but half-ruined houses and dilapidated balconies — and this at a time when entire new districts are being built for workers. No wonder the Hungarian critic Nemeszkoerty remarked at the Sofia conference that he had no idea that Sofia was such a beautiful city, although he had seen many Bulgarian films, nor had the Czech films prepared him for the beauty of Prague. The same could be said of the picture given of Budapest in Hungarian films.

I believe I will not be mistaken if I say that the workers in the capitalist countries have had scant opportunity to learn anything about the beauty of our life from our films. One reason for this is that as a rule we are deadly serious in our film-making, we concentrate far too much on some aspects while vast areas of life escape our attention. Indeed, some genres have almost completely disappeared from the socialist cinema. Topical comedies, not to speak of musical film comedies, are few. As for films on what one might call "lyrical" themes, they are practically non-existent.

It is regrettably true that for most of our artists the lighter genres prove to be the "heaviest." It sometimes seems to me that a good film comedy ought to be officially declared a matter of first-rate importance. Because the struggle for the new life is a struggle also for a richer and more full-blooded life, for a life in which security, joy and the healthy optimism of the new socialist society all have their place.

Truth Has Its Allies All over the World

In the battle for a truthful representation of reality the socialist cinema has allies in the capitalist countries as well. We have the greatest admiration for the work of progressive artists of the West who keep the flame of truth burning in men's hearts, whose art injects an invigorating stream into the turgid flood of meaningless, erotic, gangster and sentimental film trash.

After the second world war many of the contradictions of the capitalist world were laid bare by Italian neo-realism which broke away from the orthodox principles of the bourgeois cinema. The hero of the neo-realistic films became the ordinary man of post-war Italy. This had much wider implications than one might think. Neo-realism brought together artists of the most diverse convic-

tions in the struggle against fascism and its aftermath, it was the expression of a wrathful protest against the conditions in which the ordinary Italian was compelled to live after the war. (In saying this we fully realize that neo-realism lacks the militant truth of the organized working class, and that in many respects it remains no more than a new phase, a new form of critical realism in contemporary capitalist Italy). Bourgeois critics have time and again pronounced the death-knell of neo-realism, asserting that it has "exhausted" itself, that the social environment from which it sprang has changed and the authors with it. In point of fact, at least two distinguished works in the best traditions of Italian neo-realism — "Generale della Rovere" by Roberto Rossellini and "Rocco and His Brothers" by Visconti — appeared only recently.

Some of the work by the French "nouveau vague" artists shows a similar ability to look reality squarely and honestly in the face. The same can be said of the West German film directors Staudte and Hofmann, of the Spaniard Bardem and of a number of American directors. In many countries, including even Franco Spain, there are artists who are honestly striving to give a truthful portrayal of reality and to fulfil their duty to society.

This is unquestionably the stand taken by Fellini in his "La dolce vita," one of the finest pictures made in Western Europe in recent years. It leaves one with a depressing sense of hopelessness. Our sympathies are wholly on the side of the girl from the little suburban restaurant — the single ray of light in the whole picture. But that phantom light vanishes almost before it has appeared. And all that remains on the lonely beach is the sea monster, a symbol of the ugliness of the world. And while for the film-goer in the socialist countries this is merely a reminder of the old world which he has already destroyed with his own hands, for the spectator in the capitalist countries the film has a definite message. No, Fellini tells him, we cannot go on living like this any longer! And the spectator hears that message, he draws his own conclusions from the picture of the corrupt capitalist society which Fellini has presented to him, regardless of whether the artist wished to destroy that society or merely to reform it.

The position of Hollywood is somewhat peculiar at the present time. The relative liberalism of the Roosevelt era when it was possible to produce such outstanding films

as John Ford's "The Grapes of Wrath" or "Tobacco Road" is now a thing of the past. McCarthyism made short shrift of the top ten progressive Hollywood artists in 1947, and by 1958 some 150 authors and script writers had been blacklisted. Everyone remembers the disgraceful case of Frank Sinatra who, under pressure from the reactionaries, was forced "on the advice of friends and relatives" to give up his collaboration with the progressive writer Albert Maltz.

Nevertheless, even under these conditions some artists have been able to create films of considerable merit in recent years. This applies, for example, to Chayefsky's "Marty," as well as to much of the work of the "independents" grouped around the New York Film Center. Of course, the situation is difficult and so far comparatively few significant works have emanated from this quarter, the most interesting perhaps being "On the Bowery," and "Come Back, Africa!" by Rogosin and "Shadows" by Cassavetes.

It should be said that the progressive artists in the capitalist countries are working under exceptionally adverse conditions. It is hard to say which is their worst enemy — the censorship, the producer who puts up the money or the all-powerful owners of the chain of cinemas. Many progressive artists have been unable to stand the strain of the struggle, some have been broken, others have chosen the easier way of making commercials. It is saddening to find that after "Umberto D" and "The Bicycle Thieves" De Sica has had to make a "happy-ending" film like "Terminal" or "The Gold of Naples," the latter a mere succession of light opera scenes; or that de Santis, the author of "No Peace under the Olives" and "Rome, 11 o'clock," has no possibility of doing any creative work in Italy today; or that Carlo Lizzani, who made "Attention, Bandits!" should have been debarred from the cinema for several years.

The position of these artists grows worse from year to year. They are perhaps the first to be affected by every new wave of the "cold war." Yet it is they (because our films are comparatively rarely shown in the capitalist countries) who bring the truth to a big segment of the 33 million film-goers we mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Under these circumstances it seems to me that it is the duty of the socialist cinema to support the progressive artists of the West, to lend them a helping hand and not to allow them to be forced into silence. There are

many ways of doing this. One is through the joint production of films. There are, of course, other forms of collaboration, such as for example, rendering material aid in the production of films made abroad, inviting progressive film-makers in the West to our countries and helping them to realize their ideas.

The Voice of Africa and Asia

We have spoken of the opportunities for co-operation with the cinema workers in those countries with a highly developed cinema industry. However, the last ten years have seen the disintegration of the colonial system and the birth of new independent states. In these countries, where illiteracy is one of the main problems and where culture is still disseminated orally for the most part, the cinema is destined to play a most important role. It can be a teacher, a political propagandist and a vocational instructor. And in these conditions the educational value of the cinema cannot and should not be assessed solely by aesthetic criteria.

Film-making in the former colonies, as well as building cinemas and operating them, including mobile projectors, are problems involving technological development, organization and the training of artistic and technical personnel.

Agents of Messrs. Johnston and Scouras are already touring the African and Asian countries, studying the commercial prospects, assessing the possibilities of making money and obtaining new markets, with an eye, undoubtedly, to the prospect of ideological penetration as well.

But the newly-liberated countries know what they are about. They have no desire to exchange the French or British yoke for the yoke of the dollar. Friendly ties have already been established between our film industry and that which is in the making in the Asian and African countries, and these ties will develop as time goes on. I believe this is as it should be. We must strengthen these ties by way of friendly relations between the nations, by way of proletarian internationalism. We must find ways of rendering whatever help is needed. We are willing to supply these countries with the technical equipment, to help the local film workers to make their first pictures. The usual forms of joint production of films will evidently be inadequate and perhaps new avenues of co-operation will have to be found.

The center of gravity in the cinema world has been steadily changing in the past few

years. Hollywood has ceased to be the Mecca of the film artist. It no longer leads the world even in the quantity of films produced, let alone quality. The hub of the world cinema art today is not Hollywood, nor is it the classical sphere of the European cinema — France, Britain and Italy (I do not speak here of the socialist cinema). The Japanese cinema, developing in the national tradition, is steadily coming to the fore, as is the cinema of India, which is making powerful strides both as regards quantity and artistic standard. Many films are produced in the United Arab Republic (few are shown outside the Arab countries). We still pay too little attention to the cinema of Latin America, particularly Mexico, although the voice of the national cinema, which is closely

linked with the life and aspirations of the people, is making itself heard more and more there. At the beginning of this article we mentioned that more than 2,000 full-length films are produced annually in the world. It is gratifying to know that more than half of them come from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

* * *

Every evening millions of people go to the cinema. Every evening the eyes of millions of spectators are fixed in eager anticipation on the silver screen. And these people look to us film workers for interesting new films that give a profound and truthful treatment of the urgent issues of our time, and reveal the truth and the beauty of the new, genuinely human relationships.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

The Communist Party of Japan Prepares for Its Eighth Congress

THE Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Japan is due to open on July 25. The previous Congress held in 1958 was a landmark in the life of our Party inasmuch as it ended the eight-year-old split and restored unity. The Seventh Congress affirmed its support of the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, endorsed the political report of the Central Committee and adopted a program of action and new Rules. It denounced American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital as the enemies of the Japanese people and called for a struggle to abolish the San Francisco Treaty system, end Japan's dependence on the United States and resist the resurgence of militarism. Much attention was paid to the question of establishing a united national-democratic front on the common platform of peace, independence, democracy and a higher living standard for the people. And lastly, the Congress set itself the objective of turning the Party into a mass party.

The successful struggle waged by the Japanese people and the progress made by the Communist Party in the past three years have confirmed the correctness of the decisions of the Seventh Congress. Mass actions of historic importance took

place during this period: the protest against the reactionary revision of the police law, in which the united action of four and a half million people forced the Kishi government to retreat; the mass demonstrations against revision of the Japanese-American "security treaty," which prevented Eisenhower from visiting Japan and led to the fall of the Kishi government and the removal of U-2 spy planes from Japan; the long and valiant struggle fought by the Miike miners against the rationalization measures of the monopolies. Vast masses of people, headed by the working class, took part in these demonstrations. Acting in a united front they struck a painful blow at American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. In the course of this struggle the people gained valuable political experience. Organizations for joint action were set up all over the country and the foundations laid for further struggle.

The Communist Party, following the program outlined by its Seventh Congress, its ranks strengthened and cemented, was able to give correct political guidance to the people's struggle. It vigorously combated both Right and Left deviations, carried on ideological and organizational work and played

an active part in developing the nationwide movement.

During the parliamentary and municipal elections held during the past three years the Party increased the number of its seats in parliament and in the local government bodies. The simultaneous campaign to strengthen and expand the Party's ranks was a great success. Within approximately one year the membership had doubled and today stands at 100,000. The circulation of the central Party organ, the *Akahata*, has also been doubled. Thus the Party, but recently weakened by prolonged division, has cemented its ranks, raised its fighting spirit and morale, made notable headway in the sphere of Party education and strengthened its ties with the masses. We go to our Eighth Congress far stronger than we were three years ago.

The task of the coming congress is to carry the work of the Seventh Congress still further. There is hardly any need to emphasize how important it is for a vanguard party to have its own program, clearly charting the course of the revolution. The draft program of the Party, now published, was drawn up on the basis of the outline discussed at the preceding Congress, with amendments dictated by the changes in the world situation in the intervening period, the experience gained in the struggle against revision of the "security treaty," and in conformity with the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties.

Pointing to the grave threat to world peace presented by imperialist policy, the draft stresses the effectiveness of the policy of peaceful coexistence, which is a barrier in the way of the warmongers.

Ever since the last war, Japan has been the object of American imperialist aggression. The Japanese islands of Okinawa and Ogasawara have been occupied by the United States, and numerous military bases established on other parts of Japanese territory. American imperialism exercises its *diktat* in the diplomatic, military, finance, trade and other spheres of Japanese life. Japanese monopoly capital in its desire to continue exploiting and robbing the people, has betrayed the national interests by permitting U.S. imperialism to dominate Japan and plunder the country. For the sake of ensuring their own revival and strengthening their positions, the monopolies have established shackling allied relations with American imperialism and are now out to restore Japanese militarism and imperialism.

"At the present time," reads the draft program, "Japan is ruled mainly by American imperialism and its subordinate, Japanese monopoly capital. Although Japan is a highly-developed capitalist country, she has become a semi-occupied appendage to American imperialism." Proceeding from

this, the draft program draws the conclusion that the coming revolution in Japan will be a democratic revolution directed against the two enemies—American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. "The road to socialism, the historic mission of the working class, can be laid only through a revolution to overthrow the anti-national, anti-popular rule of the forces led by American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, the forces which are barring the road to socialism, through a revolution aimed at genuine independence and radical democratic changes in political, economic and public life."

The Moscow Statement, as we know, speaks of the two directions of the main blow in the developed capitalist countries. With regard to the second direction, it states:

"In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism, the working class and the people direct the main blow against U.S. imperialist domination, and also against the monopoly forces that betray the interests of the nation. In the course of this struggle all the democratic, patriotic forces of the nation come together in a united front fighting for the victory of a revolution aimed at achieving genuine national independence and democracy, which create conditions for passing on to the tasks of the socialist revolution."

The situation in Japan at present basically coincides with the second direction of the main blow mentioned in the Statement.

The draft program traces the prospective development of Japan through the democratic to the socialist revolution, and from a genuinely revolutionary standpoint charts the course of the struggle for this development. The draft notes both the continuity and the two distinct stages of these revolutions. In this respect the draft program, developing the theory of the international Communist movement, is an example of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to conditions in Japan.

The Eighth Congress will define the policy and the immediate political tasks of the Party in the light of the revolutionary prospects set forth in the draft program. These tasks are elaborated in the draft of the political report of the Central Committee, which has been submitted for discussion to the membership along with the draft program.

The following are the main points dealt with in the draft political report:

1. It analyzes the situation at home and abroad in the three years since the Seventh Congress. The question of the two enemies of the Japanese people is further clarified and the significance of the Moscow Statement for a correct understanding of the

tasks confronting the Japanese Communists is emphasized.

It criticizes the dangerous tendency displayed by some Japanese Communists after the Moscow Meeting to give a revisionist interpretation to the thesis concerning the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the prevention of another world war. "On the issues of war and peace," states the report, "these comrades, pointing to the big changes in the world situation, underestimate the aggressive nature of American imperialism and the danger of a war of aggression; they put all the emphasis on the possibility of averting war, failing to link this up with constant exposure of the war danger, and denying that the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the socialist states is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism on a world scale. Moreover, they minimize or deny the positive significance of a just struggle of liberation against the rule of foreign imperialism. These comrades maintain that as a result of the relative weakening of the economic positions of the United States caused by the unequal development of capitalism, Japanese imperialism has already become independent. They fail to recognize the need to fight for real independence from American imperialism. To underestimate the aggressive character of American imperialism and the danger of war at the present time, when American imperialism still holds Japan in a dependent position, using her as a base for repeated provocative operations against the Asiatic mainland, means to paralyze the vigilance and the fighting spirit of the people vis-à-vis American imperialism."

Besides criticizing the revisionist views, the report stresses the need to combat dogmatism and sectarianism. It quotes the following passages from the Moscow Statement: "Communists must work untiringly among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence . . ." At the same time it stresses that "the policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses, of mounting effective action against the enemies of peace."

2. A summary is given of the successes of the struggle waged by the Japanese people in the three years since the Seventh Congress and the lesson to be drawn therefrom. The report reaffirms that the guidance received by the Party, based on the decisions of the Seventh Congress, was on the whole correct, and highly appraises the Party's efforts to extend its ranks and build a united front. The key tasks and immediate demands of the Party are set forth, and questions of policy and organization associated with them elucidated. The policy of the Party in opposing Right and Left

opportunist deviations during the struggle against the revision of the "security treaty" is endorsed. With regard to this instructive point the draft states:

"One of these deviations, of a revisionist nature, is to be found among Right-wing Social Democrats and also among sections of our own membership. It is expressed in a desire to evade the struggle against American imperialism and in the belief that the Japanese monopolies are the chief enemy. Moreover, the Right-wing Social Democrats, adopting their traditionally anti-Soviet, anti-Communist standpoint, have attacked our Party line, falsely accusing it of laying excessive emphasis on the struggle against American imperialism, an attitude that has resulted in a tendency to eschew that struggle. The Right-wing Social Democrats have hampered the development of joint struggle on a genuinely democratic basis, and have spread anti-Communist sectarian sentiments. On the other hand, the Trotskyites who advanced the slogan "The Overthrow of the Kishi Cabinet is a Break-Through to Socialist Revolution!" maintained that a revolutionary situation had matured in Japan, that the principal enemies were the Japanese monopolies and the Kishi cabinet, and that it was useless to fight American imperialism. Seeking to sow confusion in the ranks of the democratic forces with the demagogic argument that 'if you fight American imperialism you must fight also Soviet imperialism,' they tried to frustrate the joint actions of the democratic forces and to create disturbances by their leftist reckless actions. The Socialist Party, too, displayed some anti-Communist sectarian tendencies and subjectivist vacillation in appraising the situation and defining its tactics, with the result that in some cases it has taken the same line as the Trotskyites. The latter have taken advantage of this to disrupt the joint struggle against revision of the 'security treaty.' But our Party is exposing their counter-revolutionary role and combating them."

Speaking of the wavering elements in the Party who succumbed to the Right-wing social democratic and revisionist deviations or adopted an attitude of compromise, the draft stresses that "the political and ideological unity of all Communists, flowing from the political line of the Party, is a basic condition for the growth of the mass movement and the united front and for stepping up Party activity. We can say that since the Seventh Congress the unity of the Party, resting on democratic centralism, has been stronger than ever. Major weaknesses, however, are still to be observed. While the unity of local Party organizations has grown stronger on the whole, diverse tendencies such as revisionism, Right opportunist tailing in the wake of the Socialist Party, and conciliation with

Trotskyism can be observed among some Party groups and also among some of the Party intellectuals. To put an end to this unprincipled position and to the political and ideological deviations running counter to the basic line of the Party is of the utmost importance in building the Party and also for the growth of the mass movement in all fields."

3. The draft report defines the lines along which the united anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly national-democratic front can be built. It examines questions pertaining to the National Council to combat the "security treaty," the united front and its tasks, and the demands of the various sections of the population.

A broad united front of democratic forces, including the Communist and Socialist parties, emerged in the course of the fight against revision of the "security treaty." The importance of this united front for the future of Japan is obvious.

Nevertheless, the Socialist Party continues to insist that the National Council against the "security treaty" is not, and should not be, a political united front founded on a direct alliance of the Communist and Socialist parties. The Socialist Party has invariably sought to prevent the Communist Party from being officially admitted as a member of this body. At its last congress it opposed the Communist policy of creating a single anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly national-democratic front, and at the same time adopted a policy of "anti-monopoly structural reform." This outwardly revolutionary policy signifies in practice rejection of the fight against American imperialism, which is one of the principal strategic tasks confronting Japan today; it merely emphasizes one aspect of the struggle, the anti-monopoly aspect. On the other hand, the Socialist Party spreads the illusion that implementation of democratic reforms will eventually lead to socialism.

Some frankly revisionist elements have appeared of late among a section of the Communist Party membership who on a number of issues follow the same reformist lines as the Socialist Party and who attack Party policy in non-Party publications. The draft of the political report draws attention to this dangerous tendency, criticizes the erroneous views of the Socialist Party in a friendly fashion and thus removes the grounds from under the feet of the revisionist elements in the Communist Party. The Party stresses that it, too, stands for fundamental democratic reforms, but regards them as part of the national-democratic revolution which must continue to develop into a socialist revolution.

But while recognizing the existence of these differences, the Communist Party of Japan exhorts all members to guard against sectarian positions which could disrupt the united front.

"At its congress this year the Socialist Party," says the report, "advanced a concrete program of action for abolishing the Japanese-American military pact, for the defense of democracy, democratic social security and a democratic economy, restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China, a policy of neutrality, etc. In spite of the vagueness of Socialist Party strategy and the reformist danger of its 'structural reforms,' some of the tasks outlined by it coincide with those of our own Party, and many of them naturally coincide with the general demands advanced by the democratic forces.

"Notwithstanding the various political and ideological differences between our Party and the Socialists, we attach the utmost importance to the unity of our concrete tasks inasmuch as it creates a basis for co-operation between our two parties. In this sense we maintain that, although the Communists and Socialists work together in the trade unions, in the peace movement and in other democratic organizations, direct co-operation between our two parties must be established.

"It is our sincere desire that the two parties should share a common platform not only as regards the current demands dictated by the vital and urgent interests of the nation, but also in the democratic revolution and, subsequently, in building socialism in our country. The united front is not simply a transient, temporary measure, it is the sure guarantee that the working class and the people generally will be able to isolate and defeat the enemy."

4. In the light of the successes achieved in recruiting new members, the draft sets the task of making the Party a mass vanguard party and indicates how this can be done. It examines questions pertaining to organizational and ideological unity, Party education, the policy with regard to personnel and improving the work of the leading committees and the branches.

"In the course of 1960 alone our Party won tens of thousands of new members," says the draft report. "Our ranks have been infused with fresh blood. The percentage of factory workers has grown and now comprises 42 per cent of the total membership, and the number of branches in the enterprises has almost doubled. This signifies a gain in quality as well. There are some peasants, too, among the new members, although their number is still small. The number of women members has grown considerably. Since a large section of the newcomers are young people, the Party can be said to have been 'rejuvenated.' Hence the greater activity and the increased fighting spirit. The success of the recruiting campaign augurs well and inspires us with confidence that our Party can indeed become a mass vanguard party with hundreds of thousands of members."

Needless to say, numbers are not the chief thing. The increase in the membership makes it imperative also to strengthen ideological, political and organizational unity. The draft stresses this and urges that the activity of the Party as a whole be constantly founded on Marxism-Leninism, on democratic centralism.

In conclusion, the draft appeals for unity of the working class of the world and of its vanguard, the Communist parties.

The draft Party program and political report of the C.C. are being discussed by all Party organizations. **D.O.**

The Fight for Peace in Algeria Enters the Decisive Stage

A JOINT statement outlining the aims and tasks of the Communists in the struggle for the national liberation of Algeria was adopted at a meeting of representatives of the Algerian, French, Moroccan and Tunisian Communist parties held in April. This document has acquired still greater significance in the light of the revolt of the fascist generals in Algeria which received such a vigorous rebuff from the French people, and especially of the opening of the Evian talks between the French and Provisional Algerian governments.

The French monopoly and colonialist circles are continuing their maneuvers and intrigues in a desperate effort to preserve their rule in Algeria and perpetuate the plunder and exploitation of its people. However, the fact that French imperialism and its Gaullist government were forced to make major concessions and agree to negotiate, the statement says, is a big success for the peace forces.

"We owe this success," the statement goes on, "primarily to the heroic struggle of the Algerian people and their solidarity with their National Liberation Army. By their armed struggle and political action — for example, the mass demonstrations in December and the blow dealt to the Gaullist referendum in Algeria — they are showing their determination to win independence and at the same time confirming the representative character of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

"By its sacrifices and its correct national policy as exemplified, in particular, by its active support of the Provisional Government, the Algerian Communist Party is making a contribution to the patriotic struggle in all its forms.

"The Communists of France, Morocco and Tunisia warmly greet the Algerian Communist Party and highly appreciate its activities in the interests of its people.

"The success gained to date is due also to the growing international support for the cause of Algerian independence. The socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, are rendering invaluable assistance to the just cause of Algeria. This cause is supported by the Arab peoples, the countries of Africa and Asia, by all freedom-loving and peaceful countries, the international working-class movement, and all the progressive forces of the world. The fraternal solidarity of the Moroccan and Tunisian peoples is finding ever more vigorous expression. This universal support was demonstrated in the recent voting in the United Nations.

"Lastly, the success is due to the struggle waged by the French people to compel the de Gaulle government to seek peace through negotiation . . . The development of a united trade union front for peace in Algeria, work stoppages and strikes, the demonstrations of the youth, students and soldiers which are becoming more and more frequent, the steady organizational consolidation of the peace movement and its growing activity show that the struggle is gathering strength.

"Meetings of representatives of French and Algerian workers' and other democratic organizations have been held. In particular, the French General Confederation of Labor and the General Union of Working People of Algeria, the National Students' Union of France and the Moslem Students' Union of Algeria, and the Communist Youth Movement and the Moslem Students' Union have issued joint statements declaring their resolve to win peace through negotiations with the Algerian Provisional Government on the basis of recognition of Algeria's right to independence.

"The French monopolies, however, are clinging to their colonial privileges. Hence the unreasonable demands and the continued maneuvers of the de Gaulle government, which wants to sever the Sahara from Algeria, retain its military bases, and

harness the Algeria of tomorrow to its Atlantic and European policy. The de Gaulle government wants to carve up Algerian territory; it helps to form subversive groups, and uses Messali Hadj and his so-called Algerian national movement which has gone over to the French imperialists and which the people of Algeria have rejected.

"On the other hand, by pursuing a policy of connivance in regard to the supporters of a French Algeria, as evidenced, for instance, by the 'trial of the barricades', the de Gaulle government encourages the intrigues of the ultra-colonialists and the rebel officers in its service."

The statement points out that these unreasonable demands and intrigues strike at the very heart of the principle of self-determination. They run counter to the U.N. resolution which upholds Algeria's right to independence and territorial integrity. To support such a policy, as some African heads of state and other leaders are doing, means to foster dangerous illusions.

The struggle of the Algerian people for independence, the pressure of world public opinion, the effective and unconditional backing of Morocco and Tunisia, and the actions of the people of France are factors making for genuine success in the negotiations.

"The Algerian, French, Moroccan and Tunisian Communists," the statement emphasizes, "will intensify their activities in this spirit and in ways suited to the conditions in their respective coun-

tries. They are convinced that this is in keeping with the principle of proletarian internationalism and the national interests of their people.

"Independence for Algeria will help to consolidate the independence of Morocco and Tunisia; it will hasten the creation of a united and democratic Maghreb, the aim of the Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian people; it will make it possible to offer more effective resistance to the neo-colonialist intrigues of the French, U.S., West German and other imperialists throughout Africa; it will give a new impetus to the liberation struggle of all the people of the African continent. In France it will facilitate the popular struggle against one-man rule and the restoration and regeneration of democracy.

"Independence for Algeria will make possible fruitful co-operation on an equal footing between France and the sovereign states of North Africa and will ensure the national interests of all parties concerned.

"Independence will put an end to the ordeal of Algeria which has continued for nearly seven years, will end the shedding of the blood of both Algerians and French, and eliminate the danger of the war spreading to Morocco and Tunisia. In a word, it will stamp out a seat of war in the Mediterranean basin.

"The fight for peace in Algeria which has now entered on the decisive stage is one of the great battles being fought by the Communist and other progressive forces of the world to rid humanity once and for all of colonialism and war."

What the Jordanian Communist Party Is Fighting For

ECONOMICALLY Jordan (population 1.5 million) is one of the most backward countries in the Arab East. In 1958, according to official statistics, it had 1,038 enterprises employing five or more workers each. The total number of workers was 13,500. The national bourgeoisie, too, is numerically small.

During the past ten years 55 per cent of all budget expenditure has been swallowed up by the police and the army. In this period Britain and the USA granted Jordan loans and "aid" to the sum of £10 million. But the more "aid" of this kind it received, the greater the expenditure on the army and police and the bigger the trade deficit. Consumer goods from Britain, West Germany and the

USA account for 90 per cent of the imports, which in the period from 1950 to 1958 exceeded exports by £128,500,000.

The situation in Jordan since the reactionary coup in the spring of 1957 was summed up in an appeal issued in April last year by the National Liberation Front, an organization embracing the progressive forces of the country. "The government, which took power as a result of the coup, dissolved all the political parties, the trade unions, peasant organizations and the organizations of students, women and office employees," the appeal stated. "It also dismissed all patriotic officers, closed the cultural and social clubs, banned all patriotic newspapers and arrested hundreds of the

finest sons and daughters of the people, both military and civilians, from different sections of the population and adhering to diverse political views. They were tried by military courts and unjustly sentenced to long terms of imprisonment or death. Many are brutally tortured — branded with red-hot irons, subjected to electric shock, pumped full of water and injected with pepper, fingernails are torn out, and men are starved and deprived of sleep for days on end."

The ruling clique seized upon the assassination of Prime Minister Hazza al-Majali in August 1960 as a pretext for a campaign of terror.

But this gloomy picture of imperialist domination with its perfidy, terror, suffering and poverty and economic decline is only one aspect of the situation. The other aspect is the heroic struggle of the people against the executioners, enslavers, against the British and U.S. imperialists and the clique around King Hussein. This side of the picture reflects the nobility of the people and their firm resolve to win freedom. "The resistance of our people and their tenacity in upholding their right to life and freedom are increasingly isolating the sinister terrorist regime and making it hated more and more by broad sections of the population, including soldiers and officers," the Jordanian Communist Party points out in one of its documents. "The terror, treachery, deception and emergency measures have failed to ensure any measure of stability for the existing imperialist regime."

Aware of its responsibility to the people and the national movement, the Communist Party is doing its share in overcoming the difficulties and obstacles facing the national-liberation struggle.

At the beginning of 1957, when the conspiracy of the British and U.S. imperialists and Jordanian reactionaries against national rule first came to light, the Party warned the people of the threat to their democratic gains. It called for resolute struggle against imperialism and the imperialist plots, and for consolidating national unity. Broad sections of the population responded, joining in a campaign against the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine and taking part in the popular demonstrations organized by the Party throughout the country.

But the leadership of the National Socialist Party (the party of the national bourgeoisie) and the Arab Socialist Baath Party (the party of the petty bourgeoisie) did not respond to the call of the Communist Party to strengthen national unity and to rely on the people.

The National-Socialist leaders entered into a compromise with the reactionaries.

As for the Right-wing leaders of the Baath Party, they refused to co-operate with the Communists, believing that mass action would "strengthen the

Communists" and that any alliance with them would tend to disperse the forces of the nationalist parties.

Other political groups, such as the Arab Nationalists (a movement of the Right comprising university graduates and intellectuals), adopted the same course. This short-sighted attitude of the leaders of the bourgeois parties was highly detrimental not only to the people and their patriotic forces, but also to these parties themselves. The British and U.S. imperialists won a temporary victory.

The disastrous consequences of the imperialist conspiracy of 1957 helped the leaders of the bourgeois parties better to appreciate the attitude of the Communist Party and impelled them to pay more heed to its appeals for national unity and continuation of the struggle against imperialism and reaction in order to put an end to the regime of terror. Unity among the national forces began to be built up in the course of the day-to-day struggles, and with it grew the people's confidence in approaching victory. The days of imperialist rule in Jordan seemed numbered, especially after the Iraqi people's victory on July 14, 1958. But other obstacles arose.

Although on the whole it is opposed to imperialism, the national bourgeoisie is exceedingly reluctant to take action against it. Among the petty bourgeoisie, and especially the intellectuals, there are many who are prone to pessimism and despair. These people are incapable of carrying on a persistent struggle and prefer reckless methods, spectacular "acts of heroism." This has a negative effect on the struggle and impedes united action on the part of the national forces.

Moreover, the aggressive actions and expansionist threats of Israel have their effect on the situation in Jordan. The national movement, naturally, is considerably influenced by developments in the neighboring Arab countries.

This can be clearly seen from the events of 1959 and 1960. The crusade against communism proclaimed by Cairo and its changed attitude toward King Hussein and the Jordanian reactionaries have weakened the unity of the national forces. The rightist leaders of the Baath Party, working for Cairo, have been subverting the national movement.

The inconsistency of the Iraqi government, its anti-Communist policy, its encroachments on democratic freedoms and its wooing of King Hussein have likewise had a negative effect on the Jordanian national-liberation movement.

The Communist Party has repeatedly stressed the need to unite all the popular forces against imperialism and reaction. One of the reports of its Central Committee states:

"It has become crystal clear that the battle now being waged between the imperialists and their reactionary treacherous agents, on the one hand, and the people of Jordan and their national movement, on the other, is part of the pan-Arab battle against world imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism and its agents. The protracted battle necessitates the mobilization of every effort, the rallying in a broad national front of all the popular and patriotic forces, irrespective of their ideological leanings, in order to overthrow the reactionary regime and to abrogate all its criminal measures."

Regarding the liberation struggle in Jordan as part of the Arab national-liberation movement, the Communist Party lays the emphasis on struggle against British and U.S. imperialism and its local servitors, and criticizes the stand taken by the national bourgeoisie. At the same time the Party considers it its duty to explain to the masses the situation in the Arab national-liberation movement generally and to expose the contradictions in the movement. This applies especially to the policies of the governments of the United Arab Republic and Iraq, so that the people of Jordan should not become the victims of illusions and deception.

Formerly the Party pointed only to the positive aspects of Nasser's policy, i.e., his opposition to British imperialism, with no mention of his vague, wavering attitude to U.S. imperialism; neither did it expose the danger contained in Nasser's hostility towards democratic liberties and, in particular, the rights of the working class in the United Arab Republic. Experience, however, has shown that failure to expose the negative features of his policy tends to delude the masses. The same applies to the anti-democratic measures of the Iraqi government. Broad sections of the Jordanian people, including certain groups of the national bourgeoisie are no longer taken in by Nasser's policy toward the ruling clique in Jordan, for they can see that far from uniting the national forces, it sows disunity among them by its declaration of war on democracy. Hence the Central Committee of the Party regards the exposure of the anti-democratic and anti-Communist policy pursued by the governments of some Arab countries, and especially the United Arab Republic, as a task of the utmost importance for the further development of the struggle in Jordan and, in particular, for the creation of a national front.

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties stressed that the parties support those actions of the national governments which consolidate the gains and which undermine the positions of imperialism. But they actively oppose all anti-democratic actions, and all the measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence.

As always, the Communist Party gives full support to the national bourgeoisie whenever its actions are aimed against British and U.S. imperialism and when they tend to strengthen world peace and promote disarmament, whenever it takes a stand against military pacts and bases and seeks better relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But the Party cannot close its eyes to the fact that the parties of the national bourgeoisie often pursue an indulgent policy toward British and U.S. imperialism and oppose democratic freedoms and communism, a policy which, in the final analysis, jeopardizes the independence of the Arab countries and the development of the Arab national-liberation movement.

The Central Committee of the Party has declared time and again that the attitude to King Hussein is not the only criterion of genuine devotion to the people and the national-liberation movement. No less important is the attitude toward imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, since the ruling clique in Jordan are simply agents of the British and U.S. imperialists and can be replaced with another set of stooges whenever the latter find it expedient.

Although the danger presented by British imperialism and its influence in Jordan and the other Arab countries should not be underestimated, the grave threat emanating from U.S. imperialism cannot be ignored. The Jordanians know that the main role in the overthrow of the national government in 1957 was played by the dollar, the U.S. Sixth Fleet and the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine. And even if the British imperialists subsequently succeeded in regaining a foothold in Jordan, the dollar still plays the dominant role.

In this complex situation the Communist Party is continuing its struggle on behalf of the people of Jordan and of all the national forces. Its basic slogans are: *extirpation of British and U.S. imperialist rule, abolition of the reactionary monarchist regime, and establishment of a national-democratic system.*

These clear-cut tasks could well be the basis for a national front. Right now they are attracting more and more people to our side. While emphasizing that the alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the solid foundation of the national front, the Party also attaches much importance to drawing members of the national bourgeoisie into it, inasmuch as imperialist and feudal rule on the whole runs counter to the interests of the Jordanian bourgeoisie. The interests of big sections of the national bourgeoisie impel it to oppose the reactionary regime.

The persistent struggle waged by the Communist Party, despite its heavy losses and the brutal terror it has had to face, and the soundness of the new methods of struggle and organization it has

evolved help to instil new confidence in the people. Our explanatory work, exposing the futility of "heroic" adventurism, the confusion that reigns in the camp of the supporters of this method of struggle, their cowardice and their tendency to desert the battlefield all help to lead the national-liberation movement out of the impasse and to convince the masses that Communist policy is the correct one.

Concern about the situation in Syria has also played a role in stimulating the masses to greater

activity. The national bourgeoisie, too, is beginning to see what is really behind the propaganda campaign sponsored by the Egyptian monopoly bourgeoisie around the issues of Arab nationalism, Arab unity and the "Communist danger." As a result the Rightist elements in the Baath Party, notoriously pro-Egyptian, are being isolated. The popular struggle is spreading in Jordan, and the people are confident of complete and final victory over imperialism and domestic reaction F.N.

For the Complete National Independence of Malaya

LAST year the Communist Party of Malaya celebrated its 30th anniversary. The birth of the revolutionary party of the working class was a milestone in the history of the country because it altered the course of the Malayan labor movement from the path of sporadic outbursts of struggle to consciously guided struggle.

Shortly after its formation, the Party, applying Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of the country, pointed to two basic tasks of the national democratic revolution—the struggle against imperialism and the struggle against feudalism, stressing at the same time that the basic contradiction was that between the Malayan people and the British imperialists.

For a long time Malaya has been a happy hunting ground in which the British monopoly capitalists have amassed huge profits and an important base for the military and economic expansion of British imperialism in Asia, and also a dainty morsel for which other colonial powers engaged in a mad scramble. The Portuguese, Dutch and Japanese imperialists all occupied Malaya in the past, and at present the U.S. imperialists are stepping up their infiltration. The ruling clique is a docile instrument of foreign imperialism.

The experience of history teaches that wherever the people rise in struggle for national independence or for better conditions, the imperialists resort to brutal methods in order to retain their sanguinary rule. This was how things were with Malaya, and it was this that made the armed struggle inevitable.

During the past 30 years the Party has twice led the people in armed struggle against the imperialists: from 1941 to 1945, against the Japanese in-

vaders, and from 1948 onwards, against the British imperialists.

We took to arms against the military attacks of the enemy not because we are bellicose, but because we cannot tolerate the arbitrary acts of the enemy and deem it our duty to defend genuine peace for our people. Though we are all for peace, we will never beg for it nor barter it by sacrificing our right to fight for complete independence, democratic rights and a better life for our people. The peace for which we yearn is a peace that will not permit the imperialists and their stooges to rule the roost in our country. It is a peace that will enable the patriotic forces to play their active role to the full and that will weld the nation into an impregnable front against imperialism.

We have never let slip any opportunity to restore peace. The Baling peace talks in 1955 and the initiative taken by our Party in 1957 in making proposals to the Alliance Government for resuming peace negotiations amply illustrate the sincere desire of the Communists to restore peace in the country. But the government, at the bidding of the British imperialists, chose to continue the war.

For a United Front

The 30 years' experience of our Party clearly shows that the national-liberation movement cannot achieve complete victory without a broad anti-imperialist, patriotic united front. This truth has had repeated confirmation in the revolutionary practice of other peoples. A united front led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance should embrace all the forces that can be united, including the national bourgeoisie and patriots from other strata.

The working class is called upon to form an unbreakable alliance with the peasantry. The bulk of our workers are of Chinese and Indian nationality, while the majority of the peasants are Malays. Hence, the establishment of a worker-peasant alliance in our country is in fact a matter of forming a militant alliance between the Chinese and Indian workers and the Malay peasants. Thus a firm alliance between the workers and peasants is the foundation not only of the anti-imperialist, patriotic united front, but also of national unity. The building of a worker-peasant alliance means, therefore, strengthening national unity.

The complexity of our problem has for a long time been seized upon by the British imperialists who have resorted to alienation in an effort to disrupt the friendly relations of the Malay, Chinese and Indian nationalities. Firm solidarity of the various nationalities in the common struggle is, then, an important condition for achieving complete independence.

In cementing national unity, our Party has taken a firm stand against narrow nationalism and maintains that all the nationalities should unite and help each other on the basis of equality, should respect each other's religious beliefs and customs, that the government should do something for the economy and culture of the Malay people and that, while specifying Malay as the national language, it should recognize the rightful status of the languages of other nationalities (including English). The fact that for the last 30 years the people of our country have been of one heart and mind, scoring considerable successes in the common struggle, indicates that our Party's policy on the national question based on Marxist-Leninist principles is correct. The mass movements and struggles which our Party has led in the past 30 years have not only educated the masses politically, consolidated their unity and organization, they have also played an important role in the fight for national independence.

Long before the emergence of any other party, the Communist Party had unfurled the banner of struggles against imperialism and feudalism. It is the organizer and leader of the anti-imperialist united front and the decisive force in the battle for national liberation.

The Party upholds proletarian internationalism. Our struggle contributes to the liberation of other oppressed nations. It marches in step with the international Communist movement and is closely linked with the struggle for peace waged by millions of people throughout the world. The Party has grown by millions of people throughout the world. The Party has grown in the struggles against opportunism and other non-proletarian ideologies, in upholding Marxist-Leninist principles.

The Way Forward

On September 1, 1957, shortly after the proclamation of Malaya's independence, our Party issued a Manifesto which opens before the people a new vista for establishing, by combined efforts, a fully independent, democratic, peaceful and prosperous new Malaya through the unity of all the nationalities. To this end, we also put forward a five-point proposal as a first step towards complete national independence:

1. *"Strengthen and safeguard the independent status of our country; pursue an independent foreign policy of peace and neutrality; establish diplomatic relations with all countries; oppose war and uphold peace; refrain from joining any military bloc; unite and co-operate with the Afro-Asian countries; strive for the re-unification of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya."*

However, the ruling clique, i.e., the leadership of the United Malaya National Organization headed by Abdul Rahman, instead of safeguarding the independent status of our country is openly betraying it. Our country has not got rid of British imperialist influence and is tailing behind the Anglo-U.S. imperialists in matters relating to foreign policy. The government is the obedient tool of their aggressive SEATO bloc. Obsequiously appeasing the imperialists, the Alliance Government has adopted a foreign policy hostile to the socialist countries in general and to People's China in particular. It has been most unfriendly to other Afro-Asian countries, and has tried, on the orders of the British colonialists, to undermine the efforts of re-unifying Singapore with the Federation of Malaya.

2. *"Foster unity and mutual support among the Malays, Chinese and Indians, with the Malays as the pivot; protect the lawful rights and interests of the various nationalities in our country."*

But the "national unity" preached and practised by the government merely serves the enrichment of a handful of bureaucrats and is characterized by the subserviency of the top elements of the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress to Abdul Rahman. And it is for this "national unity," that the government has deprived the Chinese and Indian nationalities of their lawful rights and neglects their interests. Its policy of "protecting Malay special rights" is designed to enrich the handful of Malay bureaucrats, while the Malay peasants and fishermen—the overwhelming majority of the population—are under the constant threat of ruin, poverty, disease and death.

3. *"Safeguard the democratic rights and liberties of the people; release all the patriot prisoners; extend legal status to all political parties and public organizations which pledge loyalty to Malaya."*

Today, however, a steady stream of political prisoners is joining those already in jail. The Communist Party has been deprived of its legal status; many other patriotic organizations working for the country and the people have also been banned. The government has fabricated the myth about "the threat of the Communist Party to the Federation of Malaya," a myth which serves it as a pretext for intensifying the persecution of patriot fighters and stepping up the anti-democratic terror.

4. *"Protect and develop national industry, agriculture and commerce; develop culture; compulsory universal education and better conditions for the people."*

However, under the government's policy of encouraging foreign investments and granting the investors preferential treatment, the British monopolies which have kept a tight grip on the economic sinews of our country, are consolidating and expanding their economic plunder. The U.S. monopolies and the U.S.-supported Japanese monopolies, too, are making heavy inroads into the economy of our country. This policy cannot but disastrously affect national capital, retarding it and seriously hitting national industry and commerce. In the countryside, the government is pursuing a policy of protecting the feudal interests. The peasants' crying need for land has not been met, the productive forces are fettered and agriculture is stagnating.

The country is being inundated with reactionary films, books and magazines with the result that morals are suffering and juvenile delinquency is assuming alarming proportions. The national culture is being ruthlessly suffocated and blighted. Teaching in Chinese and Indian is restricted in every way. Nor is Malay education being developed

as it should be. With the monopoly capitalists intensifying their brutal exploitation and under the government's policy of constantly raising taxes, prices are soaring, the ranks of the unemployed are growing and poverty is rampant.

5. *"Terminate the war; repeal the Emergency Regulations and restore peace in the country."*

Far from doing this, the government is carrying on the anti-communist and anti-national war first unleashed by the British imperialists. It has allowed Britain, Australia and other Commonwealth countries to station troops on our soil, establish and use military bases on our territory, and to prosecute the colonial war. Consequently, peace has not been restored, and the notorious "Emergency Regulations" have been used to suppress and victimize the people. Today, the essence of these regulations has been transferred to the Constitution, so that anyone expressing dissatisfaction with the government can be arrested, imprisoned or deported on the pretext of "countering subversive activities."

The big changes that have taken place in the correlation of forces on the world arena are extremely favorable to the Malayan people's fight for complete liberation. The victories won by socialism, by the oppressed nations and by the peace supporters have inspired our people. Today, the British imperialists and the internal reactionaries only appear to be strong. Because they are defending a lost cause and because they are isolated from the people and are against the people, they are doomed to defeat. The revolutionary forces, young and growing, represent the people and their future, and for this reason they are invincible.

Musa AHMAD,
Chairman, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Malaya

Training Propagandists in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

THE entry of the Soviet Union into the period of the comprehensive building of communism calls urgently for a further improvement of the Party's educational work. In its January 1960 resolution on the tasks of Party propaganda the Central Committee of the CPSU outlined the ways and means of improving ideological work and its vital link—Party propaganda.

Since then big changes have taken place in the organization of Marxist-Leninist study. In Moscow, for example, 600,000 were enrolled in the Party

educational network in the autumn of 1959; this figure had grown to 1.5 million by the beginning of 1961. In the Ukraine, the attendance at seminars and classes has risen by one million. Last year, in addition to Party members nearly seven million non-members, three times as many as in the previous year, were studying Marxism-Leninism in the Party educational system.

Workers and peasants display a keen interest in economics, especially in studying the economics of socialist industry, building, agriculture, trans-

port, etc. Last year economics was the subject of study for some five million people. Particularly widespread are elementary economics classes which acquaint students with the organization and economics of socialist industry and agriculture.

The Party organizations of the Moscow, Sverdlovsk, Lvov and some other regions have decided to bring a knowledge of economics to every worker and peasant within two or three years.

The scale of Party educational work necessitates a large number of tutors and instructors. During the past year and a half hundreds of thousands have undertaken tutorial work for the first time. The tutor is the key figure in political education. The success of the study depends, among other things, on the level of his training, on his ability to explain the theory, history and policy of the Party, to link theory with the daily practice of the students in factory and office.

Most of the tutors are doing a good job on this important Party assignment. But many of them, especially those new to the job, still lack the skill and the ability to make the classes attractive.

The significance of ideological work and, consequently, of the role of the tutors, is all the greater in view of the forthcoming Congress which will adopt the new program of the Party. The tutors are to explain the Congress resolutions and documents.

At the beginning of May the Central Committee adopted a special resolution concerning selection and training of tutors and instructors. This resolution, while it noted the progress made in recent years in the matter of selecting and training tutors, drew attention to some shortcomings.

Some of the Party organizations, while extending the network of classes, seminars on theory, lecture bureaus, etc., had slipped up in staffing the educational network with properly qualified tutors.

The main weakness, it was found, was the absence of a really effective system of training in theory and in methods of teaching. The present system of training voluntary, spare-time tutors took shape at a time when political education was confined to a comparatively small group of people, when the number of tutors was more or less stable. Now that the educational work is continually expanding and that tutors are needed in growing numbers, this system is unable to meet the growing requirements.

The Central Committee's resolution outlines a series of measures for training tutors with the necessary qualifications.

The work of the evening universities teaching Marxism-Leninism is to be reorganized, with the accent on training tutors. The students in these

universities will be selected from among those who, after completing their studies, should be suitable for tutorial work. For this purpose a special course—the practice and methods of tutorial work—has been added; in addition to the departments of history, philosophy and political economy, the subjects taught will include practical economy, questions of atheism, ethics, aesthetics, international relations and the international Communist movement.

One-year courses for tutors in towns will be arranged under the auspices of the town and district committees and by the bigger factory committees. The classes will be held once or twice a week, after work, from September to May. Tutors for the rural areas will take one-year correspondence courses in towns. In the rural areas there will be monthly seminars plus two sessions in the year, each lasting from 10 to 15 days.

In addition to the evening universities teaching Marxism-Leninism the facilities of the Party schools and of the higher educational establishments will be available to the rural tutorial courses.

The resolution also obliges the local Party committees and branches to attend to the advanced training of tutors who are already conducting classes. They are requested to improve the work of their permanently functioning tutorial seminars and to give every help to the tutors in their class work. These seminars, usually one- or two-day, are to be held monthly. Another recommendation is that those in charge of lecturer groups and of the permanently functioning tutorial seminars should organize seminars not less than twice a year in the regional, territorial and republican centers to discuss questions of the theory and policy of the CPSU and the practice and methods of conducting propaganda.

In addition to short-term seminars sponsored by the regional and territorial committees and by the Central Committees in the Republics, the Central Committee of the CPSU is organizing courses for tutors in its Central School and in the Academy of Social Sciences. This measure is designed as a refresher course for full-time tutors. Higher Party schools in the Republics are arranging inter-regional courses for Party workers drawn from the Party committees and from the staffs of local newspapers.

A new development in Party education is its broadening out to include more members of the public. For this purpose the Party committees in industrial enterprises and on the bigger collective and state farms are opening centers for political education manned completely by volunteer activists, well versed in theory, who lecture in their spare time and take charge of the classes and

seminars and hold consultations for those who study Marxism-Leninism on their own. Many of the Party organizations have their own tutors' councils, composed of the best and more experienced tutors. The councils help tutors in preparing for the classes and seminars. In the Ukraine there are over 2,500 of these voluntary-run political education centers. In Moscow there are more than 300 centers and 500 tutors' councils which include many well-known scientists, Party function-

aries, factory managers and workers. There are now considerably more lecturers' groups in the town and district Party committees and in the bigger branches.

The C.C. resolution stresses the need to enhance the role of political education centers and the role of the press, radio, television and above all, of central newspapers and magazines in training tutors and instructors.

Among Our Contributors

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Exchange of Views

Crisis and the Working People

★ *Why has the modern cycle changed?*

★ *How is capitalist reproduction affected by state-monopoly capitalism, the growth of world socialism, the disintegration of the colonial system, the scientific and technological revolution and the working-class struggle?*

★ *Can the working class advance its own anti-crisis program?*

These questions are being hotly debated at present in the Communist and Workers' parties. With a view to making a thorough study of them *World Marxist Review* has organized research groups and invited economists and sociologists from the capitalist and socialist countries to express their views in its columns. We open the discussion on problems of modern crises and cycles with the following contributions.

What Is Taking Place with the World Cycle?

YVES BAREL (*France*), STANISLAV MENSHIKOV (*USSR*)

THE picture of world capitalist reproduction since the Second World War is complicated in the extreme. This is manifested both in irregular cyclical development on a world scale and in an upset in the regularity of the phases of the cycle in the principal capitalist countries. Both on a world scale and on the scale of individual capitalist countries there have been periods which do not fit into any of the known phases of the cycle. What is the explanation for this change in the modern capitalist economy?

It would be incorrect to assume that the law of the cyclical development of capitalism no longer operates or that its influence has been reduced to a minimum. The essence of cyclical development is that crises of overproduction are inevitable and that they are bound to recur. Nothing in post-war capitalist reproduction has occurred to alter this vital law of bourgeois society.

At the same time it would be wrong to approach this question dogmatically, to try to force the

contemporary pattern of the cycle into the traditional four-phase scheme: crisis — depression — recovery — boom. Cycles have never existed in "pure" form, unrelated to the particular conditions in which capitalist reproduction takes place at a given time. No cycle is a simple repetition or a copy of another. Each is a new chapter in the economic history of capitalism, a specific stage in the development of the capitalist contradictions. In our times, when capitalism is in the process of being replaced by socialism, the laws of capitalism, including the law of crises, cannot operate exactly as they did in the 19th or even the early 20th century.

Hitherto the changes in the cycle have been examined chiefly in relation to the two world wars and their direct consequences, and also in connection with the arms drive and militarization of the economy, inflation and foreign currency deficit. It has been established that the foregoing factors lead to what is known as a deformation or modi-

fication of cyclic development. However, this analysis by no means covers all the reasons for the changes in the cycle in the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism. At present the effect on reproduction of the direct consequences of the Second World War—the wartime destruction and the economic rehabilitation of Western Europe, and the protracted foreign currency deficit in most capitalist countries—is hardly felt any longer. On the other hand, the effect on the cycle of the *paramount, constant factors* typical for the general crisis of capitalism has increased enormously. Without taking these factors into account one cannot understand or explain the mechanism of the contemporary capitalist economic cycle and new forms of the operation of the law of crises. The constant factors are: the growth of the socialist world system, the steady disintegration of the colonial hinterland of imperialism and the rapid emergence of new national economies, the class struggle in the capitalist countries, the rapid growth of state-monopoly capitalism and the onset of a scientific and technological revolution.

Since considerations of space prevent us from dwelling in detail on each of these factors, we shall confine ourselves to examining the way in which the capitalist cycle has been affected by the rise of the socialist world system, the disintegration of the colonial system, the technological revolution, and to some of the practical aspects of the analysis of capitalist reproduction in the light of the new ways in which the law of crises is manifested.

World Socialism and the Modern Cycle

The rise and consolidation of the socialist world system is the general background against which history is developing. And as time goes on socialism acts more and more as the determining factor of human progress.

The impact of the growth of socialism on capitalism is not always and not everywhere manifested *directly*. As far as capitalist reproduction is concerned, it is expressed in the disintegration of the colonial system, in the changes in the general climate of international politics and in the scale of the economic and political struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries.

The relation of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has always influenced capitalist reproduction. The value and price of labor power and, consequently, the rate of surplus value and profit, the purchasing power of the working people, the demand for Department II output—all depend at any given moment on the intensity of the class battles and their outcome. Ever since the strike struggle acquired its massive proportions, it has become an important reg-

ulator of the ratio of capitalist reproduction. But the class struggle acquires a particular significance in our time, when the influence which socialism exerts on all aspects of life in the capitalist countries has grown enormously. The class struggle in the capitalist countries is stimulated, sometimes even unconsciously, by the influence of socialism. In these circumstances the bourgeoisie is obliged to reckon with the existence of the socialist world and its progress in raising living standards. For the sake of preserving its class domination the bourgeoisie is frequently obligated to be more conciliatory, to concede some of the workers' demands and implement certain reforms. This gives the proletariat considerable opportunities for influencing the course of capitalist reproduction.

In a number of Western European countries the Communist parties are influencing economic development by fighting for state capital investments in the interests of the working people, against closing the so-called "unprofitable" branches and enterprises, for the development of backward areas and for ending the economic dependence on the international monopolies. In general the specific features of postwar reproduction in countries like France and Italy cannot be understood without taking into account the national policy of the working class. The workers' struggle against the aggressive policy of the monopolies, against militarism and the arms drive is affecting the capitalist economy more and more. On the whole the class struggle waged by the proletariat throughout the postwar years has contributed to the growth of production and the expansion of the home market, and has been an important obstacle to the sharpening of the crises of overproduction.

But it is equally clear that the course of the capitalist cycle is *directly* influenced by the socialist world system through the shrinking of the sphere of imperialist rule, the development of economic ties between the two systems, the economic competition between socialism and capitalism, and the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

Let us examine each of these questions in detail.

At one time the erroneous view was held that the narrowing of the sphere of imperialist domination would be accompanied by a decline in the volume of production in the developed capitalist countries. Experience has proved this concept to be unsound, its weakness being its underestimation of capitalism's ability to adapt itself to the new conditions on the world market, to develop not only extensively but intensively.

However, while the turn to socialism by a number of European and Asian countries could not abolish the laws of extended capitalist reproduc-

tion, it did influence the course of the cycle to a substantial degree, especially in Western Europe and Japan.

Most Western European countries up to the Second World War traded extensively with Eastern Europe. The prolonged disruption of economic ties between East and West, for which the ruling circles in the capitalist countries were responsible, retarded the restoration of industry in these countries and adversely affected their foreign currency position.

The Federal German Republic is to a certain extent an exception in this respect. The reasons for this should be sought primarily in the role assigned her in the aggressive plans of world reaction as a forepost of imperialism on the Western frontiers of the socialist world. Having set out to make West Germany their principal ally and the main anti-socialist force in Europe, the U.S. imperialists went out of their way to speed up the restoration and the growth of her industrial potential. West Germany obtained additional markets in Western Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America as compensation for the almost complete cessation of trade with the socialist countries of Europe and with East Germany. Thus, some of the difficulties which the Federal Republic would otherwise have experienced were shifted to its competitors, primarily Britain. This, incidentally, is one explanation for the so-called West German "economic miracle" so loudly trumpeted by Bonn. The same thing took place in the case of Japan, which figures in the plans of the U.S. reactionaries as the bastion of imperialism in the Far East.

In recent years the economic cycle has been influenced by the improved *economic relations* between the two systems. Orders from the socialist countries have had a stabilizing effect on some branches of industry in a number of capitalist countries. This applies not only to Finland and Austria but to the larger Western European countries as well. Where this trade is considerable, the crisis symptoms are less pronounced, although they have not wholly disappeared (as in Finland, for example). To draw on an example from the past, Soviet purchases of American and German equipment during the world crisis of 1929-1933 enabled large numbers of workers to retain their jobs.

Nowadays, however, another aspect is acquiring a growing significance. By expanding their exports of manufactured goods, especially machinery, to the underdeveloped countries and industrial raw materials and fuel to the developed capitalist countries, the socialist states are *undermining* the monopoly of the big trusts and cartels on the world markets. This enables some weaker

countries to strengthen their position economically by purchasing the commodities they need (e.g. oil and non-ferrous metals) from the socialist countries. As a result of the growing mutually advantageous trade between the socialist and the underdeveloped countries, many capitalist firms are losing important contracts. This is forcing the monopolies to ease in some cases the conditions of trade with newly-independent states. The credits from the socialist countries have already had a noticeable effect on the forms of the export of capital and imperialist "aid."

The expansion of trade between the two systems will continue to influence prices on the world market and, consequently, the course of reproduction in the principal capitalist countries. The first to benefit from this will be those countries whose position on the world market is comparatively weak and for whom trade with the socialist system is a means of cushioning the blows of an economic crisis.

Lenin said that socialism will influence world development mainly through its *economic policy*. There can be little doubt that the existence alongside of the capitalist countries of states which have no crises and no unemployment substantially changes the conditions in which capitalist economy functions today. In the case of Federal Germany, for example, the so-called "economic miracle" is largely due to the policy pursued by the rulers in Bonn (and not only in Bonn), a policy which is largely conditioned by the proximity of the German Democratic Republic and the strenuous efforts to demonstrate the "superiority" of the West-German brand of capitalism.

As the general crisis of capitalism moves on to a new stage, the effects of the *economic competition* of the two systems on the chief capitalist country, the United States, will be much greater. With the Soviet Union approaching its objective of overtaking the United States for overall industrial output, the U.S. policy-makers are compelled to make an "agonizing reappraisal" of their economic prospects.

For the first time in the history of American capitalism the rate of economic growth has become the prime concern of the government. The U.S. rulers are sensitive even to a brief and minor crisis, because they know that a crisis brings nearer the defeat of the USA in the economic competition with the USSR. Estimates show that the first three postwar crises in the United States set economic development back by approximately nine years. In two or three years even a "minor" crisis, like the one of 1957-58, could put the United States behind the Soviet Union for volume of industrial output.

The experience of recent years shows that the economic competition of the two systems is influencing capitalist reproduction chiefly through *state-monopoly regulation*. This is understandable. One cannot expect individual capitalists to step up production out of fear that the capitalist system might lose in the economic contest with socialism. In a situation governed by the vagaries of the market this can be done only by the combined efforts of the entire monopoly bourgeoisie. In this connection one might say that new motives for intensifying state-monopoly capitalism have appeared under the direct influence of the economic competition between the two systems in the form of conscious attempts to intervene in the course of the cycle, in order to effect a radical change in the rate of economic growth.

True, the concentrated will of the monopolies can be exerted outside the sphere of state regulation. The organizations of the capitalists and even individual trusts and concerns, when confronted with the workers' demands under the impact of the success of socialism, resort to measures of a paternalistic character which indirectly affect the development of reproduction.

And lastly, the foreign policy of the socialist camp is influencing the world cycle to an increasing degree. With the balance of forces on the world arena changing more and more in favor of socialism, formidable barriers will be raised to the growth of militarism. Thus the bourgeois concept of "prosperity through armaments" has less and less chance of success. In our time the political and military cost of the armaments drive has assumed such proportions as to be fraught with danger to the very existence of the capitalist system.

Actually militarism is playing a much smaller role in capitalist reproduction than it did ten years ago. This is due in large measure to the progress made by the peace forces all over the world, primarily the socialist camp, in the struggle to reduce tension and end the cold war. It goes without saying that any effective steps towards universal disarmament would substantially alter the course of the world capitalist cycle.

The Break-up of the Colonial Empires and Reproduction

The crisis of the colonial system after the Second World War developed into a chain reaction, in which disintegration and collapse were followed by the emergence of new national states. This could not but have an impact on capitalist reproduction.

The liberation of the colonies and the rise of many new independent states has radically altered the contours of the world capitalist economy. The colonies had never been isolated or economically

detached from the metropolitan countries. They always formed a special part of the latter's home market. The gaining of independence by the underdeveloped countries is bound to alter the nature of their relations with the metropolitan countries, even if the political regimes in the former colonies do not particularly exert themselves in this direction. Special privileges granted to the national bourgeoisie; the conditions for the import and export of commodities, for the import of capital and the transfer of profits abroad change. National currencies, an independent payments balance and a special currency policy make their appearance. Hence even before the former colonies begin to work actively for economic independence certain elementary obstacles are raised which prevent the fluctuations of the world cycle of reproduction from directly affecting one or another underdeveloped country. The former colony, once a passive adjunct of the metropolitan country, an automatic "recorder," as it were, of the movement of the world cycle, becomes an *autonomous* part of the world capitalist economy, fully prepared to ride the "violent storms of the world market."

The new national states now building an independent economy are utilizing for this purpose various forms of state capitalism in the sphere of both production and foreign trade. From the standpoint of the world capitalist cycle this has two consequences: firstly, the demand for machinery and equipment on the part of these countries substantially increases, and secondly, a definite system of regulating foreign trade is established, which changes still further the interaction between the economy of these countries and capitalist world economy as a whole.

Statistics show that the demand for machinery and equipment in the Asian, African and Latin American countries is one of the main factors in marketing the output of the machine-building industries in the developed capitalist countries, especially Federal Germany, Japan and Britain. It is precisely this demand which has contributed to the cyclical boom in the Federal Republic and Japan, and which has played an important role in maintaining a high level of business activity in Britain.

The underdeveloped countries remain an important part of the capitalist world economy and as such are of necessity involved in its cyclical ups and downs. But the growth of state capitalism in these countries introduces its own regulators, making it possible to some extent to modify the effect of the fluctuating world cycle. In these countries the internal causes which give rise to cyclical crises have not yet matured.

State-owned industry and the enterprises regarded as being most important from the standpoint of economic planning are carefully protected against outside competition. True, this system cannot afford full protection. It is indicative, for example, that the rate of growth of industrial production in India in 1957-58, in accordance with the situation in the capitalist world economy, sharply declined. Moreover, world crises are inevitably reflected in the foreign trade of the underdeveloped countries, causing upsets in trade and in the balance of payments. The underdeveloped countries, consequently, continue to "reflect" the cyclical waves which emanate from the United States and Western Europe, deepening crises and heightening booms. For instance, the \$1,000 million drop in exports from the underdeveloped countries to the industrial states in 1957-58 caused a reduction in the import of commodities to the former to the same amount.

At the same time, the new political and economic role played by the underdeveloped countries has led to marked changes in the way in which the law of crises is manifested in the former colonies. The softening effect of state capitalism will increase as time goes on, helping to overcome trade crises in the underdeveloped countries, and this in turn will alter the course of the development of the world cycle still more.

The Revolution in Science and Technology Introduces Correctives

The nature of the modern scientific and technological revolution is well known. Its principal elements are automation and complex mechanization, electrification and chemical processes, and the growing use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It is expressed in the flow of new types of raw materials, especially synthetic and artificial materials, in the appearance of new items of consumption, the rapid modernization of equipment, the creation of new branches of industry, and in the rapid rise in labor productivity.

All this helps to explain the peculiar features of the postwar capitalist reproduction. Technological progress plays a big role in any cycle. The wholesale renewal of fixed capital, without which no boom is possible is based as a rule on technological advance. Crises pave the way to renewal. However, it would be a mistake to assume that renewal of plant cannot begin *without being preceded by a crisis*. Some powerful external stimulus, such as a suddenly expanded market, can set off a new cycle of investments, even if the preceding crisis was not violent enough to render the old plant obsolete or even if there has been no crisis at all. In the United States, for example, such stimuli were the Second World War, the so-

called "backlog" of demand in 1946-48, and the war in Korea.

The accelerated rate of technological progress at present plays a similar role. In the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technological revolution excess surplus value, the process of accumulation of which was revealed by Marx, offers the monopolies such vast opportunities to increase their rate of profit that in some cases renewal of plant becomes possible every three or four years. This is one of the reasons why in the postwar years investments in the United States have remained at a comparatively high level even in crises periods. The protracted boom in Western Europe is in no small measure due to the scientific and technological revolution which began in this part of the capitalist world later than in the United States.

We know that in periods of rapid technological progress the principal motive force of social reproduction is the swift growth of Department I, and within it, the increase in the output of the means of production destined for Department I. The rapid progress of technology and science revolutionizes the structure of industry to such an extent that growth of production becomes *temporarily and partially independent* of the fluctuations of personal consumption. A peculiarity often observed in modern crises is that they begin in Department II and do not affect Department I until some months later, when the consumer goods surplus has largely been absorbed.

Scientific and technical advance partly explains why despite the intensified exploitation of the workers, the contradiction between the production potential and the purchasing power of society has not yet become acute on the scale of capitalist economy as a whole. The revolution in technology and the growing parasitism of capitalism have led to big changes in the structure of the labor force. There has been a considerable increase in the proportion of workers employed in the service sphere, of office workers, officials and other categories whose earnings are only to a small extent associated with the economic situation. As a result of these processes the factors tending to transfer the crises of overproduction from Department II to I have been notably weakened.

Moreover, the technological revolution and the intensified strike struggle have tended in the postwar period to expand the market for durables. The spread of automobile transport and television, and the real revolution in electrical household appliances continued in the United States up to 1955-1956. In Western Europe these processes began considerably later. In some countries (France, Federal Germany, Japan) they are still one of the basic factors of the general boom.

However the contradictions between production and consumption are bound to come to a head eventually. Technological progress under capitalism facilitates the growth of Department II only for a time. At a definite stage it becomes a retarding factor. The absolute decline in the number of workers engaged in material production — a fact in the United States and a definite prospect for Western Europe and Japan—inevitably checks the growth of consumer demand. As United States experience shows, the production of durables is the first to be affected. The growth of heavy industry in its turn become pointless if the consumer branches are not correspondingly expanded. The faster production expands the sooner the market will be glutted.

The technological revolution has considerably enhanced the effectiveness of investments in fixed capital and has led to a sharp increase in the returns on new investments and in the demand for new plant. But there is an *objective limit* beyond which further investment inevitably causes hypertrophy of production capacities. Far from all firms in the United States, and even more so in Western Europe and Japan, can stand the strain of this costly piling up of unemployed fixed capital. In the long run the incentive to new investments sharply declines and there appears the objective need to "get rid of the ballast" through a crisis of overproduction and a wave of bankruptcies.

The Result—Asynchronism of the World Cycle

We have attempted to show how capitalist reproduction since the war has been affected by the principal manifestations of the general crisis of capitalism, and also by scientific and technological progress. Let us now see how these factors as a whole influence the course of the world cycle.

In the first place they introduce serious changes into the picture of world capitalist reproduction. Before the Second World War the crisis phases in the majority of the capitalist countries usually coincided. Since the war the upset in the world cycle, i.e., the tendency of its phases, and particularly of crises, not to coincide, has become chronic and protracted. In 1948-49 and in 1953-54 the crisis of general overproduction was confined to the United States. In 1951-52 some countries in Western Europe and Asia were partially affected by crisis. In the United States, however, no crisis symptoms were observed at this time. In 1957-58 there was general overproduction in the United States, Britain and Canada, while in Federal Germany, France (one year later), Italy and Japan the crises were either of a partial nature, or else brief and slight.

What is at the root of this upset in the cycle? The main reason lies in the effect on the cycle of the general crisis of capitalism. Hence it is clear that the upset is not a transient but a more or less stable phenomenon, peculiar to the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism. Does this mean that the era of world crises has passed? No, such a conclusion is not borne out by the facts. The upset in the world cycle does not, nor can it, eliminate the unity of the process of reproduction on the scale of the capitalist system as a whole. Every national economy that is part of the world capitalist division of labor is tied by a thousand threads to the other national economies. What happens in one link of this chain is bound to affect the other links. Hence it would be incorrect in appraising the current development and prospects of capitalist economy to proceed solely from the specific conditions in one country or group of countries, and to emphasize *merely the differences* in these conditions.

Let us briefly note a few of the landmarks in world capitalist reproduction during the postwar years. In 1948-49 the United States experienced the first postwar crisis of general overproduction. Although no such crisis occurred in the other capitalist countries (only a brief recession was observed in France, in West Germany and Britain) the crisis in the United States cannot be regarded as isolated from the general condition of world capitalist reproduction. Restoration of the prewar level of industrial production in a number of Western European countries was one of the main reasons for the sharp decline in American exports in 1948-49 and for the consequent crisis. At the same time a general fall in prices occurred on the world market, there was a recurrence of the protracted crisis of overproduction in agriculture, and a devaluation of currency in most capitalist countries.

Thus, the crisis of 1948-49 in the United States was a reflection and an important component of the general eruption of contradictions associated with world capitalist reproduction. One period—for the most part the period associated with the Second World War—had ended and a new world cycle had begun.

In 1957-58 a crisis of general overproduction was observed in the United States, Canada, Britain and several other countries. The physical volume of international trade diminished. In France and the Federal Republic a brief partial overproduction was observed, springing mainly from internal causes. However, the relative weakness of the crisis in Western Europe cannot be understood without taking into account the peculiar conditions of the world market. The fall in world prices for raw materials (under the influence of

the crisis in the United States) greatly eased the position of Western European manufacturers. Add to this the fact that the dollar crisis — the main currency in the capitalist world—began in 1958, plus the series of prolonged crises of separate branches which began at the same time on the scale of the entire capitalist world, and it will be seen that what is in question is not isolated crises in separate countries but *a world crisis* maturing in very specific conditions in a large group of highly-developed capitalist states. Again as in 1948-49, one period of world capitalist reproduction ended and another stage began. This leads to the conclusion that the world crises remain, although the mechanics of the crisis are substantially changed.

An examination of postwar capitalist reproduction as a single process with its sharply defined

periods is of considerable theoretical importance to the world Communist and working-class movement. Bourgeois and reformist propaganda is doing its utmost to depict the present economic development of capitalism as a period of uninterrupted growth unmarred by crises. A scientific analysis of the postwar capitalist reproduction reveals the groundlessness of this concept. The cyclical nature of reproduction remains. In the conditions of the second and third stages of the general crisis of capitalism, cyclical crises are closely intertwined with other economic factors, evoking periodic eruptions of the contradictions of world capitalist reproduction. This is one of the reasons why the Communists in their daily activity proceed not only from the concrete conditions in their own country but from the laws governing the development of the capitalist system as a whole.

The Monopolies, the State, and Crises

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IN recent years problems pertaining to the monopolies, the state and crises have been the subject of lively discussion by Marxists all over the world. This interest in the dynamics of state-monopoly capitalism and crises is by no means fortuitous. For it is precisely in these areas of capitalist economic life that a particularly large number of new *phenomena and facts* have emerged requiring profound Marxist study. Moreover, few economic problems of contemporary capitalism have a closer bearing on *the theory and practice of the Communists*. Indeed, whatever questions we consider—the economic competition of the two systems, the rates of development of capitalist economy, the conditions of the working class, unemployment, the factors favoring or retarding the strike struggles or disarmament — we find ourselves dealing in greater or lesser degree with the perspectives of state-monopoly capitalism and the capitalist cycle.

Scientific analysis of state-monopoly capitalism and the cycle is for the revolutionary working class a barometer which forecasts the shocks awaiting the capitalist economy in the foreseeable future and indicates the epicenters of the coming economic cataclysms and class battles. It is an indispensable condition for success in the fight waged by the working-class movement against the

apologists of capitalist society, reformism and revisionism who try to "refute" Marxism by speculating on the new complex economic processes, in particular the growing role of state-monopoly regulation and the deformation of the cycle. Marxist researchers should, therefore, display initiative in examining the new phenomena of capitalism in order to wage a ceaseless offensive against the ideological high priests of contemporary bourgeois economics.

Anomalies of the Contemporary Cycle

It is not necessary to go deeply into the economics of capitalism to see that the way in which the laws of cyclical development are manifested has undergone a radical change. A feature of postwar capitalism is the continued deformation and irregularity of the world cycle, the phases of which do not coincide in the different areas of the capitalist world, primarily in the USA and Western Europe. This was strikingly revealed once again by the developments of 1960-61. In September 1960, the numerous anti-crisis barriers notwithstanding, a new slump hit the U.S. economy. Soon the *ague* extended to the United States' northern neighbor—Canada. Approximately at the same time a tendency to mark time made itself felt in Britain, giving grounds to the *Financial*

Times to say that "the British economy has suddenly run into a succession of squalls. Some of these derive from the worsening climate of international trade, some are purely internal." At the same time there was a boom in most of continental Western Europe and in Japan.

A particularly complicated and contradictory picture is presented by Western Europe. As a whole, this area of the capitalist world economy has not experienced a single clearly defined cyclical crisis of overproduction since the war.

In the United States, on the contrary, relatively brief crises of overproduction have become increasingly frequent and the alternation of the various phases of the cycle highly erratic. Notable here is the disappearance of the depression phase, a shorter period of recovery, the absence of the boom phase in some cycles, incompleteness of the cyclical eruptions, and the absence of credit and money crises in their traditional form.

Substantial changes have taken place in the dynamics of the onset and termination of the crises. Formerly they came like a bolt from the blue, at what seemed to be the crest of the prosperity wave. Now prolonged periods of stagnation intervene between booms and crises. The crises also end differently, often with prices rising, substantial surplus capital still available and certain elements of overproduction in evidence. These new features substantially change the traditional quadruple pattern of cyclical development.

The Exception Becomes the Rule

What has given rise to these "anomalies" which have broken down the old concept of the "normal" cycle? The causes are many. Taken together, they add up to the sum of the features of the present stage in the general crisis of capitalism. The cardinal factors are the growth of state-monopoly capitalism, the impact of world socialism and the class struggle of the working people, the disintegration of the colonial system, the scientific and technological revolution that is under way, and the consequences of the Second World War. Each of these reasons (with the exception perhaps of the last, which relates more to the past than to the present) is of exceedingly great significance and merits close attention on the part of researchers. In this article we shall dwell on one of the main reasons for the deformation of the cycle—the influence of state-monopoly processes.

State-monopoly capitalism is, increasingly, engulfing the nerve centers of capitalist reproduction—property relations, the market, investment and credit. In many capitalist countries, owing to the interplay of various political and economic factors, *state ownership* of the means of production has become widespread. In Britain and France

the state sector embraces about 20 per cent of all industry, and in Austria it produces about one-third of the total industrial output. In Italy, according to rough estimates, state and mixed enterprises embrace 25-30 per cent of the economy, while in West German industrial production their share runs to 25.7 per cent in coal mining, 18.5 per cent in coke, 50.6 per cent in iron ore, 72 per cent in aluminium, 42 per cent in automobile manufacture and 30 per cent in shipbuilding.

While state ownership is a feature mainly in Western Europe, such forms of state-monopoly capitalism as *government buying and control of the economy* are typical of all capitalist countries. What is called the "organized" market absorbs more than one-sixth of the national product in most of the leading capitalist countries. The capitalist state has entered the market as a collective monopolist effecting commercial transactions in a big way. In the United States, where 20 per cent of the gross product is realized on the average through the state market, government buying of commodities and services in the nine years from 1949 to 1957 ran to \$629,900 million.* In Britain current state expenditure for analogous purposes equals roughly 19 per cent of the gross national income. In Italy payments to the private sector for government contracts and direct purchases amount to nearly one-third of the budgetary expenditure.

The merger of the aggregate power of the monopolies and the state has created the groundwork for regulating some key economic processes. The capitalist state, for instance, puts supports under prices of goods produced by monopoly enterprises, it is a major investor, controls credit and currency policy, and it elaborates far-reaching agricultural programs.

In a number of imperialist countries regulation of the economy is effected through its militarization. Indeed militarization is the most flexible instrument used by monopoly capital in harnessing the state to serve its interests. In the United States, for example, the government influences the processes of extended reproduction mainly through military expenditure. It is not by chance that the U.S. military budget, which in 1939 was only slightly over \$1,000 million, has soared to nearly \$46,000 million in the current fiscal year.

While exerting a strong influence on cyclical development, the rapid growth of state-monopoly capitalism is determined by the *requirements and contradictions* of contemporary capitalist reproduction. Concentration of production has led to the formation in the main imperialist countries of enormous economic units subordinated to monop-

*By way of comparison it should be noted that state purchases between 1929 and 1938 inclusive amounted to only \$98,100 million.

oly capital. However, in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution now under way, of rapid growth of the organic composition of capital, and decline in the average rate of profit, extended reproduction within the framework of these units is impossible without regular redistribution in favor of the monopolies of the value and surplus value created in the non-monopoly sectors of production.

In these circumstances the joint-stock company form of building up capital becomes inadequate and loses its former significance. In Germany emission of securities accounted for 84.4 per cent of the total investments in the twenties; now in the Federal Republic the percentage has dropped to 17.2. In postwar France the share of investments financed in the traditional way—through the money market—has ranged from 5-6 per cent to 10 per cent of the total. Thus it has become an *economic necessity* directly to subordinate the capitalist state to monopoly capital. The trusts and concerns take into their hands the state machine with its tax and budgetary systems and use them to harness the total social capital to the needs of extended reproduction in the monopolized sectors.

In 1956 the share of the central and local government bodies in the net accumulation of the economy of Federal Germany amounted to 44 per cent (15,560 million marks) that of the enterprises to 36 per cent (12,910 million marks), and of private individuals only to 20 per cent (6,950 million marks). In Britain the share of the state in the gross fixed capital investments has ranged in postwar years from 45 to more than 50 per cent. In Japan state investments accounted for more than 29 per cent of total capital accumulation in the five years from 1951 to 1955.

Thus an analysis of the development of state-monopoly capitalism in the leading imperialist countries shows that we are dealing here with the *fundamental processes* of extended capitalist reproduction. It is largely due to these processes that the cycle has been deformed and profound changes have taken place in the way in which the laws governing crises are manifested. Uneven development and the differing forms of state-monopoly capitalism in the USA and Western Europe, together with such factors as the impact of socialism, the disintegration of the colonial system and the aftermath of the Second World War, have accentuated the protracted upset in the world cycle. Crises take place without such symptoms as falling prices and the collapse of credits, because the credit and finance sphere, too, has been drawn into the millstream of state-monopoly processes. Government market and buying, militarization of the economy and the substantial growth of the share of state investments have disrupted

the regularity of the phases of the cycle and dislocated the traditional mechanism of crises. Deformation of the cycle is now *the rule*, not *the exception*, the *normal* manifestation of the laws of capitalist reproduction, not an *anomaly*.

Reality Is the Judge

The policies of capitalist governments designed to combat crises derive from the growth of state-monopoly capitalism. Crises and state-monopoly processes are in constant interaction. Acute attacks of the crisis sickness accelerate the development of the state-monopoly factors with which the imperialist bourgeoisie counters the crisis. In turn, state-monopoly capitalism lays its indelible imprint on the cycle itself.

The principal instrument of anti-crisis policy, the development of which can best of all be traced in the United States—is militarization of the economy, the increased military expenditure during a crisis. Other instruments are price supports, deficit financing, discounting of securities, revising bank reserves, manipulating the bank rate (raised during a boom, reduced during a crisis), credit controls, especially in stock market transactions (now at least a 70 per cent margin is stipulated), guarantee of bank deposits up to \$10,000, regulated export of capital, taxation of profits, reduction of mortgage payments, etc.

Bourgeois ideologists, Right-wing reformists and revisionist theoreticians have burst into paeans of praise for the anti-crisis policies of the monopolies. Concocting a muddle of facts and invention, they eulogize state-monopoly capitalism as the "model of a crisis-free society" and declare the Marxist-Leninist theory of reproduction obsolete.

The last word in this ideological struggle, however, lies with the facts of life. What are the facts as regards the effect of the state-monopoly forms of economic policy on cyclical development? Does this policy remove the cyclical contradictions of capitalism?

There is no doubt that the employment of state-monopoly factors to combat crises limits the action of the cyclical laws to some extent. State property and state investments are less susceptible to ups and downs than the private sector and, for this reason, are less likely to be shaken by a crisis. A state market makes it possible to ensure key industries a stable demand for several years ahead, and this substantially changes the conditions in which a sizeable part of the commodities produced is realized.

But while it tends temporarily to restrict the action of some of the cyclical laws, the anti-crisis policy of the monopolies aggravates the contradictions underlying the crisis of overproduction. Above all, state-monopoly regulation in its present

form inevitably intensifies *the primary cause of the crisis*—the basic contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation. State-monopoly capitalism accelerates the capitalist socialization of the productive forces, imparts to production an increasingly social character. At the same time it subordinates economic development as a whole to private interests, which it protects with all the power of the capitalist state. As Walter Lippmann, the U.S. columnist, said in an article defending state-monopoly capitalism against charges of "socialism," "we are talking about how to pay private contractors to build missiles and aircraft carriers, schools, hospitals and parks — not about how the government can build them. The program we have in mind calls for government purchase from *private firms* and the hiring of civil servants in a *free labor market*." To this one can only add that even when the capitalist state owns the industries and builds the factories, it, nevertheless, subordinates their operation to the interests of the private firms. In the highly developed capitalist countries, the fruits of social production are being concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people. For example, in the USA one per cent of the population has seized two-thirds of the national wealth, and in Britain, one-half.

Nor is state-monopoly capitalism capable of solving the contradiction between rising production and the relatively declining effective demand, which also *leads to crises*. The trusts and concerns use the machinery of state-monopoly regulation to pump into their coffers a considerable part of the wages of the industrial and office workers, the income of the middle strata and the profits of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. Plunder of broad sections of the people through taxation is a feature of state-monopoly capitalism. The portion of the national income which goes for taxes amounts to about 30 per cent in the United States, 35 per cent in West Germany, 32 per cent in France, 29 per cent in Britain, 27 per cent in Italy, and 24 per cent in Canada. This reduces the share of the national product allocated for personal consumption. Between 1939 and 1959 this share dropped in the USA by nine per cent, and in France it declined between 1938 and 1956 from 75 to 67 per cent.

In the conditions of rapidly growing state-monopoly capitalism the contradiction between production and consumption assumes more complex forms than before, since the state spends a substantial part of the funds extracted from the working people on financing the purchase of means of production. Consequently, the effect on the cycle of the diminished purchasing power of the masses is retarded, especially in boom periods, when the

demand for means of production is at peak. But *the complexity* of a contradiction by no means signifies that it has become less acute.

The cumulative exacerbation of the contradictions of capitalist reproduction was clearly revealed in the four postwar crises in the USA and in the slumps experienced in Canada. In Western Europe, however, cyclical development has taken a more contradictory and tortuous course. A number of transient factors helping to sustain a high level of business activity asserted themselves in this area after the war. But here, too, state-monopoly capitalism has been unable to avoid convulsions testifying to the aggravation of the contradictions of capitalist reproduction. Ever since 1950 the Western European economy has repeatedly suffered from partial and structural crises affecting the engineering, shipbuilding, steel, coal and textile industries. In 1957, 1958 and at the beginning of 1959 most of the countries in this area experienced grave economic difficulties accompanied by marked symptoms of overproduction. Their aggregate industrial production increased in 1958 by only one per cent as compared with the previous year, while output declined in Britain, Belgium, Norway and Luxembourg. In Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden production remained at the 1957 level. Practically no increase was registered in investments in Britain, France, and Federal Germany. This shows that instead of the Marxist-Leninist appraisal of capitalist reproduction proving obsolete, it is the tedious attempts of the bourgeois ideologists to "refute" the economic theory of the revolutionary working class that are found wanting.

"The Crises Multiply . . ."

What, then, are the tangible results of state-monopoly anti-crises regulation? U.S. experience shows that four principal results may be obtained in this way: (1) a retarding of the growth of production during booms; (2) a slowing down of the advent of crises; (3) attenuation of the initial eruption and, in some cases, (4) premature emergence from crises. But precisely by doing this, state-monopoly capitalism creates *serious obstacles* to the fulfilment by crises of their *objective economic role*.

The historical mission of the crisis is temporarily to solve the contradictions of capitalist reproduction through the forcible destruction of the excess product. It restores for brief periods the otherwise constantly disturbed equilibrium between demand and supply, production and consumption. As a result, the conditions are created for a boom, in the course of which the factors leading to another crisis mature. Moreover, the more acute

the crisis at the onset—the more the output, the prices and the profits fall and the more thoroughly the excess product is destroyed—the quicker the recovery and the more intense and prolonged the cyclical upswing. In our times this elemental mechanism has been seriously dislocated. State-monopoly capitalism slows down the onset of economic crises, causes prices and profits to rise during crises, and retards the absorption of commodity stocks. Interfering with the *natural play* of the cyclical forces, it prevents the crisis from *developing to the end* and from ridding the economy of all elements of overproduction. This, perhaps, is the most important change that has taken place in the cyclic chain reaction.

During the 1948-49 crisis the interaction of the cyclic and state-monopoly factors made itself felt. To combat the crisis, the USA appropriated \$11,100 million for so-called foreign aid, expenditure on armaments was increased, the bank rate lowered and credit made easier. As a result the crisis took a very specific course. While most branches experienced a cyclical decline, certain sectors, stimulated by the state, showed an upward trend. On the whole production dropped 10.5 per cent, and industrial building and manufacture of new equipment by \$3,400 million, or 10.6 per cent. But consumer goods and war production increased in 1949 by \$7,300 million, or 3.9 per cent.

The course of the crisis was further complicated by the fact that backlog demand had stimulated production in some branches. More automobiles and consumer goods were produced. Non-industrial building increased in the course of the year by \$3,400 million, or roughly two per cent. The result was a highly complicated and uneven picture. Thanks to the counter-measures, the crisis was of shorter duration, but it left an aftermath of unsolved problems. U.S. capitalism embarked on the next phase encumbered by overproduction. Another crisis (even a small one) became an economic necessity. And it came in 1953-54. The hardest hit this time were those branches of heavy industry which suffered the least in 1948-49.

The 1953-54 crisis is usually regarded as an in-between, mid-cycle crisis. Is this correct? Undoubtedly it is, because one of the main causes of this crisis was the decline in the operation of war-inflationary factors. However, cyclical contradictions played no small part in it and especially those left unsolved by the crisis of 1948-49. The significant thing is that during this in-between crisis production fell almost as much (10.2 per cent) as it did during the cyclical crisis of 1948-49.

During the convulsion of 1953-54 the state-monopoly stabilizers were employed to the full — expenditure on armament was increased, bank rates were revised, and taxes—mainly corporation taxes

and taxes on luxuries consumed by the bourgeoisie—were reduced several times. As in 1948-49, the cyclical factors were checked by numerous state-monopoly fetters. And since the principal function of the crisis was to overcome the aftermath of the previous cycle, it cleared the way for another upswing.

The 1957-58 crisis was, in considerably greater degree than the previous crises, “purely” cyclical. Setting in after a clearly defined boom it was the longest and most serious since the war. It lasted from December 1956 until April 1958, with production falling by as much as 13.7 per cent. But this crisis, too, did not fit in with the traditional pattern. The decline in private investments was to a certain extent compensated by greater government investments, especially in building and the war industry. The general falling off of production coincided with a rise in retail and wholesale prices and with expansion in a number of branches—building, electric power, electronics, gas and, partly, chemicals. The volume of building by the government increased in 1958 by more than \$2,000 million compared with 1956. In the course of the crisis the wholesale price index rose by 4.3 per cent. These unique features were due to a number of causes, primarily the government orders and the structural changes in industry.

The end of the crisis was hastened by the heavier government buying of armaments, goods and services. Expanded residential construction and the increase in the income of the big farmers, which also helped to extricate the economy from the quagmire, were largely stimulated by state-monopoly regulations. Once again the state-monopoly priming prevented the crisis from establishing a momentary balance in the national economy.

This laid its stamp on the next phase. The revival that followed was brief and sluggish. “Our recovery from the 1958 recession,” President Kennedy said, “was anaemic and incomplete. Our gross national product never regained its full potential . . .”

Another convulsion followed soon after. Production fell by more than seven per cent, by January 1961 steel production was running at a rate of 68 million metric tons annually, while private housing construction had declined by 32 per cent. New investment—this most sensitive of all business barometers—had declined by 21 per cent compared with 1957.

Marxists in different countries have assessed the crisis of 1960-61 in various ways. Some hold that it was a continuation of the 1957-58 crisis. As we see it, this view is only partly correct.

Undoubtedly the new outbreak got on with the “job” which the previous one had left unfinished.

Its function was not only to solve forcibly the new cyclical contradictions but also to get rid of at least part of the old surplus capital left undestroyed by the previous cyclical crisis. Highly indicative is that the decline hit many of those branches which had not been affected by overproduction in 1957-58, such as housing, for instance. The non-completion of the 1957-58 crisis predetermined both the brevity of the subsequent boom and the speed with which the new crisis matured.

Yet it would be incorrect to describe the crises of 1957-58 and of 1960-61 as a single process interrupted merely by an episodic rise in production. This would be wishful thinking, regarding each new crisis simply as a modification of the 1929-33 paroxysm. It is not by chance that the economists who adhere to this view at one time ignored the effect of the state-monopoly factors and predicted that the 1957-58 crisis would be a variant of the hungry thirties. Their picture of the two latest crises can hardly be qualified as anything but an attempt to justify predictions that failed to come true, to examine new phenomena in the light of the old.

The handing down of uncompleted tasks from one crisis to another has had a *highly negative* effect on extended capitalist reproduction as a whole. The unused capacities, a burden on industry, hamper its development. According to U.S. leaders, in recent years the highest rate of economic growth in the United States, for instance, is about 2.5 per cent annually.

Some progressive economists have defined these new symptoms in the decay of American imperialism as stagnation. To us this term is questionable. The theory of stagnation implies a permanent torpidity, an assumption directly connected with the erroneous view that inevitably capitalism will collapse automatically. What we see is not cessation of industrial growth, but a *sharp aggravation of the contradictions of extended capitalist reproduction, a growing political and economic instability of capitalist development*. This instability is expressed, in particular, in the constant and feverish fluctuations of economic activity, a disordered succession of brief boom and slump, rapid intensification of the uneven and spasmodic production, in the frequent political as well as economic crises. "Each day the crises multiply. Each day their solution grows more difficult . . . The tide of events has been running out and time has not been our friend." These are not the words of a Marxist nor even of a liberal critic of capitalism. They were spoken by none other than President Kennedy, who, it can be safely assumed, is not particularly interested in revealing the ulcers of American capitalism.

"Partnership" of Wealth and Insecurity

A feature of the postwar crises is that they have *hardly affected the economic position of the big monopolies*; formerly bank failures and the bankruptcy of big industrial firms were common. This does not mean that bankruptcies have ceased to be a concomitant of the crises. In the first half of 1960, 110,034 bankruptcies were registered in the United States, or twice as many as in 1932. On the whole, the bankruptcy figure for 1960 was the highest in the last 27 years. But the firms that went down were mostly small firms. None of the big monopolies and none of the big banks have failed in the United States since the war.

State-monopoly capitalism protects the imperialist bourgeoisie also against such crisis effects as sharp shrinkage of profits and depreciation of stock. Nowadays you rarely find monopolists frantically searching for credits in order to meet payments falling due. The corporation bosses have at their service the entire economic might of the state which they have subordinated to themselves—government subsidies, credits and orders. Although both profits and shares declined repeatedly in the course of the four postwar crises in the USA, the decline never seriously affected the monopolies, nor did it cause panic on the stock exchange as invariably happened during the crises of previous years. As a matter of fact, at the height of the last crisis, in January 1961, the stock of the 500 biggest corporations was quoted, on the average, at an all-time high. Neither did the crisis seriously affect profits. True, official reports indicate that corporation profits in 1960 were three per cent below the level of the previous year. However, the various forms of concealed profits amassed by the trusts with the help of the government more than covered this slight loss.

Safeguarding monopoly profit in periods of crises is the Number One task of state-monopoly regulation. During the 1953-54 crisis the Eisenhower administration abolished taxes on excess profits, and one of the first moves of the Kennedy administration was to propose reduction of corporation taxes with a view to "encouraging investment."

An effective instrument for maintaining profit levels during crises is the government-encouraged policy of monopoly prices. Thanks to these, the corporations do well even when the decline in production is greatest. For example, the steel companies raised the price of steel by 81 per cent between 1947-49 and 1960. At the same time the average price index for all other goods rose by only 20 per cent. This enabled the steel magnates to continue netting profits even when half of their production capacities were idle. The depressed condition of the West German coal min-

ing industry in 1958 did not prevent the monopolies from raising coal prices. Crises may hit capitalist economy and capitalist society as a whole, but they have little effect on the *master* of this society—monopoly capital.

But the less monopoly capital is affected, the *harder* hit are the *broad sections of the population* in the capitalist countries. The specific forms of the cycles tend to conceal and cushion the blows by spreading them out in time. The impression at first glance is that the destructive action of the cyclical laws has diminished, whereas the very opposite takes place. If formerly a disaster such as mass unemployment suddenly descended on the working people, nowadays the foundations of "prosperity" are eroded slowly but surely by an unbroken succession of small and medium waves. In the United States, even during booms, the loss caused to the working people by unemployment has been running at \$5,000-8,000 million annually. During the 1953-54 and the 1957-58 crises the respective losses amounted to \$12,040 million and \$19,678 million, or 6.4 and 8.7 per cent of the annual wage fund. Never in the history of American imperialism, perhaps with the exception of the 1929-33 crisis, have the working people suffered so much from unemployment. The apologists of imperialism claim that the loss is compensated for by the social security benefits. But the statistics demolish this claim: the total unemployment benefit paid out in 1958 amounted to only \$3,575 million.

The steady impoverishment of the masses, more or less concealed at other times, stands out in bold relief during the crises. During the crisis phase real wages decline both relatively and absolutely. It has been estimated that the average weekly real wage of the American industrial worker with a family of three to support fell from \$83.08 in December 1959 to \$79.66 in December 1960. The crises and the state-monopoly processes also intensify the other forms of exploitation and plunder of the working people—inflation, speed-up, taxation, and capitalist rationalization. The "social partnership" of the capitalists and the workers, which bourgeois ideologists make so much of, amounts in practice to one of the partners receiving *all the benefits* of the anti-crisis regulations, while the other bears the *burden* of it.

To Fight, Not to Wait

The specific features of the postwar cycle make it imperative to intensify the struggle of the working people against the consequences of the crises and to elaborate working-class anti-crisis programs and fight for their realization. It is not, of course, a question of *overcoming* the law of crises, for this can be done only under *socialism*, but of *mitigating* those aspects which lay the heaviest burden on the people.

Anti-crisis regulation by the monopolies restricts, in the interests of the industrial and finance oligarchy and at the expense of the people, the free play of the laws of the capitalist cycle.

As pointed out above, such regulation, aimed as it is at ever greater concentration of capital and at the perpetuation of private appropriation, aggravates in the final analysis the basic contradiction of capitalism and makes for recurring cyclical cataclysms. On the other hand, potentially, the struggle of the working class to increase consumption and to establish public control over production and distribution can weaken to some extent the destructive force of the cyclical contradictions.

It might be asked: Does not this imply indirect support of capitalism? Does it not re-echo in some ways the reformist plans for patching up capitalism? The Right reformist panaceas for the ills of capitalism, regardless of the terminology in which they are cast, do not go beyond the state-monopoly measures proposed by the bourgeoisie. They do not seek to undermine the positions of the monopolies and, consequently, offer no real relief to the working people. The efforts of the Right reformists fully coincide with the efforts of the bourgeois parties to plug the worst holes in the capitalist system in order to divert the attention of the people from its ills and thereby weaken their resistance to monopoly rule.

The anti-crisis programs of the revolutionary working class differ fundamentally from the Right reformist plans for patching up capitalist society. They are spearheaded *against monopoly capital*, and constitute an important component of the general program of the anti-monopoly movement of the masses. Their purpose is to achieve a redistribution of part of the national income in the interests of the working people, to make the trusts pay for the anti-crisis measures, to restrict the pernicious activities of the monopolies and pave the way to their expulsion from the life of the nation.

Contemporary capitalism is inseparable from the domination of the monopolies, which have fused with the state machinery. The struggle against the power of the monopolies hits at capitalism as a whole and facilitates its substitution by a new social system.

In these circumstances intervention in economic life can be a double-edged weapon of the class struggle. State-monopoly capitalism, while it has reinforced the economic and political power of the monopolies, has demonstrated that they are superfluous from the standpoint of production; they have created, as Lenin put it, a splendidly-equipped mechanism of social management which can very well be set going by the united workers themselves.* In other words, the development of state-

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

monopoly capitalism lays the groundwork for active intervention by the working class in the processes of reproduction.

True, the mechanism of social management created by state-monopoly capitalism can be fully utilized by the revolutionary working class in the interests of the people only after the conquest of political power. But the struggle to influence the operation of this mechanism begins in capitalist society. Through strikes, demonstrations, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle the working class seeks to bring about the democratic nationalization of the key industries and social control over investment and finance. To the state-monopoly regulation the working class counterposes its own *democratic methods* of intervening in the economy in keeping with the aspirations of the majority of the people.

And when the cyclical contradictions come to a head, the Communists organize mass actions in support of measures designed to ease the burden which the crisis places on the working people. The Communist Party of the USA, for example, has outlined measures for increasing employment, for raising purchasing power, extensive government construction of schools, homes and hospitals, and economic aid to the depressed areas.

The Twenty-Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, responding to the threat of cyclical crisis then hanging over Western Europe, called on the working class for "emergency action and struggle against a slump" and advanced a program providing for continued nationalization, effective control of the key sectors of the economy, increased government subsidies to the nationalized industries, radical reduction in military expenditure, removal of restrictions on trade with the socialist countries, assistance to the emergent states of Asia and Africa in their industrialization, and a wide range of measures to improve social services and raise the standard of living. At about the same time the Communist Party of Germany demanded, in order to offset the impact of crisis on the working people, that Federal Germany's foreign markets be widened by trading with all countries, in particular the socialist countries, that housing construction be expanded, rents in factory-owned buildings reduced by 20 per cent, pensions increased, especially for the poorer sections of the workers, and long-term credits extended to the small and middle peasants. The Party also proposed that these measures be financed by rechannelling the thousands of millions allocated for atomic armaments and the 2,500 million marks earmarked for espionage and sabotage in the German Democratic Republic, and by reducing dividends to three per cent and the salaries of company managers and directors by half.

Besides emergency measures to safeguard the interests of the working people, the Communist parties in many capitalist countries have advanced long-range programs aimed at mitigating the destructive effects of the cyclical contradictions. "Now when there are no limits to the powers of man," read the theses on this question prepared for the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium, "the working-class movement cannot reconcile itself to economic crises" The Belgian working-class movement is determined to exert its influence on the economy and to curb the laws of capitalism to some extent. And in Sweden, the Communists are working to ensure a crisis-free development of production by imposing restraints on the financial oligarchy and putting investments, credits and foreign trade under public management.

In France and Italy, too, the workers are bringing their influence to bear on capitalist reproduction and on the cycle. The struggle waged by the Italian workers under the leadership of the Communists against curtailing industry and closing enterprises, for structural reforms, industrialization of the backward areas of the South and planning by industries as well as on a national scale, has counteracted to some extent the tendencies towards stagnation and decline, helped to stimulate investment and accelerate the growth of industry. As for the French proletariat, its class struggles against the monopoly policies have time and again saved the people from many painful consequences of capitalism.

A vital component of the action taken by the working class to combat crises is the struggle for general and complete disarmament. Contrary to the propaganda of the imperialist ideologists, militarization of the economy aggravates the cyclical contradictions. And, in turn, the resulting crises of overproduction impel the imperialists to intensify the armament drive, adding thereby to the danger of war.

The perilous link between crises and the armament drive is becoming increasingly obvious to the people. Hence disarmament and measures to counteract the consequences of crises are *democratic demands with the widest appeal* capable of rallying broad sections of the population around the working class. Democratic anti-crisis measures can unite against the monopolies even those classes and groups which do not share the ideals of socialism and are not prepared to fight for them.

Workers, peasants, the urban middle strata and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie all suffer from the crises. But merely to say that crises are inevitable products of capitalism is not enough to unite these heterogeneous social forces. "A negative slogan, divorced from a definite, positive solution," Lenin

said, "does not awaken consciousness but lulls it, for such a slogan is devoid of meaning, a cry in the wilderness, an empty phrase."* The working class offers all sections of the population oppressed by the monopolies not lamentations over the hardships caused by the crises, but a concrete way to

*V. I. Lenin, *Apropos of a Caricature on Marxism and "Imperialist Economism"*.

ease their burden right now, under capitalism, and to abolish crises forever after the overthrow of the power of the monopolies. The working class is confident that successful struggle to counteract the effects of crises, like all other democratic gains, far from weakening the working-class movement will strengthen it and *hasten the achievement of its ultimate aim*—the conquest of political power and the victory of the socialist system.

Prosperity or Decline?

JOHANN LORENZ SCHMIDT

THE ideologists of monopoly capital frequently point to the modification that has taken place in the postwar cycles for the purpose of advertising the "new" capitalism. So severe was the world economic crisis of 1929-33 and so violently did it shake the foundations of capitalism that even the most unscrupulous apologists of the capitalist system were unable to shrug it off. All the more zealously, therefore, are they now capitalizing on the relative mildness of the crisis eruptions in the United States, and the prolonged absence of universal crises of overproduction in Western Europe and Japan. Claiming that capitalism has at last discovered how to function without crises, the bourgeois ideologists refuse to see the cyclical nature of postwar slumps which they call "recessions," the "normalization of too feverish business activity," and other newfangled names that merely mask the antagonistic nature of the capitalist economy.

The spokesmen of imperialism have gone still farther in West Germany where, due to a number of specific reasons, the growth of industrial production has been more rapid and stable than in other capitalist countries of Europe. There is no such thing as capitalism in the Federal Republic, they tell us, it has been replaced by a "social market economy" which rules out even the possibility of a crisis.

An objective analysis of capitalist reality, however, refutes this nonsense. Far from improved, capitalism has turned into a highly developed state-monopoly capitalism—a kingdom of giant monopolies which have subjected the machinery of state and utilize it in their own exclusive interests. The contradictions of capitalism, including the contradictions of extended reproduction, have, in consequence, *sharpened and deepened*. And if cyclical crises have been restricted and relatively mild since the end of the Second World War (there

has been no world economic crisis so far) this certainly cannot be ascribed to any mythical improvement of capitalism. The explanation should be sought in the operation of specific factors deriving from the parasitic essence of modern capitalism.

The Price Paid for the "Split" Cycles

In some capitalist countries the productive forces were greatly depleted during the Second World War, and large numbers of people lost their homes and property. For some years the run-down plant and equipment were not renewed, nor was the demand for essential goods met. Hence, brisk demand in a war-dislocated economy for the means of production and consumer goods was a feature of the immediate postwar years. Moreover, the occupation authorities in the defeated countries pursued a policy of curtailing production. The result was that the conditions making for universal crises of overproduction did not obtain in many capitalist countries for some time.

The situation was different in the USA. There the war did not disrupt the economy; on the contrary, because of the war productive capacity and production as a whole rose sharply. In the postwar years, therefore, the economic cycle in the USA developed differently from that of Japan and the capitalist countries of Europe. Crises embracing the whole economy have been frequent in the United States.

The varying effects of the war on the capitalist countries have led to the *splitting of the formerly single world cycle*. One of the results of this has been temporarily to mitigate the crises of overproduction. The "split" cycle crises are less severe and of shorter duration than those of the single world cycle. For a cyclical crisis of overproduction in one country will not reach its zenith unless the

conditions for economic collapse have matured in other countries. And if the war and its consequences have deferred the onset of crises and temporarily mitigated them, this has been done at the cost of incalculable damage, the destruction of immense wealth and the loss of tens of millions of lives. The war took toll of 67 million in dead, wounded and maimed, razed countless towns and villages, many of which are still being rehabilitated. According to available data, the Second World War cost (including direct military expenditure, material destruction, pensions, interest on loans, etc.) the fabulous sum of \$4,000,000 million. There can, therefore, be no talk of an "improved" capitalism, for the Second World War, like the first, was engendered by capitalist contradictions.

This is not the first time that war and militarization have changed the course of crises. The overproduction crisis of 1920, for example, was not a severe one and did not extend to all the countries of the capitalist world. Germany, Italy and Japan, feverishly preparing for war, were not affected by the economic crises of 1937-38. But the Second World War unleashed by them brought incredible suffering to the people of the world, including their own, *immeasurably greater* hardship than that caused by any cyclical crisis of overproduction. Only those who are ever ready to whitewash imperialism and its crimes against humanity can forget this.

But the consequences of war alone do not entirely explain the modification in the cycles, for many of the consequences have already been overcome. Among the factors which have greatly modified the course of the cycle is the big monopolies' use of the capitalist machinery of state for the purpose of solving their market problems.

Government war orders have maintained a high level during most of the postwar years. With the stepping up of the militarization of capitalist economy, these orders became an increasingly important factor in the process of capitalist reproduction. A peculiar kind of state-monopoly arms market came into being. The capitalist state places the orders and is the buyer, while the big monopolies are the suppliers. In the United States, for example, some 200 corporations net over 90 per cent of the military contracts. They hand out sub-contracts to thousands of smaller firms; so that monopolies not only utilize government contracts to secure profits for themselves, but to strengthen their hold on these firms. According to available figures arms production accounts for over 10 per cent of all U.S. industrial output.

A growing role in many capitalist countries is played by government purchases of farm "surpluses" which cannot be sold through the normal channel of the consumer market. Here we encounter

a sort of state-monopoly agricultural market, for the state is the sole buyer of surplus produce. Big capitalist agricultural enterprises are the ones who gain primarily from this kind of a market. The sale of "surpluses," guaranteed by the government, provides industrial monopolies with additional openings for the sale of agricultural machinery, fertilizers, etc.

These and other state-monopoly markets, which have modified the development of the capitalist cycle to some extent, are, in our view, one of the reasons for the temporarily relative mildness of overproduction crises.

But it would be wrong to think that modern capitalism can continue to mitigate cyclical crises of overproduction for any length of time with the assistance of the above-mentioned markets and other state-monopoly measures. For, financed as they are from the state budget (taxes and state loans), these measures lower the purchasing power of the population with the result that future crises of overproduction will tend to become *more acute*.

Capitalism's Chronic Ailments

An economic crisis cannot, as a concept, nowadays be confined to crises of overproduction. It is much broader than that. An important manifestation of the growing instability of the capitalist economy, mentioned in the Statement issued by the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, is the rapid growth of non-cyclical crisis phenomena. The parallel existence and intertwining of cyclical and non-cyclical crisis processes are a feature of modern capitalism. If we examine capitalist reproduction from the angle of the *oneness* of these processes, then the picture will refute all the claims about a "crisis-free capitalism." It will show us a mortally sick capitalism approaching its doom.

The growth of non-cyclical crisis phenomena is fostered by the sharpening of the basic contradiction of capitalism in the period of its general crisis. Some of these deepened after the war, others are entirely new. Non-cyclical crisis phenomena such as, for example, more or less universal but relatively mild economic crises, and crises of overproduction affecting particular industries were a feature also of pre-monopoly capital. Marx and Engels called them intermediate and partial crises.

In the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism, especially in the postwar years, some non-cyclical crisis phenomena—and this refers particularly to partial crises of overproduction—become *sluggish, chronic* processes in the capitalist economy. Chronic crisis phenomena of overproduction in particular branches of the economy are as typical of modern capitalism as the cyclical crises of overproduction. Owing to the extremely uneven development of

capitalist reproduction, they are not usually universal in character, but involve one industry in a group of countries or even in one country.

The most acute and notorious chronic partial crisis of overproduction is the world agrarian crisis which has affected a number of key branches of agriculture in the chief capitalist countries. A few facts will indicate its scale. Such huge stocks of farm "surpluses" have been accumulated in the United States as a result of annual government purchases, that the difficulty is to find premises in which to store them.

Big stockpiles of farm produce for which there is no market are also held in other capitalist countries. State-monopoly measures are not helping to overcome the crisis; on the contrary, they intensify it, inasmuch as the buying up of "surpluses" merely stimulates overproduction. That the stocks are piling up in warehouses, owned by the state and not the producer, changes nothing but the form in which the agrarian crisis is manifested. The fact of a chronic crisis of agricultural overproduction remains.

Agrarian crises are now not the only form of partial chronic crises of overproduction. Branches of the textile industry in many of the leading capitalist countries have been in a state of chronic crisis of overproduction since the war. The British cotton industry is affected most; under a special program about half the spindles were scheduled to be put out of commission in 1960, and their owners compensated for the value of their capital by the government. A similar situation exists in the coal industries of a number of countries. Much has been said in the press about the protracted crisis of overproduction in the U.S. automobile industry, in which something like a million automobiles remain unsold annually.

Some of the chronic partial crises of overproduction are the result of technological progress and are of a structural nature. The coal crisis, for example, arose because of the switch to oil fuel; the textile crisis is growing because artificial fiber is replacing cotton to an ever-greater extent. In the long run, however, the cause of the chronic overproduction phenomena lies not so much in technological advance as in the basic contradiction of the capitalist mode of production. Only under capitalism does technological advance lead to chronic crises of overproduction. They are ruled out in a socialist society, where there is no private capitalist appropriation.

It may be argued that not all chronic partial crises are uninterrupted. The agrarian crisis, for example, was cut short during the war and in the early postwar years. That is true. But the concept of "chronic crisis phenomena" does not mean that their course is *absolutely uninterrupted*. It merely

emphasizes their non-cyclical and protracted character. Events like war interrupt these crises, but they set in again and many of them will remain with capitalism until it is abolished. It is possible that particular monopolies or countries will, and moreover for a considerable period, succeed in overcoming a chronic partial crisis of overproduction, by resorting to permanent under-capacity operation in industry. It may well be that chronic crises of overproduction in the coal industry of a number of capitalist countries and the automobile industry of the USA can be halted by bringing some enterprises to a standstill. But this will not signify any weakening of the economic contradictions of capitalism. The only change will be in the way in which they find expression.

We would draw special attention to the distinctive crisis phenomena which appear immediately after a war and find expression in the profound disorganization of the economy of the capitalist countries. The chief symptoms of these phenomena, which can be called crises—the aftermath of the war—are considerable underproduction of basic goods and the extremely low purchasing power of the population. In contrast to partial overproduction in particular industries these are not chronic crises. But they are of a non-cyclical nature, too, for they do not occur in every cycle, and are seen only in the countries in which the war has been felt most. It was crises—the consequences of the war—and the need to rehabilitate the economy in the early postwar years that for a time staved off the onset of crises of overproduction in West Germany, Britain, France, Italy and other countries.

Modern capitalism has engendered a series of other non-cyclical crisis phenomena, many of which have been thoroughly analyzed in Marxist literature. Among these are inflation, chronic balance of payments crises in most capitalist countries and chronic unemployment. It should be pointed out that there is a specific relationship between cyclical crises and the growth of chronic non-cyclical crisis phenomena. Some functions of cyclical crises are *partially shifted* to the chronic crisis processes of modern capitalism. The point is that the very state-monopoly measures with which the financial oligarchy endeavors to stave off and mitigate crises of overproduction result in the long run both in aggravating the cyclical contradictions and in intensifying the chronic processes of the decline of the capitalist economy. The arms drive in the imperialist countries, which brings the monopolies fabulous profits, is a case in point. The forced growth of war production temporarily increased output in a number of industries and contributed in some measure to easing the effect of cyclical crises in the postwar period. But this only intensified the chronic crisis phenomena in the economy.

especially inflation, now the constant bedfellow of capitalism.*

The damage done to the capitalist economy by non-cyclical crisis phenomena is all the greater in that they, unlike cyclical crises, cannot be used as a means of temporarily and forcibly solving the contradictions of extended reproduction. In the period of cyclical eruptions chronic and cyclical processes, expressing the same aspects of the economy, pile up, so to say, one on top of the other, with the result that they are spasmodically intensified. That is how matters stand in the case of unemployment. Chronic large-scale unemployment is one of the most important chronic crisis phenomena in the era of the general crisis. At the same time it rises sharply in each cyclical crisis.

*First National City Bank (New York) has published a table showing the depreciation of currency in 35 capitalist countries. Even these figures, based on not too reliable official data, show that between 1949 and 1959 the currency was systematically depreciated in these countries. It was at a rate of six per cent **per year** in France, 4.1 per cent in Britain, 2.7 percent in Italy and two per cent in the USA. The spokesmen of the West German monopolies like to point out that in contrast to these countries, the currency in the Federal Republic depreciated at the rate of only 1.2 per cent **annually**. But this statement does not square with the facts. If we take 1950 as the point of departure, the annual depreciation of the West German mark by mid-1960 will, according to the bourgeois economist Walter Slotoch (on the basis of official figures) be around about 1.9 per cent.

In the postwar years unemployment in the USA averaged 2.5 million a year. During the crises of 1957-58 and 1960-61 the figure rose to 5.5 million. But it would be erroneous to think that the growth of chronic crisis phenomena may, in time, replace cyclical crises.

The economic cycle will continue to be *the basic form* of capitalist reproduction, while crises of overproduction are a decisive phase of cyclical development. These crises will continue to shake capitalism until it is abolished. Proof of this is the postwar development of the USA, the most powerful capitalist country, which has already been interrupted by four crises of overproduction. At the same time the basic contradiction of capitalism in the epoch of its general crisis sharpens to such an extent that some of its consequences, having appeared in the form of an eruption in the crisis phase, continue to exist in other phases of the cycle, although occasionally on a smaller scale. These become chronic phenomena and constantly accompany the capitalist cycle, for economic crises are no longer able fully to fulfil their role of temporarily and forcibly solving the contradictions of reproduction. These processes are a sign of the decline of capitalism, not of its soundness.

Reviews

They Have Learned Nothing Nor Have They Forgotten Anything

(*Apropos of West German books for young people*)

BY coincidence the same question was asked of school children in a town in Poland and a town in West Germany: What do you know about Hitler? The Polish children spoke about the Oswiecim death camp, about the people who had been driven to forced labor, about the nightmare years which can never be erased from memory. And in West Germany the reply was: "I think National Socialism was a good thing . . . It looked after mothers and children. Hitler regained Germany's prestige. He built the Wehrmacht . . ." This sounds incredible in our times. But if we take a look at the textbooks from which school children in Western Germany learn the history of their country, at the children's books which are printed

in large editions, at the films with which youth are regaled, then this answer will seem neither strange nor fortuitous. For if in the German Democratic Republic, where power belongs to the working people, every effort was made from the outset to eradicate Hitlerism from people's minds and to educate the young generation in a democratic and peace-loving spirit, the picture is quite different in West Germany, where political power is wielded by the same reactionary forces who brought the country to a national catastrophe.

Right From the School Desk

We have before us the history books used in the secondary schools. Their titles are: *The Living*

Past, Pictures from Ancient and Modern History, Man Through the Ages, Europe and the World, The Ways of the World. What do they teach the young people? What are they bringing them up to be? A cursory glance at these books shows us that there is not a single event of recent decades that has not been distorted to fit in with certain political objectives. Whether they deal with the advent to power of the Nazis, the events that preceded the Second World War, the war itself, or the reasons for the defeat of Hitler—there is a decided tendency everywhere to justify both the past and the current aggressive plans of the West German militarists.

What are the pupils told during history lessons about the Anschluss, about Munich or the reasons for the war? They are told that in Austria the populace welcomed the German troops with garlands. That Munich restored to Germany "territory that rightfully belonged to it," and was designed to preserve peace. In *Europe and the World* the following digression precedes the chapter on the attack launched against Poland in 1939: "The purely German city of Danzig was declared a Free City under League of Nations control. East Prussia had no land communication with the rest of the Reich. . . ." What were the German troops to do when Poland refused to give up the corridor? And that was how the Second World War began!

All kinds of arguments, irrespective of whether they conform to historical truth or not, are used to justify the crimes perpetrated in the occupied countries. "The war in Russia was fought implacably by both sides. The chivalrous war fought in North Africa between the troops of General Rommel and General Montgomery was unthinkable in Russia. Prisoners died by the hundreds of thousands on both sides just because bad communications prevented supplies reaching them" (!)

Not a word in the textbooks about the prisoners tortured in the Hitler concentration camps and dungeons, about those who were driven to slave labor in Germany. But the suffering of the refugees who "were compelled to leave their homeland" in East Prussia is described vividly. Not a word about the bombing of Rotterdam and of cities in Britain and the Soviet Union; but the bombings of Luebeck, Cologne, etc., are described in detail. The textbooks do not even mention Lidice or Oradour, but say of the Russian partisans: "They did not fight according to the rules, like soldiers in uniform. No, the partisans shot the Germans in the back. They attacked German quarters under cover of night, killed and plundered ruthlessly and afterwards returned to the depths of the dark forests." And so that this should sink into the pupils' minds, among the homework set them at the end of the chapter is the question: "Describe the partisans."

These textbooks, while they tell of the past, apply equally to the future. This, for example, is one of the homework tasks: "Draw a map of the present frontiers of Germany and compare them with the prewar frontiers."

The pupils are being trained in accordance with a program of "military-psychological preparation" drawn up by the West German Ministry of Defense. The law "regulating the legal status" of former Nazis, adopted in May 1951, opened the doors of public life and schools to the militarists and revenge-seekers. One West German newspaper has it that every third teacher in West Germany had been a member of some fascist organization or other. "Now that a new Wehrmacht is being built up, in which the recruits are drilled in the old spirit, in the spirit of the same, ever-lasting aims of 'defend the fatherland'," said an article in a West German teachers' newspaper, "it is definitely injurious to the training when young people in schools get a real picture of the mass murders and wholesale destruction in the 'heroic war'!"

Poison in Sugared Pills

Memoirs by German generals began to appear on the book market in West Germany in 1949: *Hitler the Commander-in-Chief* by Halder, *Forward Tanks* by Guderian, *Invasion 1944* by Speidel, *SS Troops in Action* by Hausser, *Lost Victories* by Manstein, *Ten Years and Twenty Days* by Doenitz, and books by Tippleskirch, Manteuffel, Ruge, Rudel and other generals and admirals who served their Fuehrer faithfully. Then there is the pulp literature which, perhaps, is of an even more insidious nature. Designed for a bigger reading public, it caters to the "mass" taste, first and foremost to young people, capitalizes on their interest in the last war and the popular appeal of war stories. Not everyone reads the generals' memoirs. In the first place not everyone is interested in them, and, in the second, not everyone can afford them. But most people, and certainly the youth, read the glossy weeklies which sell at 50 pfennigs, and everyone can find the time to read the glossy paperbacks sold at one mark.

To get an idea of the type of book in question let us examine one of them. Berthold's *From Heaven to Hell* describes how Nazi paratroopers seized Crete.

There passes before our eyes a series of bloody events, of punitive actions against partisans; villages go up in flames and the villagers perish. And the explanation by Karsten, the hero (echoed in nearly all West German war stories) is: "War is war." That is the conclusion the reader is required to draw. If there was brutality, well, the war's to blame. And the war calls for "real soldiers" like Karsten, there is no place for amateurs. One has

to know how to go about killing soldiers and partisans, Englishmen and Greeks, Russians and Frenchmen.

As a rule, there is not much to choose between these books. It is only the scene of action, the names of towns and heroes, and the plot that change slightly. And they all bear a striking resemblance to the trash published when Hitler was alive. Sometimes even the titles are the same: *Eighteen Kilometers from Moscow*, *The Royal Tigers Attack*, etc.

There can be no doubt that the following extract was written by a Nazi during the war: "The grinning face of a Russian appeared before me. I pressed the trigger and he lay on the snow, his skull in splinters. He was a Mongol. . . . His slanting eyes glittered, like a rat's. Another four grenades and a huddle of human bodies was writhing in front of me. The snow became blood-red." This is an extract from a best-seller called *Between Volkhov and Leningrad*, published in the Federal Republic.

The Last Company, a popular war book published in Nazi Germany in 1943, was re-issued ten years later in West Germany with a slightly different ending and became a best-seller.

The basic idea of all this literature is that war brings out the best in man—his courage, loyalty and devotion to duty. War is not depicted as a crime against humanity, as something in which millions of civilians are killed and towns and villages laid waste under the Hitler jackboot; not a word is said in these books about the Nazi death camps, about the mountains of children's shoes piled up at the entrances to the gas chambers. But you will find a lot of talk about war being the supreme test for a nation, an "unforgettable experience" as a certain Stalman wrote in his book *Dust*: "After the defeat of 1945 war was looked upon as something horrible and destructive. One thing was overlooked. For millions it was a unique experience."

This literature, while it relates the adventures of the German soldiers and officers, says nothing as to why the war was fought. Why were the German soldiers sent to die on the plains of Russia, in Greece, North Africa, and in the Atlantic? They did their duty, the books say. *Loyal Until Death* is the title of a book about the sinking of the *Bismarck*. All the demagogic statements to the effect that the authors write about people and not the war, that people continue to be human during the war, the oft-repeated lie that the authors neither judge nor justify, but merely re-establish the historical truth on the basis of the facts (the series of the so-called "Tatsachenberichte") merely conceal the attempts to exonerate German imperialism.

Young people, who do not know the horrors of war, are told lies, made to believe that war implies not only destruction but evokes a "wonderful feeling of self-abnegation." Attempts are made to convince them of the superiority of the Germans over other nations, by virtue of which they have the right to decide the destiny of these peoples. One cannot but burn with indignation when reading, for example, what the West German authors say of the partisans and the resistance movement during the Second World War.

On Goering's instructions several thousand people in the village of Kondamari, Crete, were shot by Nazi paratroopers on June 2, 1941. After this atrocity thousands took to the hills. But in one of the books the author writes that he (the hero) was not yet aware that "British propaganda (?) had forced peasants in Crete to take to the hills and become partisans." The Russian, Czech, Polish, Cretan and Yugoslav partisans are depicted as criminals. That is the spirit in which *Beware! Partisans!*; *The Female Partisan* and many other books fanning hatred and hostility towards other peoples are written.

The impact of this literature should not be underrated for in many ways it helps to shape the spiritual image of the young man. We need only recall the part similar writing played in moulding the youth in Nazi Germany. The men in the Bundeswehr are well aware of this. One of the textbooks for officers states, for example, that in training soldiers one should not concentrate only on the mind. It is necessary to play on the feelings, to influence the subconscious so that the men should always be reliable instruments in the hands of the political leaders (!)

Twelve series of paperbacks—all about war—are published for the youth: "SOS-Hefte," "Anker-Hefte," "History of Air Battles," etc. These books sell about 20 million copies a year. Some appear in editions of 500,000. At least 100 titles in each of these series have already been published. And the titles speak for themselves: *Under Cross-fire in Normandy*, *ME-109 Over France*, *The Wolves from Antwerp*, *Treachery in Budapest*, *The Secret Radio Warsaw*, *Captain Prien*, *Special Assignment—Skoplje*, etc. The publishing houses are headed by men who occupied high posts under Hitler. These facts are indicative of the danger with which West German militarism is fraught, of the extent to which it has become government policy.

Provocative films are shown such as *The Doctor From Stalingrad* and *The Taiga*, films which distort the facts about the war and are an affront to the dignity of the Soviet people and the Soviet army. But the *Fate of a Man*, the Soviet film which won international recognition, was not permitted to appear on the West German screen. And the Bonn government sees to it that no East German film—

including those which tell the truth about Germany's past as, for example, *The Council of the Gods*, *The Stars*, *You and Many a Comrade*, *Captain from Cologne* and *The Murderer Among Us*—is shown in West Germany.

Official circles declare that West Germany will never return to the past, that it is developing along democratic lines. Chancellor Adenauer stated in a recent interview that there was no soil for nationalism in West Germany, that too much importance should not be attached to individual recidivist acts. The facts cited by us prove the reverse. Fascist ideas in West Germany are not confined to a narrow circle. Young people as well as "veterans" march in the revanchist rallies waving the old flags, take part in revanchist actions and parrot the militarist slogans of Hitler's days.

The governments of the Western powers are banking on the same thing as their predecessors did in their day—that is, on spearheading the resurgent militarism in West Germany against the East, first and foremost against the German Democratic Republic. Yet it is no secret that demands for the return of territory are being made not only on the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia, but on France as well.

West German units are now quartered in France and the question of their coming to Britain is now under discussion. The people in these countries would do well to take a look at the "literature" comprising the staple spiritual food of the soldiers being sent there. The paperbacks speak of the British Tommy in the same unflattering terms as they do of the Russian Ivan!

The Adenauer assurance and the Strauss declarations of "honorable intentions" towards the Western allies are simply cock-and-bull stories. They do not correspond with the aggressive and avowedly revanchist sentiments now being implanted in Western Germany with their help. German militarism is a threat to *all* the nations of Europe. It will not be amiss in this connection to recall the words of Blank, Strauss's predecessor, who stated in his day that he was not sure whether the German armies could cope with the Soviet Union, but there were enough of them to turn West.

Youth, On Whose Side Are You?

The militarization of West Germany is in many respects a question of the struggle for the youth. The experience of the lost war and the Hitler defeat could not but leave an impression on the minds of the young. It was this experience which, after the war, set them thinking about the horrors of the Hitler dictatorship, and which sowed the seeds of mistrust of all that it stood for. Officials of the Bonn government came up against these sentiments in 1949-50 when preparations were being made to

build the West German army. The indifference displayed to politics by the "sceptical generation," as some bourgeois sociologists call the postwar youth, was, naturally, an obstacle to militarization. The young West German, as the Bonn representatives discovered, proved to be an unreliable "einzelkämpfer," inadequately trained for the role allotted him in the nuclear war. Bonn's subsequent youth policy, inspired by the Hitler generals, was aimed at rooting out these pacifist sentiments.

In "Culture and the Soldier," an article in one of the annual *Soldatenkalenders*, a certain Robert Scholz wrote that in our days the soldier spirit fulfilled a "moral function." Two years later the *Soldatenkalender* carried an article by Kesselring, Field-Marshal under Hitler, entitled "Soldiers and the Youth" and dealing with youth problems and military training. "Whether a young man will act like a soldier," the old Field-Marshal said, "depends on how he looks at the world, on whether or not he sees a clear goal before him. . . . That is why we must look after our young people from childhood up to the time they enter the army. They should have confidence in us and in our basic ideals, of which the loftiest should be the re-establishment of the German Reich."

The militarist propaganda in the schools, in films, books and television has a deadly influence on the youth: the militarists have already achieved a great deal. In these conditions active organized anti-militarist struggle which the Communists of West Germany have been urging from the outset, is more necessary than ever.

Nearly all the youth sections of the trade unions, in which large numbers of young people are to be found, and also the Social Democratic Youth organizations such as the Falken, Jungsozialisten, and Naturfreunde, have come out against militarism and nuclear armament. A number of their resolutions point to the danger which official policy, the pervasive war propaganda and the turgid flow of revanchist and militarist literature bode for the rising generation, to the fact that the policy of "dehumanizing" youth is part of the preparation for another war and for training the young in the spirit of revenge. In protest against the militarist propaganda progressive youth in West Germany held a number of meetings on the sites of the Hitler death camps—Dachau, Bergen-Belsen and Flossen-burg. The Falken Union organized discussions in many places on the subject: "The past is still with us," and prepared exhibitions on the same theme. Growing numbers of young people are taking part in the annual Easter Marches against missile and atomic armament. The voices calling for joint action, for establishing contact with the youth of the German Democratic Republic are becoming

louder. These young people are coming to be one of the most active forces against militarization.

The conditions under which the two sides are fighting are far from equal. The militarists have at their disposal vast financial resources, all the media of mass propaganda and the means of exerting direct (even police) pressure. On the other hand, the moment youth organizations begin to act against the Bonn government's policy they are deprived of state financial support and court proceedings are instituted against them. All the strength of reaction is now being directed towards breaking the resistance of the young people, towards making them tools in the hands of the militarists and revenge-seekers. The militarists have learnt nothing from history. Once again they are advancing their aggressive slogans, threatening peace in Europe, and dreaming of revenge.

True, the present balance of forces is funda-

mentally different from what it was in prewar Germany. Next door there is the German Democratic Republic, a state of workers, peasants and working intellectuals, a state pursuing a consistent peace policy, a state standing together with the other peace-loving nations in Europe. The existence of the GDR exerts a constant and ever-growing influence on the situation in West Germany. The position of the imperialist circles here is deteriorating. But this does not give us the right to believe that the imperialists are any the less cunning or dangerous. The struggle against German imperialism is not the internal affair of Germany alone, it is the concern of all peace-loving people. A paramount task of the anti-imperialist struggle is to expose imperialism, to expose the falsehood which befuddles the people and facilitates the criminal plans for another war.

Jiri ZUZANEK

Against the Persecution of Democrats

FOUL MURDER

FARJALLAH Helou, the valiant champion of the interests of the working people, the true son of the Lebanese people, secretary of the Communist Party of Lebanon, whose name is closely associated with the anti-colonial movement in the Middle East, has died of torture in a Damascus dungeon.

In the statement issued on May 29, the Communist Party of Lebanon called upon the freedom- and peace-loving peoples, public organizations and all people fighting the battle for human rights, to condemn this crime and demand punishment for the guilty and an investigation of the circumstances in which Farjallah Helou was arrested and tortured to death.

The UAR authorities, who with the help of the secret police agents kidnapped Farjallah Helou on June 25, 1959 in Damascus, denied this fact for two years. They remained deaf to the numerous appeals to stop the torture of this patriot and ignored the strong protest published in *World Marxist Review* against the violation of human rights.

The anti-Communist hue and cry raised lately by the Cairo authorities is designed to cover up their crimes against the democrats who are subjected to brutal repressions in the UAR.

Farjallah Helou devoted 30 years of his life to the cause of national liberation, to the struggle

for the happiness of his people, for the freedom of all oppressed nations. During the French occupation he was more than once thrown into prison and subjected to torture, but nothing could break his will, his faith in Marxism-Leninism and his devotion to the people. Nor could the Cairo torturers do this. The death of Farjallah Helou is a loss to the Arab national movement and to all progressives. The imperialists and their agents alone rejoice at this death, inciting the reactionary circles among the Egyptian bourgeoisie to new crimes.

This is not the first crime of the Cairo authorities. The same fate has befallen dozens of Egyptian and Syrian democrats. Thousands have been thrown into prison merely for upholding ideas which differ from those of the rulers. The torture of patriots is a crying violation of democratic rights and liberties, as well as of the most elementary principles of justice and humanity. It is hard to imagine how such barbarous acts against the best sons of the people fighting for the liberation of their country from the imperialist yoke can take place in our days.

The UAR rulers are deeply mistaken if they think that by killing Farjallah Helou they have killed the ideas which he championed.

Farjallah Helou fought and died for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, ideas which are stronger

than dictatorship and death. These ideas are triumphing all over the world.

To the foul murder of Farjallah Helou the Communists and all working people of Lebanon and Syria will respond by rallying more closely in

their struggle for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, for the victory of the cause of national liberation, the cause of peace and progress.

Farid CHUKRI

WESTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRATS DEMAND AMNESTY IN SPAIN

THE Franco regime and its press claim that there are no political prisoners in Spain. But this is a lie.

For years 466 political prisoners with terms exceeding 11,000 years have languished in the central prison in Burgos. Leaders and members of the Communist and Socialist parties, Catholics, Catalan and Basque nationalists, people of diverse political views are held in the prisons of Dueso (Santona), Carabanchel (Madrid), Valladolid, Zaragoza and elsewhere.

In 1960 alone over 270 people were sentenced by military tribunals to varying terms of imprisonment. But despite repressions, the authorities are powerless to halt the movement in defense of the prisoners. During a single night in March 60,000 leaflets were distributed in Madrid; the same number were distributed in the space of a few days in Barcelona. In the Andalusian provinces of Cordoba, Granada, Malaga and Seville freedom fighters wrote slogans on roads and buildings calling for an amnesty. In Asturias 25,000 signatures were collected in the space of a few days in support of the amnesty. An underground newspaper *Amnistia* recently appeared in Madrid.

The anti-Franco movement is widely supported by the world public. A sign of this was a Western European Conference for an Amnesty for Spanish Political Prisoners held in Paris on March 25-26. The conference was sponsored by prominent personalities in France, Britain, Italy, Sweden, Belgium, Federal Germany, Ireland, Greece and other countries. Among them were Queen Elizabeth of Belgium; Vincent Auriol, ex-President of France; the German Pastor Niemoller; Signore La Pira, Mayor of Florence; Ruzicka, Nobel Prize winner (Switzerland); Noel Baker, Nobel Peace Prize winner (Britain); Nielsen, President of the Danish Academy of Arts; the famous artists Picasso, Henry Moore, Herni, Gutusso, and many others.

More than 500 delegates attended the conference which was covered by 67 newspaper, radio and television journalists.

Michael Schuwer, a member of the Provisional International Secretariat of the conference, called

for greater efforts to popularize the struggle waged by the Spanish patriots and for action in their support in other countries. Such action proved effective shortly before the conference. The speaker noted that eight accused were acquitted during the trial of Liberals in Madrid on March 16. Also significant is the fact that the day after the Paris Conference the anti-Franco fighter Adolfo Garcia Prieto was released after years of imprisonment.

The conference was addressed by Mr. Wolf, lawyer and a former Belgian representative on the United Nations Human Rights Committee; Aldo Garosci, Professor at Rome University; a spokesman of the Student Union of France; Sir Leslie Plummer, British Labor M.P.; the British artist Ayrton; Santi, a Socialist, Secretary-General of the Italian General Confederation of Labor; Merlot, Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labor, who read a message from the World Federation of Trade Unions; Bringinshaw, secretary of the National Society of Operative Printers (Britain), and many others.

The delegates applauded Mr. Shepherd, British Conservative M.P., who in the name of humanism called for closer unity irrespective of ideological and political differences.

The delegates heard a message from Signor Diego Martinez Barrio, President-in-exile of the Spanish Republic. "I hope," he wrote, "that all political trends in the world will join this movement and I heartily welcome all those who are fighting to restore freedom to the Spanish people."

Nicole Dreyfus, a Paris lawyer, read a message from Father Riquet, a French priest, which said: "I am joining in your efforts for I will never forget the friendship that linked me with the Spanish political emigres at the Mauthausen death camp. It was there I realized that these people were my brothers; they, like all of us, yearned for freedom and respect for human rights."

Mrs. Fassbinder spoke about the response the movement for an amnesty has found in Federal Germany, and Mr. Colloms, New York lawyer, about the first steps in the campaign in the United States.

Mr. Valourdos, Greek M.P., read a message from 86 fellow M.P.'s and a moving message from Manolis Glezos and other Greek political prisoners.

The delegates were deeply moved when messages were read signed by thousands of people in Spain. The message from the Carabanchel, Dueso and Valladolid prisons, signed by Antonio Amat, member of the Executive of the Socialist Party, Julio Ceron, a Catholic leader, and Simon Sanchez Montero, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, read in part: "Rest assured, your noble activity is making itself felt and it will have a telling effect on the fate of the political prisoners in Spain. World public opinion and the solidarity of our own people can be decisive for a general amnesty in our country."

The conference adopted a resolution on the conditions of the Spanish political prisoners and emigres and sent a telegram to the United Nations Secretariat, drawing attention to Franco's violation of the Declaration of Human Rights.

One of its recommendations urged that a delegation of public figures and lawyers be sent to Spain to investigate the conditions of the political prisoners and that an amnesty week be held in all countries. It was decided to set up a permanent International Secretariat composed of representatives from the countries of Western Europe to co-ordinate the movement of solidarity with the people of Spain.

The Franco government, its press and radio, naturally, did their utmost to blacken the confer-

ence. But what surprised many people was the attack on it by Salvador de Madariaga and the Executive Committee of the Spanish Socialist Party in exile. The Franco press jubilantly seized on their statements as "proof" that the conference was "a Communist propaganda" stunt. These traitors forgot that the Socialists—leaders of the 1917 general strike against the feudal and militarist monarchy — were released as the result of an amnesty, that the movement for an amnesty for the men and women who had fought in the October 1934 anti-fascist uprising paved the way to the victory of the People's Front in 1936 and that the demand for amnesty has been the banner of the fight for freedom throughout the modern history of Spain.

"Not without reason," said Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party, "does Franco persist in his refusal to grant amnesty. His position is so precarious that the forcing of an amnesty from him could mean the end of his regime. On the other hand, if he persists in his refusal, the fight for amnesty could be one of the factors of the collapse of his regime. This is appreciated by all, with the exception of those who do not want to fight against Franco . . ."

All honest-minded people are with the Spanish democrats and patriots in their endeavor. The worldwide demand is: "Amnesty in Spain!"

Juan FERNANDES

ATTACK ON DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES IN GREECE AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE

A LONG with Spain and Portugal under the dictatorships of Franco and Salazar, Greece is frequently mentioned as a country where fundamental democratic rights and liberties are ground underfoot, where any relations with Communists are denounced as "a crime and espionage," and where democrats and Communists are brought to trial before civil and military courts for disagreeing with the rulers.

Fascist laws and the so-called "emergency legislation" still operate in the country. As a result, thousands of Resistance fighters are either in prison or exile, tens of thousands are ruthlessly persecuted by the secret police, over 60,000 emigres have been unlawfully deprived of Greek citizenship.

As the general election approaches the attack on democratic liberties and rights is being stepped up. Arrests and deportation of patriots are a daily occurrence. In the first three months of this year

80 trade unionists and other democrats were arrested and jailed. Citizens suspected of democratic views are hauled up for interrogation. Once in the hands of the secret police they are intimidated and beaten with a view to forcing them to renounce their opinions and to submit to the powers that be. The secret police brazenly interfere with the affairs of the local authorities and with the trade unions and peasant co-operatives. The heavy hand of authority comes down on those newspapers which expose the arbitrary rule; publishers are brought before the courts and thrown into prison, while fascist hooligans wreck the editorial offices.

Parliament, too, is under threat. Dangerous precedents are created for making short work of Opposition deputies. They are assaulted during visits to their constituencies, terrorized in parliament, deprived of their immunity and then brought to court on framed charges. Five M.P.'s have been

deprived of their parliamentary immunity and court proceedings have been instituted against three of them—J. Papadimitriu, V. Ephremidis and I. Bredimas. The charge against the first two, publishers of the newspaper *Avghi*, is that they printed a letter by Bredimas in which he criticized some actions of the royal family.

The role of parliament is restricted, and a new statute now being drafted will further infringe its rights. As the Prime Minister revealed, the government intends to revise the Constitution in order to delete from it the clauses guaranteeing popular rights and liberties.

The people, driven to desperation by the economic policy of the Karamanlis government, are actively opposing the regime of poverty, exploitation and suppression of democratic rights. They are calling for an end to the police terror, for repeal of anti-democratic and anti-constitutional fascist laws, for the release of the prisoners and those in exile, for recognition of the national Resistance Movement, for general amnesty to political prisoners, for restoring to the Communist Party its legal status, for normal democratic life in the country.

The tragedy of the imprisoned and exiled fighters, many of whom have died in prison, has aroused the indignation of the people who see the men who symbolize the honor and glory of Greece held in torture chambers, while Hitler butchers like Merten and Kolves are amnestied and wartime quislings serve in the government. (For example, Temelis, Deputy Minister of National Defense, collaborated with the Nazis; according to the war criminal Merten, responsible for the death of 50,000 Greeks, Macris, Minister of the Interior, and Prime Minister Karamanlis were his closest associates during the occupation).

The people are expressing their opposition and their demands in resolutions adopted by municipal councils, trade unions and other organizations and by holding public meetings and demonstrations. Prominent political personalities, scientists, clergymen, educationalists and writers are taking part in the popular movement. The inhabitants of many villages together with the local clergy and chairmen of the communities have signed petitions urging the release of the prisoners, a general amnesty and normal democratic life. In Kavalla, for instance, representatives of all working-class, trade union, and educational organizations, headed by the Metropolitan, signed the petition calling for the release of their townsmen. The Metropolitans of Salonika and Kilkis have pledged their support of the popular demand for a general amnesty. Theokletos, Archbishop of Athens and of all Greece, has expressed the wish of the Church for amnesty and for an end to the repressions. Deputies of all

opposition parties want the repeal of the extraordinary measures, an amnesty and legal status for the Communist Party. About 120,000 people have signed the appeal for the release of the national hero Manolis Glezos who 20 years ago removed the detested Nazi flag from the Acropolis, and other patriots. All the deputies from Crete, including the deputies of the ruling party, with the exception of ex-Minister Kefalojannis, notorious terrorist and hashish trader, signed a joint statement urging the immediate release of their imprisoned countrymen. Forty-nine deputies of the opposition parties have demanded, as the first step in the direction of a general amnesty, the immediate release of the prisoners and exiles who are seriously ill, aged men and women, invalids, veterans of the Greek-Italian war, those whose families are left without breadwinners and those who have served two-thirds of their term. Deputies of most opposition parties also want the abolition of exile as a means of punishment and the release of all exiles.

At a meeting organized recently in Athens by the Union of Families of Political Prisoners and Exiles, the demand for an end to the repressions, the release of the prisoners and a general amnesty was voiced by ex-Minister Makkas, by Joakim, ex-Metropolitan of Kozani, and by the independent deputy Pyromaglu.

Last April 300 mothers, wives, sisters and children of political prisoners gathered outside the Ministry of Justice in Athens to submit a petition to the Minister urging the release of their relatives. Many of the women and children, set upon by the police, were injured and had to be taken to hospital. Despite the police brutality, the people remained until evening, shouting: "We want our relatives, our children," "Amnesty the prisoners!" They were joined by workers and students.

The police brutally attacked the May Day demonstration outside parliament, organized in support of the demand for an immediate release of the political prisoners. Among those beaten up were Tasia Glesu, the wife of Manolis Glezos, who headed the demonstration, and the EDA deputy Brakoculas who tried to stop the violence. This outrage aroused the indignation of the public. A group of deputies visited the Prosecutor in Athens and demanded that those guilty should be punished.

The prisoners, too, are taking part in the struggle for amnesty and democracy. In their appeals to the government, to the leaders of the political parties and to the press and international organizations they describe the government policy of brutal repressions. They declared hunger strikes on the anniversary of Mussolini's attack on Greece and at Easter, which coincided with the anniversary of the Nazi invasion.

The fight of the Greek people has the wholehearted support of all progressives. The murder of democracy in Greece has been denounced more than once by the World Federation of Trade Unions, by the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, the International Student Union, by public figures of international repute, by publications known all over the world, by working-class and other organizations in the various countries and by ordinary people in all parts of the world.

The fight waged in Greece and the solidarity movement throughout the world has had results: the reactionaries did not dare pass death sentences on Glezos and his comrades; some of the prisoners

and exiled fighters have been released; some trade unionists arrested by the police have been saved from exile; the civil courts — lower and higher — have declared that the restrictions on former exiles are unlawful, arbitrary and anti-constitutional; not long ago the government was compelled to close the dread prison on Jura Island.

The Greek people, who know from experience that the ferocious drive against democratic freedoms and rights can be rebuffed only by vigorous action, are continuing their fight. And they are doing so confident that it will find even greater sympathy and support among the progressive forces everywhere.

N. NIKOLAIDIS

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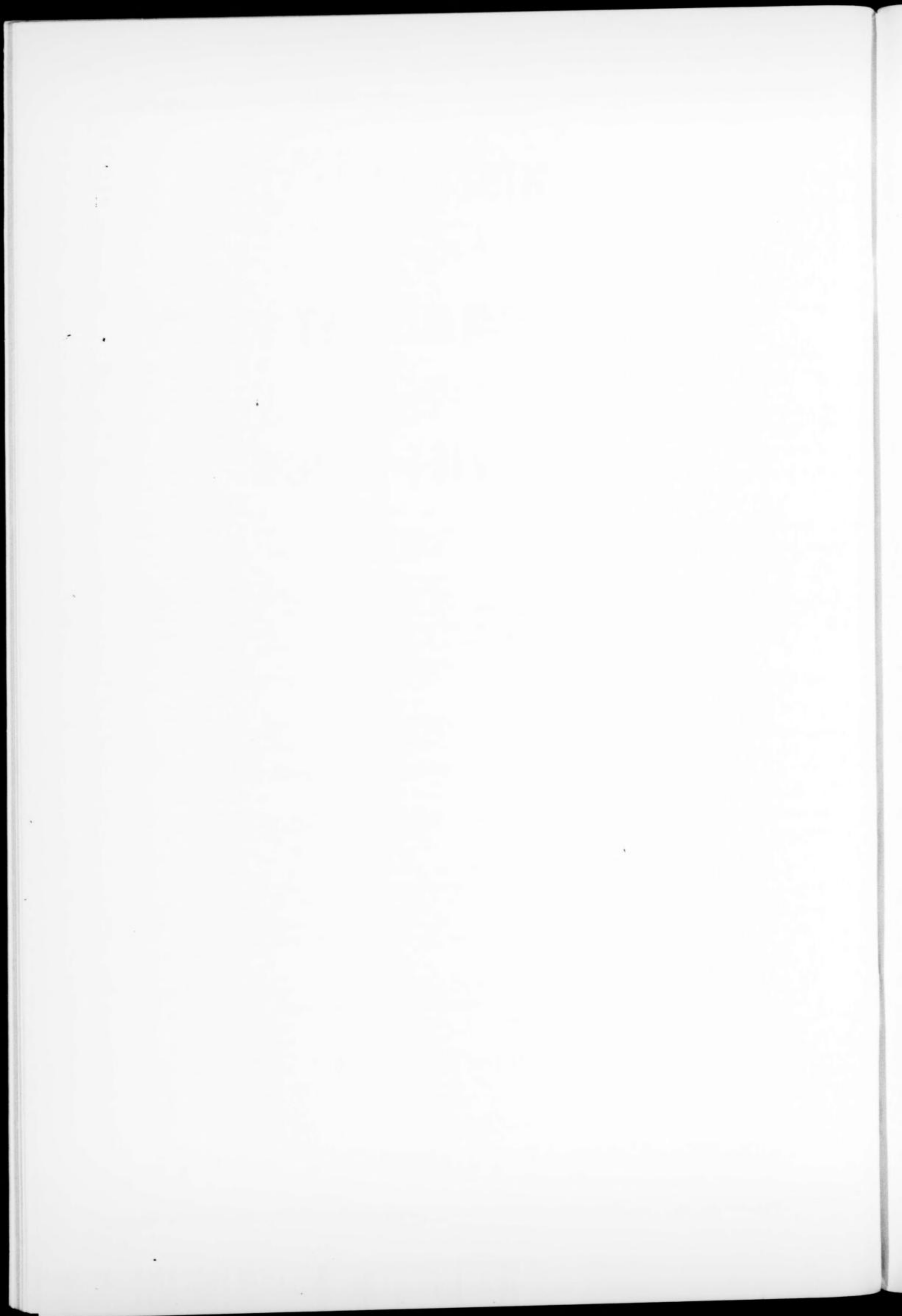
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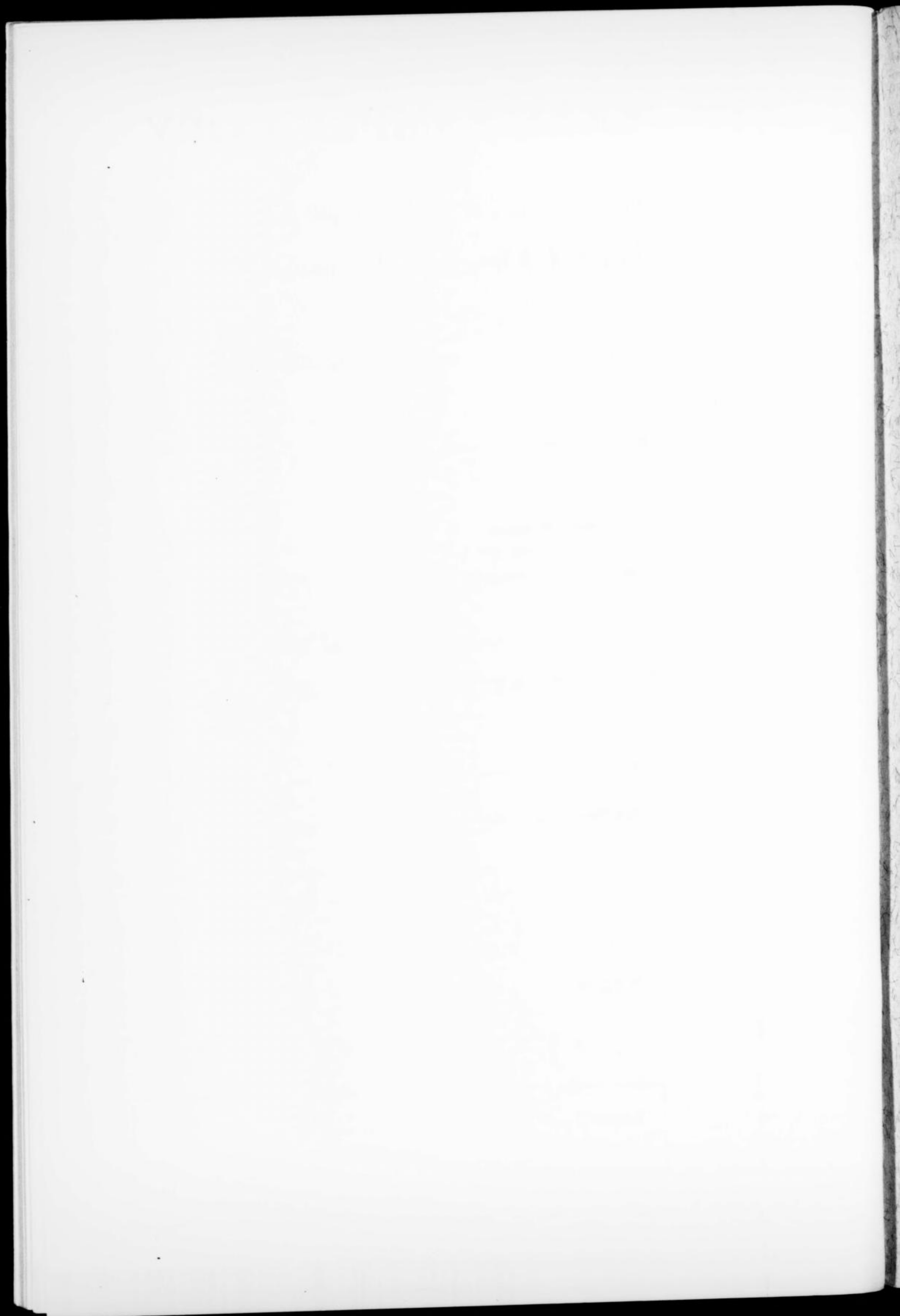
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