

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

PROBLEMS
OF PEACE AND
SOCIALISM

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*Glory to the Soviet people
for their new cosmic flight!*

Glory to cosmonaut Herman Titov!

Glory to Communism!

World Marxist Review:

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the system has solutions for all values of the parameters α and β if the conditions (2) are satisfied. The second part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the properties of the solutions of the system (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) are unique and stable with respect to the initial conditions. The third part of the paper is devoted to a numerical analysis of the solutions of the system (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) can be calculated with high accuracy using the Runge-Kutta method.

In the Name of Human Happiness

(on the draft program of the CPSU)

B. N. Ponomaryov

THE new draft Program of the CPSU, a program for the building of a communist society, the greatest Marxist-Leninist document of our time, is being discussed throughout the Soviet Union. "For the first time in history," N. S. Khrushchov has said, "our Party is posing the task of building the communist society as a practical task of the immediate future. The conclusion set forth in the Program that the present generation of Soviet people will live under communism evokes a feeling of joy and gives us new strength." The discussion of this inspiring document is truly nationwide. All members of the Party and all working people are taking part in it. It demonstrates once again the indestructible unity of the Party and the people and the democratic character of the Soviet system which gives rank-and-file workers every opportunity of exercising a direct and immediate influence upon the political line of the Party and the government.

The draft Program of the CPSU is being closely studied by Communists and all working people in the socialist countries. They see in it the contours of their own immediate future and a theoretical exposition of the objective laws governing the building of communism, and are drawing the appropriate practical conclusions to intensify the struggle for communism.

The draft Program is being studied by the Communists in all the countries of the capitalist world. They regard the Program as a new and powerful ideological and political weapon in their battle against exploitation and oppression, for a happy life for all working people, and for peace. The Communists draw from the Program ideas which give them greater strength and confidence in victory.

Prominent members of the international Communist movement see in the draft Program of the CPSU a powerful theoretical document, a source of inspiration for mankind and a beacon illuminating the path of the international working class.

The draft Program of the CPSU has confounded the monopoly bourgeoisie. So great is its impact that the entire capitalist press and prominent figures in the capitalist world cannot avoid discussing it. This alone shows how greatly the influence of communism and its vanguard, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has grown.

The ideas of the Program have found a triumphant echo throughout the world. As soon as it appeared, it became a focal point in world affairs, a fact which is indicative of the historic role of the document and the leading part the Soviet Union plays in international politics.

Firstly, the draft Program is the first document to give a factual, comprehensive and scientific exposition of the building of communist society, and to expound the objective laws governing the development of socialism into communism. The conclusions drawn in the draft Program are based on Marxist-Leninist theory, the great socialist experience of the Soviet Union, the victories of the international Communist and working-class movement, the historic decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the CPSU and the Meetings of Representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, and on the theses advanced in his speeches and writings by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, N. S. Khrushchov.

The draft Program provides a comprehensive picture of communism, of what communism offers to every individual and to society as a whole. Communism delivers all men and women from social inequality, from every form of oppression and exploitation and from the horrors of war. Peace, Labor, Freedom, Equality and Happiness for all is its watchword. Moreover, communism ensures an abundance of material and cultural benefits to every individual and to society as a whole.

Secondly, the draft Program marks a new era in the development of the Soviet Union and the entire world socialist system, and in

the progress of human society as a whole. A truly internationalist party, the CPSU works tirelessly to strengthen the international Communist and working-class movement and to advance the working-class cause. The year 1961, which will see the adoption of the new Program, will, as all progressive mankind rightly notes, go down in the history of the world Communist, working class and national-liberation movement as a milestone in the triumphant advance of the world socialist system and in the progress of humanity.

Thirdly, the draft Program is submitted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which stands at the head of the most powerful of the socialist states and is generally recognized as the vanguard of the world Communist movement. The historic significance of that Program derives from the fact that it is both realistic and feasible. Every proposition advanced in it has a scientific basis. It is built upon the solid foundation of fact. At the same time, the draft opens up for the Soviet people the breathtaking prospect of a tempestuous growth of the productive forces, better material conditions and great cultural progress. The most audacious dreams, the most daring plans are integrated in the Program with the precision of a mathematical calculation.

It has force and realism because it is a program of practical struggle for the mighty Soviet people. It has a firm material foundation for its realization. Its ideas are based on the strength of this socialist country with its highly-developed production, science and technology, and reflect the advantages and potentialities of socialist economy.

The force and realism of the Program lie in its scientific Marxist-Leninist basis, in its creative generalization of the experience of socialist construction, of the basic trends of contemporary historical development, in its thorough analysis of the most effective ways and means of using the advantages and potentialities of the socialist system.

The force and realism of the Program lie in the fact that it is being advanced by the Communist Party, which never indulges in vain promises, and in the fact that it is the Communist Party which is working for its realization. The Communist Party has carried out with complete success its First and Second programs. Having won these historic victories, the Party and the Soviet people will also carry out the new Program.

The main thing about the Program is its popular character. It is dedicated from begin-

ning to end to the interests of the people. Communism is built by the labor and the intelligence of the people and for the good and the happiness of the people. The nationwide discussion of the draft Program already shows that it has the support of the Soviet working people, that it inspires them to perform new feats and strengthens their determination to advance more rapidly towards communism.

The thoughts, ideas and propositions of the draft Program are close to the minds and hearts of the working people of all countries; they accord with their vital interests and with their aspirations for a better future. And communism is the embodiment of a better future for all mankind. The Program of the CPSU is a document of immense international importance. Its every line, its every paragraph tells the working people of the world: "Here are your brothers; they are doing great things for all mankind." When the Soviet people have built communism and enjoy its blessings, new hundreds of millions of people on earth will say: "We are for communism." The ideas set out in the Program of the CPSU will exercise a tremendous influence on the minds and hearts of the peoples of all countries, on the liberation movement and on the development of human society in the interests of peace and socialism.

The draft Program is of historic significance because of the grandeur of its scope. It not only contains a profound scientific analysis of the Soviet Union's advance toward communism as well as of human development in general, but on the basis of this analysis it deals with the specific paths of progress in the principal areas of the world — the socialist camp, the capitalist world system, and the countries which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke and won national independence or are still fighting to achieve it. Every nation, all men of labor in all parts of the world can find in the Program an answer to the most vital and urgent questions on the solution of which their future hinges.

Ours is a time of revolutionary change when humanity is effecting a sharp turn from capitalism to communism. Events are moving with kaleidoscopic speed. Unprecedented progress has been made in science, technology, in the development of productive forces, in all aspects of mankind's onward march. A great battle between the forces of imperialism and war and the forces of communism and peace is under way. It may well be said that it is mankind's good fortune that the CPSU

has drawn up its new Program at precisely this time—for this is a document giving a clear-cut, scientifically substantiated answer to the burning questions of how to shape the future, how to prevent a war of annihilation, how to forge ahead, utilizing the mighty productive forces of our day not to destroy human life but to promote the interests of all working men and women.

A study of our Program is bound to convince the people of the whole world that the destinies of mankind are closely linked with the building of communism in the Soviet Union. The successful building of the communist society will play a tremendous role in ridding mankind of the threat of world war. The stronger the country living under the banner of Peace, Labor, Equality and human Happiness, the more durable will world peace be and the greater the opportunities to defend the interests of the working class and all other working people, the greater the opportunities for struggle for the victory of socialism.

The draft Program of the CPSU is an outstanding Marxist-Leninist document. It elaborates comprehensively the key theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory of communism:

the definition of communist society. The draft Program gives a clear-cut exposition of what communist society will be, how people will live and work in it, what advantages they will have, and how their mutual relations will be shaped;

the ways and means of building the material and technical basis of communism. The draft Program gives a comprehensive description of the material and technical basis of communism, and indicates the level which the productive forces will attain in the next two decades;

the road to communism in the countryside. The draft Program shows the ways and means of bringing together and merging the two forms of socialist property; of developing the productive forces of collective and state farms, and of eventually turning them into communist economic units;

the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the entire people. The draft Program gives an exposition, based on historical experience, of the significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the principal instrument in the building of socialism, and specifies the historical time-limits in which it operates. It gives an exposition of the way the dictatorship of the proletariat develops into a state of the entire people and shows the

political organization, the state structure and system of government in the period of full-scale communist construction;

the development of socialist democracy. The draft Program gives an exposition of socialist democracy, genuine democracy for all working people; it shows the ways for its further development, for the enlistment of the whole people in the management of economic and cultural construction and administration of all the affairs of state;

the role and character of labor under communism. The draft Program shows clearly that labor is the principal condition for the building of communism, that under communism the nature of labor changes and it becomes a source of inspiration and pleasure;

the distribution of material benefits. The draft shows the way to implement the communist principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." It calls for a combination of material and moral incentives, and the growing role of the public funds;

the education of communist-minded people. The draft Program sets out comprehensive measures for the education of people in the spirit of communism; it shows the role of ideological and cultural organizations and demonstrates that ideological work is a key condition for the building of communism.

the role of the Communist Party in the building of communism. The draft emphasizes that in the period of the full-scale building of communism the role of the Communist Party increases still more and that the grand program of communist construction can be realized only under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The draft Program of the CPSU presents a Marxist-Leninist answer to the most burning questions of our time—the more or less simultaneous transition, within the same historical epoch, of the socialist countries to communism; peaceful coexistence; the ways and means of averting war; peaceful economic competition; the question as to when the world socialist system will win that competition; the world revolutionary process; and the roads of progress for human society.

I

Guided by the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin, the CPSU works out a program for its activities at each stage of historical development. The First Program of the Party, adopted at the Second Congress in 1903, was

a program of struggle for the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and, in its wake, of the capitalist system. The Second Program of the Party, adopted in 1919, at the Eighth Congress, was a program of socialist construction. The Third Program, to be submitted for consideration to the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, is a program for the building of communist society.

Shortly before the October Revolution Lenin wrote:

"From capitalism mankind can pass directly only to socialism, i.e., to the social ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to the amount of work performed by each individual. Our Party looks farther ahead. Socialism must inevitably pass gradually into communism, upon the banner of which is inscribed the motto, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'."*

Our country has risen to such heights and scored such tremendous successes, that it is now engaged in the practical work of building communism. The draft Program forcefully reveals the progressive nature of socialism and communism in all spheres of human endeavor as compared with capitalism.

Under socialism and in the period of communist construction chaotic economic development gives place to a conscious planning of production and organization of social life. Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, the CPSU defines the lines along which the country will develop in the next 20 years and predetermines its targets for that period. This is one of the biggest advantages of the new social system. No capitalist state can foretell economic development even three months ahead, let alone 20 years.

The draft Program establishes the prospect of vigorous growth in all the branches of the national economy. The main economic task in this period is to create the material and technical basis of communism. By 1980 the Soviet Union will possess unprecedented productive forces. It will surpass the technical level of the most developed capitalist countries and take first place in the world in per capita production. This will serve as a basis for the gradual transformation of socialist social relations into communist relations, and for such a development of industry and agriculture as will make it possible fully to satisfy the needs of society and of all its members.

What are the demands that the material and technical basis of communism must satisfy? When will it be possible to regard the task as fulfilled? The creation of the material and technical basis of communism is not simply a technological advance. Nor is it merely an expansion of the scale of production. The creation of the material and technical basis of communism is a many-sided and complicated social process of transforming the economic life of society, a process embracing production, technology, organization of production, management, economic relations, etc. It calls for an organization of all aspects of communist production, for a sum total of inter-related implements of labor and technological processes, which will enable it to achieve a higher productivity of labor than capitalism, an abundance of consumer goods and a change in the character of labor.

The draft Program presents a clear exposition of the main lines of technical progress which will ensure the development of a system of machines and technological processes essential to the fulfilment of the main tasks of communist construction. To begin with, this calls for complete industrial and domestic electrification, comprehensive mechanization and automation of all the key processes of industrial and agricultural production, and, subsequently, comprehensive automation of all production and the introduction of self-setting cybernetic machines. It calls for the widespread use of chemistry, which accelerates production processes tens and hundreds of times, diminishes to the utmost the dependence of the economy on the elemental forces of nature and makes it possible to create synthetic materials with predetermined properties. It calls for the widespread use of new forms of power. In general, it will provide the system of machines and the organization of production that are essential for the transition to communism.

The draft Program presents a striking picture of how communism will use all the achievements of technological progress for man's good, and not for destruction, as capitalism does. This reflects the progressive nature of the socialist system, which, leading in technology, utilizes to the full and in the interest of mankind all the achievements of the current scientific and technical revolution.

The Soviet Union has a powerful industry, which is the basis for the country's technical progress and economic strength. The CPSU will continue to devote unflagging attention to the development of heavy industry, which

*V. I. Lenin, *Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*.

ensures the growth of the country's productive forces and defense potential. The main task of heavy industry, the draft Program points out, is to meet the needs of the country's defense in full and to satisfy more completely the every-day needs of the Soviet people and of Soviet society.

The draft Program specifies the level which the national economy of the USSR is to attain. In the next decade, the total industrial output is to increase by approximately 150 per cent, and by not less than 500 per cent in the course of the next 20 years. By the end of the second decade the annual output of electric power is to be brought up to 2,700,000-3,000,000 million kwh. Within 20 years, the iron and steel industry will expand sufficiently to produce about 250 million tons of steel a year.

Alongside a powerful industry, the country will develop a flourishing, versatile and highly productive agriculture providing for an abundance of high-quality food products and raw materials. In the next ten years aggregate agricultural output is to rise by about 150 per cent, and in 20 years by 250 per cent. Within the 20 years, the total grain crops will be more than doubled, the output of meat will increase four times, and of milk nearly three times.

It is essential for the victory of the communist system, Lenin pointed out, to attain a productivity of labor considerably higher than that of the most developed capitalist countries. In industry, labor productivity will increase 300 to 350 per cent in 20 years, and in agriculture five- to six-times.

Even today, the industrial output of the Soviet Union is 60 per cent of the U.S. output. In the next ten years Soviet industry will surpass the present level of U.S. industrial production, and in the course of the next 20 will leave that most developed capitalist country far behind. The CPSU sets tasks that are realizable, and are unfailingly fulfilled and overfilled. The average annual increase of industrial output in our country in the past 16 years has been 10.6 per cent. If Soviet industrial output rises yearly by no more than 10 per cent, the Soviet Union will produce 106 per cent of the present U.S. output in 1966 and 156 per cent in 1970. This means that the Soviet Union will, within the next few years, overtake the United States, then outstrip it and move ahead at a still faster pace.

"The tempestuous development of our economy," N. S. Khrushchov stressed, "is the

most potent weapon in our hands for winning new millions in the capitalist countries over to communist ideas."

Everything done in Soviet society is done for the people and their happiness. The CPSU sets a task of historic impact: to attain in the Soviet Union a higher standard of living than in any capitalist country. Everything for the benefit of man—this Party slogan will be realized in full.

There will be a great increase in industries catering for the needs of the population, such as the food, textile, footwear and other industries.

Bourgeois ideologists describe communism as a standardized society in which everybody wears the same kind of clothes and shoes, in which individual tastes are ignored. Nothing could be more absurd! Communist society is being built for man's happiness, and the members of communist society will dress attractively, eat well, enjoy all the blessings of culture, and develop harmoniously their talents and aspirations.

In the 20 years the real income per head of population will rise by more than 250 per cent. Even in the next ten years there will be a vast improvement in the well-being of the people and there will no longer be any low-paid factory and office workers. The real incomes of factory and office workers will rise by about 200 to 250 per cent in the next 20 years, and those of the collective farmers will rise by more than 300 per cent. This will be an historic achievement and have world-wide impact. No capitalist country has ever attempted, let alone fulfilled, such a task.

The housing problem, the most acute problem affecting the well-being of the people, will be solved. At the end of the second decade, every family, including newlyweds, will have a comfortable flat with all conveniences. Within the next ten years the country will go over to a six-hour working day with one day off a week, or a 34-36-hour working week with two days off, and in underground and dangerous jobs, to a five-hour working day or a 30-hour, five-day working week. Following a corresponding rise in labor productivity, the transition to a still shorter week will begin in the second decade. The Soviet Union will thus have the world's shortest and, concurrently, the most productive and highly-paid working day.

By fulfilling the tasks set by the Party for the improvement of the well-being of the people, the Soviet Union will make considerable headway towards the practical realiza-

tion of the communist principle of distribution according to needs. Society will provide at its own expense free maintenance of children at children's institutions and boarding schools (if the parents wish); maintenance of the disabled and aged; free education in all educational establishments; free medical services for all citizens, including the supply of medicines and the treatment of sick persons at sanatoria; rent-free housing and other free public services; free public transport facilities; steady reduction of charges for, and, in some cases free use of, holiday homes, boarding-houses, and tourist camps; a broader provision of benefits, privileges and scholarships; gradual introduction of free public catering (midday meals) at enterprises and institutions, and for collective farmers at work.

The Soviet state will thus make provision for satisfying fully all the increasing material and cultural needs of the people. These bright prospects cannot fail to arouse the admiration of working people throughout the world.

Communism is created for the people and by the people. The member of the communist society is communist-minded, industrious, disciplined and loyal to the interests of society. The more conscious the members of society are, the more fully they will apply their creative energy to the building of the material and technical basis of communism and to the development of communist forms of labor and new human relations, and the more rapidly will the tasks of communist construction be solved.

The Program provides for comprehensive measures in the fields of ideology, education, science and culture. Fulfilment of these measures will make it possible to develop highly-educated, cultured and politically-conscious builders of communism.

II

During the transition to communism, there takes place, as a result of changes in the economic foundation of society, a tremendous transformation of social relations, of the class structure of society and of political and spiritual life, completing the remoulding of the world which was begun by the socialist revolution. The draft Program opens up before mankind prospects for the perfection of social relations that could hitherto only be dreamed of.

"Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality

of all members of society; in that society, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all well-springs of public wealth will gush forth abundantly, and the great principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labor for the good of society will be the prime requirement of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people."

The victory of socialism marks the first stage in the solution of a great social problem, namely, the abolition of classes. There remain in the USSR classes of working people which are friendly to one another—workers and peasants, and the intelligentsia as a social group. In the course of communist construction the second and final step will be taken: class distinctions will be erased entirely.

In the first place, the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry will disappear. The Program, describing the transition of the countryside to communism, shows how the class boundaries between the working class and the peasantry will be removed. The basis of the movement of the countryside towards communism is the collective farm system, a system that has already shown its great vitality. The collective farm system is a school of communism for the peasants.

In the course of communist construction, the economic and technical basis of the collective farms will be consolidated, the degree of socialization of the means of production will become greater, all collective farms will become affluent and highly developed. In the organization of farm production, in the nature of the labor involved and in their standard of living and culture, they will more and more approximate to enterprises of the communist type. The outward aspect of the villages will gradually change. They will develop into townships with urban-type houses, having all necessary communal services and public amenities, and an extensive network of cultural and medical institutions. As a result the living conditions of the collective farmers will undergo a change. They too, will approximate to the living conditions of workers. Payment for labor in the collective

farms will be on the same basis as in socialized enterprises.

In this way the essential distinctions between town and country, between the working class and the peasantry will gradually disappear, and the classless society will be achieved.

The draft Program also points the way to the practical solution of another great social problem—the abolition of the still existing distinction between manual and mental labor, and of the differences in the technical and cultural level of those who work by hand and those who work by brain.

The creation of the material and technical basis of communism, great changes in technology, primarily the overall automation of production processes, will change the character of labor, and mental and physical labor will be integrated in the actual process of production. At the same time, says the Program, there will be an uninterrupted rise in the cultural and technical standard of the working class and the peasantry. The Program envisages an extension of the network of educational establishments and cultural institutions which will enable the working people to receive any education they desire. The workers and collective farmers will become well-educated and harmoniously developed members of the communist society.

The propositions in the Program concerning the development and perfection of the political structure of society during the building of communism are of outstanding theoretical and political importance.

The draft Program introduces and substantiates the new Marxist-Leninist proposition that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat develops gradually into a state of the entire people, and shows the ways in which the gradual transition to communist self-government will be effected.

The socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are the main condition for the transition from capitalism to socialism. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat the transition to socialism cannot be effected. This conclusion, confirmed by the experience of the USSR, is of historical significance.

Is the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, to last forever? No, it is not. The draft Program says: "Having brought about the complete and final victory of socialism—the first phase of communism—and the transition of society to the full-scale construction of communism, the dictatorship of the prole-

tariat has fulfilled its historic mission and has ceased to be indispensable in the USSR for the tasks of internal development. The state, which arose as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a state of the entire people, an organ expressing the interests and will of the people as a whole. Since the working class is the foremost and best organized force of Soviet society, it also plays a leading role in the period of the full-scale construction of communism. The working class will have completed its function of leader of society after communism is built and classes disappear."

This conclusion shows the people their future. All exploiting classes—slave-owners, feudal lords, and the bourgeoisie—constantly perfected and strengthened dictatorship. Today the dictatorship of the monopoly bourgeoisie is being tightened in the imperialist states, the democratic rights and liberties of citizens are being curtailed and militarism strengthened. There are more and more attempts to go over to open terrorism, to fascist and semi-fascist forms of government.

And it is in these circumstances that the CPSU, which fought and won the battle for socialism on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, now declares to the whole world: *the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historic mission and, from the standpoint of internal development, has ceased to be necessary in the USSR.*

The Program puts forward the new theoretical concept that the dictatorship of the working class ceases to be indispensable before the withering away of the state. The state as an organization of the whole people will survive until the complete victory of communism. The state is called upon to ensure the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, to transform socialist into communist relations, to exercise control over the balance between labor and consumption, to ensure rising living standards, to protect the rights and liberties of Soviet citizens, to safeguard socialist legality and socialist property, to educate the masses of the people in the spirit of conscious discipline and a communist attitude to labor, to provide for the reliable defense and security of the country, to develop fraternal cooperation with the socialist countries, to defend the cause of peace and maintain normal relations with all countries.

In pioneering new roads for the development of society, the CPSU lays down the principles of perfecting socialist democracy

and of subsequently transforming the socialist state into a self-governing communist society.

The participation of the ordinary working people in the affairs of state and in the management of economic and cultural developments will be extended during the period of the full-scale building of communism. The direct control by the people of the work of the state apparatus will be extended. There will be a considerable increase in the number of elective posts in the state apparatus. The Program also speaks of extending the principle of regular replacement of elected members of leading Party and government bodies. Gradually the number of state problems that will be settled directly by the people will increase.

The all-round development of socialist democracy prepares the way for a transition to communist self-government. In the future, various organizations of the working people—the Soviets, trade unions, cooperatives and other mass organizations—will merge and undertake the solution of all problems concerned with the life of the people.

Historical development inevitably leads to the withering away of the state. For the complete disappearance of the state there must be both internal conditions—the building of a developed communist society—and external conditions—the final solution in favor of communism of the contradictions between capitalism and communism on a world scale.

According to the Program, the CPSU intends to take a number of important steps to develop further inner-party democracy. The influence of rank-and-file Communists on decisions concerning Party affairs and on shaping the policy of the Party will continue to grow. The Leninist principle of collective leadership will be further developed. The inflow of fresh, new forces into leading Party bodies will increase, facilitating a more correct combination of old and young leading Party workers, precluding the possibility of the excessive concentration of power in the hands of individual Party officials and preventing their getting beyond the control of the collective. With this aim in view it is planned to introduce the systematic renewal of all elective Party bodies in definite proportions—from the local Party organizations up to the Central Committee; to extend the elective principle and accountability of Party bodies in all Party organizations, from top to bottom; to raise to a still higher level the role of Party meetings, conferences, congresses, plenary meetings of Party committees

and other collective organs; to develop criticism and self-criticism in every way.

The measures for the development of democracy elaborated in the Program preclude the possibility of the emergence of the cult of the individual, facilitate the development of Party democracy and stimulate the activity of every Communist.

The elaboration of these and many other questions in the draft Program is of great international significance, it enriches Marxist-Leninist theory with important new conclusions made on the basis of a generalization of practice and of the historical tendencies that have been revealed.

III

The draft Program of the CPSU advances the historic task of strengthening universal peace and excluding war from the life of society.

The first decree issued by the young Soviet state in 1917 was Lenin's Decree on Peace. The French writer, Henri Barbusse, explained the significance of this act of the Soviet state very aptly: "When liberated mankind celebrates the dates of its liberation, it will, with the greatest enthusiasm, the greatest devotion, celebrate October 25, 1917, the day on which the Soviet state was born, one of whose first decrees was the Decree on Peace."

The draft Program again, but this time with a more powerful voice, proclaims that the chief aim of our Party's foreign policy is to ensure peaceful conditions for the building of a communist society in the USSR and for the development of the world socialist system and, together with all the peace-loving peoples, to deliver mankind from destructive world war.

The general principle of the foreign policy of the Soviet state has been and remains Lenin's principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. Peaceful coexistence is an objective necessity for the development of human society at the present stage. War under present conditions cannot and must not serve as a method of solving international disputes, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declares.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war, that the combined efforts of the mighty socialist camp, the peace-loving non-socialist states, the international working class and all forces defending peace, can prevent a world war. The growing superiority of the forces of socialism over those of

imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, will make it possible to banish world war even before the complete victory of socialism everywhere, with capitalism still existing in part of the world. The victory of socialism throughout the world will do away completely with the social and national causes of all wars. To abolish war and establish everlasting peace on earth is the historic mission of communism. The CPSU considers that the chief means of ensuring universal peace is complete and general disarmament under strict international control.

Imperialist propagandists distort the Soviet Union's striving for peace and seek to depict the USSR as an aggressive force.

The draft Program of the CPSU utterly refutes such assertions. Anybody, anywhere in the world, must be convinced by reading the draft Program, that the Soviet Union has drawn up a program of peaceful construction, for the building of communism. The Soviet Union has never needed wars. It is not through wars that the ideas of communism are spread. The Communists have another weapon, a most powerful one—their superiority over the capitalists as regards social and state structure, economic progress, rising living and cultural standards. No matter how many armies the imperialists may build up, no matter how many curtains (iron or dollar) they may erect on their frontiers, it is impossible for them to prevent the spread of the ideas of communism.

The CPSU and the entire Soviet people will in future continue to oppose all aggressive wars, including wars between capitalist states and local wars intended to strangle national-liberation movements, and consider it their duty to support the sacred struggle of the oppressed peoples and their just war against imperialism.

It is most fortunate for mankind that there now exist the Soviet Union and the mighty socialist camp, which place the whole of their might at the service of peace and universal security. The plans of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries provide for peaceful construction. A state which puts forward a gigantic and unprecedented construction program can want nothing but peace. The ever-increasing might of the Soviet Union will be used to promote world peace. This is a fundamentally new policy that differs radically from the policy of any imperialist state. There is deep wisdom in the words addressed to the whole world by N. S. Khrushchov: "The Program of our Party deals a

smashing blow to all those who would sow suspicion of the Soviet Union and its peace policy. For even the uninitiated can see that in order to carry out the grand Program of building communism which the Party is now advancing, there must be lasting peace."

What is the lesson to be drawn from the history of the development of the imperialist states? When imperialist Germany began to come to the fore it immediately raised the question of redividing the world. It was one of the chief initiators of the First and Second World wars, which cost about 100 million lives. When the focus of imperialist might shifted to the USA the ruling circles of that country began openly to speak about the establishment of their world domination. Such is the predatory nature of imperialism.

The successful development of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries means first of all the strengthening of the positions of the peace supporters. The Soviet Union is working persistently for the realization of its proposals for general and complete disarmament under strict international control. But the imperialist countries stubbornly reject these proposals and vigorously continue to build up their armed forces. They refuse to be reconciled to the existence of the world socialist system, and openly proclaim their insane plans for eliminating the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries by means of war. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is obliged to take note of this in formulating policy.

The CPSU maintains that as long as imperialism exists, the threat of aggressive wars will remain. The CPSU regards the defense of the socialist country, the strengthening of the defense potential of the USSR and the might of the Soviet Armed Forces, as a sacred duty of the Party and the Soviet people, as a most important function of the socialist state. The Soviet Union considers that it has the internationalist duty to guarantee, together with the other socialist countries, the defense and security of the whole socialist camp.

Since the danger of war emanating from the imperialist camp persists and since general and complete disarmament has not been achieved, the CPSU considers it necessary to maintain the defensive power of the Soviet state and the combat readiness of its Armed Forces at a level ensuring the decisive and complete victory over any enemy who dares to encroach upon the Soviet Union. Should

the imperialists be mad enough to forget the fate that befell the Hitler hordes and go to war against the Soviet Union, the only outcome of that war will be the complete and ruthless defeat of anyone who attacks the country building communism.

The draft Program of the CPSU calls on all peoples to be vigilant, to wage a struggle against the imperialist aggressors, to curb them in time in order to prevent a thermonuclear war.

IV

The Program of the CPSU, like other documents of our Party, is inspired by concern for the interests of the international Communist movement, of the working class, of all mankind; it is imbued with the spirit of socialist internationalism. The CPSU always upholds the fighting slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" It regards communist construction in the USSR as the great internationalist task of the Soviet people, a task that is in keeping with the interests of the world socialist system, of the international proletariat, of all mankind.

The draft Program closely links the questions of communist construction in the Soviet Union with the problems of the world revolutionary movement. It gives a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the new epoch and of the alignment of world forces. It elucidates the social, economic and political processes going on in various parts of the world.

The Soviet Union is building communism in fraternal cooperation with the peoples of the other socialist countries. The CPSU regards communist construction in the Soviet Union as an integral part of the building of communist society by the peoples of the world socialist system. The draft Program specifies and substantiates the important proposition of the more or less simultaneous—within one historical epoch—transition to communism.

The Soviet Union, which is the first to be blazing the trail to communism, facilitates and accelerates the advance of the whole world socialist system to communism. From its own experience it works out the best way of constructing communism, discovers the difficulties, finds ways and means of overcoming them, and selects the best forms and methods of communist construction.

In the community of the socialist states, for the first time in human history, favorable conditions are being created for abolishing

between countries the economic and cultural disparity inherited from capitalism. Whereas under capitalism it is the rule to perpetuate the backwardness of particular countries and rob them of their riches, under socialism it is the rule to raise the once backward countries to the level of the advanced. The economic levels of the socialist countries are equalized primarily through the complete utilization by each country of its internal resources, through the improvement of the forms and methods of economic management, the consistent application of the Leninist principles of socialist management, and the effective use of the advantages of the world socialist system. The economic aid rendered by the Soviet Union and mutual assistance among all the socialist countries accelerate their economic development.

The magnificent prospect of the achievement by the Soviet Union of the highest standard of living, the shortest working day and other benefits which is opened up in the draft Program will have a revolutionizing effect on the people in the capitalist countries and on their struggle against the ruling circles of the imperialist countries, who are spending colossal sums on war preparations.

The draft Program elaborates Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution as applied to the present stage, a stage in which there exists a world socialist system and in which the power and organization of the working class have increased. The revolutionary movement today is rapidly expanding in different forms. Socialist revolutions, anti-imperialist national-liberation revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, broad peasant movements, popular struggles to overthrow fascist and other despotic regimes, and general democratic movements against national oppression—all these merge into a single worldwide revolutionary process which is undermining and destroying capitalism.

Communist construction in the USSR will facilitate the further development of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, for the national liberation of the oppressed peoples and the emancipation of the working class from exploitation. No previous document put out by the CPSU has had such a profound impact on the minds and hearts of the people and on the course of the revolutionary transformation of society, as the present Program of communist construction.

Communism has today become the mightiest political force of the time. Its forces will inevitably continue to grow in all countries.

Revolutionary processes will gain in strength—and not because of the machinations of some imaginary foreign instigators, as the ideologists of imperialism allege.

The objective course of development of the capitalist countries aggravates class contradictions, leading to an explosion of these contradictions, to social revolution and the inevitable downfall of capitalism. Revolutions are not made to order; they cannot be imposed on the people from without. Revolutions result from the profound internal and international contradictions of capitalism. The Program of the CPSU once again confirms that our Party is against the export of revolution and is at the same time definitely opposed to the export of counter-revolution. Together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, the CPSU regards it as its internationalist duty to call on the people of all countries to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, drawing on the might of the world socialist system, forestall or firmly repel imperialist interference in the affairs of the people of any country who have risen in revolt and thereby prevent the imperialist export of counter-revolution. It will be easier to prevent the export of counter-revolution if the working people, defending the national sovereignty of their country, strive to bring about the abolition of foreign military bases on their territory and to force their country to dissociate itself from aggressive military blocs. In this way the draft Program connects questions of communist construction in the USSR with the struggle for a radiant future for all mankind.

Communist construction in the USSR will also exert ever greater influence on the development of the countries that have recently freed themselves from colonialism. The peoples of those countries, casting off the shackles of colonialism, have emerged as builders of a new life and active participants in world politics, as a revolutionary force destroying imperialism.

The draft Program analyzes the paths of development of those countries. By referring to the transition of many peoples of the Soviet Union from feudal to socialist relations, it proves that the non-capitalist road is in line with the basic interests of the peoples of the countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke. With the present balance of world forces and the ability of the world socialist system to extend powerful support, the peoples of the former colonial countries are now able to choose a way of

development in accord with their own interests. It stands to reason that their choice will depend on the balance of class forces.

The non-capitalist way of development is ensured by the struggle of the working class, the masses of the people as a whole, and the general democratic movement. The draft Program stresses that the establishment and development of national democratic states opens vast prospects for the peoples of the underdeveloped countries. The political basis of a national democracy is a coalition of all the progressive, patriotic forces that are fighting to win complete national independence and broad democracy, and to carry through the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution.

There can be no doubt that the implementation of the Program of communist construction in the USSR and a sharp upward curve in the economy, culture and living standards of the Soviet people will have an even greater effect on the peoples of the newly-liberated countries, and on their choice of paths for their development. Socialism has demonstrated its great superiority over the capitalist system. And anyone who wants social progress, happiness and prosperity for his country is bound to choose the socialist way of development.

A well-known proposition of scientific communism says that ideas become a material force when they grip the minds of the masses. Today we can extend its interpretation by saying that communist ideas are beginning to dominate the minds and hearts of the broad masses still more rapidly under the influence of the actual construction of communism.

The founding of Marxist-Leninist parties in 87 countries is a tremendous achievement of the international working class. The Communist parties have demonstrated the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and their ability not only to propagate the great ideals of scientific communism, but also to put them into practice.

The draft Program delivers a crippling blow to modern revisionism, as well as to sectarianism and dogmatism, which distort communist principles and obstruct the rallying of the revolutionary forces for the struggle against imperialism. The draft Program sharply criticizes the revisionist policy of the Yugoslav leaders. In comparison with the draft Program of the CPSU, the Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which contains, in concentrated form, revi-

sionist ideas from Bernstein and Kautsky to Right-wing Social Democrats, appears puny and miserable. The draft Program of the CPSU gives a profound analysis of the development of the international Communist movement. The CPSU has always been faithful to Marxist-Leninist principles. It has always worked for the consolidation of the international Communist movement.

The situation today places a great historical responsibility on the Communists. Vigorous defense of the unity of the world Communist movement in line with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any action likely to disrupt that unity are an essential condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution, for the achievement of socialism and communism. This fundamentally important conclusion, which was set out in the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960, has been included in the draft Program of the CPSU.

V

The draft Program of the CPSU offers an inspiring perspective of communist construction; it answers the questions which people all over the world are asking, and reveals the motive forces of social development.

The world has never known a document providing so full a scientific analysis of the multiform processes of development in countries that are in different stages — from the country which is building a communist society to the countries which only recently threw off the shackles of colonial tyranny and in which the tribal system still exists.

Many capitalist spokesmen and newspapers are compelled to admit the tremendous impact of the draft Program. *Le Monde*, an influential French newspaper, writes: "Although the Kremlin has long ago accustomed us to its optimistic statements, one cannot help feeling dizzy when reading this program." The Japanese bourgeois newspaper *Yomiuri* comes to the conclusion that "the establishment of the material basis of communism by the Soviet Union is by no means impossible." Even the anti-Soviet U.S. magazine *Life* is forced to recognize the tremendous appeal of the draft Program. It admits that communism possesses a superb strategy, a long-range program embracing the past as well as the future, and is able to paint

such a convincing picture of its own future as to persuade millions that it has been ordained by destiny itself. Alarmed by this, the magazine asks why the "free world" has no powerful operational headquarters, no joint cold war command. Yet no one knows better than *Life* that in the USA and other imperialist countries there are dozens of diverse "operational headquarters" which are inundating the world with hundreds of bellicose pamphlets and books. But the poisonous trash they produce is so obviously false that it cannot deceive anyone.

The draft Program has made so powerful an impression on millions of working people in the capitalist countries that the more reactionary spokesmen and periodicals of the capitalist world are trying to minimize its impact as best they can, to distort its aims and denigrate the magnificent ideals of communism. *The New York Times* shows particular zeal in this respect by inventing the most absurd fabrications in an effort to sow doubt as to the feasibility of the plans outlined in the draft Program.

Our Party has had to deal with such statements more than once. In view of the criticism levelled at the draft Program by the capitalist camp it is interesting to recall statements by some of the more prominent capitalist and Right-wing Social Democratic leaders at the time of the publication of the Second Program of the Communist Party and to show how far off the mark they were.

Our Party adopted its Second Program in difficult conditions. The country was encircled by interventionist troops and armies of domestic counter-revolutionaries. Our towns and villages were suffering from hunger and economic disruption. To give a graphic idea of the difficult period through which Russia was passing, it is enough to mention that ten days before the Eighth Congress of the Party, which adopted the program of socialist construction, a decree was issued suspending passenger traffic on the railways to make possible the delivery of food and coal to the central areas.

Our enemies predicted the downfall of Soviet power. They called the Bolshevik plan day-dreaming.

Shortly after the adoption of the Second Program, Lloyd George stated that despite apparent progress, Bolshevism was declining fast and disintegrating under the economic pressure.

Karl Kautsky, Right-wing Social Democratic leader, wrote in his book *The Prole-*

tarian Revolution and Its Program, published in 1922, about "Lenin's inability" "to carry out his own program." Statements such as these were typical of capitalist and Right-wing Socialist leaders.

Within our Party there were opportunists who likewise refused to believe in the feasibility of the plan for building socialism in Russia. But the Party, which was armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, had profound faith in the historical inevitability of socialism and in the possibility of building it in our country, and confidently led the people along the road of socialism.

Historical experience has shown that Lenin and the Communist Party were absolutely right and that all the capitalist and Social Democratic parties were utterly wrong. Only the Communists proved to be equal to the demands of history, and they alone fulfilled their program promises and actually led the peoples of the Soviet Union to socialism. All the "prophets" who claimed that the Leninist plan for building socialism was unrealistic were confounded.

The CPSU has long since carried into effect all the major provisions of its Second Program. Socialism is completely and finally victorious in the USSR and the Soviet people have advanced along the road of perfecting social relations and of gradual transition to communism.

The realization of the Second Program required the greatest heroism and organization of the people and their Party. The feat they accomplished will live forever. The economic and cultural backwardness of the country, lack of experience, devastation, the desperate resistance of the exploiters, military attacks and political provocations by the capitalist countries, and the economic blockade—all were colossal obstacles to socialist construction. But the Party knew where and how to lead the people. Guided by its Program, the Party carried through a transformation of society. Successes of historic significance have been achieved in all spheres of life; they have shown the world the road to happiness and progress.

Socialism is built in the name of man, for the development of his talents, for better living standards. Socialism has brought the Soviet people:

(a) political freedom, real democracy, genuine democracy, genuine people's rule. The Soviet people possesses guaranteed political freedoms—freedom of speech, of the press and assembly, the right to elect and be elect-

ed; social rights—the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education and the right to security in old age and in the event of illness or disability; equality for all races and nationalities; equal rights for men and women in all spheres of life;

(b) a rapidly developing economy, and a powerful upsurge of the productive forces in town and country. What before the revolution was a backward Russia has now become the Soviet Union, a great industrial power, which has overtaken and surpassed all countries except the USA in volume of industrial output, which holds second place in the world and is making rapid progress that will in the near future bring it into first place;

(c) a radical change in material conditions and the world's best system of social security. The exploitation of man by man and unemployment have been abolished for ever. In the years of Soviet rule, real wages have increased 5.8 times and the real incomes of the peasantry, roughly seven times. Soviet people enjoy free education and medical services. Housing in the USSR is the cheapest in the world. The near future will see the complete abolition of taxation. The working day is being steadily reduced;

(d) rapidly growing education and culture for every member of society, sweeping progress in culture and science, flourishing literature and art. The cultural revolution carried out in the USSR has led the masses of the working people out of spiritual slavery and darkness and brought them within reach of the cultural wealth accumulated by mankind. The country of victorious socialism was the first to usher in the era of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and to blaze the trail into outer space. Artificial satellites of the Earth and the Sun, powerful space rockets, interplanetary spaceships, atomic power stations and the world's first triumphal orbiting of the globe by Soviet cosmonauts have become symbols of victorious communism and a source of pride to all mankind;

(e) a genuine settlement of the national question. In the Soviet Union not only do all the nations enjoy political equality, but the economic and cultural inequality, inherited from the old system, has been ended;

(f) a policy of peace and new principles of international relations. In 1917 the newly-established Soviet state put forward the slogan of peace; it began consistently to champion it and to implement new principles in relations between peoples and countries. The

Soviet Union saved mankind from fascist enslavement. That great feat of the Soviet Union is forever inscribed in letters of gold in the annals of human history.

In summing up the great achievements of the Soviet people, the draft Program draws the following important conclusion: *"Socialism, which Marx and Engels scientifically predicted as inevitable, and the plan for the construction of which was mapped out by Lenin, has become a reality in the Soviet Union."*

Fulfilment of the Second Program, the gigantic economic, political and cultural achievements of the Soviet Union in building socialism once again demonstrated to the whole world that the CPSU sets itself only realizable tasks and that it always carries out the projects which it undertakes. This is a guarantee that the Party's Third Program, a program for the building of communism, will also be fulfilled.

The accomplishment of Lenin's program for the building of socialism was, in effect, the first concrete answer to the question: which party is leading the people along the right road? Which party can ensure prosperity—the capitalist, the Social Democratic or the Communist party?

The draft Program for the construction of communism settles this argument once and for all; it provides all progressives with arguments for the communist system that are so conclusive and irrefutable that they nullify any counter-arguments the bourgeoisie and its lackeys may advance.

The draft Program which opens up great vistas of a further rise of the country's productive forces, a further steep upswing in the material conditions of the working people and further development of democracy, completely exposes the false and slanderous anti-communist myths spread by the bourgeoisie. Communism creates living conditions and ensures personal freedom which are inconceivable in the capitalist world.

The program at the same time indicates what are the principal trends in present-day development, assesses the prospects and possibilities of the various systems and political forces.

History is developing, as the Communists foresaw, in the direction of the consolidation of the forces of socialism and social progress.

Capitalism has entered a new, third stage of the general crisis. The principal feature

of this new stage is that its development is due not to a world war, but is a result of the processes taking place in the contemporary world, processes which are weakening capitalism, sapping its foundations and undermining the pillars of capitalist domination.

The rulers of the capitalist world are trying to halt the unalterable course of history by every possible means, including the use of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, which threatens mankind with incredible sacrifices and destruction. Even the preparations for war are bringing suffering and hardships for millions of people. Today it is particularly obvious that capitalism is a system of economic chaos and periodic crises, chronic unemployment, mass poverty and indiscriminate waste of productive forces, a system fraught with the threat of war. Capitalism has outlived its day. The capitalist parties have been unable to find the scientific answer to the questions posed by life. Capitalism is no longer in a position to advance ideas that would induce the masses to follow it.

What has social democracy given to the people? In the early '20's its ideologists worked out a number of very ambitious programs to counter the Leninist program of our Party. At that time the Social Democrats still wrote in their programs about a social revolution, adding that they would effect the revolution through reforms. At that time they still wrote that only socialism was in a position completely to prevent war. Today not a trace is left of these program promises. Today the Social Democrats do not even speak of a socialist revolution. Quite the contrary. They have openly renounced socialism; they not only deny the class struggle but even the very existence of antagonistic classes in capitalist society. Even in those instances where reformist parties head governments they confine themselves to introducing partial reforms which do not affect the rule of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Social Democratic governments come and go, but the power of the monopoly bourgeoisie remains. Everywhere the Social Democrats have discarded their old programs and have, in fact, renounced the ideas of socialist construction. These parties have thereby shown that their programs are mere scraps of paper, that they themselves no longer believe in them, no longer respect them or set any store by them.

One of the notable results of historical development of the past 40 years is that the

historic truth of Leninism has been confirmed and a crushing blow has been dealt to the ideology of social reformism and social democracy.

The draft Program of the CPSU strikes a new, staggering blow at the policy and ideology of social democracy; it will help to hasten the political enlightenment of the masses in other countries. All that is most progressive and most human, in the true sense of the word, stems from the Communists. The country that is building communism is using all the achievements of science and technology, all advances in the economy, all its material means for the benefit of man. In the light of the draft Program of the CPSU the entire present ideology and policy of the bourgeoisie, the ideology and policy of social democracy appear even more miserable. The supporters and the soldiers of the great army of communism have every right to ask the capitalist and Social Democratic parties: what is there that you can say against any of the propositions in the draft Program? What can you counterpose to the Program? Not a single capitalist or Social Democratic party can put forward a single idea, a single proposition that could in any way rival or stand up to the Program of communism.

The draft Program of the CPSU marks a new advance of communism, the decline of capitalism and of capitalist ideology and policy, and the collapse of the ideology of Right-wing social democracy.

* * *

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is generally recognized by all the fraternal parties as the vanguard of the international Communist movement. It was the first party to lead its people to power and to the victory of socialism and was the first party to blaze the trail to communism. As a result of the victories of socialism in the USSR, the consolidation of the unity of Soviet society, the Communist Party of the working class has become the vanguard of the Soviet people, the party of the whole people, and has extended its guiding influence to every sphere of public life.

The full-scale building of communism is in conformity with the new, higher stage in the development of the Party itself, with its political, ideological and organizational work. The draft Program lays down the principal ways in which the entire work of the Party

is to be improved in the period of full-scale communist construction and how the Leninist standards and principles of Party life are to be strictly upheld. The Program marks a major phase in the development of Soviet and Party democracy. People all over the world can see that the farther Soviet society advances, the more does democracy develop and flourish.

The CPSU has always regarded itself as an integral part of the international Communist and working-class movement. It has always been true to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The CPSU, like all other Communist parties, regards it as its internationalist duty to abide by the appraisals and conclusions which the fraternal parties have reached jointly with regard to their common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, and by the Declaration and the Statement adopted by the Communist parties at their international meeting. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement, to develop fraternal ties with all the Communist parties, and to coordinate its actions with the efforts of all the contingents of the world Communist movement in joint struggle against the danger of a new world war, for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The draft Program of the CPSU has been submitted for discussion by all Communists and the whole Soviet people. This once again shows the profoundly democratic spirit of the CPSU and of all the other Communist parties. The Twenty-Second Congress, which is to consider and adopt the Program of the CPSU, acquires tremendous significance for the whole of the international Communist movement. The Congress will raise aloft before the whole world the Marxist-Leninist banner of the building of communism.

There are, of course, people who do not agree with our philosophical views, but if they are honest, they cannot deny that the Program of our Party is a profoundly human document, a document dealing with the development of society not through war but through peaceful competition, the mobilization of the energy and reason of man to promote material production, science, technology and culture.

N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Safeguard Peace and Progress!

AS we go to press two events hold the attention of the whole world—the publication of the draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Herman Titov's seventeen orbits around the Earth. At first glance these two facts may seem to have little in common, yet they are closely connected. For Titov's space ship derived its thrust from the vast store of popular creative power released by the socialist system, the Communist Party, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism of which the new Party Program is the epitome. Although this document has still to be approved by the coming Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, its principles are already at work in the competition between the working people of the socialist camp and the capitalist world.

Every day socialism increases its lead in this competition. Take, for instance, the sphere of economy. The biggest of the socialist countries—the Soviet Union—is ahead of schedule in the fulfilment of its seven-year plan targets. Soviet agriculture, which Western "experts" only a few months ago claimed was in the throes of a "crisis," is well on the way to producing more this year than ever before since the establishment of Soviet power. Soviet industry too has made notable strides; in the two and a half years since the beginning of the current seven-year plan its output has equalled the total for the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1951-1955). The reports released by the statistical boards of the other socialist countries are similarly gratifying. Gagarin's and Titov's space flights highlight the remarkable achievements of the socialist world in science and technology. For them, worthy representatives of the Communist Party, outer space has become a native element.

The socialist camp and the world Communist movement have further consolidated their ranks in the past six months on the basis of the decisions of the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties held last November. Fraternal relations founded on Marxist-Leninist principles have been cemented between all contingents of the great worldwide army of Communists. Complete unanimity prevailed at the conference of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Warsaw Treaty countries which was held

in Moscow in August. The participants in this meeting voiced their readiness to do everything to ensure the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The Communist parties are growing and gaining strength ideologically, politically and organizationally. Striking evidence of this is afforded by the Party congresses held this year in France, Japan, Mongolia, Venezuela and Colombia.

With the endorsement of the new Program of the CPSU the decisive stage in the historic competition between the two systems—socialism and capitalism—will be ushered in. In the next 20 years radical changes will take place in the world.

Socialism will consolidate its superiority over capitalism once and for all, winning final victory in the decisive field of human endeavor—material production—and subsequently in the field of consumption as well. The advantages of socialist democracy will be revealed still more fully, new forms of public self-government will develop, and the ideas of communism will strike deep roots in the minds of men.

The far-reaching changes that will take place in the socialist camp are bound to have a powerful impact on the situation in the capitalist world. The example of communist construction will give all peoples new inspiration to press ahead along the road of social progress.

It is increasingly being brought home to the peoples of the capitalist countries that socialism is winning its historic competition with capitalism in every field and that the time is approaching when the latter will have been left behind in every respect.

Precisely because of this all supporters of peace, democracy and socialism wholeheartedly welcome the draft Program of the CPSU and approve the prospects its outlines. Progressives the world over have assessed it as the most significant document of our time, a true Charter of Human Happiness.

What has capitalism to offer as an alternative? Growing economic difficulties, the existence of which even prominent Western leaders—including President Kennedy, who has had to sound the alarm over the U.S. unemployment situation—cannot but admit? Rampant reaction, suppression of democratic freedoms, which is evoking the indignation

even of Western public leaders far removed from communism? Gangster methods in international relations condemned by public opinion everywhere? Dismal failures in the sphere of foreign policy, such as those in Cuba and Laos?

No wonder then that the more sober-minded in the West are inclined to be pessimistic about the prospects of capitalism in its competition with socialism. The British *Reynolds News*, for instance, commenting on the draft Program, declared that "no vision of this magnitude has yet been produced by the West." Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, described it as a "major challenge to the initiative of the United States." "The big question is the maturity of our response," he said. "The tendency in Congress is to respond to every Soviet threat by increasing our military strength. This won't be enough."

Having nothing to offer as an alternative to the ideas contained in the Program, imperialist propaganda is working overtime to find some way to discredit them. But these efforts are in vain—you cannot cast a shadow on the Sun! Because the reactionaries know this they become more and more frenzied.

At a time when only the force of argument can really carry weight, the imperialist leaders are resorting to the argument of force. The most bellicose of them are engaged in sabre-rattling designed to whip up war hysteria. The NATO forces in Western Europe have been alerted and plans are on foot to reinforce them with new U.S., British, French, West German, Dutch, Belgian, Norwegian and Danish contingents. The U.S. government is continually increasing its already inflated military budget. The U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force are being expanded. There are more and more indications that the U.S. rulers intend to resume nuclear testing and step up preparations for chemical warfare. "Since the Second World War the capitalist monopolies have made war preparation, the piling up of armaments, an integral part of the economic development of their countries," N. S. Khrushchov pointed out in his radio and television speech of August 7.

Press reports show that new imperialist military provocations are being hatched against the German Democratic Republic and Cuba. The colonialists are becoming increasingly active: the Portuguese "civilizers" are trying to drown the Angolan national-libera-

tion movement in blood, and the French militarists have torpedoed the talks with the Algerian Provisional Government and engineered a massacre in the Tunisian city of Bizerte.

These sabre-rattling and military provocations are accompanied by an unprecedented anti-communist witches' sabbath. Anti-communism, indeed, has become the cornerstone of the policy of the leading capitalist countries. Monopoly agents of all ranks are urging "mobilization of all resources," "exertion of every effort" and organization of a "total offensive" against communism and its ideology. President Kennedy makes no secret of the fact that he considers himself committed to this unsavory cause.

To combat communism is the greatest task facing the nation and the Administration, he declared, for instance, on April 20th last in a speech at a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

The anti-communist "crusaders" have launched an unbridled campaign of slander against the socialist countries. The same provocative aims were pursued by the "captive-nations week" observed in the United States in July. The U.S. President had the red carpet rolled out for the senile adventurer Chen Cheng, the Vice-President of the so-called "Republic of China" that was set up on Taiwan under the cover of American armed forces. The two signed a joint communique filled with lying and vicious attacks against People's China and solemnly pledging the President's continued opposition to the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations. Over-zealous U.S. Senators—Russel, Stennis and others—have gone so far as to describe Titov's space flight as a threat to the security of the United States. In Britain crude forgeries—this time "Moscow directives" to the Communist parties of other countries—have once again cropped up as was the case so many times during previous outbreaks of anti-communist hysteria (the notorious "Comintern letter," for instance). The forgeries are so obvious that even the capitalist press which prints them has had to admit their absurdity. But this does not prevent the most reactionary newspapers and journals from repeating the same slander over and over again.

At the same time an offensive is waged against Marxist-Leninist ideology and the parties of the working class in the capitalist countries. International propaganda centers of the monopolies, such as the notorious

Moral Rearmament, circulate millions of anti-communist posters and appeals, hundreds of propaganda films and scores of plays. Reactionary clerical organizations, primarily Catholic, are playing their part in the drive and at times take the leadership in it, as for example in Latin America.

Pro-fascist organizations, such as the John Birch Society in the United States, advocate lynch-law methods, urging the physical destruction of Communists. Nor do they limit themselves to mere propaganda; bomb explosions and burning of headquarters of Communist organizations (as in France and Italy) and attempts to lynch progressives (in the USA) have become the order of the day in the "free world."

These criminal activities are not only countenanced by the capitalist governments in spite of all their lip-service to freedom of thought, equal rights and democracy; they are actively supported by the monopoly-dominated state machine. Following the example of Franco's Spain, Salazar's Portugal and Adenauer's West Germany, the rulers of the United States have taken measures through the Supreme Court virtually to outlaw the Communist Party. A law banning the Communist Party has been drafted in the Argentine also. Characteristically enough, it is called the "Defense of Democracy Act"!

The reactionaries of a number of other countries are vying with the transatlantic "guardians of freedom." Persecution of the Communist press (France), efforts to prevent the Communists of different countries from freely associating with one another (France, the Netherlands, Japan, Australia), expulsion of Communists from leading posts in trade unions (Britain), the arrest and torture of active Party members (Greece, United Arab Republic, Jordan) — these are only a few of the methods used.

Anti-communism, moreover, is invariably a screen for a drive against democracy generally. The John Birch Society, for instance, hounds every political figure it suspects of progressive sympathies. Now it has launched a smear campaign against U.S. Chief Justice Warren, no doubt largely because of his dissenting opinion on the latest anti-communist measures. Eight years after McCarthy's death the poison weed he planted thrives in the citadel of the "free world"!

The anti-communist crusaders claim that the responsibility for the existing tensions rests with the Communists, and in particular the Soviet Union, that it is the latter's

insistence on a German peace treaty which aggravated the situation and created an "international crisis." All the steps taken by the West are depicted as a mere reply to the "Soviet threat."

Yet the fact remains that the Soviet Union has been advocating a peace treaty with Germany for years. That no settlement has been reached in Central Europe 16 years after the war can hardly be regarded as normal. Indeed, the absence of such a settlement creates today a real threat to peace.

An article by Peter Florin, "Stop West German Militarism," published elsewhere in this issue, cites numerous facts showing that the West German rulers have openly embarked on the path of revanchism, the path of preparing new aggression in order to refight the Second World War.

The Soviet government insists on the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and a settlement of the West Berlin question precisely because further delay would give a free hand to the German revanchists who are on the verge of getting nuclear weapons. West Berlin at any moment may become the Sarajevo of another world war.

The initiative of the Soviet government is a peaceful move aimed at easing, not aggravating, world tensions and eliminating the causes of the continued deterioration of the international climate.

The imperialist propagandists seek to scare people by calling the Soviet proposals an "ultimatum." Actually, however, the Soviet government has announced its readiness to discuss with the Western powers whatever suggestions and amendments they have to offer to the Soviet draft of a peace treaty with Germany. Urging the governments of these powers to negotiate—as he had done time and again before—N. S. Khrushchov said on August 7: "We do not want to encroach in the slightest on the legitimate interests of the Western powers." Even *The New York Times*, which loses no opportunity to distort the purport of the Soviet proposals on the German question, had to admit in its editorial comment on the Khrushchov speech that "the Western powers cannot object as long as these provisions are observed." Nevertheless the Foreign Ministers of the USA, Federal Germany, Britain and France, meeting in Paris in August, to all intents and purposes turned down the Soviet proposal to begin negotiations on the question of Germany and West Berlin.

Clearly, the hysterical outcries of Western leaders concerning the myth that the Soviet Union has created a crisis are nothing but an attempt to justify the anti-communist campaign and to camouflage their own sinister maneuvers against peace and progress.

Actually the Western maneuvers which are aimed at aggravating international tension and the "total offensive" against communism launched by the U.S., British, French and Federal German imperialists are part and parcel of a monstrous conspiracy hatched by imperialism against progress and democracy.

The aim of this conspiracy is to halt, by lies and slander, intimidation, terror and provocation, and perhaps even by armed force, the triumphant march of the peoples of the socialist countries toward communism, and to retard social progress in the capitalist world.

But the prospects facing the imperialist conspirators are far from encouraging. The achievements of the socialist countries, clearly visible to the whole world, the inspiring plans drawn up by the new society for the future, and the genuinely humane and lofty moral principles of socialism are nullifying the effect of the anti-socialist slander. The policy of the Communist parties—a policy for the defense of peace and the rights and interests of the peoples—is winning more and more support among the millions and is effectively countering the reactionaries' poison weapon of lies.

Anti-communism, despite the efforts of the hundreds of organizations and thousands of political leaders engaged in inventing its doctrines and the millions of dollars spent on its propagation, is losing supporters. It carries just about as much weight as the principle of the divine right of kings at the time of the Great French Revolution. Nor could it be otherwise. What strength can be derived from a complete disregard for reality, hiding one's head in the sand, and evading the problems of today? How can defiance of progress at all costs be a "unifying" force? Anti-communism is an expression of the extreme decadence of capitalist ideology.

Socialism is stronger than capitalism not only because it embodies everything new and progressive in the life of society, though in itself the new always carries a more powerful impact than the old and moribund. *It is also the actual balance of social, political, moral, economic and military factors that*

gives the socialist camp a preponderance of strength over the camp of imperialism. Therefore any military adventure undertaken by the latter can only end in its crushing defeat. This is no threat. It is merely a sober assessment of the balance of forces. "We do not seek to threaten anyone," said Khrushchov in his radio and television speech in which he pointed out the disasters which the imperialists may bring down on their peoples. "We only want to induce those on whom the policy of the NATO member states depends to see reason."

The strength of socialism and its rapid economic development, on the one hand, and the growing difficulties of the capitalist world, on the other, influence to no small extent the behavior of the imperialist ruling classes and the various groups within them.

The alert observer can hardly fail to note the exceedingly contradictory nature of the policies of the imperialist governments. The great variety of approaches to the German question is highly symptomatic, as is the sharp clash of opinions in all the Western countries, including the United States, as to whether deliberate aggravation of the situation is worth the risk.

The overall picture of international relations is still more illuminating. It is not the aggressive elements who dominate the scene, even though the bluster of the ultra-reactionaries makes them most conspicuous. Besides the tendency toward further aggravation of tension there exists, even in capitalist society, a strong trend toward peaceful co-existence. It is indicative that in Britain, for example, many bourgeois papers and Conservative M.P.'s have voiced alarms at the revival of Britain's traditional enemy—German militarism bent on revenge—and are calling for a discussion with the Soviet Union of all possible solutions of the German question. Significant too is the fact that the imperialist powers are not renouncing trade with the socialist countries. Recently, for instance, important Anglo-Soviet trade talks were held, the biggest Soviet-Italian trade agreement was signed, and Italian Prime Minister Fanfani visited Moscow.

At the same time the neutral states, whose role is steadily growing in the present tense world situation, are strengthening friendly relations with the socialist camp. An especially important part in this respect is played by the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Within the past few months the capitals of the socialist countries have re-

ceived government and parliamentary delegations from Indonesia, India, Laos, Somalia, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Guinea, Ghana, Sudan, etc.

This once again confirms the fact that *the peaceful coexistence of the two systems and peaceful competition between them are an objective necessity in our time.*

It goes without saying that so long as imperialism, which is aggressive by its very nature, exists, the trend toward aggravation of tensions is bound to persist and efforts will be made to perpetuate the cold war and aggravate the world situation. The lessons of history show that social forces that have outlived their time tend naturally toward desperate gambles. Feeling the ground slipping away from under their feet, they are increasingly inclined to stake everything on a single card regardless of the consequences.

Hence, the activity of the masses, their ability to put an end to the imperialist provocations, and the might of the socialist countries, their military might included, are of the utmost importance.

The working people of the socialist countries are fully aware that by forging on from success to success in their labor effort and by strengthening the socialist camp and its unity and solidarity, they are making their basic contribution to frustrating the imperialist conspiracy. They are devoting all their efforts to the building of communism, to peaceful creative endeavor.

But the socialist countries cannot ignore the threat presented by the imperialists. They are forced to draw the necessary conclusions from the situation and to devote more attention to strengthening their defenses, in order to be able to reply with a crushing blow to any attack by aggressors. But at the same time they continue to give their full support to general and complete disarmament.

Today the working class has a very great responsibility in the capitalist countries. As the most powerful and consistent force fighting for peace in the capitalist world, it is

heightening its vigilance and resolutely fighting the anti-communist conspiracy of international imperialism. This struggle is embracing broad sections of the working people regardless of party affiliation, professional status or religion. French Socialists and Danish trade unionists, Italian Catholics and American Quakers today condemn the adventurist policies of imperialist reaction.

The forces of the national-liberation movement too are becoming increasingly active. Asia, Africa and Latin America are no longer a secure hinterland for the imperialists. They are a fighting front where the once all-powerful "white master" is forced to wage a desperate and hopeless struggle for a foothold. The struggle of these peoples for freedom and independence finds support throughout the world.

All of these separate currents of struggle against the imperialist reactionaries are merging into a single flood powerful enough to sweep away the imperialist conspiracy and to clear the road to peace and progress.

Of exceptional importance is the initiative displayed by the Communists, for it is they who are rallying around the working class all the progressive, patriotic elements of their countries. The contributions published in the Activities of the Communist and Workers' Parties section elsewhere in this issue show that the Communists are carrying out their historic mission, fighting against the imperialist conspiracy and upholding the interests of all peoples.

The Communists are ready to support all social forces working to bring about a détente, to foil the aggressive schemes of imperialism and to achieve a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the basic issues in dispute. There may be different viewpoints and different approaches to many problems, but one cannot stand aside and allow imperialism to hatch its conspiracy against progress and humanity.

It is the duty of all honest-minded people everywhere to help to foil this plot. This would be a priceless contribution to man's struggle for freedom and happiness.

Stop West German Militarism!

Peter Florin

*Do you remember these lines? ★ Strauss: "We'll show them who runs NATO!"
★ "Atomic shield" or atomic death? ★ No time to lose ★ People's Chamber
of the GDR proposes good-will agreement ★ The peace treaty will be signed!*

"It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment . . .; remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future and safety of the world."

The above is an excerpt from the joint Declaration signed at Yalta, in the Crimea, on February 11, 1945, by the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of Great Britain. After the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition the heads of government of the above countries solemnly declared in Potsdam (August 2, 1945) on behalf of their peoples and governments:

"The purpose of this agreement is to carry out the Crimea declaration on Germany. German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbors or the peace of the world."

The German people were promised a peaceful future in these words: "It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people. It is the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis."

On that same occasion it was agreed to establish a Council of Foreign Ministers, for the purpose among other things of preparing

"a peace settlement for Germany to be accepted by the Government of Germany when a Government adequate for the purpose is established."

These few excerpts show that the anti-Hitler coalition set itself the aim in 1945 of eradicating German militarism once and for all, and recording as soon as possible the outcome of the Second World War in a peace treaty as a normal act terminating the state of war and ensuring a durable peace.

Sixteen years have elapsed since then, but the peace treaty has not yet been signed, and the peace of Europe and the whole world is threatened by the resurgence of militarism in West Germany.

The new Wehrmacht, equipped with the most up-to-date weapons, has become the biggest armed force in Western Europe. Britain can be considered the stronger only by virtue of her possession of nuclear weapons. But . . .

The Generals Take the Floor

On August 19, 1960, the general staff of the Bundeswehr published a memorandum which marked the official beginning of what is termed the second phase in the building of the Bundeswehr. The memorandum calls for accelerated atomic armament in preparation for nuclear war, and sets forth three main demands in the form of an ultimatum.

1. *Total mobilization.* Hitler announced total mobilization after the war had begun. The Bonn generals are demanding it at the preparatory stage. Universal conscription, states the memorandum, is not enough. Everyone must be prepared to make sacrifices. The "spiritual, moral and material resources of the whole nation," men, women and children, must be mobilized for the numerous tasks arising from the growing might of the bundeswehr. The entire population must be drawn into the preparation of nuclear war . . .

2. *Subordination of the economic and military resources of Western Europe to the West German militarists.* "The supply of

arms, ammunition, equipment and food to the Bundeswehr can be ensured only with the support of the Atlantic community," declare Bonn's Nazi generals. "Participation in NATO enables the Bundeswehr to deploy its combat and auxiliary forces in depth and to determine the scope and character of defense."

These statements show how false are the assurances given by capitalist propaganda that West German militarism cannot threaten anyone since it is under NATO control. The facts prove the contrary: more and more key positions in NATO, with the blessing and connivance of American imperialism, are passing into the hands of the West German militarists. As a matter of fact, the latter no longer conceal their interest in the extension of "NATO control" over the West European armies, for this merely strengthens *their* own influence in the Atlantic community.

The memorandum rejects the simple "coalition of national armed forces" and insists on the unification of the armies of the NATO countries. "From the military standpoint too," it says, "the close political unity of the partners in the alliance is essential." What this means in the light of the economic and military predominance of imperialist West Germany in Western Europe is quite clear. The appointment of General Heusinger as Chairman of the Military Committee of

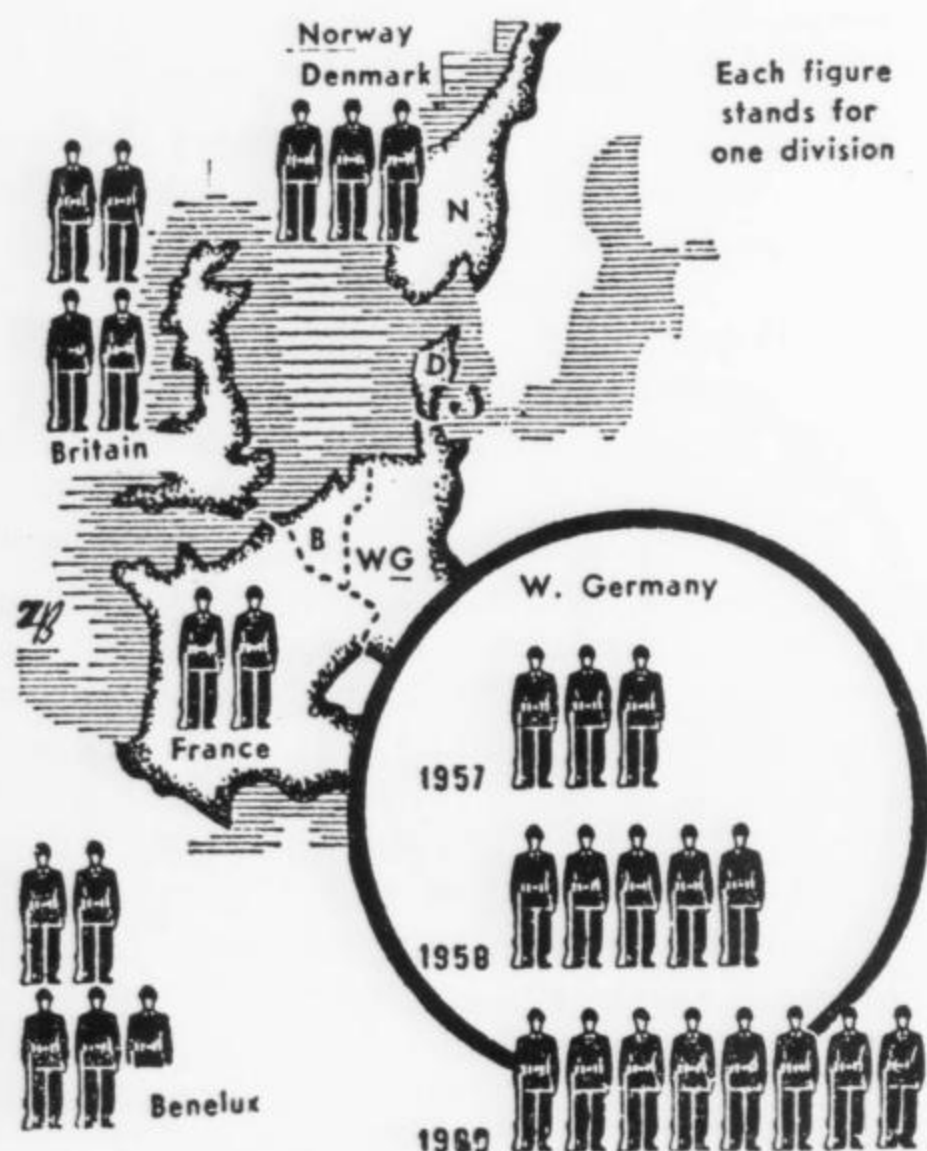
NATO and of General Speidel as commander-in-chief of the NATO land forces in Central Europe, as well as the subordination of the Danish naval forces to the West German command are all in accord with the Bonn Generals' scheme for the "unification of the armed forces."

The West German militarists are bent on dragging all the NATO countries into their insane venture. Strauss, the Federal German Minister of Defense, has repeatedly urged the need to secure the support of the United States and the other NATO allies in the event of a serious clash. At the same time Bonn is clearly apprehensive that the peoples of the other Western countries will be reluctant to fall in with this policy. The above memorandum flatly rejects the idea of military neutrality for Germany. They fear that the peace loving people of Britain and France may seize upon the idea and induce their governments to sign a peace treaty on this basis with the two German states.

Bonn's position was made abundantly clear by Strauss, who with his customary bluntness, told an intimate circle of associates: "First we shall make our military contribution to NATO. But when the Bundeswehr is fully prepared, we shall talk to the brainless followers of Moscow and the apostles of international détente in true German language and shall show them who really runs NATO." This is the one the West German militarists are already adopting.

3. *Equipment of the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons.* The main point in the generals' memorandum is set forth in these words: "Responsibility for the soldiers compels the military leadership in the present situation to demand the necessary nuclear arms for the 'shield' forces."

This insistence on nuclear weapons for the Wehrmacht comes not from some irresponsible newspaperman or politician, but from the leaders of the Bonn Wehrmacht, the former Nazi generals. The unilateral renunciation of the nuclear armament of the 'shield' forces, they maintain, would make it impossible to defend the Federal German Republic. To what lengths they have gone in pressing this demand is seen from the statement in the memorandum that "the Bundeswehr needs weapons as effective as those of the Allied 'shield' forces." The generals are seeking for nothing more or less than armaments on a par with those of the American, British and French forces. They want "a weapon that will



West Germany contributes the biggest contingents of land forces to NATO in Central Europe.

be at least equivalent to the weapon of the enemy."

To the protests of the peace-loving people in West European countries against the nuclear armament of aggressive West Germany the Bonn generals hypocritically reply that the nuclear weapons would remain under American lock and key. But that is hardly a reliable guarantee of peace! Moreover, the West German militarists are exerting every effort to gain possession of nuclear weapons and even to manufacture them *themselves*. They are no longer satisfied with multi-purpose weapons systems which can use both conventional and atomic missiles. They want to have their own rockets with nuclear warheads.

It is not yet within the competence of NATO to decide on the actual use of nuclear weapons; that is decided by the United States, Britain and France as the only three Western powers which possess nuclear weapons. But if the West German militarists are allowed to join this "nuclear pool," the day is not far off when they will get their own nuclear weapons as well. They are quite confident on this score.

The Bonn generals talk about the "nuclear shield," but what they dream of is the "nuclear sword." They fondly hope that once the nuclear weapons are in their hands they will be able to prosecute the war they are now planning with every chance of success. Here is the language in which the magazine *Wehrkunde*, organ of the Bonn general staff (July 1960), discusses the possibilities:

"Leningrad which was surrounded by the German forces in September 1941 could have been liquidated very quickly with the aid of nuclear weapons, just as could have been done later in the case of Sevastopol. With the nuclear weapon the mopping-up operations at Kiev, Bryansk and Vyazma in the autumn of 1941 would have taken a few hours instead of weeks. This would have given us a tremendous advantage for continuing the German offensive, since thanks to the time thus saved the German armed forces might not have been caught by the rainy season and the winter, and the Siberian divisions would have arrived too late on the European theatre of hostilities, the more so since at that time it would have been possible to launch a nuclear attack on Moscow as one of the chief communication centers."

The West German militarists show themselves to be utterly incapable of soberly assessing the balance of forces in the world

today. At the time the above article was written the Soviet Union's superiority in missiles and nuclear weapons could not have been unknown to its author. He should have known, too, that according to the calculations made by British scientists, five hydrogen bombs would be enough to wipe Britain off the face of the map. From which he could have drawn the obvious conclusion that West Germany too would be totally destroyed in the event of nuclear war, and that the "nuclear shield" is not a protection for the West Germans, but a danger.

That he wrote as he did, suggests that he supports the statement of the Bonn Defense Minister that: "West Germany is prepared to take that risk."

The Folly of Underestimating the Danger

But can she afford to? German imperialism was defeated in the First World War. Nevertheless it rose up again and launched another global slaughter which ended with its own debacle. And now the West German militarists are again brandishing their weapons, nuclear weapons this time. Historical experience shows that they forget none of their aims and learn nothing from their defeats. To rely solely on their common sense and their ability to take sober decisions may cost mankind very dearly.

Unless they are stopped in time, the West German militarists may precipitate a global catastrophe in which they themselves will be destroyed. The fact that they nevertheless persist in carrying out their insensate plans brands them as a gang of criminal adventurers.

The danger of West German militarism is still underestimated by many people. Capitalist propaganda is trying to create the impression that it is no threat to anyone, and the German Social Democratic Party does its best to support that fiction. Under the influence of this kind of propaganda people in other countries—not to speak of West Germany itself—including some convinced peace supporters are led to believe that the development of militarism in West Germany has not gone so very far yet, an attitude which can only hinder the fight against this menace to peace. Hence the importance of the warning contained in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of November 1960: "The threat to peace and the security of the European nations from West German militarism is increasing. . . . The Bonn state has become the chief enemy

of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and the relaxation of tension in Europe."

The danger of West German militarism is aggravated by the support it receives from the other imperialist governments—the United States, Britain and France. They have failed to carry out the provisions of the Potsdam agreement which envisaged the complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany. They have put the militarists back on their feet in West Germany. Blinded by their hatred of socialism, they have permitted the West German imperialists to arm themselves to the point where they are now demanding nuclear weapons. Moreover, they encouraged the rearmament of West Germany in the hope of restricting Bonn's competitiveness on the world market. This is equivalent to arming a dangerous madman despite the fact that he might run amok and attack peaceful citizens.

The West German militarists have never enjoyed so much support from the other imperialist powers as at present. The policy of the United States, Britain and France demonstrates once again how deep is the chasm in which imperialism is floundering, and what a terrible menace its very existence is for mankind.

The policy pursued by the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party has also facilitated the resurgence of militarism in West Germany. They have completely capitulated to the ideas of the former Hitler generals and fully support them on the question of armament. Herr Brandt, the Social Democratic candidate for the Chancellorship, has stated openly that the German people must get accustomed to living in the cold war atmosphere of fear and horror. He stressed that a Social Democratic government would abide by all the commitments undertaken by the Adenauer government. No illusions should be fostered about these people and their policy.

"Drang nach Osten" — or nach Westen?

The West German militarists make no secret of their aggressive program. They frankly proclaim their intention to restore the greater Germany of Hitler's time. This program is spearheaded primarily against the German Democratic Republic.

"The problem in Germany is not reunification but the liberation of the people of the Eastern zone," they declare. Their words and their actions indicate that they threaten to resort to force to bring the German Democrat-

ic Republic under their domination. And they actually harbor the illusion that they can blitz their way into the GDR in a so-called "limited war" with conventional weapons, without effective retaliatory measures on the part of the Warsaw Treaty states which are bound by treaty obligations to come to the aid of the GDR in case of attack. They seriously believe that these states, and primarily the Soviet Union, would be unable, in a situation they hope will arise, to defend the territory of the GDR if it were occupied by West German troops, owing to internal difficulties and because the alternative to recognizing the annexation of the GDR by West Germany would be global nuclear war.

They are shameless enough to try to exploit the peaceful aspirations of the socialist countries to achieve their aggressive ends. It goes without saying that these reckless schemes are doomed to failure. The German Democratic Republic and its friends will not allow anyone to violate its territorial integrity. The leaders of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries have issued clear and unequivocal warnings on this score. It is enough to refer to the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which says: "The Meeting regards it as the duty of all the countries of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peaceful aspirations of the German nation."

The aggressive program of the West German militarists makes territorial claims on other countries as well. They refuse to recognize the Oder-Neisse frontier between Germany and the Polish People's Republic. They are constantly harassing the millions of German settlers from the Polish People's Republic, trying to incite them through the so-called "landsmannschaft" and other organizations against the Polish people. They poison the minds of school children by teaching them history with a nationalistic slant. All this is done by way of psychological preparation for aggression against the Polish People's Republic. The same methods are used with regard to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union.

The West German militarists are posing as "fighters for the liberation of Eastern Europe from communism." They have again raised the banner of anti-communism, the banner under which Hitler plunged the German people into the greatest disaster in

German history. How similar West Germany is becoming to Nazi Germany may be seen from a statement made by Hans Krueger, Bundestag deputy from the Christian Democratic Party, in an article published in September 1960 in the *Deutscher Ostdienst* which also carried an article by Foreign Minister von Brentano: "Only in the course of liberating the territories inhabited by the peoples of Eastern Europe from Bolshevik oppression will it be possible to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the German question." What is this if not the old "Drang nach Osten" policy dished up in a new form?

But it would be unwise for anyone in Western Europe to harbor the illusion that the aggressive plans of the West German militarists threaten only the East European countries. West German imperialism has already captured some West European positions in recent years.

Bonn has become the strongest industrial power in Western Europe and has squeezed

British and French goods out of many markets in the non-socialist world. The West German imperialist bourgeoisie is using its economic superiority to oust their weaker competitors in Western Europe and it is quite obvious that the West European countries at varying economic levels are becoming increasingly dependent on West German monopoly capital. The latter, taking advantage of the West's fear of Marxism-Leninism and the working-class movement, is trying to force the issue by asserting that rejection of Bonn's demands would lead to social and political changes in West Germany that would only strengthen socialism. The Bonn rulers are getting what Hitler could not even dream of on the eve of the Second World War: the governing circles in the West have permitted them to set up military bases in Britain and France. Even now, in peacetime, West German soldiers commanded by officers of the former Nazi army, who were responsible for the terror against the French population and

THE NEW WEHRMACHT

By the spring of 1961 the West German army numbered approximately 300,000 men, of whom 149,000 were conscripts and 151,000 volunteers. In addition there are about 250,000 reservists who have already completed a course of training.

The land forces of the Bundeswehr number 186,500 men, the air force 69,000, the navy 25,000, the territorial forces and central staffs 19,500. The land forces are equipped with more than 2,400 tanks and 1,500 armored carriers.

The equipment of large army formations with missiles and other weapons of mass annihilation began in the latter part of 1958 and was speeded up about the middle of 1959. The army already has three Honest John missile battalions attached to the army corps, and at least eight artillery battalions attached to the divisions, armed with 203.3 mm. atomic cannon. Not long ago Minister of Defense Strauss declared that every infantry division had a battalion of Honest John missiles with four launching ramps. Further plans to arm the land forces with nuclear and rocket weapons provide for the formation of three Sergeant guided missile battalions (three attached to corps and 12 to divisional artillery), 13 artillery battalions with 203.3 mm. guns (three attached to corps and 10 to divisional artillery), three battalions of Hawk ground-to-air missiles (attached to corps anti-aircraft artillery).

The air force at the present time includes: five fighter-bomber squadrons with 250 Thunderstreak F-84F aircraft, four fighter squadrons with 150 Canadair Sabre Mk5 and Mk6 (F-86F Sabre) aircraft, two reconnaissance squadrons with 80 Thunderflash RF-84F aircraft, two transport squadrons with 75 Noratlas and Skytrain-Dakota C-47 aircraft. All the fighter-bombers are adapted for carrying atom bombs. It is proposed to bring the strength of the air force up to 28 squadrons by March 31, 1963.

At the present time the air force also includes one Mace missile group, and four Nike ground-to-air battalions. It is also planned to form two battalions of Pershing missiles, two Nike battalions and six Hawk battalions.

The naval forces consist at present of 17 combat squadrons, including two squadrons of destroyers, four squadrons of torpedo boats, seven squadrons of mine sweepers, one squadron of landing craft, one escort squadron and two coastal defense squadrons. The total of 240 vessels includes 136 combat ships, 54 auxiliary and 50 training ships. It is planned to increase the total number of vessels to 352 by 1961-62.

for the sufferings of the British people during the war, are goose-stepping over the fields of France and Britain.

What Is the Way Out?

The Moscow Meeting of last November gave the answer to this question: "The aggressive plans of the West German imperialists must be opposed by the combined might of all the peace-loving countries and nations of Europe."

This implies that all peace-loving people must be alerted to the danger of West German militarism and rallied for joint efforts to combat it. For us in the German Democratic Republic this is a struggle that is being waged day in and day out. By its peaceful constructive efforts our republic is setting an example to the whole of Germany. And at the same time we appeal to the population of Federal Germany to join us in the fight to preserve peace in the interests of both Germany and her neighbors.

It should be noted that in West Germany, too, resistance to Bonn's adventurist policy is growing. However it still lacks organization and unity. West German militarism must be dealt effective blows.

Why is this issue so urgent at the present time? Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, reverting to the events which led to the outbreak of the Second World War, has pointed out that "unfortunately nothing was done to stop the Nazi regime at the time when its insane venture was being prepared, in spite of the threat to the national security of the German people and their neighbors."

The West German militarists of today are showing all the symptoms of violent insanity. It is still possible, however, to straitjacket them, and the peace forces everywhere must lose no time in checking the growth of the war danger. The situation in Germany can no longer remain as it is.

"The national security of the German people and the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and many other countries, including some of West Germany's allies, makes it imperative that we remove without delay the still smouldering remains of the Second World War and conclude a peace treaty that would be an effective barrier to the West German militarists and revanchists and their criminal war policy," said Walter Ulbricht summing up the present situation.

The smouldering remains of World War II have been poisoning the international atmo-

sphere for many years, and, if not stamped out, may produce the spark that will start a new world conflagration. The absence of a peace treaty has been and is still being used by the West German militarists to whip up a war psychosis. A peace treaty would curb their crazy schemes. It would help to curb the revenge-seekers politically as well. A peace treaty would not jeopardize the lawful interests of a single country, and the cause of world peace would only benefit by it.

Throughout the postwar years the socialist countries have exercised infinite patience in their efforts to convince the Western governments of the need to sign a peace treaty. The latter, however, have remained adamant. None of the Western governments denies in principal that a peace treaty with Germany is essential and that the German people have a right to such a treaty. But they are constantly seeking pretexts to avoid suiting the deed to the word.

In its memorandum to President Kennedy the Soviet government proposed that the four powers appeal to both German states to agree in any form acceptable to them on questions concerning the peace settlement and the reunification of Germany. This proposal respects the right of the German people to self-determination and could facilitate the conclusion of a peace treaty.

The German Democratic Republic is ready to negotiate with the Bonn government and has repeatedly proposed holding joint conferences. The West German government, however, has invariably declined. If the governments of the Western powers were really interested in German reunification they would accept the Soviet proposal and advise the Bonn policy-makers to resume negotiations.

The German Peace Plan

In July of this year the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic adopted a peace plan on the basis of a statement made by Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council. The German peace plan proposes that both German governments come to an agreement on the formation of a German Peace Commission representing the governments and parliaments of the GDR and the FRG. The main task of the Commission would be to conduct negotiations and reach an agreement on the drafting of German proposals for a peace treaty and on a goodwill agreement aimed at an immediate improvement in the relations between the two

states. The good-will agreement could include the following points:

1. Both German states agree to abandon nuclear equipment of their armed forces and to stop arming immediately.

2. Pending the conclusion of a disarmament agreement, both German states agree on the numerical strength, armaments and disposition of their armed forces.

3. Both German states undertake not to allow their territory to be used for military and revanchist propaganda.

4. Both German states believe that the question of the social system should be decided by the people of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany themselves. They undertake not to interfere in matters pertaining to each other's social system.

5. Both German states favor the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty states and the NATO countries, and the establishment of an atom-free zone in Central Europe.

6. Both German states pledge themselves to expand trade with each other. They agree to improve relations in sports and culture between their citizens and organizations and to promote travel facilities.

The work of the Peace Commission should be based on the principle that neither side imposes its will on the other, and that mutual understanding is reached by stages.

The principal aim and purpose of the German Peace Plan is the conclusion of a peace treaty. The treaty would contain equal commitments for both German states and would thus bring them closer together. Both states in their relations with other countries should abandon all threat of force or the use of force, should decide international disputes exclusively by peaceful means and actively participate in promoting the peaceful coexistence of nations and states. On military questions Germany should be a neutral country possessing certain armed forces, but not nuclear weapons. The powers of the anti-Hitler coalition should recognize and respect the neutrality of such a Germany. The peace treaty would endorse the existing German frontiers and guarantee the inviolability of the territory of both German states. All Nazi, militarist and revanchist organizations and societies should be banned, and all persons guilty of crimes against peace and humanity and of military crimes should be forbidden

to hold leading posts in public life. The partners in the peace treaty should recognize the indisputable right of the German people to work for the reunification of Germany as a peaceful state, at their own discretion and without outside interference. It goes without saying that the peace treaty would settle all outstanding questions pertaining to the relations between the German states and the states which took part in the war.

West Berlin is a special problem. Having no fixed international status, it is being used by the Bonn revanchist circles to create inflammatory situations and organize various provocations which gravely imperil the cause of peace. The West German militarists are exploiting the situation in West Berlin more and more. The revanchist politicians regard it as a frontline city and have indeed compared it to the atom bomb. Every conceivable variety of subversion against the socialist countries is conducted from West Berlin in violation of all international laws. West Berlin has become the focal point of the growing threat of war in Europe, which, should it break out, would precipitate a nuclear holocaust. This hotbed of war must be destroyed. This is another problem the peace treaty would be called upon to solve.

The Peace Treaty Will Be Signed

The peace treaty should be the result of negotiations at a peace conference. And it is imperative that such a conference be held without delay.

The socialist countries are ready to discuss any constructive proposals the Western governments may submit concerning a peace treaty with Germany and the normalization of the situation in West Berlin. They are likewise prepared to make the compromises already contained in the Soviet memorandum on the peace treaty with Germany and the settlement of the West Berlin problem.

For example, it is proposed that the peace settlement could be reached on the basis of two treaties if the Western governments are not prepared to sign a single treaty with the two German states. In that case the members of the anti-Hitler coalition would sign a peace treaty with one or both of the German states at their own discretion. The wording of these treaties need not coincide, but they must be identical in principle on the main questions of the peace settlement. Compromise agreements are not excluded either with regard to the guarantees for a demilitarized free city of West Berlin. Of course, the sovereign

rights of the German Democratic Republic would have to be strictly observed. So far no constructive proposals have been made by the Western side. The only constructive program emanates from the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, and it is supported by all the other socialist states.

Reaction in the Western countries to these proposals has been varied. Generally speaking, two basic viewpoints have emerged. Some adventurist elements are trying to stir up a war hysteria and to intensify the arms race. They have publicly announced military plans for what they call possible conflict situations: they threaten to break through with tanks to West Berlin across the territory of the German Democratic Republic in violation of its sovereign rights. They go even farther than that. But these threats can only lead to a situation in which the socialist countries would be forced to take further steps to bring the hotheads to their senses. Threats cannot alter the course of history. The socialist camp is strong enough to reply to any attack on the territory of one of its members by annihilating the aggressor.

Other circles in the Western countries do not deny the need for negotiations. They realize that even the most aggressive forces cannot embroil their own peoples in global nuclear war for the sake of preserving the occupation in West Berlin. The more insistent the peace-loving people of these countries

are in pressing for mutual understanding, the sooner the talks can be held and the greater their chances of success.

The world situation has so obviously changed in favor of the forces of peace that the forces of aggression are no longer able to prevent a German settlement. The Western press is obliged to admit that no one can prevent the conclusion of a peace treaty between the German Democratic Republic and all other states prepared to sign it. In his radio and television speech on the Vienna meeting with the American President, N. S. Khrushchov said: "The question before us is not whether or not to sign a peace treaty, but whether that peace treaty will be signed with the two existing German states—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—or with one German state, and whether all the states which fought against Germany, or only some of them, will take part in a peace settlement." "A peace settlement in Europe must be reached this year," he stressed.

* * *

The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany will be the result of a struggle in which the peace-loving nations will demonstrate that it is *they* and not a handful of imperialist adventurers who determine the course of developments in the spirit of peace.

Work of the Austrian Communist Party in the Present Period

Friedl Fuernberg

IT is a widely circulated reformist claim that the influence of revolutionary working-class parties is bound to decline at times of high economic activity. Yet the Communist parties of a number of European capitalist countries that are experiencing a boom have gained influence and increased their electoral vote and membership. The hard facts have dispelled the myth.

The Communist Party of Austria too was able to record some notable gains at its recent Eighteenth Congress. Within the space of months, following a period of setbacks, it had

won 4,250 new members and made significant gains in the elections to the provincial parliaments and production councils.

The Congress showed that while fully aware of the difficulties ahead, the Party is confident, in the light of the existing situation and the mood of the working people, of winning still greater successes in the near future. For, the high level of economic activity notwithstanding, the continued exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism creates, as experience has shown, new opportunities for working-class struggle which the Party must utilize to carry out its tasks.

The Congress formulated the immediate tasks of the Party as follows:

"In the present international and domestic political situation, the principal immediate tasks of the Communist Party of Austria are: the fight for peace and Austrian neutrality, for the defense of the democratic rights of the people, for the regeneration of democracy, for a resolute rebuff to all attacks by reaction, neo-Nazism and monarchism, and for a bigger share for the working people in the fruits of the favorable economic situation."

It goes without saying that in practice these tasks are closely interlinked, in fact, they often merge with one another. But it is an old axiom that the fight for immediate economic demands finds the readiest and quickest response among the masses of the working people.

A Bigger Share for the Working People

The Party's slogan, "a bigger share for the working people in the fruits of the favorable economic situation," is finding growing support in the working class.

That the capitalists are raking in fabulous profits from the economic boom is an obvious fact that cannot be concealed from the masses. But although the economy is developing and profits are swelling, the share of the working population, and especially of the working class, in the returns is negligible. The rapid growth of profits, while the real wages of the working class remain stationary or show a hardly perceptible increase, accelerates the relative impoverishment of the working people.

The employers and bourgeois politicians, and the leaders of the Socialist Party with them, are doing their best to justify a situation characterized, on the one hand, by soaring profits and, on the other, by an insignificant and extremely slow improvement in the workers' living standard.

At the initial period of the boom it was comparatively easy to restrain the working class from militant action. The revival brought long-awaited relief after the years of unemployment preceding the Second World War, the horrors of the war itself and the hardships of the postwar period, and seemed to represent notable progress. The bourgeois press even called it a miracle. But as the years went by the past gradually faded into the background and the workers began to think in terms of the present, to compare their labor and its fruits with the profits reaped by the capitalists.

Whereas formerly the worker was above all haunted by fear of losing his job, now there is a shortage of manpower. As a result the working class is becoming increasingly aware of its strength. As always in times of economic upswing, it has been brought home to the workers that the employers are dependent on them, that without the workers they are nothing. Hence the working class is pressing its economic demands more vigorously than ever before, and the capitalists are forced to make concessions. The social-reformists are trying to make political capital out of this, offering it as proof of their theories of "social partnership" and the "welfare state."

At the present period of the general crisis of capitalism, however, there have appeared now, highly important factors which greatly influence the struggle of the working class.

The successful development of the socialist system over one-quarter of the globe has awakened a yearning for social justice among the masses. The impact of this is felt far beyond the bounds of the revolutionary working class. Vast numbers of working men and women who are not Communists and who as often as not are still unaware of the need and inevitability of the class struggle are no longer satisfied with the pittance they receive while the capitalists pocket millions; they no longer believe that a social system that has sanctified this state of affairs is ordained by God. No longer do they feel that the capitalists, the employers, the upper class in general, are infallible, indispensable and invincible. They are aware—though often only instinctively—of the weakness of the bourgeoisie and its uncertainty of the outcome of the struggle between socialism and capitalism, and are taking bolder and more vigorous action in defense of their demands.

Formerly not only the bourgeoisie but also millions of workingmen thought society could not exist without the employer. They could visualize no other economic system than the existing one. Now the remarkable achievements of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole are opening the eyes of increasing numbers of working men and women to the fact that the factories and the economy generally can function very well without the capitalists.

Thus, the working people are awakening more and more to a realization of their strength while the capitalists are becoming increasingly uncertain of their own future. As a result pressure on the part of the workers for an increase in their real income is mount-

ing and a considerable section of the employers has been forced to make concessions.

Ever new sections of the working people are joining the struggle for economic demands, often with stubborn determination. This applies in particular to some of the white-collar workers, professional people and farmers.

Strikes are now employed as a weapon of struggle even by groups of the working people who formerly considered it beneath their dignity to take part in any economic struggle whatever. But curiously enough the idea of collective action is still obnoxious to them although they themselves take such action in their economic struggles. This only goes to show how much still has to be done in political and ideological education before these sections of the working people come to see their position in its proper perspective.

Before the Second World War the capitalists found it comparatively easy to direct the activities of these sections along fascist lines. That danger still exists and the reactionaries are bending every effort to achieve this end. But today the situation is quite different. Fascism has been exposed as a brutal, blood-thirsty dictatorship leading to war, and the prestige of the socialist world is steadily growing. Hence the opportunities for enlisting these sections of the working people in the struggle waged by the working class are far greater than ever before despite the many petty-bourgeois prejudices that still govern their thinking.

The rising productivity of labor is another factor increasing the militancy of the workers, since, while sending profits soaring, it has added very little to the workers' earnings.

For all these reasons the Communist slogan, "a bigger share for the working people in the fruits of the favorable economic situation," accords with the aspirations of the masses and has an impact—direct or indirect—that reaches far beyond the bounds of the Party's political influence. Last May Day this slogan appeared even on the streamers of the Socialist Party in Vienna.

Both ruling parties—the People's and Socialist parties—are constantly fighting, in diverse ways, wage claims presented by one or another group of industrial or white-collar workers. There is not a maneuver or subterfuge they disdain in order to drag out the settlement, and when a wage or salary increase can no longer be blocked, they try

to keep it down to the minimum with a view to wiping it out by raising prices.

The latter method has been widely employed in recent years. The working people are told that this is the dynamic of economics, that there is no point in increasing wages since the real income cannot be raised in this way. Attributing the rising cost of living to higher wages, the employers are demanding a wage-freeze and insisting on the trade unions pledging themselves not to advance or support wage claims. But at the same time no assurances are given that prices will not be increased; to do so would be an encroachment on the "freedom of the economy," they argue. The struggle around the issue of a wage and price freeze has been going on for years.

A few years ago a "parity" committee was set up to decide whether wage and price increases were justified or not. In practice, however, it has systematically sought to keep wages down, while doing nothing to stop the increase in prices.

This is exactly what we Communists said it would do. From the outset we warned the workers that its sole purpose was to prevent any increase in the working people's income without placing any obstacles to the soaring of profits and prices.

Stressing that the fight to improve the working people's living standard must go on even in boom conditions, the Communists make it clear that the only way this can be done is by cutting into the enormous profits of the capitalists.

The experience of the past few years has convinced many workers that we are right. It is this that underlies the growing influence of the Party among the workers and the greater pressure which they are exerting on the trade union leadership. Thus, in the present conditions even periods when the economy is thriving offer every opportunity for developing the economic struggles of the working class on a wider scale than hitherto.

Revitalize Democracy

At the same time we Communists cannot ignore questions concerning the general economic development of the country. We are seeking to explain to the working people that the growing disparity between prices and profits, on the one hand, and wages and salaries, on the other, are in the very nature of capitalism, that what is taking place is the increased relative impoverishment of the working people, and that a radical change

for the better can only be effected through the abolition of the capitalist system. In this connection the advantages of socialism can and should be brought home to the masses by contrasting capitalism and its increasing exploitation with the socialist system, which is steadily forging ahead and is able constantly to improve the people's living standard because it has no capitalist class to pocket enormous profits.

But important as is the advocacy of socialism, it is not enough. The immediate task is to fight against the further subordination of the state to monopoly capital. Indeed, it is because of this that economic struggles now develop into political struggles far more often than before.

The Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out in its Statement that monopoly capitalism is increasingly developing into state-monopoly capitalism which combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie. In Austria too monopoly capital is exerting every effort completely to subordinate the state and its institutions. But in doing so it is encountering difficulties, caused partly by the specific conditions of Austria and partly by the development of the general crisis of capitalism and the growing strength of the socialist camp.

Small though Austria is in size, its monopolies wield relatively great economic and financial power. But they are interlinked with and dependent on foreign monopoly capital. As in the not too distant past, West German monopoly capital is making particular efforts to penetrate into Austria, and the ties between it and the Austrian monopolists are steadily becoming closer. This has a dual effect. On the one hand, the most aggressive wing of the monopoly capitalists, who rely on their West German allies, are increasing economic and political pressure, and, on the other hand, the masses, who realize that the national independence and neutrality they won only recently are at stake, are offering stiffer resistance.

No one has any doubt that practically the entire nation regards national independence and neutrality as vital for Austria. Hence no political party dares to oppose these principles openly. For the same reason monopoly capital too is watching its step. Even those Austrian monopolists who unashamedly collaborate with the West German monop-

olies, make a show of supporting Austria's independence and neutrality. Actually, however, they are undermining them both by drumming into the Austrians that they are Germans and by openly working to bring Austria into the European Economic Community.

Another section of the monopolists is closely connected with the coalition government. It supports the official policy of "neutrality leavened with anti-communism," association with the EFTA, and maintenance of formally correct relations with the Soviet Union while taking a negative stand in regard to the neighboring socialist countries. At the same time, this wing of monopoly capital which now has the upper hand bolsters the positions of the extremist, West German-oriented wing by making use of the pressure exerted by the latter to strengthen the influence of the reactionaries on the state machinery at all levels, to press for the return of the nationalized industries to private ownership, and to intensify the exploitation of the working class.

An important factor impelling monopoly capital to tread cautiously is the growing weight of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole. The leaders of the two government parties point to the proximity of the socialist world, the frontiers of which lie only 60 kilometers from Vienna, as a justification for the two-party coalition which has existed for the past 15 years. They know full well that the socialist countries present no military threat; as a matter of fact they do not try to justify the coalition by fear of invasion from that quarter. What they fear is the influence of the social system prevailing in the socialist countries.

In view of this not only the small property-owners but also a substantial section of the bourgeoisie are anxious to avoid major social or political upheavals. This indeed is the foundation on which the coalition of the People's Party and the Socialist leaders rests. It is also the main reason why Austrian monopoly capital, even if it does constantly resort to threats and pressure, prefers to work for its ends gradually, without undue haste.

This is one side of the medal. The other is the growing alarm caused among the working people by the growing influence of West German capital, the threats of the reactionary Right wing of the People's Party, and neo-Nazi and monarchist sallies.

At the same time the rising cost of living, which cancels out whatever wage gains the

workers have won, gives rise to economic struggles, anxiety and a feeling of insecurity among the people. Consequently, economic and political struggles become intertwined.

All this proceeds against the background of important international developments highlighted by the Soviet Union's achievements in space exploration, the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples, etc. A powerful impression on millions of people everywhere was made by the draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which gives a profound scientific exposition of the building of the communist society in the USSR.

These developments accentuate the feeling of uncertainty and anxiety experienced by the ruling classes. Although the economic situation is better than it has been for decades, the bourgeoisie does not feel itself strong enough to renounce cooperation with the Socialist leaders. On the other hand, the people at large are also conscious of the instability of the present situation.

Although the influence of the Communist Party has grown recently, it is numerically still small in comparison with the ruling parties. But in spite of this it does not limit its activities to mere criticism of the bourgeois society. It is duty bound to show the people how the dangers hanging over the nation can be averted. Only in this way can it build up its strength and increase its influence in order eventually to lead the people in the struggle for fundamental changes.

In view of the inroads made by West German imperialism, the national factor once again comes to the fore in the struggle to uphold Austrian independence and neutrality. Combating West German imperialism, the Party lays the emphasis on the close connection between independence and neutrality and the fight for peace, for complete, controlled disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons. Indeed, it is the most active champion of these aims, which correspond to the interests of all nations and are a matter of life and death for the Austrians. The fight for their achievement may well be said to permeate every aspect of the Party's work.

One of the deep-seated erroneous notions the Communists have to combat is the view that they can win political victories only at times of economic crises, when the working masses are suffering the greatest privations. The fallacy has some currency even among the Communists, some of whom tend to sit back in anticipation of the next crisis and try

to justify their passivity by invoking the elementary truth that capitalism inevitably gives rise to crises and that the present boom too is bound to be followed by a slump. This is a harmful standpoint, all the more so since the present situation is actually opening up new opportunities for active mass struggle. Hence the Eighteenth Congress of the Party, drawing on the experience of the past several years, outlined a positive militant program of action for the Austrian working class. The Congress resolution, "For Social Progress," declares: "The Communist Party demands a bigger share in the favorable economic situation for the working people. It will work for limiting the power of the monopolies through the participation of factory and office workers in the administration of enterprises, the economy and the state."

The Party emphasizes that this can be achieved only through resolute class struggle, not class collaboration.

The Socialist leaders claim that their association with the people's Party in the coalition government forces the monopolies to retreat and ensures the workers a share in the management of enterprises as well as the administration of the economy and the state. If this were so, the power and influence of the monopolies would have steadily declined since the formation of the coalition, and the role of the working class in affairs of state and economic management increased. The facts, however, testify to the reverse. The monopolies have grown stronger from year to year and their policies more and more provocative. The Socialist victories at the polls have not altered this fact, nor have they prevented the decline of working-class influence in the economy and the government. But at the same time, the strength of the working class and Austria's international position provide the conditions for directing the country's future along new lines. The Communist Party has shown how this can be achieved—through the broadening of democratic rights, the regeneration of democracy.

The parties of the government coalition hold 95 per cent of the seats in parliament. The so-called Freedom Party, which has eight seats, is nothing but an agency of West German imperialism. There are no Communist M.P.'s; the unfair electoral system has kept them out. Consequently, there is no consistent and determined parliamentary opposition, especially on questions affecting the vital interests of the working people. There is nothing left in the Austrian National Assembly even

of that illusory inter-party struggle which is traditional for bourgeois parliaments.

Hence it is obvious to the public that the real power of decision rests not with Parliament, but with a handful of leaders of the two government parties which form the so-called Coalition Committee. The Committee sits behind closed doors, but this does not place it outside the sway of the class struggle. Monopoly capital is directly represented in it by the leaders of the People's Party, who employ everything from persuasion and judicious pressure to open threats to bring the Socialist spokesmen to heel. And since the latter, being typical petty-bourgeois democrats, fear nothing more than working-class mass action and adhere to an anti-Communist position, they prefer in the final analysis to line up with the capitalists rather than with the working class. Because of this the monopoly viewpoint is sure to prevail in the Coalition Committee except when the Communist Party is able to bring enough pressure to bear by organizing working-class mass actions.

The regeneration of democracy would facilitate the development of the militant working-class movement and stimulate the initiative and political activity of the masses which alone can effectively repulse the political and economic offensive of the reaction.

To revitalize democracy all obstacles to the dissemination of truthful information should be removed and an end put to the discriminatory and undemocratic practices employed to falsify public opinion. Radio and television should not serve as cold war propaganda centers, and all democratic parties should be given an opportunity to publicize their views. The electoral laws should be amended to give every vote equal value and ensure all parties parliamentary representation commensurate to their actual strength and influence. The people must be given an opportunity to pass judgment on current issues through genuine plebiscites on a national as well as on a provincial and communal scale. The communities should be given a free hand, above all in the sphere of finance, to carry out their social duties with the broadest participation of the public. And the administration of districts should be entrusted not to appointed heads but to democratically elected bodies.

It is likewise imperative that the Trade Union Federation (headed by the Socialists but including also Communists, Catholics and non-party workers) should function as a class organization pursuing an independent policy dictated by the workers' interests and aspira-

tions and not by the intrigues of politicians belonging to the government coalition. It should stimulate and support the militant initiative of the workers rather than suppress and stifle it in keeping with coalition agreements. Trade union democracy should be developed to the full in order effectively to counter the offensive of big business with the political weight of the unions which number nearly a million and a half members. Wider powers must be given to the production councils, which should have the decisive say in hiring and dismissing workers and a voice in management.

Of cardinal importance is the defense and expansion of the nationalized sector, the very existence of which is a major democratic gain of the working class. Just as democratic freedoms can be defended only by fighting for their extension, so can the nationalized enterprises be protected only by working for further nationalization. This should be accompanied by a fight for the workers' right to play a bigger part in the management of the nationalized enterprises.

The various issues set forth in the Communist action program for the regeneration of democracy come to the fore at different times and different places, depending on the circumstances. For instance, the issue at the nationalized enterprises is to win recognition of the workers' right to participate in management and also, at this particular time, to share in the fat profits of these enterprises.

The stubborn fight waged by the Communists on all these questions is a fight to foil the efforts of the monopolies completely to subordinate both the economy and the state, a fight to defend the positions won by the working class, to consolidate them and to win new ground. The focus of all the struggles waged around immediate issues is the demand for the establishment of an anti-monopoly government of the working people which we counterpose to the stand of the Socialist leaders, who claim that it is imperative for the workers and employers to collaborate through their representatives in the People's and Socialist parties, i.e., to preserve the present coalition.

"Our aim is a government pursuing a policy directed against both domestic and foreign monopoly capital," declares the resolution of the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party, "a government which would rely on the support of the forces of democracy and peace, including the Communists, and the international strength of socialism, keep the

people informed of all important political developments and combat monopoly capital both in parliament and outside of it. Such a government of democratic regeneration based on the cooperation of two or more political parties is an historical necessity at the present time.

"Such a government can be formed only if the Communists, Socialists and the democratic elements in the People's Party join forces. The Communist Party is tirelessly working towards this goal. To achieve it, the Communist Party must be strengthened and the forces in the Socialist Party that advocate socialism as well as the democratic forces in the People's Party considerably developed and reinforced."

Improve Mass Work, Return the Communists to Parliament

Realization of the slogan advanced by the Eighteenth Congress, "Return the Communists to Parliament" is a key element of the struggle to revitalize democracy, to ensure the independence and neutrality of Austria, and to establish an anti-monopoly government.

In the last general election the Communists polled more than 142,000 votes but did not get a single seat because of the undemocratic election law which favors the two government parties, as their spokesmen quite frankly admit. The Communist Party is campaigning for a democratic electoral reform that would give equal value to every vote. But although the movement has won wide support among the public, the two ruling parties stubbornly cling to the advantages they enjoy under the present law. The Party, however, is determined to regain its place in parliament even if the present system of voting remains in force. This means a much bigger Communist vote at the next elections.

The Party's influence on political life by far exceeds its numerical strength. The ruling parties naturally deny this. They do their best to belittle the significance of the Party and its struggle. Though they conduct an unceasing press and radio campaign against the Communist proposals and demands, they are nevertheless often forced indirectly to support these demands. The usual technique is to water down, and then present as their own, the very demands they had originally bitterly opposed. The object is to pull the wool over the eyes of the people and take the credit for themselves.

The mechanics of the class struggle in our country follow this pattern: the Communists advance working-class demands and prove to the masses that they are necessary, correct and feasible; when these demands have won the support of the Socialist workers, the leaders of the Socialist Party take them up for fear of losing their hold on the masses; then, pointing to the danger of Communist propaganda to the entire capitalist system, they try to persuade the capitalists to make partial concessions.

When the working class, led by the Communists, exerts enough pressure it succeeds in winning some of these demands or all of them—gradually, step by step. The Socialist workers are often inclined to credit this to their own efforts alone. They still fail to see that the stronger the Communist Party, the bigger and speedier the workers' gains. Hence the importance of united action both for winning economic demands and for the political education of the working class. The Party Congress pointed out that united action for concrete demands is the prerequisite and basis for the establishment of a strong, durable united front of Communists and Socialists.

As things stand today, the rank-and-file members and functionaries of the Socialist Party are ready to join forces with the Communists on some issues. Only united action over a longer period of time, combined with patient explanatory work on our part to expose the Socialist leaders, will firmly convince the Socialist rank and file of the need for a working-class united front. Systematic comradely discussions of outstanding issues with the Socialists are of great importance for promoting unity of action and building the united front, for through them the political and ideological foundations of unity can be laid.

Only through untiring mass work in the most diverse forms can the economic and political struggle of the working people be organized, unity of action achieved, and the role and influence of the Communist Party steadily enhanced. Here the emphasis must be placed on work in the enterprises and the trade unions, and especially in the production councils. The main forces of the Party are to be found in the big factories, which is a major advantage, for it is here that the battles of decisive significance for the overall struggle of the working class are fought. This gives the Communists a great deal of weight in the trade unions, where

they are active at all levels, all the way up to the leading bodies.

We are still inclined, however, to neglect work in the medium and especially the small enterprises, with the result that the majority of the production councils there are controlled by the leaders of the Socialist Party and the trade unions — a fact which makes it easier for the latter to impose their policies on the unions. The Communist Party must therefore strengthen its work at the medium and small factories without relaxing efforts at the bigger plants.

In their mass work at the enterprises the Communists lay the emphasis on keeping the workers posted on developments in the plant in general and the production council and trade unions in particular, and on analyzing these developments from the working-class standpoint. This is done by arranging discussions, distributing leaflets, putting out factory papers, and to a lesser degree, through workers' meetings.

The work of the Party in the mass organizations varies according to their character. Notable among them from the standpoint of reaching the masses are such specific organizations as the pensioners' and tenants' associations.

Austria has long had a rent control law designed to protect the tenant, but in recent years it has been violated time and again. For instance, the landlords have been given the right to make the tenants pay for major repairs. This affects mainly flats in old houses, whose occupants have had their rent raised as much as three- or fourfold.

The Tenants' Association, supported by the Communist Party, is demanding that the landlords be prohibited from passing on repair costs to the tenants and that a state repair fund be set up to cover the cost of maintaining old houses. The campaign is being conducted in hundreds of houses in

Vienna, with all the tenants taking part in most instances. This shows them once again that only the Communist Party upholds their interests.

Many members of the Party work in other mass organizations, especially in sports and cultural societies, which also strengthens the Party's contacts with the people generally.

A serious obstacle to extensive mass work is sectarianism, which still makes itself felt in some organizations of the Party and tends to isolate them from the masses. The last Congress instructed the leading bodies of the Party to intensify the struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism.

But the main danger is, as before, revisionism, which undermines the people's faith in the policy of the Party, heightens the effect of the pressure exerted by the Socialist Party on ideologically unstable Communists, and is ultimately aimed at abolishing the Communist Party as an independent force, as the leading detachment of the working class. The Congress unanimously condemned revisionism and stressed that the Party would do everything in its power further to cement the unity of its ranks and to make its contribution to strengthening the solidarity of the world Communist movement. The Congress fully endorsed the decisions of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held last November.

* * *

In the present epoch, capitalism no longer looks to the future with confidence even when business is good. As for the 'revolutionary working-class movement, its progress is no longer retarded by economic upswings. To chart new ways for this march forward, to search for new forms of struggle and to combine them with the old—these are paramount tasks facing the Communists in the capitalist countries.

Iran at the Crossroads

A. Kambakhsh

THE ruling clique in Iran is facing a grave crisis. The Iranian press is almost unanimous in predicting the imminent collapse of the present regime. This view is borne out by other sources as well. The reactionary *American Newsweek*, for example, admits that "the Communists are not alone—hundreds of thousands of patriotic Iranians are also clamoring for a change." And a London *Evening Standard* correspondent describes the situation as "reminiscent of the last days of tsarist Russia."

The Tragedy of Iran

The thunder clouds looming over the Iranian political scene are the climax to a long chain of developments which can be traced to one root cause: the penetration of American imperialism into our country.

The process began a good half century ago, although it must be said that throughout 50 years the American monopolists have skilfully combined the methods of classical colonialism with what we now call "neo-colonialism." For a long time the American imperialists operated in Iran behind a mask of "altruism" and "disinterestedness." In their propaganda they have all along insisted that their aims and methods were diametrically opposed to those of Iran's age-old oppressor, British imperialism.

It was only after the Second World War, at the time of the Iranian people's struggle for the nationalization of its oil wealth, that American imperialism emerged in its true colors.

The U.S. imperialists mobilized all their allies within the country in an effort to influence the National Front, formed by Mossadegh and his supporters, and to use the popular movement to further their own interests. At first these maneuvers met with success among some sections of the Iranian bourgeoisie, those who were taken in by America's pretence of "disinterestedness." However, as it became more and more evident that the transatlantic trusts were out to lay their hands on Iranian oil, the long-fostered illusions began rapidly to fade. The honest-minded elements in the National

Front saw through the United States policy and turned away from it.

Much of the credit for alerting the people to the designs of American imperialism is due to the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran. The Party press and the Tudeh deputies in the Majlis submitted incontestible proof that the American advisers were preparing the ground for the economic expansion of the U.S. monopolies in Iran. The Party repeatedly exposed U.S. plans to dominate the Iranian army and involve Iran in military blocs.

As soon as it saw that there was no longer any hope of seizing Iranian oil with the help of the Mossadegh government the imperialist wolf shed its sheep's clothing. In August 1953 a military coup was engineered with the direct participation of the United States, the lawful government of Mossadegh was removed, and a dictatorship was installed with General Zahedi at its head.

At this juncture U.S. imperialism made a compact with its rival, British imperialism. Eisenhower, Eden recalls in his memoirs, "was extremely worried about the position in Iran." Eden himself was satisfied with the progress of Anglo-American talks, which, he said, had brought them "nearer agreement." "The situation in Iran was certainly gloomy," he goes on, "but I thought we should be better occupied looking for alternatives to Mossadegh rather than trying to buy him off. In our last talks we were agreed about this. . . ."

The coup was directed by American military instructors. Prior to it General Zahedi was given asylum in the Truman Point Four Program Administration which financed the coup. On August 28, 1953, the newspaper *Mardom* reported that on the day the coup took place, the National Bank of Iran, acting on instructions from the operations director of that Administration, paid out 32,643,000 rials against a cheque (No. 703352) for the sum of \$390,000, the money for mobilizing the monarchist groups.

In the decisions of the fourth plenary meeting of its Central Committee, our Party described the 1953 coup as a tragedy for our country. "It temporarily reversed the

course of our country's history; it nullified the gains our people had won in their struggle against imperialism and reaction, and strengthened the domination of reaction and imperialism, which had been dealt some telling blows by the national-liberation movement in the preceding period."

"Our Patience Is at an End"

Almost immediately after the establishment of the new regime, and in violation of the oil nationalization law, an agreement was concluded between the Iranian government and the international oil consortium, which was founded by the American monopolies and the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Here are a few figures showing the role of the consortium in the plunder of Iran's oil wealth. Its investment in the transportation and marketing of oil products (the basic capital in the oil industry proper belongs to the Iranian National Oil Company) amounted to \$250 million. In 1960 clear profit from the sale of oil and oil products amounted to \$600 million, of which, after the share due to the Iranian side was deducted, the consortium netted \$300 million.

The next step was to hand out concessions to foreign oil companies.

To attract foreign capital the government secured the adoption by the Majlis (in 1956) of a law exempting foreign investors from taxes for a period of five years, ensuring their capital against expropriation, and giving them the right to export both basic capital and profits. This law flung open the doors to the exploitation of Iran's natural resources by the monopolists. The result was that more than a thousand foreign companies opened offices in Iran.

Shackling loans have been imposed upon our country. Between the latter part of 1955 and the beginning of 1960, agreements were concluded with the United States and U.S.-controlled international finance bodies, as well as with British, West German and French banks for loans totalling \$881 million. These are mainly short-term loans repayable at six per cent interest. The interest alone runs to \$76 million a year.

In return, Iran has undertaken some onerous economic and political commitments. Under pressure from its creditors, the military dictatorship has begun to pursue an "open door policy" in foreign trade, with the result that Iran has been flooded with foreign merchandise, including American dehydrated potatoes, an incongruous item for an agrarian

country like ours. Thanks to this policy Iran is now importing five times as much as she exports (and even more, if the duty-free commodities are taken into account).

Nor is it merely a matter of economic bondage. The country has been drawn into the aggressive CENTO pact and a bilateral military pact with the United States. Participation in CENTO is costing Iran approximately \$60 million a year and is a violation of her long-standing policy of neutrality.

Iran is already beginning to reap the bitter fruits of enslavement. Installments on the loans are falling due and there is nothing to pay with. This year the government had to ask the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund for more time to meet its commitments.

Part of the budget deficit is being covered by increased taxation. 16,600 million rials were added to the revenue from this source in the past fiscal year. The lion's share of this sum is derived from indirect taxation, which lays a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people.

Other holes in the budget have had to be plugged by drawing on the sums paid in by the oil consortium to finance the Planning Board (which, incidentally, in its turn is saddled with the cost of the construction of strategic roads and military objectives). The Planning Board itself is on the brink of ruin, as its chairman, Ahmed Aramesh, admitted at a press conference on June 26.

"I am opposed to the policy the United States has been pursuing for the past ten years, a policy of interference in our internal affairs," he declared. "At the present time all our commercial, economic and building organizations are under the control of American officials . . . As a result, the country's economy has been completely disrupted by American agents."

The day after he made this statement, Aramesh was arrested.

The apologists of American imperialism in Iran maintain that the country's "financial equilibrium" rests on American "aid." Nothing could be more absurd!

According to figures published by the *London Times* on July 5, American aid to Iran since 1952 has amounted to \$1,135 million. Of this, \$504 million has been spent on establishing and equipping an unduly inflated army of 200,000 soldiers and officers, and on the generous maintenance of 400 American

military advisers. What has happened to the remaining millions? A good many have found their way into the Swiss bank accounts of one or another Iranian official. General Haj Ali Kua, former chief of army intelligence, for instance, drew \$1,500,000 a month for the upkeep of the secret KOK organization. It subsequently transpired that the organization operated with a staff of one man—the enterprising general himself.

Summing up the results of “cooperation” with the United States, the *Donya-e Djadid* magazine, addressing itself to Washington, says: “Friendship with you has worsened the life of the people, it has led to a higher cost of living and to skyrocketing rents. All this can be brought back to normal when you leave . . . Our patience is at an end and we say: We’ve had enough!”

From One Fraud to Another

Having gained the upper hand in 1953, the imperialists and the internal reactionaries instituted a regime of terror. Elementary democratic liberties were abolished, political parties and trade unions disbanded. Active members of our Party were thrown into prison and executed without trial. Mossadegh’s supporters and other progressives fared little better.

By these measures the military dictatorship was able to suppress opposition for a time. True, the relative calm was disturbed by repeated outbursts of dissatisfaction, but every flare-up was stamped out with ruthless brutality.

At the same time, the reactionaries opened the floodgates of demagoguery. This was the period of political farce. Posing as the “protector of the peasants,” the Shah sold them land, thereby converting into hard cash property which he would otherwise lose in the event of the collapse of his regime. The feudal landlords proceeded to draft a “land reform law” which in practice proved to be a law consolidating the system of large-scale land ownership. Puppet political parties were formed, a parody on the bi-party system, with the roles distributed in advance and a general program of eulogy of His Majesty. And through the whole farce ran a feeling of uncertainty, a desperate striving to grab as much as possible while the grabbing was good.

Throughout this period the progressive organizations, and primarily the People’s Party of Iran, were gradually restoring their

strength and working to consolidate the democratic elements.

At the fourth and subsequent plenary meeting of its Central Committee, the Tudeh Party analyzed the reasons for the defeat.

The success of the reaction in the August 1953 coup, it declared, was due chiefly to the absence of close cooperation between the forces opposing it—the Tudeh Party and the national bourgeoisie. The natural distrust with which the national bourgeoisie regarded the working-class party had been aggravated “by the Party’s failure to understand the nature of the national bourgeoisie and its anti-imperialist potential,” which had led to the Party adopting the wrong tactics in relation to the Mossadegh government. The Party outlined a course of action aimed at rallying all the national forces in a united front against imperialism and domestic reaction. The unity in the Party’s ranks that had been shaken by defeat was revived; a single working-class party was restored by joining with the Azerbaijan Democratic Party. The underground Party press and radio conducted explanatory work among the population.

By the end of 1960 the dictatorship, self-exposed in the eyes of the majority of the population, had reached a state of profound crisis. “The dissatisfaction and disgust of the workers, peasants, artisans, intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie with the existing regime grows from day to day,” stated an appeal to the people issued by our Party in August 1960. “Even those sections of society which constitute the social base of the regime are voicing their discontent with its policy. The social base of the existing regime is thus diminishing, and the Shah and his clique are becoming more and more isolated. . . . An analysis of the present situation in Iran shows that the decline of the national-liberation movement in our country is coming to an end and a new upsurge is approaching, the signs of which are already apparent.”

The new stage, which began approximately at the time of the first elections of the 20th Majlis (January 1961), has been marked by more active struggle and more organized action on the part of the progressive forces.

In line with the policy of establishing a united popular front, our Party called upon all its supporters to vote with the other progressive forces for Doctor Mossadegh. The reactionaries were faced with the alternative of either allowing Mossadegh to be

elected to the Majlis or falsifying the elections. They chose the latter course.

The crude machinations in all the constituencies provoked a wave of popular protest. The Shah was forced to move quickly. The government was removed and the elections annulled.

In preparation for the new elections, our Party called for active participation in the voting and joint popular control to ensure freedom at the polls. The Party's appeal elicited a response in such big working-class centers as Abadan and Isfahan. In the latter city workers everywhere publicly pledged themselves to take an active part in the elections and voted for the progressive candidates.

In the meantime, while the election campaign was still in progress, the reactionaries resorted to further falsification, lining up fictitious voters, and resorting to various other fraudulent devices. All this evoked a storm of indignation primarily from the working class. The students too joined in the popular demand for free elections. Twice the government had to close down the Teheran University and the Pedagogical Institute and threaten to expel the entire student body.

All this added to the tension already keyed to fever pitch. The movement spread beyond Iran's borders. Fourteen thousand Iranian students in Europe and America staged protest demonstrations. The various sections of the population joined in demanding the restoration of democratic freedoms. "The question of securing social and political rights is the paramount issue in the struggle of the political parties," wrote the illegal newspaper *Djavanane Iran* published by the Liberal "Iran" Party, "economic and social doctrines are secondary. That is why political groups and parties with different and even opposing philosophic and economic views are fighting together against the enemy that has abolished social freedoms. They know that if there is no possibility of expressing their opinion there can be no talk about ideological views."

The second elections were an even more scandalous fraud than the first. Nevertheless the Shah hastened to open the Majlis with all pomp and ceremony.

The Tudeh Party came out with the demand that the elections be annulled. The slogan was taken up by all the progressives in the country. In this tense atmosphere the schoolteachers went on strike for higher salaries. A demonstration of teachers in Te-

heran was fired upon by the police. One teacher was killed and several wounded. In reply, 30,000 people in Teheran staged a demonstration demanding the resignation of the government and the punishment of the culprits.

The government of Sharif Emami had to go. The Shah asked Ali Amini, former Iranian Ambassador to the United States, to form a new cabinet. Two days later the Majlis and Senate were dissolved.

Imperialist Maneuvers

These internal developments in Iran should of course be regarded as part of a broader pattern. After what happened in South Korea and Turkey, the U.S. imperialists have been at some pains to avoid trouble in Iran. President Kennedy, according to *Newsweek*, observed that while America can extend military and economic aid to friendly countries, it cannot force the peoples of these countries to support their own governments.

The Shah doubtless received somewhat more definite advice on this score from Hariman who on more than one occasion has turned up in Iran when important events have been in the offing; this time he came quite unexpectedly to Teheran two days before the change of the government.

The Shah proceeded to carry out a series of measures designed to show the American imperialists that he himself could effect any change in the country and that there was no need to abolish the monarchy for this purpose.

In a sense this also explains the advent to power of the Amini government. In its analysis of the situation the People's Party of Iran states, among other things, that "the latest events have confirmed the truth that the regime installed by the coup is experiencing a grave crisis. Even some imperialist circles have come to the conclusion that for the sake of preserving their interests some superficial changes must be made."

The Shah's maneuvers are forcing him to show his hand. Under the circumstances the new government has been obliged publicly to dissociate itself from the record of its predecessors. Amini lost no time in declaring that "the country has been drawn into a maelstrom of economic and financial crisis" and that "never has corruption assumed such dimensions." His Minister of Industry went even further. "In plain Persian this is called bankruptcy," he said. Yet everyone still remembers the Shah's boast: "Give me ten

years and I'll make Iran one of the most advanced countries."

Nor has his claim to the effect that he personally supervises all the affairs of state been forgotten. "I am the first Shah of Iran," he declared, "to make the maximum use of the power placed in my hands." "When I preside over a meeting of the cabinet," he said, "I never have to ring the bell for order. One look, a change in mien is enough for the meeting to proceed normally . . ." (from his memoirs). And yet the newspaper *Ettelaat*, closely connected with the court, complains that "80 out of every 100 measures adopted in the country are carried out without the Shah's knowledge."

Amini's object is quite clear: to use the meager reforms and demagogic gestures as a safety valve for popular indignation, while at the same time exonerating the Shah from all responsibility for the critical situation that has arisen.

Having promised freedom for political parties and assemblies, his government has virtually banned meetings and demonstrations in Teheran by restricting all public gatherings to a remote suburban stadium. Not a word has been said about removing the unlawful ban on the Tudeh Party.

The fight against corruption has so far been limited to the arrest of a dozen or so bribe-takers, a ban on the issue of foreign currency to a few wealthy playboys who have been squandering fortunes in foreign parts, and restrictions on foreign travel.

There was a great beating of drums about the land reform law. But this proved to be no more than an empty noise. After all, the biggest landowner in the country is the Shah. Half of the 700 villages belonging to the crown are his personal property.

But the people refuse to be content with scanty reforms and vague promises. They are advancing some vital economic and political demands in an endless succession of strikes.

Although the government does manage to stave off the crisis by promises, by partial and sometimes conditional satisfaction of demands (for example, a formal wage increase is announced but with the reservation that it will be paid when the government can afford it), developments nevertheless show that this policy of stalling is not meeting with success.

Unity — Guarantee of Success

The people are advancing political as well as economic demands. The guarantee of democratic freedoms is a national issue at the present time. Many concrete demands have become so urgent that merely to raise them is enough to ensure unity of action.

As soon as the Majlis was dissolved, the People's Party of Iran launched a slogan calling for the immediate holding of free elections. The demand for elections within the time specified by law (one month) was contained in a resolution, adopted by a mass meeting of the National Front. A similar demand was made by the other opposition forces, and supported in the resolutions and decisions of students abroad.

The new government has announced that it will abide by its commitments as a member of the CENTO group. However, on this question too it is encountering growing resistance on the part of the people. The idea of neutrality is gaining more and more sympathy all over the country. It is favored by political leaders and the press of diverse trends. The newspaper *Donya* describes Iran's participation in CENTO as "political suicide." The *Peyghame emrouz* suggests that it is time the treaty were shelved altogether. When a CENTO health conference met recently in Shiraz University, the students staged a demonstration protesting against this misuse of the University premises. Even police interference did not help, and the conference was obliged to meet elsewhere. An appeal issued by the Iranian Society of Afro-Asian Solidarity, whose chairman is the present Minister of Industry, states that "in general our joining one of the two blocs was a false move. It must be said that we showed too much haste in joining the Western bloc. Reviewing our relations with the West, we cannot help feeling that we have gained nothing and lost a great deal."

This statement shows that it is becoming increasingly difficult to go against the tide of public opinion on questions directly affecting the interests of the people.

Promises and partial measures cannot save the situation. The only way out of the blind alley would be a genuine national government which would primarily guarantee democratic freedoms and carry out radical reforms in favor of the working people, and pursue a policy of neutrality in foreign relations.

Whether the country will take this path or whether the reactionary circles will suc-

ceed in establishing an even harsher military dictatorship will depend on how solidly the democratic forces are united.

The alignment of forces in the country is changing. The artificially created puppet parties, the Mellyun and the Mardom, have already given up the ghost. Dr. Emami, who replaced Dr. Eghbal as chairman of the Mellyun Party, announced that after analyzing the political situation in the country the Party had decided to disband. The "opposition" Mardom Party quietly folded up without any special announcement.

Remaining on the political scene in Iran are the People's Party, which in spite of persecution and the arduous conditions of illegality has never ceased its activity, and a number of newly-formed or newly-revived organizations, chiefly of the national bourgeoisie—the left and right wings—and organizations of the big bourgeoisie connected with imperialism.

The principal organization of the national bourgeoisie is the National Front. In the course of the struggle for the nationalization of the oil industry, the National Front split, only the more radical section of the national bourgeoisie remaining in it. Organizationally it was rather loose. It had no program, no charter and no clear-cut organizational structure. Upon its revival in July 1960, a new charter was drawn up according to which the Front was to assume the organizational form of a political party with local organizations, congresses, a Central Council and an Executive Bureau. The composition of the last two bodies has already been announced. The National Front at present includes the Liberal "Iran" Party, the Pan-Iranist group, a few merchant and artisan associations and some students' organizations. Speaking of the tasks of the National Front, one of its

leaders, Keshavarz Sadr, stressed that they do not extend beyond the bounds of the Constitution. "We are not revolutionaries," he said, "we are advocates of reform based on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Constitution."

In line with its united front policy against imperialism and domestic reaction, the People's Party of Iran has offered to co-operate with the leadership of the National Front. It supported the National Front candidates in the elections to the Majlis. Now the Tudeh has issued a call for the return to power of the lawful government of Dr. Mossadegh, removed by the military coup in 1953.

The reactionaries are exerting every effort, by promises and threats, to split and then to crush the movement for a united popular front. The Tudeh Party, aware that some of the National Front leaders are still reluctant to cooperate within the framework of a united front, addressed an open letter to the National Front on February 9, 1961, reminding the leaders of the responsibility that rests with the progressive forces in the present period.

"Our victories and defeats in the past," says the message, "should be a lesson to us, and in the coming struggle we must be guided by past experience. Had the united front existed, had the Tudeh Party and the National Front acted together against our common enemies, Iranian reaction headed by the Shah and backed by the imperialists would not have been able to defeat us and drown our national movement in blood. Today too, if we strengthen the alliance between the Tudeh Party and the National Front, if we create a united front of all patriotic and freedom-loving forces from all sections of the population, our success is assured and our country will be saved from the treacherous policy of the present regime."

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Combat War Hysteria

AGGRESSIVE militarist circles in the West have of late gone out of their way to worsen international relations, heat up the cold war and step up war hysteria. In reply to the Soviet Union's proposal for a peace treaty with Germany they have issued a call to intensify the arms drive, to stand "firm" and be ready to "fight for Berlin." The Soviet intention of settling one of the vital problems in international affairs is being used in the West as a pretext to heighten tension. This suits the interests of those who dread peace and disarmament, who turn their backs on the fact that the continuation of the abnormal state of affairs in Germany is a cover for military preparations and the revenge plans of the German militarists.

The Communist and Workers' parties in a number of countries have issued statements in which they call for efforts to combat cold war policies and war hysteria, avert the war danger and settle the German question by peaceful means.

Curb the Militarists, Avert the War Danger

The statement issued by the Political Bureau of the *French Communist Party* points out that the absence of a peace treaty and the abnormal situation in West Berlin — right in the heart of the German Democratic Republic — are fraught with grave danger. There is a growing menace in the center of Europe, which the peoples have faced before: German militarism and imperialism.

West German militarists and imperialists, the statement goes on to say, have turned West Berlin into a hotbed of provocation and aggression. This is the real reason why the West Berlin problem has arisen. If West Berlin becomes a free demilitarized city, this will do no harm to the right of its population to self-determination. They will be guaranteed freedom to choose the social and political system they like. An end will thereby be put to this center of international provocations, which bears within it the danger of another world war.

The signing of a peace treaty, the Political Bureau emphasizes, would make it impossible for the militarists to stage provocations, would guarantee the inviolability of Germany's present frontiers, particularly those along the Oder and Neisse, would be instrumental in unifying the

country on a peaceful and democratic footing, and would ensure the security of France and Germany's other neighbors.

Faithful to the national mission of their Party and to the memory of the Resistance fighters, the statement continues, the French Communists will exert every effort to expose the trickery and lies of the de Gaulle propaganda. They will explain to all French men and women the true meaning of the Soviet proposals, demonstrating that these are in keeping with the vital interests of France. The Communists will miss no chance of rallying the broadest sections of the working people — peace supporters, war veterans, Resistance fighters and the youth — for a policy that corresponds to the interests of our country and the world at large.

Activize the Peace Forces

In its resolution the leadership of the *Italian Communist Party* emphasizes that the Bonn rulers under the pretext of protecting the rights of West Berliners to free communication with the rest of the world and to international guarantees — rights which are threatened by no one — are in reality seeking to preserve West Berlin as an outpost of German revenge-seeking not only against the German Democratic Republic but also against all the other states in Eastern Europe, a breeding ground of cold war and, hence, a source of uneasiness and instability throughout Europe.

The Party's leadership warns all Italians that the attitude of the Bonn rulers on these questions, despite their anti-communism and hostility to the Soviet Union, must be seen as part of the general trend which more and more obviously underlies the policy pursued by the Bonn government, the true nature of which the Italians have been able to learn from their own experience of the developments in Alta Adige (a region of the South Tyrol). Everyone should clearly understand that the danger emanating from aggressive German militarism and from revenge-seeking and expansionist pan-Germanism, i.e., the forces which have twice in less than 50 years plunged Europe and the world into the holocaust of war, has again become real and menacing.

The Party stresses that the situation is aggravated by the fact that the new American Admin-

istration of President Kennedy has as yet shown no intention of giving up the traditional United States foreign policy "from positions of strength."

The leadership of the Communist Party emphasizes that in this situation it is more than ever imperative to mobilize in Italy and throughout the world all the forces which, regardless of differing political views, consider that the chief task confronting the world today is not only to prevent another world war or local conflicts which can at any moment develop into a universal conflagration, but also to stamp out this fresh intensification of the cold war.

The task of organizing a nationwide action for peace devolves not only on the peace movement which initiates this valuable and essential mobilization, but is a direct responsibility of our Party and of all democratic organizations.

Every single democratic and anti-fascist movement standing for peace should take part in a great campaign to rally the masses against the new war danger. The Italian Communist Party is prepared to give its support to any effort, from wherever it comes, the aim of which is the defense of peace, an agreed solution to the West Berlin problem and the easing of international tension.

The leadership of the Party has appealed to the Socialist Party to join the Communists in working out for the two parties of the Italian working people joint forms of struggle on these issues.

Negotiation Is the Only Sensible Way

In a statement adopted on June 16 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany pointed out that for all right-minded and responsible people there could be no argument against the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. All who want security should come out for a peace treaty. All who want a peaceful future for the German people and to preserve what has been created by hard work, should demand military neutrality. The Soviet Union's proposal to the effect that the governments of the two German states should immediately start negotiations and reach agreement on a peace treaty and German reunification, is the only realistic way for

our people to exercise their right to self-determination.

Let the wives and mothers who have lost husbands and sons in the two world wars that originated on German soil, let the young people who do not want the tragic past to be repeated, demand a peace treaty. This is the only guarantee against civil war and another blood-bath for the peoples.

We address our special appeal to our Social Democratic comrades, the statement goes on to say, and remind them that in the German Plan of their Party they themselves stated that the federal government in 1952 missed a splendid opportunity for a peaceful settlement by rejecting the proposal for a peace treaty put forward at that time by the Soviet Union. And now, when Brandt and Co. in unison with the Bonn spokesmen are repeating their parrot-cry of "No. No," support should be given to those in the Federal Republic who want a change which a peace treaty would facilitate in order to deprive the ultra-reactionary forces of their power and ensure to the West German population a life of security and growing prosperity.

In an appeal to the people issued on July 7, the Central Committee of the Party reaffirmed the imperative need for negotiations.

"Today, before it is too late, it must be decided that Germans should never shoot Germans, that Germany should never become the breeding ground of a new war, that the shadow of death in atomic war should forever be banished from German soil. There is one way only for those who do not want to shoot — negotiations! The fatal course of events must not be allowed to continue. Atomic arms should be wrenched from the hands of the Bonn ultras, and the powder magazine into which West Berlin has now been turned, rendered harmless. That is why it is that in 1961, before it is too late, a peace treaty should be concluded with the two German states, and the West Berlin problem settled."

Similar documents were adopted by the Communist Party of Finland, the Swiss Party of Labor and some others.

The Land of Soviets Looks Forward to the Forthcoming Party Congress

THE draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been in the center of the ideological and political life of the country ever since its publication. This outstanding document sums up the vast experience accumulated by the revolutionary movement throughout the world and, particularly, the experience of the socialist world system—the most important achievement of the international working class.

The Program has been submitted for discussion not only by the Party but by the whole people. This fact alone reflects the new relationship between the Communist Party and the people, a relationship which has developed in socialist society and is theoretically generalized in the new Program. The working class of any country voices not only its own interests but those of the nation as a whole, and everywhere the Communist parties are the most consistent champions of the interests of all working people. But only after the working class has taken power and socialism is being built, does its vanguard become more and more a party of the entire people.

This changed character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is clearly shown in these pre-Congress days by the way the people are preparing for it and discussing the published materials.

The discussions, meetings, theoretical conferences, talks on the Program, and letters to the press are so many and varied that it is well-nigh impossible to give more than a brief account of the wealth of thought, ideas and opinions expressed today by the Soviet people. But one outstanding feature of all the contributions is, we believe, of special interest to readers of our journal, and cannot therefore be overlooked: the deep awareness of the Soviet people of their internationalist duty. They are profoundly aware that every new step they make toward communism inspires the working people of all countries, gives them great moral support in the struggle for social and national liberation, and brings nearer the worldwide victory of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPSU Program helps to make clearer the processes taking place in the developed capitalist countries and in those which have only recently shaken off the shackles of colonialism. Much space is devoted to the fundamental principles which decide the tactics of the international Communist movement, to working-class unity, the possibilities of taking power by peaceful means, the prospects

of the development of states of national democracy. It exposes contemporary reformism as the ideological and social mainstay of the bourgeoisie within the working-class movement and reveals the new means and methods used by the bourgeoisie to cover up the ills and vices of the capitalist system. All these problems which, seemingly, have no direct relation to the daily life of the rank-and-file workers, peasants or intellectuals, are everywhere regarded as being of vital concern to everybody. As they discuss the plan for building a complete communist society, Soviet people are realizing more than ever that they are the rank and file of the great international army of labor, the advanced detachment blazing the path to communism for all mankind.

This awareness of the international significance of their daily work gives to the pre-Congress activities a particularly profound significance.

Economic competition between the two systems, peaceful coexistence and non-interference in the affairs of other states have always been the inviolable policy of the socialist countries. Engels wrote that "the victorious proletariat cannot impose happiness on another nation without thereby undermining its own victory." Socialism exercises influence on other countries only through its economic and cultural successes. The first reactions to the new Program coming from other countries show that the economic targets set have shaken the world. These are arguments for socialism the strength of which cannot be overestimated. Even people without much imagination are able to visualize a picture of the Soviet people in the near future — with the shortest working day and highest standard of living, freely enjoying the benefits of communist civilization, masters of nature and of their own life.

A narrow-minded philistine will, perhaps, take much of what is said in the Program for wishful thinking. To such a person, some of the target figures and the dates at which many material and spiritual benefits will pass into free use, will appear fantastic. But one has only to visit workers' meetings, collective farms or research institutions to see the business-like approach of the Soviet people to their plans. The widespread preparations for the Party Congress, which have become traditional in the Soviet Union, are now acquiring new features. The movement in honor of the Twenty-Second Congress is distinguished not only for its scope and the fact that virtually the

whole people are taking part in it, but also for the changed character of the pledges taken by those taking part in the emulation drive.

Without slackening the work to produce more, attention is now concentrated on quality — prolonging warranty terms, drastically improving the quality and reliability of the products. It has been estimated that fulfilment of the pledges made in relation to 1,626 articles produced by Moscow industry will result in a saving of 280 million rubles. For many factories this signifies a drastic revision of the range of goods produced, technological changes and modernization. For example, to lengthen from three to eight years the warranty terms for poly-ethylene required a great deal of ingenuity on the part of the workers at the Okhta chemical works in Leningrad. At the Krasny Proletary Machine-Tool Works, known the world over, the workers undertook to ensure that the lathes they produce function normally (without major repairs) for seven years, and boring mills — for ten years. The cutting tool plants will double the durability of twist drills, and increase that of mass-produced gear-cutting tools one and a half times. Emulation aimed at ensuring that the products of Soviet plants and factories should be the world's best, will have an extremely beneficial effect on the whole economy. The movement on the eve of the Party Congress shows once again the ability of the people to tackle precisely those questions which most of all correspond to the present requirements of the country.

Public initiative in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life, which the new Program points out is the practical way of passing over from state administration to public communist self-government, is widely displayed in the drive to make the quality of products the best in the world. Public quality inspection campaigns are being organized in the factories, in the course of which every article is examined and recommendations made as to how it can be improved or, if out of date, replaced by a modern one. So-called "public bureaus of reliability," set up at some of the enterprises, see to it that new items still on the designing boards should be durable and of high quality . . . Innovators' councils, established at 265 enterprises in Leningrad, embrace 18,000 workers, technicians and qualified engineers who are not simply initiators but active fighters for the introduction of all the latest scientific and

technical achievements. There is hardly a major enterprise in the country where a public designing bureau is not to be found. A good reputation has been won by teams of innovators who pool their efforts to build a new machine or appliance. Their number is over 50,000.

Large-scale participation of the public in carrying out one of the most important tasks of the state, that of introducing the latest technology and advanced experience, speeds up the building of the material and technical basis of communism and, simultaneously, testifies to the emergence of new features which will be fully developed in the people of the communist society.

The preoccupations of the Party organizations, the building of the material and technical basis of the new society and the moulding of man in this society, are closely interlinked. And this is clearly seen in these pre-Congress days. More attention is paid to ethics, attitude to labor, to the conception of public duty.

Conferences are being held in factories, collective farms and offices under the slogan, "The man is moulded in struggle against survivals of the past." They are also organized on a city level. A mere enumeration of the contributions made at the recent theoretical conference organized by the Moscow Party organization shows the broad way in which problems of education are being posed. The conference was addressed by scientists and workers, Party and trade union officials, foremen and engineers who spoke about the role played by communist labor teams in moulding the new man, about the shaping of communist consciousness, moral and material incentives, about labor as a prime necessity of life, about public duty and personal ambition, about the worker's own conscience as the best guide to his actions.

Soviet people are well aware that to implement the new Program of their Party they need a stable peace, and they spare no effort to uphold it. The imperialists' refusal to settle the Berlin issue peacefully, the arms drive and "brinkmanship" policy require of them vigilance and concrete steps to build up the defense capacity of the Soviet Union. Inspired by the draft Program, they approve of the domestic and foreign policy of their Party and government and are working with redoubled energy to consolidate the power and might of their socialist motherland.

Colombia: The Policy of the Communist Party and the Crisis of the Oligarchy

The Conditions for Revolutionary Development Are Maturing

COLOMBIA today is experiencing grave economic difficulties as a result of Yankee imperialist domination. During the past few years, U.S. capital has gained control of many branches of her industry. The U.S. monopoly of the world coffee market has seriously damaged her coffee exports. This has affected the entire economy of Colombia, since coffee provides nearly 90 per cent of the foreign currency she needs for imports. Coffee prices latterly have been steadily declining — from 90 cents a pound in 1954 to 43 cents at the present time.

On the other hand, prices of imports are consistently rising. The unequal commodity exchange with the United States is bleeding Colombia white, and figures published by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America show the situation to be progressively deteriorating in this respect. In 1960, for instance, Colombia's income from export trade was only about half that prior to 1954.

In an effort to check the decline in prices, the biggest Colombian coffee growers are drastically cutting down their exports of coffee to other countries. Each year some two million 60-kg. sacks of coffee are left in Colombian warehouses. In some parts of the country large quantities of coffee are dumped into the rivers.

In recent years the Colombian bourgeoisie has evinced monopolist tendencies that have led to the emergence of an oligarchy of big capitalists and landlords closely linked with the U.S. monopolies. It is this oligarchy that is imposing the pro-American policy of "stabilization" and "economic austerity" on Colombia, a policy which yields huge profits to the U.S. and Colombian monopolies and lowers the standard of living of the people. Unemployment is mounting since the development of industry does not keep pace with the growth of the labor force, and also because of increased speed-up. Further repressive measures have been instituted against the peasantry.

The domination of our economy by the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Inter-American Bank of Development, is becoming more and more blatant. The International Monetary Fund, for example, has initiated the devaluation of the peso and a policy of free trade based on a single rate of exchange.

Colombia's recent entry into the Latin American Free Trade Association was an attempt to create the illusion that her independent industrial development was possible without breaking away from U.S. imperialist domination.

The serious economic complications and the present government's inability to cope with them heighten the political tensions and deepen the crisis of the oligarchy. Founded on a coalition of the traditional ruling parties — the Liberal and Conservative — the oligarchy uses the "National Front" as a screen for the outright domination of the big bourgeoisie and the latifundists, depriving all other political groups, primarily democratic, of representation in Parliament and the Cabinet.

The crisis of the present regime has been aggravated by the approaching presidential elections. According to previous agreements between the ruling parties, which have since acquired the force of constitutional law, the President must be a member of the Conservative Party, a representative of the political minority.

While the people are fighting for the solution of vital issues, demanding the extension of democratic rights and freedoms, the government is seeking to preserve the state of emergency which has been introduced in five Departments, and to suppress the growing democratic opposition. The reactionary circles are plotting a coup d'état which may, eventually, be carried out either by the government itself or by the more reactionary higher ranks of the army.

Together with the U.S. monopolists, the big capitalists are spending enormous sums on anti-communist propaganda. They have gone so far as to set up a terrorist organization, known as the Black Hand, for the purpose of assassinating the leaders and active members of the progressive movement.

There is every indication that the objective conditions for the development of the revolution are maturing in Colombia, and there is therefore a possibility of finding a radical solution of the crisis that has spread to all spheres of economic and political life.

Ninth Congress of the Communist Party

To meet the new situation the Communist Party must find new solutions corresponding to the interests of the people. This was the keynote of the

Ninth National Congress of the Colombian Communist Party, held in Bogota at the end of June.

The Congress was preceded by regional conferences of the Party which elected delegates and summarized the discussion on the political theses and the draft amendments to the Party Rules drawn up by the Central Committee which had taken place in the various Party branches, in district and local committees.

Big changes have taken place in the Party since the Eighth Congress in 1958. Its membership has trebled, many workers, peasants, intellectuals and young people having joined its ranks during that period. The age and social origin of the delegates to the Ninth Congress are also indicative. Twenty-five per cent of its delegates were industrial workers; ten per cent — agricultural workers; 30 per cent — poor peasants; five per cent — artisans, and 30 per cent — intellectuals, students and professionals. Thus, the majority of the delegates were workers and peasants, in other words, those who form the core of the Party. Nearly all the delegates were under 40 years of age, a fact which shows that ours is a "young" Party.

The main report to the Congress was delivered on behalf of the Central Committee by Gilberto Vieira, Political Secretary of the C.C., who reported the activities of the national Party leadership and analyzed the present economic and political situation in Colombia.

The Congress pointed to the need to effect genuine revolutionary changes in the structure of the economy, to abolish the domination of imperialist monopolies and to ensure a democratic and truly national development of the economy. But such a solution of the crisis can only be achieved by a consistent anti-imperialist, democratic agrarian revolution which would give power to the laboring classes and the progressive patriotic forces. It is the task of the Party not only to expose the government's demagoguery on the peasant question, but to elaborate and popularize the principles of genuinely democratic agrarian reform: expropriation of all latifundia, free distribution of land to the working peasants, development of mutual aid and agricultural cooperatives, the revolutionary organization of the peasantry and its direct participation in the organs of agrarian reform.

The Congress reaffirmed the Party's resolve to work for the expansion of trade with the socialist countries inasmuch as this opens favorable opportunities for acquiring machinery, technical assistance and raw materials on a barter basis. In this way the country can be freed from servile dependence on and economic subordination to Yankee imperialism.

After examining the political tasks confronting the Party, the Congress drew the attention of the

delegation to the need to strengthen its ties with the masses. Party members were urged to direct the spontaneous revolt of the people on to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary path, and to continue to build up forces for effecting a radical change in the situation in Colombia.

In this connection, the Congress dealt at particular length with the question of popular unity. It called on the Communists to concentrate on building a genuine democratic front founded on unity of action of the working class in alliance with the peasantry. This, the Congress stressed, is the decisive prerequisite for any democratic or popular action.

The Congress appealed to all sections of the population for mass action in reply to the attempt of the ruling oligarchy to create an atmosphere of reaction and terror in the country. It examined the policy of organizing a self-defense force and recommended that this policy be applied both in the countryside and in the towns in order to ensure the future of the popular movement.

Much importance was attached to the paths of revolutionary development. It was stressed that the Colombian Communists, true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, would use every opportunity to secure by peaceful means the settlement of all outstanding problems, the aim being to establish a democratic government with wide popular representation which would draw up a new constitution ensuring democratic liberties and set up a state founded on the parliamentary system.

However, in view of the extreme aggressiveness of the ruling classes and the terrorist methods employed by them, the Party warned the people to be prepared to retaliate by employing all forms of revolutionary struggle. The Congress declared that if the reactionaries resort to violence and terror, the Communists will not hesitate to lead popular resistance in every form not excluding armed struggle.

It was noted that the present international situation increasingly favors the successful outcome of the Colombian people's struggle. Of particular significance for the Colombian people is the Cuban revolution, which has aroused thousands of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals to the struggle against imperialism and has offered far-reaching revolutionary reforms.

The Congress stressed the need to study the Cuban experience, give widespread publicity to the achievements of the new Cuba, counter the reactionary anti-Cuban propaganda and demonstrate strong solidarity with the government and people of Cuba in the face of the Yankee intervention and any other imperialist threats.

The Congress greeted with stormy applause the decision of the Central Committee to endorse the

Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held last November.

For a Mass Party

The main theme of the discussion of the second item on the Congress agenda, Party building, was the need for a mass Party.

A valuable contribution was made by the Bogota Communists who had succeeded in recruiting new members on a mass scale. The experience of the Communist Youth organization, which increased its membership 30-fold in the period between the Eighth and Ninth Congresses, was cited.

A critical analysis was made of shortcomings in the Party's work on the ideological front. The Congress emphasized the importance of strengthening the Party ideologically at all levels. In this connection the inestimable value of Marxist literature, which though widely circulated is not fully utilized by Communists and progressive forces, was noted.

The Congress endorsed the amendments to the Rules which will facilitate the struggle for a mass Leninist party, help to render Party work more

effective and to develop the principles of democratic centralism.

While the Congress was in session, the bourgeois press raised a loud commotion alleging that the Party was divided on contemporary political issues. But this was an obvious case of wishful thinking. The Ninth Congress was marked by strict observance of the principles of democracy, a broad and lively discussion and, what is most important, complete revolutionary unity. All the decisions were adopted unanimously. A new Central Committee was elected consisting, with few exceptions, of the previous national leadership strengthened by new cadres drawn from the workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Moreover, as compared with previous Congresses, this one was distinguished by the high political level of the discussion, and by the thoughtfulness and clarity of the speeches delivered by the peasant delegates.

The Ninth Congress demonstrated the political maturity and unity of our Party, and marked a new stage in the development of the Party's ties with the masses.

Manlio Lafond HERRERA.

The Congress of the Australian Communist Party

THE Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Australia held in June was preceded by a wide discussion throughout the Party organizations on the Draft Resolution for Congress which indicated the tasks of the Party in the coming period, the struggle for peace, democracy, jobs, improved living standards and socialism. Included in these discussions were a number of alterations in the Party Program in line with the Statement of the 81 Parties such as the struggle for disarmament, state-monopoly capitalism, the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism, and the ever growing superiority of the socialist sector of the world and its decisive role in world affairs.

The Nineteenth Congress was preceded by conferences at section, district and state levels in which the work of the Party was critically reviewed and many important proposals for improvement of the work were made.

Our Party demonstrated once more that it is the most democratic party in Australia, as none of the other parties, including the Labor Party, hold such representative national congresses nor such nationwide discussion by the whole membership of the Party's Program and policies.

Previously, the Statement of the 81 Parties had been discussed throughout all Party organizations and study circles, including, of course, the Central Committee. Thus unanimity was reached and Party unity strengthened, and, on the basis of the 81 Parties' Statement, greater clarity on the national and international problems facing us was a marked feature of the deliberations of the Congress.

There were no revisionist trends or factions to be combated, but there was splendid unity of our Party around the Draft Resolution, the Party Program, the 81 Parties' Statement and the proposals before the Congress.

The Congress met at a time when serious economic problems faced the working people, when unemployment had reached the highest peak since the 1930's. Official government figures indicated 102,000 workless, but there is no doubt that the real figure is at least half as many again. Almost daily new mass dismissals of workers are reported, and also many are working only part time. Practically all major industries are affected, steel, coal, transport, textile, etc. and particularly severely the automobile industry.

The Congress drew up a plan under the slogan of the "Right to Work" to aid the unemployed, for increased wages to meet the ever increasing inflation, for a 35-hour week and other measures to protect the interests of the working class.

The small and middle farmers are being bled by the monopolies which control farm machinery, fertilizers and other needs. Their products are sold to the monopolists at low prices, and are then retailed to the city population at monopoly prices, bleeding white the producers and the consumers alike.

The Congress endorsed an Agrarian Program which emphasizes the common interests of the workers and farmers in the struggle against the monopolists. The Congress Resolution stressed the need for unity of the working class and farmers, the urban petty-bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie against monopoly, pointing out that some 50 families headed by a handful of multimillionaire families controlled the economy of the country.

Great attention was given in the speeches of delegates to working-class unity and the struggle against extreme Right-wing groupings whose aim is to split the trade union movement and sabotage the rising strike movement, in defense of working-class conditions established by long years of struggle.

The Congress devoted attention to the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and pledged our fullest support in their efforts to throw off the chains of colonialism. In this connection the Congress called for Australia's withdrawal from the aggressive SEATO alliance, withdrawal of Australian troops from Malaya, for

the independence of New Guinea and an end to the colonialist exploitation of its people by Australian capitalism. We supported Indonesia's claim to West Irian as an integral part of the Republic.

Recognition of People's China and her rightful place in the U.N. were also endorsed by the Congress, as was an atom-free zone in the Pacific as proposed by the Soviet Union and China.

The delegates once more upheld the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems. The Congress resolved to step up the Party's campaign for world peace, for the outlawing of nuclear weapons and general and total disarmament.

It can be said that the Congress examined in self-critical fashion all phases of Party work, putting its finger on many weaknesses and making proposals to strengthen our activities in every sphere including building the Party.

The federal elections are due towards the end of the current year and considerable attention was given to this, as the possibility of removing from office the Menzies government with its record of black reaction, both nationally and internationally becomes brighter in this period of growing economic instability, mass unemployment and attacks on democratic liberties.

The Party stands united on the Statement of the 81 Parties and the decisions of the Congress.

A spirit of optimism pervaded the discussions. The Party's sphere of influence is widening, the conditions for the growth of the Party are becoming more favorable and the struggle of the masses in their own defense is growing.

L. SHARKEY.

Letters from Chilean Communists

Ramirez Necochea:

SOME EXPERIENCES OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

OUR membership includes quite a big group of theoretically mature intellectuals. The Party has called on them to study the major problems pertaining to the national and social development of our country. And thanks to the efforts of Marxist historians several works dealing with the history of Chile have already been prepared and published.

Several years ago the Central Committee decided to establish a commission to study problems of history. This four-member commission headed by Luiz Corvalan, the Party's General

Secretary, worked out an extensive plan and decided upon the problems to be studied. It was, in particular, decided to set up archives and a Party museum, to collect and publish the most important documents dealing with the history of the Party and the working-class movement, to publish a collection of works by Luiz Emilio Recabarren, founder of the Party, and to write his biography. At present the commission is working on the *History of the Communist Party of Chile*. We hope to complete this work in the current year and publish it for the 40th anniversary of the Party next year. The book, we believe, will be an important means of training the membership ideologically and educating the masses of working people in the spirit of socialism. It will provide a scientific exposition of the history of the Party, its origin and development as a tru-

ly national force, and demonstrate that the Party is heir to the revolutionary traditions of the people and true exponent of their desire to build an advanced society. The book will be a reflection of the rich experience of our Party, its indestructible ties with the international Communist movement of which it is an integral part.

The Central Committee at its meeting in 1960 decided to establish an Institute of Marxism-Leninism which, like similar organizations in the other fraternal parties, should conduct and guide extensive research and ideological work. It is true that not all organizational steps have been taken to set it going, but everything is now being done to do so in the most immediate future.

One of the chief tasks today is to spread the political influence of the Party to the broadest possible sections of working people (workers, peasants, middle sections, intellectuals, youth, women, professionals, etc.), awaken their class consciousness and rally them for active revolutionary struggle. In carrying out this task we, naturally, come up against great difficulties; things are complicated by the vast and well-organized propaganda machine operating on orders from reaction and imperialism and making capital out of old and deep-rooted prejudices. The press, radio, cinema, the church, political organizations, the various national and foreign institutions and even some of the trade unions are all part of a vast reactionary and pro-imperialist propaganda system.

Against this background the material resources and numerical strength of the Communist Party may seem to be insignificant. But it has on its side the persistence and selflessness of its members and the profound truth of its policy which corresponds to the interests of the people. Another factor helping us is that the negative effects of imperialist exploitation are becoming ever more pronounced. Of particularly great value for us in our ideological work are the grand achievements of the socialist countries and the successes won by the national-liberation movements. These factors are increasingly nullifying reactionary propaganda.

In its efforts to make the reactionary and imperialist forces go over to the defensive the Party applies various means and methods of ideological struggle. Overcoming enormous and manifold difficulties, it conducts work in the countryside and advances slogans corresponding to the needs and aspirations of the various sections of the population. New forms of peasant organization have arisen, and in these the Party's influence is strongly felt. The 1958 presidential elections, the 1960 municipal elections and, especially, the general elections last March, are all evidence of the successes achieved by the Party in its work among

the peasants. We are planning the publication of a series of pamphlets and books, well-illustrated and written in a simple, clear-to-all language.

Together with small pamphlets of a propaganda character and designed for a definite section of readers, the Party publishes bigger studies. Last year, for example, there appeared a book entitled *History of Imperialism in Chile*, a first attempt to explain the role played by foreign imperialism in our national history. The book was read with interest by different sections of the public. Using many documents and facts, it shows that Yankee imperialism has brutally exploited the Chilean people and still continues to do so, that it hinders in every way the independent development of our country. Much space is devoted to the rise and growth of a powerful anti-imperialist movement.

In the fight against reaction the Party makes use of the works of progressive writers of the past, whose books, due to the efforts of the ruling class, have long been forgotten. Last year, for example, we re-published *The Church and America's Liberation* consisting of two works written nearly a century ago by the liberal historians Miguel Luis Amunategui and Diego Barros Arana. The book brings to light the reactionary role played by the church and clergy during the struggle for the independence of America. In publishing this book we aim to expose the extremely reactionary role played by the clergy in the different periods of our national life.

Struggle against the ideology of clericalism is of tremendous significance for us today. The church is working might and main to extend its influence and to spread views and concepts that are alien to the interests of the popular movement and the national struggle. This activity is in line with the colonialist claims of U.S. imperialism and is effectively supported by the Vatican's catholic hierarchy. The book was a great success and dealt a telling blow at one of the strongest pillars of the Conservative Party and the Christian Democratic movement.

The Party pays special attention to the women's and youth movements. The masses of women and the youth are exposed to the influence of reactionary ideology. Our Party, therefore, aims to win them over to the side of the popular liberation movement. For this purpose we have produced two newspapers — *Mirada* (for women) and *Gente Joven* (for the youth). Steps have also been taken to develop the women's and youth organizations into really mass organizations making common cause with the working class.

In carrying out ideological work, the Party organizations see to it that no alien ideology penetrates their ranks or that opportunist trends de-

velop. Some good results have been achieved in this respect. The Communist Party is a closely united organization most of whose members are distinguished for their high revolutionary morale and unswerving loyalty to the working people.

An analysis of the various aspects of ideological work shows that our Party has fulfilled and carried forward the task of educating the masses politically and that this work is one of the principal aspects of all its activity. The Party has found new methods and perfected those already in use. Thanks to this the Party, which was forced to work underground between 1948 and 1958, has become one of the most influential political forces in Chile. This is strikingly proved by the results of the general elections held on March 5, 1961, when the Communist Party won 19 seats, more than ever before.

Nevertheless the Party deems it necessary to step up ideological work and enhance the revolutionary militancy of its members in order to mobilize the masses of the people to fight for national liberation.

Pedro Gomez:

OUR POSITION AMONG THE STUDENTS

THE election of the leading bodies of the Student Federation in the University of Chile has always been a major political event. Four groups contested the October 1960 election: a) the Liberals and Conservatives — the ruling parties of the Right; b) the Radicals, who support the government (though most of the younger members are against their party's pro-government policy and demand a shift to the Left); c) the Christian Democrats who are in opposition to the government; d) the Popular Action Front which includes the Socialist and Communist youth organizations.

The Christian Democrats, who have had a majority for five successive years, again won the election. Under their leadership the students have become less active in the popular movement and the Student Federation has lost the militant and progressive traditions for which it was distinguished under the leadership of the Socialists, Communists and Radicals, when big actions in support of the popular movement were organized.

Today the University of Chile faces new problems. Some of these are associated with its growth, while others have been brought about by reactionary, above all clerical, attacks on secular education, attacks aggravated by imperialist efforts to get control of higher education. The need to wrest the leadership of the student movement

from the Christian Democrats has latterly become more urgent. The way to success lies in unity between the Popular Action Front and the Radical group in the University. But the Socialists reject unity on the ground that the Radical Party supports the reactionary and pro-imperialist government led by Alessandri. In point of fact, this reflects, in the University, the position of the Socialist Party which rejects any alliance with "non-labor" parties or groups.

Leadership of the student movement will be contested by the Left forces that still have to be united by us.

The last election campaign was intense. We brought our slogans to the students and arranged the election speeches of our candidates and their talks with the students in all faculties. We said that the Federation should rejoin the popular movement, expressed our solidarity with the Cuban revolution, pointed to the ill effects of the Christian Democratic leadership and gave publicity to student actions over the past year, particularly the successful strike at the veterinary faculty. This strike was an example of militancy—in order to win their demands the students occupied the faculty premises. We also explained that it was essential to double the University budget by allocating four per cent of the state budget for its needs, to ensure students' participation in running the University and its various faculties and to extend democracy, to institute state control over education, to resist imperialist penetration, to promote research that will help to solve the nation's problems, to include Marxism in the curricula, etc.

Though the election brought no substantial change in the balance of forces, it strengthened the position of the Popular Action Front which received 27.5 per cent of the votes of which the Communist Youth League accounted for 18.5 per cent. Thus, more than one-fourth of the students voted for the youth organizations of the parties demanding structural reforms. Moreover, the Popular Action Front became an influential organization in the main faculties: engineering, medical and economic, which is very important for future actions.

All this is indicative of the strong feeling in favor of change and of the fact that the Communists receive more votes in the faculty elections than in elections of the Federation bodies. This is because they are more active in the faculties.

Compared with 1960 the Christian Democrats lost 10 per cent of the votes, but despite this they are still the most influential force among the students.

Thus we made considerable headway in drawing the University and all students into the strug-

gle for national liberation. A serious blow was dealt to those who sought to protect this upper-class university against the influence of progressive ideas and the working class. Progress became possible because the Communist Party studied the problems facing the University and showed the ways to solve them. We popularized these ways among the students, took part in their

struggle and inspired it. At the same time we have improved our ideological work, and regularly publish a journal which has long been the dream of the Communists of the University.

We fully realize, however, that so far we have failed to find the right way to increase our influence among the students.

Some Aspects of Work with Cadres

THE Kielce regional committee of the Polish United Workers' Party pays close attention to the selection, placing and training of cadres. Many capable leaders have been trained during the years of people's rule. A large number of our Party workers went through a good schooling by taking part in the working-class struggles in the prewar period, under Nazi occupation and in the early postwar years. Today they hold responsible Party, administrative and economic posts. But the rapid development of the economy and of culture and the steady numerical growth of the regional Party organizations (suffice it to say that nearly one-fourth of our membership has been admitted to the Party in the past two years) call for more cadres.

How do we train cadres? The best school is practical work. Life and the day-to-day struggle for the line of the Party provide the best possible training ground and help young cadres to acquire the qualities of leadership. But the moulding of efficient organizers and leaders should not be spontaneous, it must be constantly guided. With this in mind the regional Party committee regularly checks up on the work of local cadres. In addition, a careful analysis of their work is made once a year, followed by comradely talks with them in the Party committee where we point out the positive aspects and shortcomings in their work.

An analysis of the work done by cadres in particular branches is very useful. For instance, we made a special study of the work of our cadres in land improvement. We felt this was necessary because big allocations for land improvement had been made in the current five-year plan but serious shortcomings had been disclosed in the organization of this work.

The agricultural commission of the Party committee, helped by many activists, examined the work of the cadres in all sections of the department of the regional people's council in charge of land improvement. Bureaucracy and conservatism were revealed. The administration had not made the best use of young cadres and the leading role of the Communists had not been ensured.

So it was decided to reinforce the departments dealing with land improvement by more experienced cadres, to transfer part of the personnel from the regional bodies to the districts, closer to the "scene of operations," and to send there graduate experts in land reclamation.

When these measures were being effected it was suggested that the personnel of the agricultural departments meet regularly to discuss the current problems of agriculture, measures outlined by Party committees, valuable rank-and-file proposals and to disclose shortcomings in the work.

We analyzed in the same way the work of cadres at all levels in the finance departments of the people's councils. At present preparations are being made to check up on the work of cadres who are responsible for safety provisions and sanitary conditions in the factories. The reason for this is that grave shortcomings were recently uncovered in this sphere. We believe that the reinforcement of cadres in this field will help us quickly to remove these shortcomings.

The question of the suitability or otherwise of cadres for certain work is decided openly, in the presence of the comrades concerned. This enables us both to find people capable of guiding the large personnel efficiently and also to avoid mistakes in selecting leaders and to improve discipline among the Party cadres holding responsible administrative and economic posts.

The work among cadres is conducted not by individual leaders of the regional committee but by the whole Party apparatus in the region. Each department of the committee takes a close interest in the work of cadres in its respective field, but the final responsibility for this work rests with the bureau of the Party committee.

An important factor in the education of cadres is all-round Party democracy which provides ample opportunities to learn from each other, to acquire the qualities of leadership, to reveal shortcomings in good time and to take steps to correct them. For instance, testimonials given to leading workers are discussed openly. This is an

effective means of education since it implies a frank discussion with the comrade concerned.

In assessing cadres we should consult their fellow-workers and take into consideration their day-to-day life and activity. For instance, there have been reports from the rank and file that many executive members of the people's councils take hardly any part in the work of their Party organizations. The regional committee discussed this question and took steps to deal with it.

The Party organization of our region has made good progress in the work among cadres. The cadres have of late been reinforced by youth. Many capable young people have been promoted and, working together with experienced leaders, are quickly acquiring the know-how and are doing good work.

This is evident from the age of the district and town Party secretaries. In 1958 we had only two secretaries under thirty, 38 between 30 and 35, 10 between 35 and 40, and 20 over the age of 40, whereas today the figures are seven, 46, 13 and 12 respectively. These changes are even more noticeable in the age-groups of other functionaries.

The general education and skills of our cadres have improved considerably. In 1958, 45 per cent of the Party personnel had primary education, 51 per cent secondary or incomplete secondary education and only four per cent higher education. Today, 12 per cent of the Party workers have primary education, 78 per cent secondary or incomplete secondary and 10 per cent higher education; 45 per cent of our cadres have completed Party schools.

Forty-nine per cent of our cadres joined the Party before 1948, 49 per cent are workers by origin, 53 per cent have worked in the apparatus for more than five years and 61 per cent are between the ages of 30 and 40.

The general educational level and skills of the administrative and economic personnel have also improved. We achieved this by arranging numerous classes enabling many of our comrades to improve their knowledge in their spare time, by the extension of correspondence courses, particularly in higher schools, and by sending people to study for short periods in educational, mainly technical, institutions. When appointing anyone to a position we take into account, besides political education, his skill and general education.

General and special knowledge is not enough for Party cadres. They should be well grounded in politics, be able to conduct social work and organize people. To train cadres of this type, leaders in the full sense of the world, is not by any means an easy task.

It should be said that we are not yet satisfied with the results of political study undertaken by our cadres. As many as 55 per cent of the personnel of the Party apparatus have not completed any Party school, not counting short-term political classes. It rarely happens that graduates from Party schools enter governmental or economic posts. We are trying to improve matters by sending more people to central Party schools. About 130 comrades are taking correspondence courses at the Higher School of Social Sciences. In the same way we have enrolled a full complement of cadres in the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism. A few years ago we underestimated this form of study, but experience has shown that it is a good way to raise the ideological level of cadres. At present, 250 comrades study at the University. Among them are also members of the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party and non-party people. This feature is important in the conditions of a multi-party system because it facilitates the training of administrative and economic personnel in Marxism-Leninism.

All this, however, does not exhaust all forms of political study by Party cadres. The regional committee has arranged short-term classes on current problems and evening schools for local Party activists. We have started organizing theoretical conferences for the activists of the regional committee. These conferences are welcomed and are very useful; they help to clarify many doubtful points and help activists in their practical work.

In recent years we have trained many rural activists who serve as a reserve of leading cadres and play an increasingly important part as the organizers of social and economic activities in the countryside.

At present, the 398 rural Party organizations in our region, with a total membership of 17,000, have 3,000 activists grouped round the Party committees. This, of course, is not enough. The rural Party cadres are engaged in a vital branch of the national economy. They are being strengthened by the inclusion of agricultural experts and other rural intellectuals. Until recently the work of agricultural experts was done mostly by experienced peasants. As a result of training cadres and transferring them closer to the point of production, 345 agricultural experts are now working in our villages. In 1959 and 1960 we recruited 714 rural teachers to the Party.

In the past two years more than 5,000 peasants joined the Party in our region, largely thanks to the efforts of the rural activists. This has had a good effect on our agricultural work. Between 1957 and 1960 some 2,000 agricultural groups were

formed; the area sown to maize increased from 2,400 hectares in 1959 to over 8,000 in the current year. Last year the villages built more than 300 km. of roads.

It should be pointed out that there are difficulties and weaknesses in our work among cadres, in particular the show influx of cadres from the workers employed in the leading industries. The

reserve of cadres is small and does not meet our requirements. It happens too that some people are appointed to positions thoughtlessly and hastily. The regional Party committee is now working to improve this state of affairs.

Eugeniusz WOJCIK,

Secretary of the Kielce Regional Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Meetings of Central Committees

Communist Party of Austria

THE July meeting of the Central Committee dealt with the *democratization and modernization of the school and with the South Tyrol issue*.

The Communist teachers took part in the discussion on education, the results of which will be summed up in a special document.

The resolution on South Tyrol exposes the reactionary attempts to aggravate the situation to a degree that might threaten Austria's independence and neutrality.

By making concessions to the extremists the Austrian government helps to fan an anti-Italian campaign. "We support the Italian Communists," says the resolution, "who have taken up a consistent stand against the discrimination exercised in South Tyrol by the Christian Democratic government together with the Monarchists and neofascists."

The resolution exposes the West German militarists who are inciting the Austrian government to revise the border and to separate South Tyrol from Italy. They need this to justify their own revanchist claims to the territories of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union.

The meeting called on the Communists to unmask the designs of the West German militarists and their terrorist organizations in South Tyrol and demand that the government resolutely come out against the Bonn revanchist intrigues.

It also urged the government to continue negotiations with Italy and to insist on autonomy for South Tyrol.

The Communist Party of Belgium

A recent meeting of the Central Committee approved the Political Bureau's proposals on *the need for a new foreign policy*. "The working class of Belgium," the proposals state, "is strong enough to compel the government to pursue a policy of peace and international détente. Belgium, as well as other countries, is vitally interested in ruling out war forever. The geographical position, the density of population and the experience of the

two world wars oblige Belgium to pursue her own independent foreign policy."

The time has come, the proposals stress, when the Belgian working class should exert an active influence on international affairs. The Political Bureau recommended to the Party organizations to bring up the following demands of the Communist Party for discussion by the factory workers and trade unions: to establish a peace zone on the territory of Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg; to reject the construction of rocket-launching sites in these countries; to prevent the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the stationing of West German troops in Belgium, and of Belgian troops in Germany; to halve the expenditure on national defense and spend not a single franc on armaments for NATO; to abolish the survivals of Belgian colonialism; to withdraw without delay all Belgian military and political "advisers" from the Congo; to recognize People's China and the German Democratic Republic which will help to improve relations between East and West; to abrogate all measures imposed on Belgium by the Common Market; to stop the closure of pits and factories and to convene a trade union conference of the six member-countries of this community.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany

The July meeting of the Central Committee considered *new proposals for a peace treaty and for turning West Berlin into a demilitarized neutral free city*.

The meeting laid down the tasks aimed at improving the activity of the Party to *strengthen the German Democratic Republic politically and economically*. They are to ensure the further development of the basic branches of heavy industry, mainly by way of socialist reconstruction; to modernize plant and equipment available and to attain a higher scientific and technological level of production; to supply the population with the foodstuffs, consumer goods and flats as provided for in the plan. This calls for better guidance of

agriculture and better methods of work in the area and district Party organizations.

The meeting also discussed a report on the elections to the district councils, municipalities and other local government bodies. The report summed up the experience of Party work among the people in recent months and pointed to the need for extending cultural work in the factories, villages and residential districts.

Some organizational questions were decided. In view of the new urgent problems in economic planning and management the meeting recommended to the Council of Ministers to set up a State Planning Committee and a Council of National Economy.

The Polish United Workers' Party

The 8th meeting of the Central Committee held at the end of June dealt with the topical question of *extending the activity of people's councils*.

In the period 1955-1960 the people's councils have begun to play a greater role in economic planning. The working people have now more say in the solution of local problems. This, coupled with the changes in the work of administrative bodies, has made it possible better to meet the needs of the people.

But the extension of the powers of local councils and the setting of new tasks before them were not accompanied by corresponding changes in the composition of cadres, the transfer of cadres from the central and regional bodies to the district and town people's councils.

This basic trend of changes, the meeting pointed out, lies in extending the powers and responsibilities of the district people's councils to a degree that they should really become the center of local work; in extending the powers and responsibilities of the towns administered by district and other councils, and in increasing the role, powers and funds allocated to the people's councils in rural areas, particularly in the planning and management of agriculture. The narrowing of the sphere of activity of the regional councils and their bodies should be coupled with the extension of their powers and tasks in the coordination and planning of all branches, in the social and cultural life of the region, and with the improvement of their work in the matter of issuing instructions, organization and control.

The meeting urged all Party organizations to outline, jointly with the people's councils concerned, the main trends of work and tasks of the councils, and put an end to the practice of Party bodies doing the work of people's councils.

The Rumanian Workers' Party

A meeting of the Central Committee discussed the building of socialism in the countryside and the further development of agriculture. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the Party, summed up in his report the results of economic development in 1960 and for the first five months of the current year.

At the moment attention is centered on agriculture. Following the Third Party Congress the peasants began to join cooperatives on a mass scale. Out of every 100 peasant families 84 work in the socialist sector which, in June 1961, embraced 85.3 per cent of all arable land.

Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej dealt in detail with the extension of the area sown to grain crops and improving fertility. Close attention was given to the raising of the productivity of animal husbandry and the further development of vine and fruit-growing. The need to bring electricity to all villages was emphasized. By the beginning of this year more than one-fifth of the villages were supplied with electricity. At present all the machine and tractor stations, over 95 per cent of the state farms and more than 30 per cent of the cooperatives have electricity. In the 1960-65 period the number of inhabited places using electricity will double. Plans have been made to send more machines and implements to the countryside.

One of the fundamental preconditions of the rapid growth of agriculture is the training of specialists. In the next few years the countryside will receive 12,000-13,000 specialists with higher education, 35,000-40,000 with secondary education and over 60,000 tractor-drivers.

The meeting pointed out that Rumania has all the conditions needed for 100 per cent cooperation in agriculture before 1965. The completion of cooperation will open up boundless opportunities for the further advance of the productive forces in agriculture. Socialist relations of production will prevail in the entire national economy.

The Communist Party of Ecuador

The June meeting of the Central Committee points out in its *political resolution* that the present situation in Ecuador is characterized by the deepening of the crisis which has gripped both the economy and the entire semi-feudal and semi-colonial structure of the country.

In view of the reactionary onslaught on democracy, the resolution says, the people are stepping up the struggle for political and social rights and for better conditions of life. Together with the working class and the peasantry — the main forces of the movement — the office workers, students, teachers, handicraftsmen, professional peo-

ple and some of the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are also taking part in this struggle. This solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces is a vital factor for the development of the liberation revolution in Ecuador.

The people are becoming increasingly aware that North American imperialism is their No. 1 enemy.

The influence of the Communist Party is growing, the working people see in this Party the main driving force of the liberation revolution.

The resolution stresses that the victories of socialism and of the national-liberation movements have a great impact on mass action which is also inspired by the heroic struggle of revolutionary Cuba. It gives an analysis of the dual policy pursued by President Velasco Ibarra. On the one hand, the popular movement compelled him to support the principles of non-interference, the right of nations to self-determination and to pro-

test against the imperialist invasion of Cuba. But, on the other hand, he makes concessions to the reactionary oligarchy and the top hierarchy of the Catholic church.

The influence of the reactionaries on the government's policy, the resolution notes, can be countered only by resolute action of the working people jointly with the democratic and progressive forces. The Communist Party suggests that these forces should be guided in their struggle by the program set out in the resolution. The program envisages agrarian reform, industrialization, a higher standard of living and an independent foreign policy — a policy of peace. This will pave the way to the creation of a genuinely democratic and sovereign state.

The resolution concludes by stressing the need to strengthen the Communist Party, to raise the ideological level of its members and to improve the effectiveness of Party propaganda among the broad masses of the working people.

Short Notices

THE RANKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE GROWING

THE influx of new members into the Communist parties in the capitalist countries has recently shown a marked increase. In *Italy*, for example, 120,896 new members joined the Party between January and June this year during the period of the annual re-registration.

During the first six weeks of the Party Building Year launched by the *British Communist Party* in June, 874 new members were accepted, bringing the total membership to upwards of 29,000.

The Nineteenth Congress of the *Swedish Communist Party* set a target of no less than 5,000 new members by April 1962. Some 1,800 new members were accepted during the first six months of the current year.

Over a hundred new local organizations were formed by the *Communist Party of Finland* between September 1960 and the end of June, 1961; 7,800 new members have been accepted.

The *Communist Party of Indonesia*, which recently celebrated its 41st anniversary, has become the most popular and the largest party in that country. It now has a membership of close

to two million, with organizations functioning in 22 provinces.

The ranks of the Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries have been steadily growing. Last year some 30,000 new members in Peking alone joined the *Communist Party of China*; 102,000 in the province of Kirin and over a thousand in Tibet. Today the Communist Party of China numbers more than 17 million members.

The *Polish United Workers' Party* accepted 127,241 new members in the first six months of the current year. These include many skilled workers, engineers, technicians, school-teachers and agricultural experts. There has been considerable growth in the rural Party organizations.

AGAINST THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIPS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The Communist Parties of Spain and Portugal have issued a joint statement concerning the development of the anti-fascist struggle in the Iberian peninsula. The statement stresses that the two parties are closely linked by bonds of proletarian internationalism and the Marxist-Leninist outlook, they pledge mutual support and respect for each other's independence. The policies, tactics and activities, endorsed by their respective Party congresses and Central Committees, are adapted to

the specific conditions obtaining in the two countries. Since Spain and Portugal are entirely different states and do not constitute a political entity, in spite of the similarity between the fascist forms of government, both nations are waging their own independent struggle, with their own means and by their own methods.

The demand for a "common center" to lead the anti-fascist forces of Spain and Portugal, and even for a common "army of liberation" is unrealistic and runs counter to the national and independent character of the liberation movements of the two countries, and can only give rise to difficulties and dissatisfaction among the democratic forces in both countries. Moreover, these demands play into the hands of fascist propaganda, which tries to obscure the national character of the opposition movement in their countries and to represent it as evidence of "outside interference." The Communist Parties of Spain and Portugal believe that the liberation of their peoples cannot be achieved by terrorist methods applied by any individual groups or by uniting one or another group under the general "Iberian" label. It can only be won by the united action of the anti-fascist and opposition forces in each country and by intensifying the struggle against the fascist dictatorships of Franco and Salazar.

Dominican Republic

COMBATING THE TYRANNY

The Dominican People's Socialist Party has issued a statement concerning the recent anti-government demonstrations that have taken place here.

It notes that the Dominican people are not allowing themselves to be deceived by the pseudo-democratic farce staged with the aid of the U.S. State Department; that they are turning away from and exposing the American agents in the "revolutionary democratic party," who are urging them to show restraint, and are refusing to fall into the trap laid for them by the government of Balaguer and Ramfiz Trujillo.

The growth of popular indignation marks the beginning of independent and open actions by the Dominican people against the tyranny, against "Trujillism without Trujillo." The mass demonstrations indicate that new prospects have been opened up for the struggle to overthrow the tyranny by popular revolutionary action.

The struggle of the Dominican people, says the statement, has the support of the peoples of Latin America and the whole world. This struggle will continue to grow stronger until it finally brings

the country national independence and social progress.

Indonesia

A PEOPLE'S PAPER

The tenth anniversary of *Harian Rakjat* (People's Daily), daily newspaper of the Communist Party, was widely celebrated. All over the country, in the towns and villages, workers, peasants, intellectuals and young people formed anniversary committees and arranged concerts and sports competitions.

The editorial office received numerous congratulations and souvenirs from organizations and individuals, the message of greetings from fraternal newspapers abroad. President Sukarno, ministers and other high officials also sent greetings or attended the celebrations. On this occasion, too, *Harian Rakjat* prizes were awarded for the best essays, poems, short stories and literary translations published in 1960.

The fact that the anniversary was the biggest ever held in Indonesia by any newspaper was an indication of the esteem in which *Harian Rakjat* is held, a tribute to its role in the national struggle for independence and democracy.

From a bi-weekly with a circulation of 2,000 it has grown into one of the biggest and most influential dailies with a circulation of 60,000.

The paper is posted on special stands inside the factories so that workers can read it during the lunch interval. In the towns one can often see people reading it on the stands in busy streets. In some areas in Java groups of illiterate peasants gather in the evenings to read aloud from the newspaper.

From time to time the Communist Party conducts circulation campaigns for its paper. Many Party officials, including Chairman Aidit, sell the paper, in the streets, at railway and bus stations and in market places; they describe briefly the contents of the particular issue and hold talks. These sales campaigns, in addition to raising circulation bring the Party into closer contact with the people.

Iran

JOURNAL APPEARS AGAIN

After a long interval the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran has resumed publication of its theoretical and political journal *Donya*, formerly known as *Mardom*.

The first three numbers contained articles on a wide range of subjects, especially on the reac-

tionary agrarian and foreign policy of the government.

An important task of the journal is to work for a broad united front. The National Front headed at one time by Mossadegh has resumed its activity. The Central Committee of the People's Party has recently addressed an open letter to the National Front, calling for joint action.

The journal has carried an article "The Scientific Foundations of the Slogan of the United Front of the National and Democratic Forces — the Basic Line of the People's (Tudeh) Party," and a number of other materials on this subject.

The journal publishes articles on different aspects of the Party program, and on the history of the Iranian Communist Party to which the Tudeh Party is the successor.

Uruguay

SOCIAL STUDY CENTER

A research center recently inaugurated by the Communist Party in Montevideo, will study and popularize problems of Marxism-Leninism, applying it creatively to the specific conditions of Uruguayan society.

The Social Study Center will work to bring together all those who, regardless of their political or philosophical views, are interested in the study of theoretical and socio-political problems of Marxism-Leninism.

Courses, study circles, lectures, seminars and special groups will be arranged and will study the various branches of social science and aspects of the cultural, political and social life of Uruguay and Latin America. Plans include the publication and circulation of Marxist-Leninist works by our own and foreign authors.

During the first phase of its work the Center plans to study the following three main subjects:

"Introduction to Marxism-Leninism," "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" and "Problems of the Latin American Revolution."

Speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Center José Luis Massera, the director, said: "Our aim is to study the present situation, on a democratic and world scale, in the light of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The Center is not, nor will it ever be, another academy isolated from the life of our people."

Federal German Republic

FOR THE PEOPLE

Bundestag electioneering is underway in the Federal Republic. Communists are being nominated by workers as independent candidates. Shunning all provocation and repression, they put forward their election demands aimed at the militarist and revanchist plans of the Adenauer government, against atomic and rocket weapons being supplied to the Bundeswehr, for a peace treaty with the two German states, maintenance of the democratic liberties proclaimed in the Constitution and restoration of legal status to the Communist Party.

Answering the charge of "behaving against the interests of the state" levelled against him at the Dusseldorf trial, Johann Jennes said: "The existence of the Federal Republic of which I have the honor to be a citizen and whose Constitution I observe and uphold, is not identical with the policy of the Christian Democratic Party. I admit that I oppose this policy since I believe it to be disastrous to the people."

Heinrich Brahkamp, ex-member of the city council, thus answered the charges of the reactionaries: "I need no outside instructions to put forward my candidature. These instructions were given me by my conscience which derives from my political convictions."

Among Our Contributors

BORIS NIKOLAYEVICH PONOMARYOV: Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Corresponding Member, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

PETER FLORIN: Member, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

FRIEDL FUERNBERG: Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Austria.

ABDOSSAMAD KAMBAKHS: Secretary, Central Committee, People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran.

Exchange of Views

What are the Changes in the Structure of the Working Class

The final contributions to our discussion include a report on this subject at the Higher Party School of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and a summing-up of the exchange of views.

The editorial board expresses its thanks to all who have contributed.

All contributions to the discussion will be published shortly in book form.

For previous contributions to the discussion see World Marxist Review, Nos. 5, 9 and 12, 1960, and Nos. 4, 5 and 6, 1961.

DISCUSSION AT THE PARTY SCHOOL IN MOSCOW

THE problem under review was discussed at two meetings of the Faculty of Political Economy at the Higher Party School. The discussion was also attended by staff workers of other faculties of the School and from a number of research and educational establishments in Moscow—the Institute of Philosophy and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Moscow University. Those taking part noted the great theoretical and political significance of an international discussion on the changes in the structure of the working class and expressed their views on questions raised by the journal.

I. M. MRACHKOVSKAYA:

Semi-Proletarians Should Not Be Forgotten

The law of polarization of capitalist society into two classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—a law discovered by Marx, is undoubtedly valid in our day. But neither Marx nor Lenin took a simplified view of the class structure of capitalism. They pointed out that alongside the main classes there exist intermediate sections: the petty bourgeoisie surviving from feudal society and the new middle strata which arise with the development of capitalism.

In his review of Kautsky's book about Bernstein, Lenin wrote: "Also highly interesting and particularly instructive for us, Russians, is the chapter on the 'new middle strata' . . . In all spheres of social labor capitalism increases at a particularly rapid rate the numbers of *clerical workers*, and constantly heightens the demand for intellectuals. The latter occupy a peculiar position between the other classes, approximating on the one hand to that of the bourgeoisie insofar as their connections, views, etc., are concerned, and

on the other hand to that of the wage workers as capitalism deprives the intellectual more and more of his independent position, makes him a dependent wage-worker and encroaches on his standard of living."

Lenin's definition of classes given in his book *A Great Beginning* as well as Marx's teaching on productive labor are of great methodological significance in determining the boundaries of the proletariat. Marx considered as productive only that wage labor which is embodied in commodities, in material wealth, and, consequently, creates surplus value. A teacher, physician, artist or anyone else engaged in non-material production does not produce surplus value, and therefore these categories cannot be identified with the working class although they are subjected to exploitation and often ally themselves with the working class in the struggle against exploitation.

The labor of the overwhelming majority of qualified engineers and technicians represents an organic component of material production; it creates value and surplus value. That is why qualified engineers and technicians who are engaged in material production—factory laboratories, design departments, etc.—and who do not exercise managerial functions on behalf of the exploiter, should be regarded as one of the sections of the working class.

Nor should we overlook that group of the population which Lenin classified as *semi-proletarians*. This is by no means a homogeneous section. By semi-proletarians Lenin meant part of the rural poor and those handicraftsmen who depend on "outside earnings." They also include some new middle strata in towns—hired sales clerks, doctors,

teachers and the rank and file of science, cinematography, the theatre.

This category of wage workers draws closer to the working class by virtue of the fact that, like the working class, they are deprived of the means of production and are exploited by capital. But on the other hand, they produce no surplus value and their earnings are drawn from the incomes of the basic classes of capitalist society. Moreover, they often are a vehicle of bourgeois ideological influence on the working class; in certain cases they are an involuntary instrument for robbing the working class through the sphere of circulation.

As for such representatives of the middle strata as civil servants, professional soldiers and police, and workers of the capitalist press, they, though themselves wage-workers, are definitely on the side of the bourgeoisie and are an instrument used by the latter to oppress and exploit the working masses. Nor is it possible to identify with the working class those wage-workers whose functions derive from the peculiarities of the operation of capital in the sphere of circulation—mainly those employed in various credit and finance institutions and advertising agencies.

Y. M. ZHUKOVSKY:

Some Office and Other Employees Are Drawing Nearer to the Working Class, Others Are Drawing Away

It would be wrong to identify the whole labor force with the working class. Among the working people we find industrial, agricultural, transport, building, distributive and office workers, as well as those employed in other spheres, poor peasants, and intellectuals. All these sections sell their labor power and are subjected to exploitation. But the working class differs from all other sections of the working people in that it is engaged in productive labor and creates value and surplus value. In other words, the concepts "working people" and "working class" are not identical, since, besides common, they also have divergent features.

The development of the productive forces modifies the structure of the labor force. The numbers of the industrial working class are increasing and those of the rural proletariat are decreasing (side by side with the numerical increase of the working class as a whole); office workers, too, are becoming more numerous.

The introduction of the latest techniques, particularly automation, changes the character of the labor as well as the position and the composition of the office workers. Owing to the introduction of machines by the capitalists, their work is being mechanized and the value of their labor power reduced, and their conditions of labor become more like those of industrial workers.

The changing social conditions cause a certain differentiation among office workers. Some of them draw nearer to the working class insofar as their social status, the character of their work, and their standards of living and ideological views are concerned. This applies to those engaged in material production, in the sphere of circulation, and in the social services.

Others, bribed by the bourgeoisie and linked to it by ideological ties, are drawing away from the working class. These include those who provide the parasitic requirements of the bourgeoisie and landlords, those who carry out the ideological and religious indoctrination of the working people, and those who enforce obedience to the exploiters.

What is valuable about the discussion sponsored by the journal is that it helps to clarify the changes taking place in the structure of the working population in capitalist society and uncover those tendencies which bring certain sections of the office and other employees nearer to the working class. It shows the need to step up the organizational work of the Communist parties among those white-collar workers who are closely linked with the working class both economically, politically and ideologically.

I. I. KULKOV:

**The Labor Aristocracy Is Declining
the Labor Bureaucracy Is Increasing**

What is the labor aristocracy and what are the criteria on which to base a definition? According to Lenin's well-known definition the labor aristocracy is above all a privileged top section of the working class, bribed by the bourgeoisie mainly from profits obtained by plundering other nations. It is distinguished from the masses of the working class by high wages, philistinism and opportunist proclivities.

A labor aristocracy often rests on a basis of nationality. The bulk of it is made up of workers belonging to the oppressor nation. In the United States, for example, people of Anglo-Saxon descent are in a privileged position.

It is also recruited by so-called profit-sharing schemes, by providing lucrative jobs in trade union, co-operative, sport and educational organizations, as factory and mine inspectors, or in departments of the ministries of labor, etc.

The numerical strength of the labor aristocracy constantly fluctuates. It depends on the specific conditions of the country—position in the imperialist system, relative power, degree of participation in the exploitation of other nations, its economic situation, the intensity of the class struggle, the scope and influence of both Communist and Social Democratic ideologies.

At present there is a tendency for the labor aristocracy to decline in numbers. This is due to the levelling up of workers' skills, relative reduction in the numbers of skilled workers from whom labor aristocrats are drawn, and the disintegration of the colonial system with the result that the imperialist bourgeoisie has fewer possibilities to bribe certain sections of the working class. But at the same time the numbers of the labor bureaucracy are increasing.

V. G. LOPATKIN:

What Is Important Is Not What Divides Factory and Office Workers but What Unites Them

I agree with those comrades who say that different sections of the working people play different roles in social production.

It should be recognized, however, that what separates factory workers from office workers is less important than what unites them. In this connection a common feature is the fact that both factory and office workers sell their labor power to the capitalist, are exploited by him, and are never paid more than the cost of labor power. Hence follows the decisive conclusion that objectively both office and industrial workers are equally interested in the socialist revolution.

From the political point of view, also, it is essential to emphasize that which is common in the position of industrial and office workers. It is important that office workers should realize that they have only one way of struggling against capitalism—that followed by the industrial working class.

Bearing all this in mind, all working people, not only those engaged in production but also those in the non-production spheres, who work for wages and are exploited, should be classified as the working class. The higher categories of white-collar workers, clearly, cannot be included in the working class. To a certain degree they are closer to the bourgeoisie.

It is, furthermore, necessary to distinguish the various sections of the working class: the industrial proletariat, the rural proletariat, and those engaged in the service industries. The most revolutionary among these sections is, undoubtedly, the industrial working class, due not only to its role in material production but also, and especially, to its concentration at the bigger enterprises.

A. L. EFIMOVA:

Changes in the Structure of the Working Class

After the Second World War the structure of the working class of France underwent substantial changes brought about by modernization of plant, automation and the increased concentration of capital.

French bourgeois economists and historians (M. Duverger and others), followed by the Right-wing Socialists (L. Laurat, J. Moch and others), claim that the general effect of these changes is the numerical decline of the working class, its disintegration into various social groupings and absorption by the growing middle strata (employees and non-production workers). Hence the conclusion that in modern capitalist society there are no longer two main antagonistic classes, that private ownership is being democratized, class antagonisms are being ironed out, the class struggle is abating and bourgeois society is changing to "people's capitalism."

To expose these theories and reveal the true picture of the changes in the structure of the working class of France is a major task of Marxist economists and historians.

The working class of France is not declining. On the contrary, it grew by one million between 1908 and 1958, reaching 7.5 million or 40 per cent of the total labor force. The number of agricultural laborers dropped from 3.5 million at the end of the last century to 1.1 million at present. This is the result of the mechanization of farm work.

With the spread of mechanization and automation the ratio between the main groups of the industrial workers changes: (a) the proportion of unskilled workers diminishes, many of them become unemployed and lumpen-proletarians; (b) the proportion of skilled and highly-skilled workers also diminishes, they are replaced by qualified engineers and technicians; (c) the proportion of semi-skilled workers increases, their ranks are replenished by skilled workers with corresponding wage cuts.

The number of office and non-production personnel in France and other capitalist countries has risen in recent years. But it is quite obvious that the living and working conditions of a big part of these employees are drawing closer to those of the working class.

V. S. SEMYONOV:

Workers Are Those Who Produce Surplus Value

If we recognize that the production of surplus value is the distinguishing mark of the working class, then, guided by Marx's theory, we cannot include clerical and distributive workers in it since they do not produce surplus value. What we call realization is not the creation of surplus value, and all working people cannot be included in the concept "collective laborers." Why did Marx use this term for only the workers and qualified engineers and technicians? Because they are "directly engaged in the production of material wealth . . .".* Neither the clerical nor distributive

*K. Marx, *Theory of Surplus Value*.

nor other office workers participate in production directly and nowhere did Marx regard them as part of the "collective laborers" or as production workers. Neither can this be done today.

V. Semyonov then dealt with the allies of the working class. The objective tendency in the capitalist world is more allies for the working class and fewer allies for the bourgeoisie. The changes usually noted in the conditions of office workers (as regards standards of living, income, monotony of labor, the sources of intake for this section and their social origin) are not evidence that they have merged with the working class. They merely indicate that, in addition to the peasantry, the office workers and intellectuals are becoming another powerful ally of the working class. "... The proletariat not only produces its own intelligentsia but also finds supporters among all educated people," Lenin wrote in his *Revolutionary Adventurism* (1902). Hence the Communist movement is working to rally the broad masses of the people in the capitalist countries around the working class.*

Y. A. ZHILIN:

Class Affiliation Depends Not on the Type of Work But on the Nature of Social Relations

The classics of Marxism-Leninism always held that the proportion of the working class in the social structure of capitalism was bound to rise steadily. This premise is not refuted by the decline in the numbers of production workers in the epoch of imperialism due to the decay of capitalism, which is inevitably accompanied by an increase in the number of redundant and non-production workers.

In order to estimate the actual size of the working-class due note should be made of its complex composition. "Capitalism," Lenin wrote in his *Left-Wing Communism*, "would not be capitalism if the 'pure' proletariat were not surrounded by a large number of exceedingly motley types . . . if the proletariat itself were not divided into more developed and less developed strata, if it were not divided according to territorial origin, trade, sometimes according to religion, and so on."

What, then, is the working class and what are its boundaries? And, in particular, are not many of the working people whom bourgeois statistics place in the category of office workers, a component of the working class?

This question has both theoretical and practical significance. The Communist and Workers' parties in the capitalist countries come across many new phenomena associated with automation, introduction of electronic computers and mechanization

of labor processes, including office work. These phenomena should be assessed from a Marxist standpoint, for without this it is difficult to meet the practical requirements of the working-class movement.

In my opinion it would be a mistake to lump all white-collar workers together in examining the question whether they belong to the proletariat or the intermediate strata. There can be no question of including self-employed professional people, top-level officials and the personnel of the coercive capitalist state machinery in the working class. It is not these we have in mind but the broad sections of the working people who are not factory workers though they are employed in industry and distribution.

To what class do the technical personnel of enterprises belong? In considering this question we must proceed from the main point, and the main point is that engineers and technicians are employed in material production and are exploited by capitalists. These two features enable us, in my opinion, to classify them as belonging to the working class in the broad sense of this concept.

In analyzing the composition of the working class we should not forget that the boundaries of material production are not fixed. Take, for instance, communications. In many cases it is an essential part of production, whereas in others it caters for private needs. The same can be said of transport. But we cannot on these grounds artificially divide the workers employed in transport and communications, and consider one part as belonging to the working class and the other to some imaginary middle strata. It would be more correct to say that most of the transport and communication workers belong to the working class.

Before I come to the class affiliation of the rank-and-file workers in the sphere of circulation, I would like to quote from Lenin. "The master farmer," he wrote in his article "The Trudoviki and Workers' Democracy", "belongs to the same class as the factory-owner or the master-handicraftsman, or the master trader; the difference here is not between classes but between occupations. The agricultural wage worker belongs to the same class as the factory and commercial wage worker. From the standpoint of Marxism this is a truism."

The weak point in the arguments of some comrades is that they judge the class affiliation of one or another group of working people by the type of its labor, whereas not merely the type of labor but the social relationships in which it is performed should be considered. When we come to the question of the relations between labor and capital a large part of the workers in the sphere of

*For a detailed exposition of V. Semyonov's views see *World Marxist Review*, No. 5, 1961.

*Trudoviki: a petty-bourgeois group formed in 1906.

circulation can obviously be included in the working class. Of course, it would be wrong to include all office employees in the working class, and nobody has said this in the discussion. The point at issue is a differentiated approach to the various sections of the working people known as office workers and intellectuals. These sections should be considered not as a single entity but included in one or another class in accordance with their position in the system of capitalist relations. This does not imply that the middle *strata* are disappearing, as some comrades claim. Nobody denies that in the capitalist countries there are peasants, farmers and a large group of self-employed professional people or that capitalism constantly engenders small-scale production.

G. A. KOZLOV

(head of the Faculty):

The working class consists of a number of sections, with the factory workers as its core. The historic mission of the working class derives not from the fact that it is engaged in material production in general, but that it is engaged in a particular branch of production, namely large-scale industry. This does not mean, however, that there are no other sections of the working class. Lenin said that proletarians and semi-proletarians can be found not only among the agricultural and industrial population but also in the commercial and other non-production spheres. He also spoke of the "proletarian" officials and included the railway and postal workers of tsarist Russia in the semi-proletariat. Analyzing the class structure in Russia, Lenin always placed the proletariat and semi-proletariat in the same category. He never regarded the semi-proletariat as part of the middle strata. However, it is not enough merely to cite the Marxist classics.

The effect of technological development on the structure of the working class with regard to skills is a question which needs further study. It is wrong to assume that technological progress is always accompanied by the downgrading of skills. True, it ousts old crafts, and only in this sense does downgrading take place. But at the same time it requires highly skilled men, above all qualified engineers and technicians. In the U.S. aircraft industry the proportion of engineers and technicians to the total number of workers is 20 per cent,

in rocket manufacture 25 per cent, and in the nuclear industry 50 per cent. This rapid growth of engineering and technical personnel makes it more democratic both by social origin and in social status. Only a few engineers and technicians are engaged in organizing the process of exploitation. Most of them are rank-and-file production workers who produce surplus value but do not appropriate it. Generally speaking, as a result of modern technology the part played in production by personnel that until recently was classified as office staff, particularly the personnel of the research and design departments, approximates to that of the workers. The majority of the qualified engineers and technicians should now be included in the working class. The only exception is the administrative staff.

As for the clerical workers, we find among them members of the working class and semi-proletariat, middle strata and the big bourgeoisie. The majority of them, however, now belongs to the proletariat and semi-proletariat. In tsarist Russia the staffs of the trading, banking and insurance firms were recruited mainly from the property-owning class. In order to get this kind of job a man had to deposit a sum of money as security. The rapid numerical growth of the white-collar employees in modern capitalist society signifies not the reproduction, in specific forms, of small proprietors, but their increasing proletarianization. The white-collar workers of today are not the same as those of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century. Two diametrically opposed tendencies are making themselves felt in the development of this category of workers. On the one hand, their numbers tend to increase owing to the development of social production and the growth of the parasitic state apparatus. On the other hand, automation of office work tends to decrease their numbers. Up to now the first tendency has prevailed, but in due course the second will dominate. The future faces these workers with the prospect of mass unemployment; their labor will become cheaper and they will lose their remaining privileges.

The questions raised in the course of the discussion need further study, with the emphasis on a concrete analysis on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles of the latest changes in the class structure of the capitalist countries.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

For more than a year now World Marxist Review has conducted an exchange of views on the changes that have taken place in the structure of the working class in the capitalist countries. In the course of the discussion there have been contributions from Marxist research organizations and journals and by political and trade union leaders, publicists and researchers from the USSR, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the USA, Britain, Italy, France, Austria, the Federal German Republic, Canada, Sweden, Argentina and Chile.

At the end of May representatives of the organizations and publications whose replies to a questionnaire sent out by World Marxist Review initiated the exchange of views—the U.S. Labor Research Association, the German Institute of Economics (German Democratic Republic), the Marxist Study Center (Canada), Marxism Today (Britain), Die Arbeit (Austria), Economie et politique (France) and Politica ed economia (Italy)—met in Prague with members of our staff to draw some conclusions from the discussion. These are set out in the present summary.

It goes without saying that examination of the changes that have taken place in the structure of the working class, and in particular of the problems dealt with below, will continue. The following are some of the generalizations suggested by the exchange of views between Marxists of different countries.

Among the many important and interesting problems examined, three salient questions were outstanding: the socio-economic boundaries of the working class, skills, and the aristocracy of labor.

The Socio-Economic Boundaries of the Working Class and the Changes in Its Structure

The Concept of the Working Class

The participants in the discussion defined the concept working class or "proletariat" on the basis of the definition of classes given by Lenin in his *A Great Beginning*. "Classes," he said, "are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimensions and mode of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they dispose."

According to this definition the basic classes of present-day capitalist society — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat — differ from each other as the exploiters and the exploited (place in the system of social production), as those who own the means of production and those who are deprived of them (relation to the means of production), and as the organizers of production for the sake of profit and those who produce (role in the social organization of labor). The difference between the capitalists and the proletarians as regards the dimensions and mode of acquiring their respective shares of social wealth is that between those who seize the lion's share of this wealth by appropriating surplus value and those who sell their labor power and live exclusively on their wages.

All agreed that the proletariat is that class which is deprived of the means of production and hence

lives exclusively by selling its labor power to the owners of capital and is subjected to exploitation in the process of capitalist production. There were differences, however, as to the exact socio-economic boundaries of the working class under present-day capitalism. Some comrades include in it only manual workers and hence fail to see the real growth of the proletariat and the changes taking place in it. Actually, however, the process of capitalist production is closely interwoven with the process of circulation. "... The capitalist process of production taken as a whole represents a synthesis of the processes of production and circulation" Marx said.* Moreover, with the rapid development of modern large-scale machine industry, the importance of mental labor increases steadily in production and especially in the preliminary processes (designing of machines, etc.), and hence the number of people engaged in it grows both absolutely and relatively.

Inasmuch as the process of capitalist production is of a dialectical, complex nature, the proletariat too is not altogether homogeneous. It consists of different groups which, though their class status is the same, play varying roles in production.

Of cardinal importance in defining the socio-economic boundaries of the working class and the changes in its structure is the Marxist concept of the "collective laborer" (see *Capital*, Vol. I). The "collective laborer" is a combination of work-

**Capital*, Vol. III.

ers, each of whom takes only a part, greater or lesser, in the manipulation of the subject of their labor. In other words, the concept includes both those engaged in physical labor (unskilled laborers and machine tenders) and those who contribute their mental labor to the product or perform various auxiliary functions indispensable to the production process. Inasmuch as the division of labor constantly proceeds further, not only in the various enterprises but on the scale of the whole of society, new trades and branches of economy spring up and the limits of the concept "collective laborer" are accordingly extended.

Thus, the proletariat is a highly stratified, complex social organism consisting of various industrial, occupational, etc., groups. The leading and numerically biggest sections are the factory workers and the workers engaged in agriculture and other branches of the economy.

Industrial Proletariat

"Only a definite class, namely, the urban workers and the factory, industrial workers in general," Lenin said, "is able to lead the whole mass of the toilers and exploited in the struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, in the process of this overthrow, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating the new, socialist social system, in the whole struggle for the complete abolition of classes."*

The industrial proletariat includes, besides the factory workers, the miners and the building, transport and telecommunications workers. At the present time more and more branches of material production are acquiring an industrial character. The developing social division of labor tends to turn such services as heating and lighting, public catering, various repair services, laundries, cleaning, etc., into independent branches of capitalist industry. More and more functions in the sphere of circulation are a continuation of production (storage, weighing and packing). The wage workers engaged in these branches are part of the industrial proletariat. Finally, it must be kept in mind that in the conditions of highly mechanized and automated production such categories of workers as production planners and employees of computing and telecommunication centers are links in the production chain. These groups become organs of the "collective laborer" and form a specific segment of the industrial proletariat.

The industrial proletariat, far from diminishing as the reformists and revisionists claim, is growing. In the working class of the capitalist countries it invariably predominates.

This section is the leading detachment of the working class not only because of its numerical preponderance but also because it is engaged in

the principal sphere of human activity — material production. It creates the bulk of material wealth, produces value and surplus value. The industrial proletariat is the main support of the Communist parties. Its core consists of the factory workers. Being traditionally associated with large-scale production, the latter (and in some countries also the miners and building trades and transport workers) are distinguished for their high degree of solidarity and organization; they are the most class-conscious section of the working class with the greatest experience in class struggle.

Class Affiliation of Qualified Engineers and Technicians

Among the changes in the composition of the industrial working class which drew the attention of most of the participants in the discussion was the growth in the proportion and the role of qualified engineers, other technicians and researchers. In our First Comment we cited Marx's view that qualified engineers and technicians belong to the working class by virtue of their objective place in the system of capitalist production and their relation to the means of production. This is also borne out by numerous facts adduced in our exchange of views. Most qualified engineers work for the capitalists, selling them their labor power, take part in the creation of value and surplus value and are exploited by the capitalists. In the most highly developed capitalist countries, such as the United States, an increasing number of engineers and technicians are rank-and-file participants in the production process engaged in the operation of machines.

With the growth of mechanization, data-processing electronic devices, and automation and the introduction of chemical processes, the position of scientific and technical workers is completely changed. While formerly, only the final results of research and invention were, as a rule, utilized in production, today research is increasingly becoming part of the production process itself. Whereas formerly practically all research work was done at universities and other educational institutions or by private individuals at their own risk, now a great many researchers are working in factories and laboratories belonging to the big industrial monopolies. Many chemists, physicists, biologists, economists, designers and laboratory assistants thus form, like the qualified engineers and technicians, a part of the aggregate production personnel.

At the same time, as was correctly pointed out in a number of contributions, many engineers, other technicians and scientific workers constitute a special, privileged section of the proletariat. They differ from the rank-and-file factory workers as regards character of labor (highly-skilled mental

*V. I. Lenin, *A Great Beginning*.

labor, on the one hand, and predominantly manual labor, on the other) and role in the production process. The engineers and technicians are charged with the preparation, coordination, technical guidance and supervision of labor processes; as distinct from the capitalist, who organizes production to obtain surplus value, the engineer hired by the capitalist is mainly a technical manager whose task it is to ensure output. Although he may in some cases perform disciplinary functions, in the final analysis the qualified engineer merely carries out the wishes of the capitalist.

Hence there is a contradictory element, a certain duality in the position of the qualified engineers in the production process. They are closely connected with the management and their living standard is, as a rule, higher than that of the rank-and-file workers. Consequently, it is easier for the capitalist to dupe the engineers with bourgeois ideology, to persuade them that they are the "equals" of the employers.

However, the main objective tendency is towards the gradual disappearance of distinctions between the majority of the qualified engineers and other technicians and the rest of the proletariat. Technical progress tends to bring this section and the mass of the workers closer together as regards the character of their labor. At big plants comparatively few qualified engineers have disciplinary functions. The proportion of technicians in the medium and lower skill brackets is rapidly increasing. The disparity between the educational background of qualified engineers and other technicians and especially between the latter and the skilled workers is diminishing. And as the differences in the value of their labor power are reduced, their wages and living conditions tend to come closer together. Hence rank-and-file engineers and other technicians not only have their own specific interests; they are also faced with the same basic problems as the rest of the proletariat. It is in place here to recall what N. S. Khrushchov said in this connection: "The future belongs to the working class, to the men of labor, including the engineers. For the engineers are the working class of mental labor."

The foregoing, of course, does not apply to qualified engineers who are employers or managers themselves and who appropriate part of the surplus value in the form of entrepreneur's profit or high salaries, interest on capital, dividends or bonuses. This type belongs to the capitalist class. The same can be said of experts at monopoly enterprises who are engaged not in the technical organization of production but in improving the methods of exploitation (experts in "human relations," paternalism, etc.). A certain section of engineers and technicians may be classified as belonging to

the middle strata of society. These are mainly self-employed professionals (e.g., consultants working for fees).

Workers in the Sphere of Circulation

Most contributions note the rapid growth of such branches of the capitalist economy as trade and credit. Capital attracts into the process of circulation an absolutely and relatively increasing number of wage workers. This is due, on the one hand, to the natural development of the productive forces. With the increasing scale of production, division of labor and cooperation proceed progressively and this necessitates the expansion of the sphere of circulation as the link between the various branches of production. On the other hand, the anarchy of capitalist production, the limited effective demand, sharpening rivalry between the monopolies, the development of state-monopoly processes and the increasing parasitism of capitalist economy divert into the process of circulation a far larger number of wage workers than the given scale of production warrants.

Clerical and distributive employees engaged in the process of circulation constitute a specific detachment of the class of wage workers. In *Capital* Marx refers time and again to shop assistants and office clerks as "commercial workers." "The commercial worker, in the strict sense of the word, belongs to the better-paid class of wage workers — to those whose labor is classed as skilled and stands above average labor," he says.* Engels, commenting on this, uses the term "commercial proletariat".** In another connection, Lenin noted that commercial employees were members of the proletariat. "The agricultural wage worker belongs to the same class as the factory and commercial wage workers", he wrote.***

Unlike the industrial workers, they take no direct part in production, yet their labor is essential to capitalist reproduction, which could not proceed without circulation. Their job is to calculate and realize value for the capitalist, i.e., perform functions connected with the transfer of ownership of commodities.

But like the industrial workers, they do not own the means of production, subsist by selling their labor power and are exploited by the capitalists. "The unpaid labor of these clerks, while it does not create surplus value, enables him (the merchant — Ed.) to appropriate surplus value, which, in effect, amounts to the same thing with respect to his capital. It is, therefore, a source of profit for him."****

**Capital*, Vol. III.

***Ibid*

***V. I. Lenin. *The Trudoviki and Workers' Democracy*.

*****Capital*, Vol. III.

It is important also to note that in the conditions of present-day capitalism the differences between factory and office and commercial workers as regards their working and living conditions are disappearing. Whereas in the last century the commercial and clerical worker's wages were considerably higher than the factory worker's, the difference has all but disappeared, while in some countries, such as the USA and Britain, millions of clerks are paid less than factory workers. And with the introduction of mechanization and automation in the offices, clerical workers are also threatened with mass unemployment.

True, office and trade employees do not come in direct contact with the means of production. Yet this does not mean that they do not belong to the same class as the industrial workers. The fundamental hallmark of the proletariat is not his union with the means of production, but his separation from them.

The office and trade workers constitute a less class-conscious and less organized section of the proletariat and are more susceptible to bourgeois influences. This is due to many reasons, and among others to the specific position they occupy in the system of capitalist reproduction, their contacts with the employers or the management, certain specific interests (such as the hope of advancement), their considerable diffusion, etc. It is the factory workers who, being the most advanced, most developed and best organized section of the proletariat, carry on the most consistent fight against the bourgeoisie.

Besides the office and commercial proletariat, broad sections of semi-proletarian and intermediate elements (small shopkeepers, petrol station proprietors, sales agents, etc.) are engaged in the process of circulation. Their numbers too may increase as a result of the expansion of the sphere of circulation and also of labor redundancy in production.

Are Office and Other Employees a Class Category?

Bourgeois statisticians and sociologists classify qualified engineers and other technicians, office and trade workers as a salariat which they call a "new middle class." Actually, however, as has been shown above, the development of modern capitalism increasingly makes them a part of the working class. In this connection it must be emphasized that the concept of the office worker should be subjected to a critical examination. Although the term is used by Marxist writers, it cannot be regarded as representing a basic socio-economic category (on a par with the concept "working class," for example) as it is by the bourgeois statisticians and sociologists.

Frequently the employers give their own arbitrary interpretation. In West Germany, for instance, the entire production personnel of some plants has in recent years been included in the white-collar group. Other sizeable sections of wage earners who were formerly classed as "workers" in West German statistics (for example, certain distributive employees) are likewise put under this heading.

Actually, however, the salaried worker is distinguished not by any specific fundamental class attributes but by the character of his labor and the form in which he is paid for it. Moreover, as the facts cited in the course of the discussion show, the differences in the character of labor between manual and clerical workers tend to disappear. The rank-and-file salaried workers' labor is gradually losing whatever creative elements it has and is being depersonalized. In increasing measure they perform monotonous mechanical operations accompanied by both nervous and physical fatigue. The higher the level of technology the more this tendency is accentuated. Hence the different shades of opinion in the contributions from different capitalist countries. Our American comrades speak of the elimination of the "differentiation between white-collar workers of the lower and middle echelons and the blue-collar workers," while our Italian comrades say, noting the trend toward equalization of the position of the workers and clerical employees, that "we are not implying that right now, at the present stage of technological development, one can put on a par the manual worker and the clerical employee. . . ." (*World Marxist Review*, No. 5, 1960, p. 42, and No. 12, 1960, p. 72). In other words the degree to which the clerical workers have come closer to the manual workers varies according to countries, industries and enterprises, and this has been reflected in the discussion.

It is sometimes asked: would not the inclusion of certain sections of clerical workers in the working class lead to the assumption that there are no differences in the level of class consciousness between the manual and the clerical workers? The answer to this is: all strata and sections of the proletariat cannot be equally class conscious. Moreover, this has never been the decisive criterion of class affiliation. The bourgeois and reformist theoreticians often deny the existence of a proletariat in some of the developed capitalist countries on the grounds that most of the workers are not fully class conscious. But Marxists know that there are concrete reasons for the lack of class consciousness. The consciousness of the entire working class can be raised to the level of its leading detachments only by the steadfast, systematic efforts of the revolutionary vanguard of the prole-

tariat. The increasing desire to organize evidenced in the recent period by clerical workers creates more favorable conditions for drawing them into the working-class struggle, in the course of which their class consciousness is awakened.

It was noted in the course of the discussion that the office and other employees do not constitute an integral whole. To lump them all together would be to ignore a basic Marxist methodological postulate — that each actual situation should be analyzed on the basis of the actual facts. While one section merges with the working class, another — the high-salaried personnel who occupy the posts of managers, directors, members of corporation boards, etc. — actually belongs to the capitalist class. There are also other, comparatively numerous groups which occupy an intermediate position in the class structure of capitalist society.

The state employees, whose number has been increasing rapidly in the recent period, are also a heterogeneous group. Bourgeois statistics include under this heading workers at state-owned enterprises, teachers and medical workers employed by the government or the municipalities, the civil service bureaucracy, army officers, judges, state prosecutors and many clergymen. The enumeration alone is enough to show that they belong to different classes. Some are part of the proletariat or close to it, while others are in the service of the capitalist machinery of coercion and are either part of the bourgeoisie or closely bound up with it.

The Proletariat Is an Expanding Class

The Marxist-Leninist teaching concerning the historic mission of the proletariat proceeds from the fact that it is not only the most progressive and the only consistently revolutionary class, but also an expanding class. The increasing polarization of class forces in capitalist society is expressed also in the growing numbers and weight of the working class, which is augmented by ruined peasants, small manufacturers, artisans, shopkeepers, rentiers and professional people. Capital cannot exist without reproducing its antagonist — the proletariat — on a steadily growing scale. "Accumulation of capital is, therefore, increase of the proletariat," Marx said.*

*Capital, Vol. I.

A deep examination of the essence of the capitalist mode of production and knowledge of its laws enabled the founders of scientific socialism right at the beginning of the modern working-class movement unerringly to predict that the proletariat would develop into the most numerous class of capitalist society. Emphasizing the importance of this aspect of Marxist theory, Lenin wrote: "Marx and Engels did not share the general fear of the development of the proletariat; on the contrary, they placed all their hopes on its continued growth. The more proletarians there are, the greater is their strength as a revolutionary class and the nearer and more possible does socialism become."**

The contributions to the discussion contain numerous data showing that the working class in the various countries is growing both absolutely and relatively. This confirms the truth and vitality of Marxism, which established that the proletariat is the class to whom the future belongs. It goes without saying, of course, that Marxists do not consider numerical preponderance in itself the sole guarantee of success of the working-class movement. The important thing is that the proletariat should become aware of its leading role, and it is in the course of stubborn class struggle that the workers come to look upon themselves as a class. Russia, China and some other countries have shown that the socialist revolution can be victorious even when the proletariat is not a majority of the population, provided it has the support of the broad masses of working people.

Bourgeois and reformist ideologists resort to juggling with figures in an attempt to "refute" the Marxist view that the proletariat is bound to grow faster than the total labor force. But bourgeois statistics do not and cannot provide a true picture of the proletariat inasmuch as the compilers seek to gloss over and conceal the antagonistic character of class relationships under capitalism.

The category "worker" as understood by capitalist statistics, being based on anything but science, has nothing in common with reality. Therefore Marxist researchers should make a scientific analysis of the socio-economic categories that appear in bourgeois statistics.

**V. I. Lenin, Frederick Engels.

Technical Progress and the Problem of Skills

Much attention was paid in the discussion to the effect of mechanization and automation on trades and skills. As was correctly stressed by several contributors, the very concept of skills varies in accordance with conditions, and changes continually with the development of capitalism. In the period of handicraft production, the skill of a

workman was compounded of a sum total of various manual skills. But in the conditions of large-scale machine industry when "along with the tool, the skill of the workman in handling it passes over to the machine"*, the highly skilled special-

*Marx, Capital, Vol. I.

ist capable of making a finished product from beginning to end is superseded by the detail laborer who performs over and over again one or several more or less simple operations which together make up the production process. As one of the contributors to the discussion put it, a "parcelling of labor" takes place. In most capitalist countries such a worker is called a "trained" worker, although his training takes only a few months, if not days, as against the year it took to train the old-time skilled worker.

If at the early stages of mechanization the manual skill of the machine operator retains its significance, it is gradually relegated to the background as conveyor and semi-automatic machine tools are extensively introduced. There appear a large number of workers on the conveyor whose labor is monotonous, nerve-racking and devoid of any creative element. As technology develops there is a continued levelling of skills and less and less differentiation between workers. As Marx observed, a tendency appears at mechanized factories "to equalize and reduce to one and the same level every kind of work that has to be done by the minders of the machines". Labor of this kind, the facts cited in the course of the discussion show, leads to wholesale degeneration and rapid exhaustion of labor power; mechanization is accompanied by the downgrading of skills.

On the other hand, more technical knowledge is required of workers operating machines. Besides, there remain at the mechanized factories a considerable number of workers engaged in adjusting the machines whose work calls for manual skills.

Clearly, the process which is changing the pattern of skills is not smooth and simple. It is dialectic in nature, due to the deep inherent contradictions of the capitalist division of labor.

Automation, differing qualitatively from mechanization, changes the very essence of existing skills. A far greater proportion of qualified engineers is required to program and supervise the automatic production lines. Another essential category is maintenance workers possessing skills of the traditional kind as well as greater general and technical knowledge. They must know the machines and devices thoroughly and also be acquainted with electronic systems. In other words, automation reduces the importance of the manual skills required in manipulating the subject of labor and enhances that of the general education and technical knowledge required to make machines and supervise production.

The third group of workers at automated plants are the operators of the automatic production lines

and machine tools. On the face of it, their work is very much like that of the worker on the conveyor. Yet there is a difference — here physical labor has been superseded by nervous tension, since the workers must constantly watch the signal lights and control panels and be ready for instant action. The labor of such workers, like that of the worker on the conveyor, gravitates toward one common denominator, since, for instance, supervision of an automated line at a ball bearing plant differs little in principle from supervision of a production unit at a chemical works. The same tendency is evident in the automation of office operations, which makes the labor of the clerk less and less a variety of mental labor and increasingly tends to approximate it to the labor of the worker on the production line.

In studying the consequences of automation under capitalism, it is not enough to review the state of affairs at isolated enterprises. The effect on society in general should be examined. Such an examination reveals that a wholesale displacement of workers is taking place both at automated enterprises and at technologically less advanced non-monopoly plants which, unable to compete with automated production, close down or go over to new lines of output. True, some of the displaced workers — especially those who are still young enough and have sufficient general and technical education — may be re-employed and re-trained after the reorganization of production. But a plant that has been automated will obviously employ fewer workers than it did before. As a rule, the older workers become permanently unemployed and completely lose their skills. Some of the redundant workers, as can be seen from a contribution from the USA, look for work at other plants or other industries, and have to take less congenial jobs at lower wages and under worse conditions.

Objectively automation tends to heighten the workers' skills, to create the material conditions for abolishing the antithesis between mental and manual labor, and to promote general and specialized education. In practice, however, the process assumes under capitalism complex, contradictory, and often distorted forms owing to the class character of automation.

In order to recover their expenditures on the renewal of fixed capital necessitated by automation, employers deliberately downgrade large numbers of workers and cut their wage rates accordingly. This is reflected in official statistics since they are compiled on the basis of data supplied by the employers. Many occupations which are considered skilled in some countries, are classed as unskilled in others. In some countries the leaders of reformist craft unions have made it

*Ibid.

the established practice to recognize only the members of these unions as skilled workers in their respective industries.

As the ruling class, the bourgeoisie does not want to see the workers' cultural level raised; actually it is afraid of such progress. Hence it is not by chance that the existing system of general and vocational education in the capitalist countries is unable to satisfy, as several contributors

have noted, the need for highly-skilled production personnel, including qualified engineers and other technicians.

Lastly, it should be noted, even at highly automated plants there are unskilled laborers engaged on a variety of auxiliary work which from the standpoint of the capitalist, it is unprofitable to mechanize.

The Aristocracy of Labor

The First Comment noted that the question of the labor aristocracy had proved to be the most complicated. Even after the discussion many aspects of the problem remain unclear and merit further study. The First Comment also pointed to differences in approach to the question. An analysis of the exchange of views shows that these were largely due to the specific features of development in the various countries. As the *Economie et politique* observed, the differences of opinion in the first contributions are explained also by the difference in approach to Lenin's definitions of the labor aristocracy and by the emphasis placed on one or another aspect of these definitions.

Lenin examined the labor aristocracy in connection with the historical development of capitalism, stressing the changes in its composition and numbers.

Whereas in the 19th century the term "labor aristocracy" was applied to the privileged, highly-paid sections of highly-skilled workers organized in craft unions in Britain, as can be seen from Lenin's writings, the situation changed with the transition to imperialism. Inasmuch as British trade and industrial monopoly was replaced by the monopoly of a handful of highly-developed countries, the labor aristocracy appeared in all of these countries. The trade unions embraced an increasing number of workers and membership in them was no longer necessarily a hallmark of the labor aristocracy. In the unions themselves, which were still under reformist leadership, a process of differentiation began after the turn of the century, the rank-and-file masses being subjected to intensified exploitation while the reactionary, class-collaborationist upper crust was more and more corrupted by the capitalists. True, narrow craft unions of workers who could be classed exclusively as labor aristocracy still existed in some countries. In the early period of the development of imperialism a good many clerical workers also belonged to the economically privileged section.

In the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, particularly at its present stage, when the

ideas of socialism have been embraced by broad masses in the capitalist countries and when the Communist parties in some of them have become the leading force of the working class, the latter "has in some instances succeeded in winning by stubborn struggle a number of its pressing demands," as the November 1960 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out. The Swedish journal *Vor Tid* points out in its contribution that the wage increases won by certain sections of the working class, for example the Swedish building, metal and mine workers, are the result of stubborn class struggle. But while these workers belong to highly-paid categories, they constitute the most militant detachments of the Swedish proletariat and cannot be classed as labor aristocracy. Today craft unions, once the breeding-ground of the labor aristocracy, have practically disappeared. As a result of the development of the class struggle, the trade unions have become mass organizations embracing millions of workers. In Italy, France and some other countries, many of them are led by representatives of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. But even where the unions are headed by reformists, their political consciousness (as in Britain, Federal Germany, Austria, etc.) is often on a higher level than that of the Social Democratic parties. Thus the proletarian struggle itself tends to narrow down the labor aristocracy. This is also facilitated, in the first place, by the fact that with the disintegration of the colonial system the monopolies have fewer opportunities for exploiting the underdeveloped countries, and, secondly, by the tendency toward a levelling of the wages of skilled and unskilled workers, and of industrial workers and rank-and-file office workers, which in the final analysis leads to a consolidation of the proletariat as a class and to unity of interests in the common struggle.

While repeatedly laying the emphasis on the economic roots of the labor aristocracy, Lenin at the same time invariably pointed to its connection with bourgeois policy within the labor movement, with bourgeois ideology. Today the political and

ideological methods used by the bourgeoisie to influence the proletariat are far more varied than before, and ever wider sections of the working class are subjected to capitalist indoctrination. Suffice it to mention the insistently boosted "human relations" and "profit-sharing" schemes, "popular ownership" of stock, etc. Some monopoly concerns grant certain privileges to their employees designed to bind them to the firm and ensure their loyalty. The mass propaganda media—the press, radio, television and cinema—are also lined up to divert the workers away from the class struggle, to convince them of the permanence of the capitalist system. But all these methods are counteracted by the Communist parties and the progressive trade unions, which wage a struggle against the monopolies and for better conditions for the proletariat, relying primarily on the workers of the big enterprises. The overall result is that even if a labor aristocracy is reproduced under modern capitalist conditions, it is an extremely unstable category.

The labor bureaucracy, the emergence of which was noted by Lenin, is increasingly the chief mainstay of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement today. It consists of the top leadership and some of the lesser functionaries of the reformist trade unions and parties, various social-reformist officials who man the local government bodies and run the social security systems in some capitalist countries, Right-wing Socialists who sit on the boards of corporations and take part in the management of many state and mixed state-and-private enterprises in countries like Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Austria, and Sweden. A certain section of these "labor bureaucrats," as was correctly pointed out in the discussion, have already become part of the capitalist class. It is enough to name such AFL-CIO leaders as Meany and Reuther.

It goes without saying that not all questions connected with the changes that have taken place in the structure of the working class have yet been fully elucidated. For instance, the problem of brain workers in the non-production sphere — teachers, doctors, etc.—which was dealt with in some of the contributions. To what extent have these groups been drawn into the process of capitalist reproduction? To what extent are they connected with the working class? The answer would throw light also on the class status of all these professions.

As could be expected, the exchange of views covered a far wider field than problems directly connected with the structure of the working class. Many important aspects of the class structure of contemporary capitalist society generally were discussed, and naturally enough, for the working

class is not separated by an insurmountable wall from other sections of society but comes in contact with them through a number of intermediate groups. It is to be hoped that the discussion will stimulate further examination of the full range of problems involved.

The subjects dealt with have a great practical as well as theoretical significance. Since the proletariat comprises various strata and since their living and working conditions differ, each of these sections also has its own psychology, its own degree of political and revolutionary consciousness.

In all the capitalist countries there are, alongside that section of the proletariat which understands its revolutionary tasks and fights for their realization, sections of the working class that still follow the bourgeoisie and are deluded by it. This applies especially to a good part of the clerical and commercial proletariat, and also to the qualified engineers and technicians. Hence it is the task of the Communist parties and revolutionary trade unions to develop the socialist consciousness of these sections.

It is appropriate to recall what Lenin said in this connection: "There has always been and always will be a certain educational element in the political activity of the Social Democratic party (i.e., a revolutionary party—Ed.): we must educate the entire class of wage workers to be fighters for the liberation of all mankind from any oppression; we must steadily teach more and more sections of this class, we must learn how to approach the most unlettered, the most undeveloped members of this class, those the least influenced by our science or by the science of life, in order to be able to talk to them, to come close to them, to be able patiently and consistently to raise them to the level of social-democratic consciousness, without turning our teaching into a dry dogma, teaching it not by books alone, but by participation in the vital day-to-day struggles of these unlettered and least developed strata of the proletariat."*

The education of these sections of the proletariat is facilitated, as we have seen, by modern conditions of social production. The intensified exploitation of all sections of the working class and the diminishing disparities between them as regards living conditions and the character of their labor make for a greater identity of the vital interests of the proletarians of manual and mental labor. New sections of the proletariat are gradually becoming aware of their class affiliation and are joining more and more actively in both the economic and political struggles of the working class as a whole. Rank-and-file clerical work-

*V. I. Lenin, *About Confusing Politics with Pedagogics*.

ers have played a big part in some of the most outstanding recent mass actions in Japan, Belgium, France, India and Argentina, fighting side by side with the industrial workers.

The masses of working men and women belonging to the various sections of the proletariat can be drawn into the common working-class struggle only if the Communist parties and the progressive trade unions work steadfastly towards this goal, advancing demands and slogans corresponding to the interests of each given section. In the course of this struggle all sections of the working class will come to see that in the final analysis only socialism can radically improve their position, by abolishing capitalist exploitation and creating the conditions for the unimpeded development of the productive forces in the interests of all working people.

The Meeting of the Representatives of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties stressed the en-

hanced significance of the general democratic tasks of the international working-class movement. "The Communists," says the Statement, "regard the struggle for democracy as part of the struggle for socialism."

The affinity between the democratic and socialist tasks of the working-class movement arises from the new balance of forces in the world arena, from the emergence of an anti-monopoly movement uniting all sections of the people in the capitalist countries. At the same time, it is associated with the rapid growth of the proletariat, particularly its new sections. With the increasing weight of the working class and the heightening of its class consciousness, the struggle for the extension and regeneration of democracy which the Communists are waging in the capitalist countries is becoming more and more closely integrated with the struggle for socialism.

Crises and the Working People

In the Grip of Economic Contradictions

HYMAN LUMER (USA)

An Upturn That Breeds Despondency

The American economy is now emerging from its fourth postwar crisis. From a peak of 111 in January, 1960, the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production (1957 = 100) had fallen to 102 by January, 1961, or about eight per cent, and remained at about that level throughout March. In April, however, it rose by three points and in May by an added three points. This was the sign of a reversal.

The upturn was most marked in the steel and auto industries. The steel industry is now producing at approximately 70 per cent of capacity after a good many months of operation at no more than 50 per cent. The auto industry turned out less than 1.2 million cars in the first quarter of the year but 1.6 million in the second. The production of durable goods as a whole, in which the decline had been concentrated, showed an increase of nearly eight per cent in April and May.

The 1960-61 crisis proved to be the mildest of the postwar crises, and in particular considerably less pronounced than the crisis of 1957-58, which registered a drop of nearly 15 per cent. Yet neither the comparative mildness of the decline nor the prospects of recovery have given rise to any great jubilation in capitalist circles. For all the signs point to an upswing which will be even more limited and incomplete than was the recovery from the 1957-58 crisis.

The prevalent view, as reported by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in May, has been that the gross national product will rise by \$20-30 billion in the final quarter of 1961 as compared with the first quarter.

In short, what is generally anticipated is an upturn which will merely continue the previous low rate of economic growth (some 2.5 per cent a year) and perpetuate existing levels of unemployment.

In steel, the most optimistic view is that the 1961 output will not exceed the 1960 figure. Most spokesmen for the manufacturers believe that the 1961 market can be satisfied by an output of 5.5 million cars, at most six million, as against the 6.7 million produced in 1960.

Similarly, the outlook for residential construction, an important factor in previous recoveries, is that it will at best register only a small increase. The number of houses started in 1961 is expected to be not more than 1,300,000.

The prospects for foreign trade are also uncertain. A peculiar contradiction will make itself increasingly felt here. Maintenance of the present level of exports is dependent on continuation of the boom in other major capitalist countries. In these, however, overexpansion and excess capacity are beginning to appear in growing measure. This development has already led to a drive for export markets on the part of these countries who are both competitors of the U.S. and importers of U.S. goods. As it continues, it is bound to give rise to a further reduction of imports by these countries from the United States.

The Growing Burden of Unemployed Capital

Underlying these gloomy prospects is the growing dead weight of excess productive capacity. The economist Alvin H. Hansen points out (*New York Times Magazine*, March 12, 1961):

"... manufacturing output has increasingly fallen below manufacturing capacity. In 1954, output fell 10 per cent below capacity; in 1958, 20 per cent. Currently, the margin between capacity and utilization has widened to 23 per cent."

The steel industry, able to turn out nearly 150 million tons of steel* a year, operated at two-thirds of capacity in 1960. The auto industry, with an estimated capacity of ten million cars, currently uses about 60 per cent of it. In the aluminum industry, 30 per cent of capacity lies idle, in the textile industry 25 per cent, and so on.

This growing burden of excess capacity has made itself felt in a falling off of investment in new plant and equipment. Such outlays reached a peak of some \$37 billion in 1957. In 1958, they fell to \$30.5 billion. By 1960, they had risen again to \$35.7 billion, while for 1961 the estimated total is \$34.5 billion. Thus the 1957 level was not regained in the subsequent period.

In sharp contrast to this, the 1957 figure exceeded the preceding peak in 1953 by 30 per cent and this in turn was 28 per cent higher than the peak of 1948. But while cutting down expenditure for new plant and equipment the top corporations maintain a high rate of investment for moderniza-

tion of their facilities, even in the face of already existing excess capacity. For instance, 70 per cent of the 1961 outlays for plant and equipment are destined for modernization—the highest percentage on record. The corporations are impelled to increase outlays for modernization because of economic difficulties, the sharpening competition among them and on the world market, and the high rate of modernization which has been taking place in other leading capitalist countries.

In the words of the president of one major corporation the watchword has become "automate or die." L. L. Colbert, head of the Chrysler Corporation, expressed it in a recent interview (*U.S. News and World Report*, March 13, 1961) as follows:

"Q. What is your reason for wanting more plant? Everybody has the idea that you have enough capacity for production.

"A. We at Chrysler feel that we have sufficient plant capacity for the time being—for the foreseeable future. But the necessity for investing in new equipment never stops. We have been in the process of replacing old equipment with up-to-the-minute versions month after month. And any encouragement we can get from Washington in the form of a tax incentive for speeding up replacement programs certainly will be welcomed by us."

The drive to modernize is vividly illustrated by the steel industry. Here, despite protracted operation far below capacity, outlays for plant and equipment were raised from \$939 million in 1959 to almost \$1.5 billion in 1960.

It is estimated that today the big steel companies can operate at a profit at as little as 30 per cent of capacity. For example, in 1960 U.S. Steel, though operating at half capacity much of the year, recorded its highest yearly profit. The main purpose of investment in the steel industry is not expansion but the cutting of unit costs and the raising of profitability.

The spending of large sums on modernization has undoubtedly served to bolster the volume of investment and thus to moderate somewhat the postwar economic declines which have so far occurred. On the other hand, it adds to the accumulation of excess capacity. It is plain that the present situation cannot continue indefinitely but must, in the face of the continued piling up of unneeded capacity, sooner or later give way to one necessitating sharp cuts in investment. Such a time may not be far off.

The Nation's Number One Problem

The most disturbing manifestation of the limited character of the current economic upturn is unquestionably mass unemployment, which has come

*Steel output is estimated in this article in short tons. One short ton=0.907 of the metric ton.

to be almost universally recognized as the nation's number one problem.

Since the 1957-58 crisis, the rate of unemployment as officially estimated has never fallen significantly below five per cent.* By December 1960 it had risen to nearly seven per cent and remained at that level through May, 1961. In April of this year, more than 2.1 million, or 43 per cent of all those listed as unemployed, had been without jobs for 15 weeks or longer. And of these, 900,000 had been out of work for six months or more. In addition, some three million workers were reduced to part-time employment.

Unemployment is especially heavy among factory workers, who are hardest hit by the impact of technological innovation and cyclical declines. In March, 1961, for example, the rate of unemployment among skilled factory workers was 9.1 per cent, among semi-skilled workers 12.1 per cent, and among unskilled laborers 19.1 per cent. In contrast, only 4.9 per cent of clerical and sales workers were jobless.

The problem of jobs is particularly acute among the youth. In the age groups below 25 years, unemployment is two to three times as high as among those over 25. As jobs generally become scarcer and as a rising number of young people enter the labor market each year, due to the exceptionally high birth rates of the war and immediate postwar years, for large numbers of youth the prospect of finding employment on leaving school becomes increasingly dim.

Older workers are also affected. Though better able to hold his job because of his greater seniority, the worker over 45 years of age, once laid off, has extreme difficulty in ever obtaining another job. Consequently such workers make up a disproportionately high percentage of the chronically jobless.

Among the Negro workers, subjected to special discrimination and oppression, the rate of jobless is about twice that among whites. In some of our largest cities, Negro unemployment has reached truly alarming proportions. Thus, in Pittsburgh it was found to be 24 per cent, in Philadelphia 28 per cent and in Detroit 39 per cent. In some other cities it is much higher, running as high as 71 per cent in South Bend, Indiana, or more than five times the rate among whites.

The extent of the privation, misery and degradation visited on the Negro people by unemployment is truly appalling. Such are the economic

fruits of Jim-Crow discrimination in a land whose rulers unblushingly proclaim themselves the champions of democracy everywhere else in the world!

As the report of the Joint Economic Committee cited above indicates, an upturn will evidently not produce any big changes and may leave close to seven per cent of the labor force still unemployed at the end of 1961.

Merely to keep the rate of unemployment from rising, according to the AFL-CIO, would require an economic growth rate of five per cent a year. To reduce unemployment to four per cent, Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg asserts, at least seven million new jobs would have to be created within the coming year. This would necessitate a rise of no less than 14 per cent in the gross national product. Whatever the relative merits of these differing estimates, the main point is clear: to bring about a substantial reduction in unemployment would require a far higher rate of growth than now appears to be in prospect.

If the immediate outlook is discouraging, the longer-range prospects appear no brighter, for both the growth of the labor force and the elimination of jobs through technological innovation will be much accelerated. A report issued in March, 1960, by the Special Senate Committee on Unemployment Problems concludes:

"The problem of unemployment will assume far greater proportions in the next ten years unless decisive action is taken. After each of the last three recessions the rate of unemployment was higher than it had been before the recession. In the next decade the number of youths entering the labor market will increase by 46 per cent. Dislocations caused by automation and technological change will increase."

To cope with these problems an increasing rate of economic growth is required, whereas the actual trend in the growth rate has been downward and the current state of affairs certainly offers no promise of a reversal.

Mounting Economic Instability

The character of the current recovery highlights anew the basic features of the postwar American economy, namely, growing instability and tendencies to stagnation. This has now developed to such an extent that the unreality of the rosy optimism constantly exuded by the Eisenhower Administration has become only too painfully evident and its successor has been compelled to take a much more sober view of things.

The report of the Joint Economic Committee states: "Recovery from the 1960-61 recession, if there is recovery, emphasizes a singular and most disturbing fact. Since 1953, each recession

*It must be borne in mind that the government figures considerably understate the actual extent of unemployment. Thus, they count as unemployed only those actively looking for work, excluding the many who have given up looking because none is available. If these and other omitted categories are included, and if those forced to work part time are taken into account, the actual level of unemployment is roughly 50 per cent higher than indicated by the official figures.

has been followed by a less and less complete recovery. Each recovery period has left a higher percentage of the labor force unemployed than before, and a wider gap between the Nation's production and its productive capabilities."

The trend is more graphically delineated in a statement issued by the President's Council of Economic Advisers in March. The statement points out that "the three successive upswings from 1949 to 1960 lasted 45, 35 and 25 months respectively. In eleven months of the first of these, unemployment fell below three per cent. In the second it dropped only to about four per cent, and in the third only to about five per cent. A continuation of this trend is evident in the present upswing."

All this serves to bear out once more the correctness of the Statement of the 81 Parties, which says: "The richest of the developed capitalist countries of the world—the United States of America—has become a land of especially big chronic unemployment. Increasing undercapacity operation in industry has become permanent in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, which is achieved at the expense of the standard of life of the working people, the rate of growth of production has been declining in the postwar years and has been barely above the growth of population. Overproduction crises have become more frequent."

The growing instability of the economy reflects first of all the progressive abatement of the special conditions created by the Second World War, which by now have virtually disappeared. The deferred consumer demand growing out of the war has long been satisfied. The lag in renewal of fixed capital which developed during the depression of the 1930's and war years has been more than overcome. The other capitalist countries have not only repaired the ravages of war but have for a number of years been engaged in active expansion and modernization of their productive facilities. As a result competition for markets has grown, and the share of the United States in world markets has declined. The economic position of the United States in the capitalist world is steadily deteriorating.

Secondly, the rising economic instability reflects the shot-in-the-arm character of the stimulus provided by large-scale military expenditures. Today the basically harmful effects of pouring ten per cent of the national product down the drain each year are asserting themselves more and more.

In recent years the growth of economic instability in this country has begun to show some qualitatively new features. One of these is the falling off of total investment in new plant and equipment noted above. Another is the fact that

key industries like auto and steel reached a peak in production some years ago (auto with an output of some nine million cars and trucks, and steel with an output of 117 million tons in 1955), and have lagged behind ever since. Above all, there is the emergence of large-scale unemployment as a chronic problem.

It would obviously be wrong, however, to seek to conclude from this that the economy is moving toward some sort of non-cyclical state of "permanent recession." The economic cycle is inherent in capitalist production and will continue to manifest itself as long as capitalism exists.

The Fight for Jobs

American monopoly capital, beset by mounting economic difficulties at home and abroad, strives more and more strenuously to cope with them at the expense of the masses of working people. It is relying increasingly on the resources of the state to bail it out through bigger arms budgets, tax rebates, new forms of subsidy and similar measures. It has launched a major offensive against organized labor, seeking through the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts and other anti-labor legislation to hamstring the unions by bringing them under increasing government supervision and control. In July, for example, the Kennedy Administration applied the special provisions of the Taft Hartley Act to break the nationwide seamen's strike. At the same time the monopolies are conducting a drive against wages and living standards on the false grounds that these must be held down to maintain the "competitive price position" of American goods on the world market.

The ultra-reactionary National Association of Manufacturers, which has become increasingly vociferous in recent months, calls openly for wage cuts, sharp reduction of government expenditures for social welfare and huge tax cuts for the monopolies. Together with other reactionary elements, it fights bitterly against even the limited concessions which the Kennedy Administration is forced to advocate.

Now, on the basis of the shameful 5-4 decisions of the Supreme Court upholding sections of the McCarran and Smith Acts, designed in effect to outlaw the Communist Party, monopoly hopes to use these police-state laws to create a dragnet for all progressive organizations.

The American workers face formidable problems and sharp struggles. The existing provisions for the welfare of unemployed workers are grossly inadequate, despite years of struggle to improve them. In March of this year, only 55 per cent of the jobless were receiving unemployment compensation, which averaged only 30 per cent of earnings. So meager are these benefits that twice

within the last three years Congress has been compelled to supplement them temporarily. Even more inadequate are the provisions for public assistance, to which unemployed workers are driven when they cannot obtain unemployment compensation, and to secure which they are often subjected to the most degrading requirements.

The Kennedy Administration, despite its more sober view of the situation, has not accomplished much more than its predecessor, and its program is insufficient to meet even the immediate needs of the people. To date it has pushed through Congress measures providing for a temporary extension of unemployment benefits, some increase in the minimum wage and minimal assistance to workers in depressed areas. Other proposals yet to be acted on include permanent improvements in unemployment compensation, increased social security benefits and a program of retraining for unemployed workers. Even these limited measures are under savage attack by the monopolists and their passage is far from assured.

Though much has been said about the necessity of increased government expenditures to meet the people's needs, in practice the main emphasis, as in the past, has been placed on increased military spending, as is evident from the Administration's budget request for the fiscal year 1962. Its longer-range proposals are centered mainly on tax incentives to business to stimulate investment.

The top labor leadership has supported the Kennedy program, though critical of some of its inadequacies. At the same time, the AFL-CIO has advanced an extensive economic program of its own which has much merit and can serve as a basis for struggle. However, the program has some serious shortcomings, chief among them the fact that it is based on support for the policy of bigger arms budgets.

Clearly, the situation calls for an all-out, militant struggle for jobs and security. Such a struggle must in the first place unite all sections of the working class, employed and unemployed. At the same time, this is not the fight of the working class alone but is part of the general anti-monopoly struggle by all sections of the people—small business, the working farmers, the Negro people and all others ground down by the trusts. With these allies the working class must unite in common cause.

The fight for jobs must be based first of all on the fact that it is inseparably tied to the

fight for peace. Growing numbers are shedding the illusion that arms production is the answer to unemployment, especially with the rise of large-scale layoffs in the aircraft and other arms industries as production shifts to missiles. But the loss of illusions cannot in itself bring about any success in the fight for disarmament. What is needed is a vigorous campaign for disarmament and for a peace economy as the basis for tax cuts, expanded outlays for social welfare and other measures which will serve to enhance greatly the prospects of employment.

As automation and other technological improvements take an increasing toll of jobs, the demand for a thirty-hour week with forty hours' pay takes on ever greater urgency. This demand cannot be won, however, without a militant anti-monopoly crusade embracing the entire labor movement.

The fight for the welfare of the unemployed is, as we have seen, far from won. In particular, drastic improvements in unemployment compensation are needed, to assure to every unemployed worker, without exception, adequate benefits to be paid for the full duration of his unemployment. In addition to this, serious attention must be given to the training of youth and unemployed workers generally, together with proper provisions for relocation.

At the heart of the struggle is the fight against the discrimination against Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers. This must include a demand for special aid to the Negro communities as depressed areas.

These demands form the necessary foundation of a program of effective struggle, directed against the giant monopolies and their efforts to place the burden of depression and unemployment on the backs of the workers. In the course of such struggles, American workers can be brought to see more clearly the immense achievements of socialism, particularly its eradication of the plague of unemployment, and many of them can be won to the cause of a socialist America.

Such is the essence of the program advocated by the Communist Party. The fight against unemployment is not a temporary one. It will continue and will gain in scope and momentum. And despite all the efforts of reaction to silence them, American Communists will be found in the forefront of the struggle.

Reviews

Man of the Communist Era

IN THE vast quantity of "Gagariana" that has been piling up ever since the first cosmonaut made his epoch-making voyage into space, a special place must be given to the hero's own memoirs, *The Road to Outer Space*.

It first appeared serially in *Pravda*, then in the pages of *Neues Deutschland* and other newspapers and took final shape in a book which has already been published in the Soviet Union, Japan and other countries.

It has aroused tremendous interest for a number of reasons. In the first place people have always admired heroes and everything about a hero has a peculiar fascination for the public.

Moreover, the particular sphere of Gagarin's heroism has a special appeal of its own. That age-old science, astronomy, has never stood in need of embellishment. However firmly his feet were planted on the earth, Man has always reached for the stars. The watchword "ad astra!" dates back to the days of ancient Rome. Undoubtedly one of the reasons for the heightened interest in everything concerning Gagarin is this cosmic curiosity that has inspired man since the beginning of time.

Last but not least, Gagarin has aroused in people a feeling of community, his feat underlined that which unites, not divides men. They saw him as an "earthman" like themselves, who shares with them this small planet that has now shrunk in size to 108 minutes of orbital flight. The men of the future will see Gagarin's achievement as a triumph of the human mind and spirit, transcending geographical and other boundaries. Newton discovered the force of gravity, Gagarin overcame it. Such is the continuity of progress. And the Soviet Union, as we know, has acclaimed the cosmonaut's flight as an achievement not only of the Soviet people but of all mankind.

But people do not live in the future. They live in the present. They read the biographies of famous people not only out of a desire to learn more about them, but because they are searching for answers to the questions which excite their hearts and minds.

The cosmonaut's life story is simple enough. To the Soviet reader, indeed, it is a familiar story — and not because he has read it before, but because it is compounded of details, each or sev-

eral of which could easily have occurred in the life of any other Soviet citizen. As a matter of fact, they did occur before our very eyes in the case of Gagarin's compatriot and "celestial brother" Herman Titov, who followed Gagarin's "footsteps" along the road to the stars, in an even more complicated experiment, covering a distance equivalent to a round trip to the moon and bringing mankind nearer to the planets of our solar system.

Just as the spaceship *Vostok* embodies the efforts of thousands of brains and hands, so is Gagarin the epitome of the hero of our time, reared by the Communist Party. Yet Gagarin, the individual, of course, is inimitable. For the typical is not the stereotype.

"... My family was a very ordinary one, very much like millions of other working families in our socialist country... My parents worked in a collective farm, my father was a carpenter, my mother a dairymaid..."

That is how the book begins. The reader opens it, eager to discover what this hero of the Cosmos is like in ordinary, every-day life. And he finds that the spaceman is an extremely "earthly" individual. Gagarin is no superman, he is just an ordinary human being and that is why he evokes warmer feelings than admiration in his readers, he wins their love and affection.

In the autumn of 1941 the future cosmonaut went to school for the first time. While the fascists were advancing, the schoolchildren were learning their ABC's. Then came the occupation. When the fascists were driven out, studies were resumed in the devastated school. The children used the margins of old newspapers to write on, they learned to count with rifle cartridge cases. There were no textbooks, so an Infantry Field Service Regulations left behind by the soldiers who had passed through the village was their reader....

After school came the trade school, friends and books and hot disputes with the other lads about heroism. Avid in his thirst for knowledge, the boy chafed at the shortness of the 24-hour day. Then came the technical school, followed by his introduction to a flying club and the fulfilment of a long-cherished dream....

His love story too is touching in its pure simplicity. They met at a dance and took to each other at once. They soon found that they shared many tastes in common, liked the same books, the same plays . . . Two years later — for it does not do to be hasty in such serious matters — they were married. Now they would journey through life together.

Gradually the picture of the cosmonaut — already familiar, but from a distance as it were — moves into focus and we see him clearly and distinctly, just as he is, a simple, lovable human being. The truth and sincerity of the book gives it the force of political dynamite, blasting the foundations of anti-communist propaganda.

The reader knows that Gagarin is a Communist. And the simple, sincere, scrupulously honest young man whose acquaintance he makes through the book stands out in sharp contrast to the false, stereotyped character invented by capitalist propaganda. For the reader in the socialist countries, and indeed for many people in other countries as well, this is self-evident. The book interests them because it affords them a close-up view of Gagarin, gives them a model to emulate. But for those who have been misled by capitalist propaganda, the book is a revelation.

One is reminded of the reaction of Famusov, one of the characters in Griboyedov's famous comedy *Wit Works Woe*, on learning about the radical views of another character, Chatsky. "Good heavens," he exclaims, "the man is a Carbonari!"

Famusov had only the haziest idea of who the Carbonari were. The courageous Italian revolutionaries were associated in his mind with something dreadful, something which threatened his own smug unruffled existence. And he used the word "Carbonari" not in its literal sense but as a foul execration issuing from the depths of his mean little soul.

This trick — as old as the hills — of turning a word into a label is one of the principal methods of anti-communism. From day to day the Western man-in-the-street is literally inundated by a flood of newspaper lies, a torrent of radio hysteria and a stream of teleslander. He is made to believe that the Communist is that subhuman creature who operates with knife and poison on the comic strip page of the *New York Herald Tribune*. They offer no arguments, no proof; they rely solely on the deadly effect of endless repetition.

A good part of the population of the so-called "free world" is fed this lie day in and day out, and is poisoned by it. It is subjected to the influence of reactionary propaganda, which though superficial, is vast in scope. As a result, for a great many people certain words become asso-

ciated not with ideas but with emotions. For the victims of capitalist propaganda the word "Communist" evokes negative emotions. They, the victims, have as vague a notion of what Communists are and what they are fighting for as had Famusov about the ideas and objectives of the Carbonari.

The Communists patiently explain their program to all who are willing to listen. But some people do not want to listen. The years of anti-communist propaganda have produced in them a negative conditioned reflex to the word "Communist." And to remove this artificially created emotional barrier and appeal to the reason, some "shock" treatment is essential.

The striking facts of Communist reality have precisely this sobering effect. The more spectacular the fact the harder it is to hide it, to minimize its significance and to pass over it without drawing some general conclusions. That is why Yuri Gagarin's exploit, apart from its scientific implications, acquired such a tremendous propaganda impact. Just as a smart slap in the face quiets hysteria, Gagarin's flight silenced the anti-communist howl for a moment. The Communist Gagarin had broken through not only into the Cosmos but into the consciousness of the millions. He had overcome not only the cosmic barriers erected by Nature, but the emotional barrier in the minds of the deluded.

On June 7 the Mexican Liberal journal *Siempre* published a letter from a reader named Enrique M. Rosas to the editor of the magazine.

"I imbibed the Catholic religion with my mother's milk," he writes, "but when I read in your esteemed journal the diary of Yuri Gagarin's flight I felt as if some of the shackles that had fettered my thinking had suddenly fallen away. I know that I am not free to search for the truth. Ever since the persecution of Communists began in our beloved Mexico and the press began to depict communism as one of the greatest evils of mankind, I decided to read everything I could lay my hands on about it. And the attitude I had formed with regard to the socialist countries was shattered when I read Gagarin's diary. 'There before my eyes,' says Yuri, 'was the planet on which I was born and never before had I experienced such a profound love for everything on Earth as now when I could take it in in a single glance . . .'

"Mr. Editor, if there are other people in that country who react with such poetic feeling to reality and who express this feeling so poignantly to the whole world, can it be right for the rest of the world to shun this country?

"From this moment I intend to dedicate the remainder of my life to marching with the Communists toward the true liberation of mankind."

Anti-communism, it appears, denied Communists the right even to human feelings. And many people accepted this absurdity as axiomatic. That is why the smallest details in Gagarin's book, as, for instance, his account of the tender feelings evoked in him by the sight of our planet, struck such an unexpected chord in the heart of the Mexican reader, changing his entire political outlook.

Describing the Earth's horizon, Gagarin likens it to the gamut of color to be found in Rerich's painting. Another detail. Yet it attracted the attention of the *Times of India*. Who would have thought, says the paper, that as he flew through space, Yuri Gagarin, the world's first cosmonaut, would have thought of art?

The Road to Outer Space is not a polemical book, but the plain facts contained in it and the warm humanity that permeates it through and through give the lie to the anti-communist fabrications. For example, they expose the false allegation that man under communism "is not free," that his fate is predetermined from infancy in every detail without the slightest regard for his own wishes and inclinations.

There was nothing preordained about Gagarin's becoming a cosmonaut. We see from his book that the element of chance played as large a part in shaping his destiny as it does in the case of most of us. However, these chance elements in the life of a single individual emerge as opportunities in terms of society as a whole. Gagarin was perfectly free to choose his path in life. There were no social hurdles to overcome. They simply did not exist. Nor was the modesty of his family's income any obstacle. He was as free as it is possible for any member of human society to be free.

Of course to become a cosmonaut he had to possess perfect physical health, literally from head to toe. And here Nature was on his side; the social system had little to do with it. To become a cosmonaut you have to be fortunate enough to be chosen. And when you are one of several equally qualified in every respect, it is here that luck comes in. And again luck favored Gagarin. That too can hardly be attributed to the organization of society. But these two exceptional circumstances arose against the background of the commonplace circumstances of socialist society, a truly free society in which all roads are open to man, including the road to the stars. As is pointed out in the draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "Everyone is guaranteed equal and free choice of occupation and pro-

fession, with due regard to the interests of society." Everyone hammers out his own destiny, but in that splendid and perfectly equipped smithy — the socialist society.

Gagarin received a Communist education. How frightful this sounds to the philistine! "The regime moulds the man. He has no freedom to develop his individuality!" Yes, the Communist regime transforms not only the economy but human beings as well. The socialist society teaches people to be worthy members of that society, it imbues them with a sense of oneness in its progress from the splendid present to a still more radiant future. Capitalist society too produces its own type of individual — the cynical egoist. Let a man tell you what he looks forward to and you can guess what society he lives in. One of the American candidates for space flights is looking forward to opening a small business of his own when he returns. Gagarin wants to make himself useful to his people and to humanity as a whole. In the capitalist view, which the American cosmonaut shares, Gagarin's dreams may sound naive. But his dreams are nobler than those of his American colleague to the extent that his life is finer.

What emotions other than deep gratitude can a man feel for the mentor who guided his footsteps to the pinnacle of human achievement? Gagarin is filled with gratitude for the Communist Party which reared him. He is ready to carry out any assignment entrusted to him. And always, at the greatest moments of his life, he thinks of the Party.

In the statement he made before his flight he does not speak of himself. He speaks of his responsibility to the whole Soviet people, to all mankind, its present and future. "And if I am nevertheless ready to make this flight," he said, "it is only because I am a Communist, because I have before me the inspiring example of heroic feats performed by my Soviet compatriots."

The reasons for the success of Gagarin's book are the same as the reasons for the enthusiastic reception he is accorded wherever he goes. We have mentioned a few of them. Another and no less important reason is that people everywhere have seized the opportunity to demonstrate their revulsion against anti-communism. In Britain, a NATO country, the enthusiasm was such as to cast doubts on the effectiveness of capitalist propaganda. The restrained Britishers behaved in a manner which the staid, circumspect *Times* described as "bordering on hysteria." One irate American, Professor Clinton Rossiter, sent a letter to the *Times* asserting that this description was an under-statement. He complained that Gagarin's visit was "a stunning triumph of propaganda for the Soviet Union." In a subsequent issue

another *Times* reader, Graham Hough, ventured to explain what had happened: "American-inspired anti-communist evangelism," he wrote, "is officially pushed down the throats of the public to the point of nausea; and when the chance for a

reaction occurs it is naturally extravagant."

The Road to Outer Space — both in its literal sense and as the title of his fascinating book — is also the road to the hearts of the millions.

G. GREIS

The National Purpose or an International Obsession

IN NO other capitalist country is the ruling class so deeply engrossed in an examination of its political conscience as the ruling class of the United States. The reason for this is not hard to see. It lies in the persisting economic crisis at home and in the long series of political blunders abroad which have bedevilled successive United States' governments throughout the postwar, beginning with Truman's adoption of anti-communism and the cold war as official policy and culminating in Kennedy's monumental invasion fiasco in Cuba. The result, indeed the logical result, of these 15 years of anti-communism and cold war is that United States prestige in the world has sunk to an all-time low. Hence the misgivings in high places in and around Washington, or as the late John Foster Dulles once expressed it, the "agonizing reappraisal."

Ex-President Eisenhower during his stewardship in the White House responded to the widespread feeling of dismay by appointing a special "Commission on National Goals"; then, during the 1960 presidential campaign when Kennedy and Nixon were wooing the electorate the soiled political linen of the two big parties of the monopoly bourgeoisie received, if not a public washing, at least an airing. The press, too, affected by the outbreak of introspection, joined in. Mr. Henry Luce of *Life* magazine addressed himself to "ten thoughtful Americans" for their views on the blight which has had such a withering effect on the country's prestige.

Among the "thoughtful" ones were Walter Lippmann (*New York Herald Tribune*), James Reston (*New York Times*), John K. Jessup (*Life*), Adlai Stevenson (politician), Archibald MacLeish (poet), businessmen, educators, and even Billy Graham, the high-powered evangelist of the jet age. The result of the researches is now offered to the public in the shape of the book *The National Purpose**, which has for its subtitle: America in crisis, an urgent summons.

On one particular point the thinking of the ten coincides: the world of the 1960's is a world in revolution. We are living, says James Reston, "in a torrent of change, in a revolution of science, a social revolution at home and an unprecedented political revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

One would think that the United States, a country which was born in what Lenin described as one of the few really great revolutionary wars in history, would have no great difficulty in steering a straight and steady course in this "world in revolution." Such, however, is not the case. "We've lost our way in the woods," complains Archibald MacLeish; Radio Corporation of America chief David Sarnoff, who wants "to turn the cold war in America's favor," laments that Washington is suffering from "loss of nerve"; according to Adlai Stevenson, "we have lost our sense of national purpose"; what America lacks, says James Reston, is not "speeches," not "magazine articles," and not "exhortations" but a strong man, "a determined president of the United States."

As might be expected from a man of his reputation, Walter Lippmann's contribution, like that of Clinton Rossiter (educator), is sober, sane, and sensible. For Lippmann the new socialist world confronts the United States with a broad challenge "not only in military power but in all forms of power, the power to produce wealth and the power to use wealth for education, for the advancement of science and for public as well as private ends." And, he adds, whether we like it or not, "we shall have to live in the same world . . . with this immensely formidable rival."

Such, briefly, is the diagnosis of America's ills in the revolutionary setting of the 1960's by Mr. Luce's specially-picked team of sociological surgeons.

What do they prescribe? To side with the revolution which they see before them or side against it — that is the question. And, being the spokesmen of monopoly capitalism, they shrink

**The National Purpose. America in Crisis, an Urgent Summons.* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1960, 146 pp.

from the realities of the 1960's. After dissecting the body of American monopoly capitalism, they shudder at the awful sight and, hastening to put away the scalpel, they fall back on tranquilizers. In their distress, they soothe themselves by trotting out the bogey of communism and by invoking the Declaration of Independence and the slogans and traditions of the 1770's when their ancestors did not hesitate to wage a truly revolutionary war against the British colonial overlords. (Did not Mr. Kennedy boast in Boston on the eve of his recent visit to Europe that he was going to Vienna as the leader of "the greatest revolutionary country on earth, our knees do not tremble at the word revolution"?) How they remind us in this resurrecting of their revolutionary dead of the words used by Marx in characterizing the bourgeoisie of another time and another place: "... they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and in this borrowed language.*

And from the standpoint of "borrowed language" few American publications are so heavily in debt to the Declaration of Independence as *The National Purpose*. It will be appreciated that with ten authors writing on the same subject a certain amount of terminological overlapping was unavoidable, but, the wearying repetition of the "Rights of Man," "America's dedication to freedom," etc., etc., is not only dreary sermonizing, it has precious little in common with the harsh facts of present-day American political life.

One has only to turn from the pages of *The National Purpose* to the columns of the morning newspapers to appreciate all the humbug and all the hypocrisy which surround the word "freedom" in the sense that it is used or rather misused in the book and by Washington propaganda generally.

People all over the world are shocked and hurt by the news that comes one day from Little Rock, the next day from Alabama, and the day after that from Washington itself where diplomats from the newly independent African countries are refused housing accommodation and their children denied entry into schools.

The newspaper reader in cities of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America wonders why, if the United States "is the citadel of freedom," do Negro and white youth find it necessary to unite and fight for freedom for the 18 million Americans whose skins are black? And if America is having "a love affair with righteousness" why are the freedom fighters sent to jail in Alabama and Mississippi, while the race hooligans who assault

them enjoy the protection of the police and the state legislature?

Another misfortune of the authors is that their theorizing remains for the most part abject wishful thinking. And in this respect none cuts such a sorry figure as Mr. Adlai Stevenson. Before his appointment to the post of U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations — his reward for helping Kennedy to reach the White House — Stevenson, then in Opposition, was highly critical of the "self-deceit" of the Eisenhower regime. And so in his contribution to *The National Purpose* Mr. Stevenson calls for "truth and truth alone," not "politics of sedation"; and in an eloquent peroration he advocates a "return . . . to the bracing, invigorating, upland climate of truth itself."

But the ink had hardly had time to dry on this piece of idyllic prose before the U.S. aggression against Cuba came along, when Mr. Stevenson demonstrated that his *National Purpose* as a Minister completely contradicted his *National Purpose* as a member of the Opposition. The day after the invasion his "climate of truth" suddenly changed to a climate of falsehood. From the rostrum of the United Nations Mr. Stevenson unblushingly declared that the government of the United States had no part whatever in the invasion of Cuba.

Now bullies, as every schoolboy will tell you, are heartily detested, and the United States government, by acting the big bully against little Cuba, sent the country's prestige plummeting even lower than it did at the time of the Eisenhower debacle over the U-2 spy plane. As for what people thought of Mr. Stevenson's somersault from advocacy of truth in *The National Purpose* to Machiavellian chicanery in the United Nations, we will quote from the protest sent to President Kennedy by a group of American students at Oxford. "We had hoped," they wrote, "that under a new Administration United States foreign policy would reach a new level of honesty and good will. We did not expect that our ambassador to the United Nations would have to resort to deception and evasion."** Such is the epitaph to the political reputation murdered by Mr. Stevenson himself when he made truth the first casualty of the Cuban invasion.

Although the ten thoughtful men are, as we have said, not at all shy in repeating "freedom" over and over again they nowhere attempt a real political definition of the much maligned word. The attitude seems to be that the kind of freedom good for American capitalism is good enough for the whole world. What, for example, is one to make of the phrase in John K. Jessup's contribution: "Since America is now the world's

*Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

**Reported in *The Times*, May 15, 1961.

chief home and hope of freedom, a refusal to defend it could demoralize the cause of freedom for a thousand years."

The Jeffersons and the Tom Paines who inspired the Rights of Man and the Declaration of Independence could not foresee that in the 1960's the country which they helped to liberate and shape would be carved up into the separate empires of industry and finance which, in their totality and in their penetration and domination of the machinery of state, add up to what we know as state-monopoly capitalism. And the "freedom" which is lauded so much in Mr. Luce's *The National Purpose* signifies the right of the moguls of these vast empires — be it General Motors, United States Steel, Standard Oil or Ford — to exploit the labor of their tens of thousands of wage slaves and, when dollars can no longer be extracted from their labor, the right to throw the wage slaves onto the streets.

A result of this freedom is, if we are to believe Mr. Jessup, an American so "suffused in real luxuries" that "freedom and morality are taken for granted as casually as bread." We hope Mr. Jessup will not be too hard on us for saying it, but if only he would read his papers a little bit more carefully over the breakfast coffee, to say nothing of leaving the *Life* building for a brief visit to, say, Detroit, it is doubtful if he would write such nonsense about an "America suffused in real luxuries." For in Detroit, one of the greatest of American industrial cities, 207,000, 14.4 per cent of the labor force, are walking the streets without jobs. Instead of a suffusion of "luxuries" a correspondent of *The Times* (London) found "fear written on the faces of the thousands of unemployed who daily line up at employment offices, welfare shelters, and the center for the distribution of surplus government food."*

So despite the relative well-being of the higher paid category of workers in the United States, for the 4.8 million unemployed and their families getting the daily "bread" in the 1960's is not quite as causal a matter as the airy Mr. Jessup would have the unsuspecting reader believe.

Two of the contributors — Clinton Rossiter (educator) and Albert Wohlstetter (Rand Corporation) — although fully infected with the virus of anti-communism, reveal a greater awareness of the effects of Washington policy. Rossiter also admits that America's claim to world leadership "will remain suspect to most nations of the world so long as we punish men of color for claiming the rights of other Americans," while Wohlstetter recognizes the "problems of extending democracy inside our own country."

**The Times*, March 14, 1961.

The sentiment is fine, but, as is the case with so much of the sentiment in the book, it begins and ends with pious words. Meanwhile, the "claim to world leadership" is becoming increasingly "suspect." And one reason is that almost every day since the book appeared in print the "men of color" have been punished — beaten up and arrested — for entering cafes, buses, trains and bathing beaches reserved "only for whites."

Or contrast the pious words with the daily harassing of the Communist Party and the Left generally in the United States. The protection of the Bill of Rights, which is as sacred to the authors of *The National Purpose* as is the Bible, is denied to the Communist Party. "Congress," says the Bill of Rights, "shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the rights of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." For more than 40 years the American Communist Party has never ceased its struggle for a "redress of grievances" of the working people, Negro and white. When in his inaugural speech on January 20 President Kennedy said, "my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country," he was simply 40 years behind his fellow Americans in the Communist Party.

The American Communist Party, the Party of a truly national and international purpose, is not a secret society. Its National Purpose is openly proclaimed in its policy and its methods, at public meetings and in its publications. Moreover, the American Communist Party fully supports the views of the 81 Communist parties which, at a meeting in Moscow last November, reaffirmed the aim set forth at a previous meeting in 1957 "that the working class and its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist Party — seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means."

Yet while John F. Kennedy, the President of the United States, pleads with his countrymen to work on behalf of America, his brother Robert, U.S. Attorney General, threatens to throw into prison as "criminal conspirators" the men and women of the Communist Party who, in the spirit of the Bill of Rights, have an unsurpassed record for doing, in this particular context, the very thing that the President called for. What is more, the American Communists are fearless and outspoken champions of the Bill of Rights; it is the Kennedy brothers and some, not all, of the judges of the Supreme Court who are robbing the Bill of Rights of its democratic content.

What an ironic twist of history—the top men in Washington and their ideological bellringers, while loudly invoking the revolutionary traditions of their country's past, are in deadly fear of one of

the most famous documents of the bourgeois-democratic Age of Reason!

Apropos of this fear one of the dissenting Supreme Court judges, Justice Hugo Black, wrote: "This country was not built by men who were afraid and cannot be preserved by such men." ". . . I . . . deny . . . that this nation's ability to preserve itself depends upon suppression of the freedoms of religion, speech, press, assembly and petition."

Fear, then, is the dilemma of the authors of *The National Purpose*—fear of communism at home and deadly fear of communism abroad.

The American Communists loudly, firmly and actively support the fight for freedom in Alabama, in Cuba, in Algeria, in Laos, and in every country oppressed by imperialism. But the authors of *The National Purpose*, while they can see the world of capitalism and colonialism in a "torrent of change," in "an unprecedented revolution," unlike the Communists, are not free, because of their fear and because of their class interests, actively to support the worldwide revolutionary liberation struggle of the peoples.

While some of them, David Sarnoff, for instance, want a "peace corps" or specially trained guerrillas—a new name for the marines—in South-East Asia, not one of the ten is bold enough, or should we say free enough, to advocate training freedom fighters to go, say, to Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi.

Fear, as we know, is never conducive to rational thinking. It begets the irrational, begets obsessions. In the postwar United States it has begotten a rabid anti-communism, which is now the national and international obsession of the monopoly bourgeoisie and their political counselors. And this obsession, the source of so many of their blunders and of the loss of prestige, impels them to the "love affair" with all the tyrants still existing in the world and with the Hitler generals.

Will Mr. Reston's plea for a strong-man president, a plea echoed somewhat by Walter Lippmann, cure the crisis of American policy? Hardly.

The United States has changed presidents three times since the end of the war. But its postwar policy of anti-communism has not changed. This policy, begun by Truman and deepened by Eisenhower, shows no signs of being discontinued by Mr. Kennedy. Are we to conclude from Reston's plea that neither Truman nor Eisenhower was a strong president? Would it not be more correct to say that what is needed in addition to the comings and goings of presidents is a change from the unsound policy of anti-communism to the sound, sensible and realistic policy of peaceful coexistence?

We are surprised that neither Reston nor Lippmann has analyzed the Roosevelt era when the personality of the President was greatly enhanced by the wise and rational purpose pursued at home and abroad. In those days United States prestige was at an all-time high, whereas now, with the postwar policy of anti-communism, it is in ruins. The lesson should be obvious.

Moreover, the pages of history are replete with the names of "strong" men—anti-communist men—who were carried to destruction by the floods of Mr. Reston's "torrent of change"! In this category, in addition to Hitler and Mussolini, we could mention, in particular, such darlings of the Pentagon as Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee.

In *The National Purpose* we failed to discern the voice of the real America, the voice of the working people. Mr. Luce apparently was too busy lending support to the hounding of the American Communist Party, otherwise he might have asked such a distinguished American leader and author as William Foster to contribute to the symposium the Communist Party's views on the National Purpose. Had he done so, his symposium, besides being more interesting and useful, would be much more representative of the American nation.

John GIBBONS

Communications and Comment

Education and Culture to the Working People!

TODAY half of the adult population in the world is illiterate. In Italy 12 per cent of the population can neither read nor write, in Portugal 44 per cent, in Turkey 70 per cent, in India and Pakistan 80, in Afghanistan 95 per cent and in Western Irian 97 per cent. In the Latin American countries 86 million, or nearly 43 per cent of the population, are illiterate. Illiteracy is a grave crime of capitalism.

But to identify the culprit does not solve the problem. It is important to know how to bring education and culture to the working people and to find ways and means of eliminating this shameful state of affairs. This was the question discussed at the International Seminar of Trade Unionists sponsored by the World Federation of Trade Unions and UNESCO with the participation of the Soviet trade unions. The seminar, held in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, last April, was attended by trade unionists from 22 countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

The vast majority of the world's population live today in abject poverty which bars the way to education and culture. This was the central theme of the discussion. One speaker, Angel Pizarro, secretary of the International Federation of Unions of Educationalists, began his report with the words of C. A. Leon, the famous historian, poet and public figure of Venezuela: "... The light of education does not reach the rancho because it is barred by the dark wall of hunger. ..." Indeed, the need to earn a living overshadows all other needs. Can we even speak of the enjoyment by all of the benefits of culture if even in the leading Western countries many people are constantly looking for work?

The rulers of the capitalist countries are unwilling to spend money on public education and on bringing culture within the reach of the working people. On this this point there was unanimity at the seminar. In this connection it is interesting to compare the appropriations for public education with the national income in some of the leading capitalist countries (in terms of 1956 dollars):

	per capita income	per capita expenditure on public education
Holland	680	15
France	671	15
Federal Germany	602	16
Italy	252	9

The leaders of the "free world" spend a lion's share of the national income on armaments and the cold war. In the 1960 budget of France the appropriations for cultural services were only 0.4 per cent, whereas the military budget exceeded 35 per cent. The annual appropriations for the three principal theatres in France equal the cost of one strategic bomber, whereas the sum allotted for maintaining the museums is less than 10 per cent of the cost of one such aircraft.

It has been estimated that one per cent of the funds spent annually on military purposes in the whole world would suffice to build one hundred universities furnished with up-to-date equipment. The money spent on one atomic submarine would be enough to build 5,000 flats.

By squandering fabulous sums on armaments the ruling classes rob the working people materially and spiritually, barring their way to knowledge and the spiritual values of humanity. *Instead of genuine spiritual values low-grade works of "art" are palmed off on the working people. This is one more crime which hinders the bringing of culture within the reach of the working people.*

To the genuine culture of the people the rulers of capitalist society counterpose their own "culture" which serves their own ends. In France, as F. Dolle, a trade union secretary from the Renault plant, told the seminar, "culture is an instrument in the hands of the monopolies. The market is inundated with 'works of art' devoid of principles and ideas, such as cheap novels and gramophone records which have no real cultural value."

It is a tragedy that French colonialism is exporting this "culture" to other countries, as Abdoulaye Thiaw (Senegal), secretary of the General Union of the Working People of Black Africa, reported with profound resentment. Diallo Bou-bacar, member of the Executive Committee of the National Union of the Working People of

Mali, told the delegates about the corrupting influence on the African youth of the gangster films shown in his country. He also drew their attention to another, no less pernicious, variety of films which are full of the horrors of atom bombs or are aimed at undermining the confidence of the Africans in their own strength. Dr. Armin Gerd Kuckhoff, head of the theatrical school in Leipzig, called for a resolute struggle against the corruption of the masses by "comics" and crime stories.

Georges Auer, a delegate from the Austrian trade unions, pointed to the menace of the literature coming from West Germany through the medium of "cultural exchange." This literature, he said, "praises the Nazi atrocities during the Second World War and the Civil War in Spain. It corrupts the youth, making them admire the base instincts of human nature. The West German press aims to prepare the youth for a new attack on the socialist countries. . . . A West German recruit gets this 'literature' in the form of the 'soldier serials' which he is asked to read and pass on to others. These serials falsify the history of the Second World War. Nazi crimes in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia or France are not mentioned at all. Nor do they say that the war unleashed by the Nazis was a crime against humanity. According to these stories, the Hitler swashbucklers merely "defended their Fatherland." Georges Auer called on the international trade union organizations and UNESCO to stop the ideological corruption of the people by taking effective measures on a worldwide scale.

The discussion outlined the ways of bringing culture within the reach of the working people. Particularly interesting in this connection were the reports made by delegates from Asian and African countries which *are tackling their cultural problems as part of the general struggle for freedom and independence*. They are driving the colonialists out of their countries and beginning to build a truly national culture.

"Culture and traditions," said Atitsogbui, a delegate from the Trades Union Congress of Ghana, "are taking on new forms under our socio-economic program for the reconstruction of Ghana. . . . Illiteracy is being eliminated. Adults are beginning to study on a mass scale. An active part in this work is being played by trade unions which are organizing classes and seminars. People are being taught in their mother tongue. The Writers' Union is also active. Books, pamphlets and newspapers are being printed in the local languages. The Film Board has set up a studio to produce feature films and documentaries to replace the pernicious American and British films which corrupt our youth and make them want

to imitate British teddy-boys and American gangsters. The Musical Society is bringing together talented young people with the aim of raising the level of folk art. The study of foreign classical music is being encouraged. The Art Council is arranging performances by Soviet, Chinese, Congolese, Nigerian and German actors. . . . The road taken by our country is the road of the African independent peoples who, having become the masters of their own house, are making up for age-long backwardness in the fields of culture and art."

The delegates heard with keen interest the reports on public education, culture and science in the socialist countries. The splendid cultural achievements of these countries confirm the conclusion the seminar arrived at that *only emancipation from all kinds of oppression, only people's power, open the way for the working people to the cultural values of humanity*.

The delegates visited enterprises and cultural and educational establishments in Tashkent and Moscow, they became acquainted with the versatile activity of amateur art groups and studied the system of public education in the Soviet Union.

At a meeting with the trade unionists of Uzbekistan, M. Paul Lengrand, representing UNESCO, declared: "It can be said that the door to knowledge is always open to the working people in your country. Your workers do not know the despair experienced by workers in other countries when they see that their thirst for knowledge, their desire to improve themselves runs into insurmountable obstacles. Your achievements in this field are of worldwide significance. Many countries ought to have followed your example."

The seminar lasted three weeks. The delegates, representatives of the working class of four continents, demonstrated their unity of views and a firm resolve to uphold the finest achievements of a truly humane culture. This resolve was reflected in the concluding document of the seminar which says:

"From the entire program of lectures, discussions and the exchange of experience, which we carried through in an atmosphere of friendliness, fraternity and solidarity, we can draw some main conclusions that will enrich our ideas and experience. These conclusions will greatly help us in ensuring the access of the working people to education and culture in each of our countries.

" . . . We hold that *general and controlled disarmament and the relaxation of tension are the main prerequisites for the use of resources, which are now squandered for the purpose of destruction, for education and culture and for the rapid advance of mankind in all spheres of life, which*

is the heartfelt desire of all working people and all progressives."

The delegates expressed the wish that the work done by them should be developed further, that a program of clear-cut demands in this field be worked out and that UNESCO throw all its weight into making education and culture available to the working people. This will give to its work a content and a direction in line with the aspirations of working people and their democratic principles.

"We also urge UNESCO to explore ways of countering the revival in some countries of fascist propaganda," the document goes on, "which is a threat to peace and culture. . . . We are aware that in the present-day international situation trade union unity and all forms of joint action are urgently needed to prevent the destruction of cul-

ture and to realize the great hopes for the development of education and culture, which are associated with better living standards of the people.

"We believe that trade union unity on a worldwide scale, understood not as a dead formula but as a rallying of all trade union forces closely linked with the interests of the working people in the name of economic, social and cultural progress, represents a decisive condition for speeding up the advance of the working people in all countries towards new historic goals.

"And realizing this, we pledge ourselves to strengthen the international solidarity of the working people and trade union unity on a worldwide scale in the name of the cultural and social education of the working people, in the name of culture, peace and the progress of humanity."

F. HAZE

Who Are These "Champions" of Freedom?

THE draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is giving the Western anti-communist propaganda experts a nasty headache. How are they to smear it? Some 30 years ago any Soviet program could be dismissed as a utopia. But this is not so easy today when not only the contours, but some of the architectural details of the magnificent edifice of communism can already be discerned on the horizon, when millions of people in many lands are building that edifice with their own hands and already tasting the fruits of their own labors. Reluctantly, the bourgeois journalists are being forced to admit that "there is no reason why Soviet industrial output should not forge ahead toward its planned targets" and that "there is nothing unattainable about the targets set for Soviet agriculture"; "the Program cannot be dismissed as some utopian notion," and "it would be folly to minimize the economic potential of Soviet society, now that it has built up such a huge productive plant." (*The Scotsman*, *The Economist*, the *New York Herald Tribune*.)

Time was when capitalist propaganda told people who admired the splendid panorama of socialism opening up before them: "Do not believe your eyes, this is a mirage." But now when the reality cannot be denied without running the risk of looking foolish, when even radio amateurs can pick up the signals from the Soviet sputniks and spaceships—the oracles have changed their tune. "The communist oasis looks like a paradise only from the distance," they assure the doubters. "It

has trees, food and houses, but no drinking water (read: freedom)."

So hard up are they for convincing arguments that they do not even disdain to use a feeble pun or two. When the Program is carried out, wrote the *Daily Mail*, in its July 31 issue, "everything will be free except freedom." And although in originality this wisecrack hardly rises above schoolboy level, the bourgeois journalists immediately seized upon it, forgetting that even a brilliant witticism (which this one certainly is not!) cannot bear repetition. The *Daily Mail's* copyright to the pun is evidently disputed by the *Daily Mirror*, since the latter's editorial on the same day ended with a rhetorical question on the same theme: "When everything is free in Russia," it asked, "will freedom itself be free?" David Lawrence, editor of the *United States News and World Report*, also adds his voice to the chorus. "Everything is to be free except life itself," he writes in his *New York Herald Tribune* column. Of course one could hardly expect any fresh ideas from Lawrence, long since notorious for playing ad nauseam the same old cracked record. But even Marguerite Higgins who prides herself on her distinctive style could not resist making use of the already overworked pun. As far as concrete promises like free rents by 1980, free bread and free public transport are concerned, she writes in the *New York Herald Tribune*, the experts here believe that the Russians will in all probability keep them; the only thing that won't be free in twenty years is freedom.

Much of the bourgeois comment on the draft Program is about as convincing as the pronouncements of mediaeval theologians. The method of argument is enchantingly simple: everything emanating from Moscow is the work of the Evil One, everything in the Program is a negation of the idea of freedom. Even the communist principle of distribution is suspect! Arthur Krock in *The New York Times*, for instance, maintains that the draft Program envisages further restrictions of freedom "... since the goal set forth in the twenty-year program is a society whose labor production will be distributed 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'."

From Mr. Krock's reasoning it follows that any social principle is an infringement of freedom. In which case traffic rules are also an infringement of the idea of freedom. But surely that is treading on dangerous ground! We do not know how Mr. Krock stands with the Washington traffic cops when he gets behind the driver's wheel, but we fear that he is liable to be hauled before the un-American Activities Committee, since what he is preaching is sheer anarchy, and American Congressmen, as everyone knows, cannot distinguish between anarchism and communism. But of course Mr. Krock knows better than that—obviously he has just been carried away. All bourgeois journalists tend to lose their sense of proportion whenever the question of freedom comes up. Knowing how much that word means to ordinary men and women in all corners of the globe, they are beginning to repeat it constantly, acting as the self-appointed champions of freedom. In one of his speeches President Kennedy, for example, used the word dozens of times, perhaps precisely because he was trying to justify the U.S. invasion of Cuba.

It is remarkable how much the methods of the bourgeois propagandists resemble those of the side-show hypnotists who make a business of convincing willing and gullible yokels of anything under the sun—for a short time at any rate; just as Panurge convinced the paralytics that they were perfectly healthy.

There is another—and the most important—motive which prompts the bourgeois ideologists to take the name of freedom in vain. And this motive is becoming increasingly obvious to those to whom the harangues are addressed, namely, the ordinary people in the capitalist world. The fact is that freedom—or rather the lack of it—is a sore point there. Dostoyevsky put the problem in a nutshell when, pondering over the meaning of freedom in a society ruled by the moneybags, he wrote (*Winter Notes on Summer Impressions*): "What is *liberte*? Freedom. . . . When can one do

as one wishes? When one has a million. Does freedom give everyone a million? No. What is a man without a million? A man without a million is not one who does whatever he wishes, but one with whom others do whatever they wish."

And indeed, how do matters stand with, say, freedom of speech in the countries of bourgeois democracy? Theoretically, according to the letter of the American Constitution, for example, every citizen has the right to say and write what he pleases. But in practice when he tries to expose the actions of the monopolists and reactionary politicians, the powers-that-be quickly take steps to muzzle him. Upton Sinclair in his time was obliged to publish and even to sell his anti-monopoly novel *Oil!* himself. When Howard Fast was a Communist no bourgeois publisher would touch his writings. But when he turned renegade the biggest publishing firms and the columns of the *New York Times* were placed at his disposal and, of course, he now has a substantial bank account.

And what about freedom of assembly? The Ku Klux Klan to this day holds rallies in the United States, while "the prisons are overflowing with freedom-riders, sit-down demonstrators and various other people who want freedom" (from a recent article by Ralph Matthews, a leading Negro columnist).

Freedom of organization? Robert Kennedy, the U.S. Attorney General, has refused to classify the activities of the American Nazi Party as unconstitutional; in West Germany fascist societies are springing up like mushrooms after the rain, while the Communist parties in these countries are subjected to persecution.

Free elections? The best comment on this score comes from Joseph Kennedy, the father of the U.S. President. With the delightful common sense of a man who paid a million dollars to get his son elected to the Senate, he says: "What use is the vote to a hungry man?"

Racial equality? It is many years since John Calhoun, the spiritual father of American racism, declared that white freedom is inseparable from black slavery, and this is still the primary rule of behavior for many high-ranking officials in the United States, including the governors of a number of states.

But even they have been far outdone by the rulers of South Africa, Portugal and other strongholds of the "free world."

The right to fight for peace? In West Germany revanchist propaganda has reached an all-time high, and in Britain, according to a Reuter dispatch on August 6, Lord Bertrand Russell is threatened with prosecution for addressing an

anti-war meeting on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of Hiroshima.

And finally, the right to a decent human life? Theoretically every unemployed American can take a room in the Waldorf-Astoria, and the millionaire is equally free to sleep under the bridge. But it always works the other way around.

As in Dostoyevsky's time, it is only the millionaires who enjoy freedom, the millions are deprived of it. And this fact cannot be hidden by mere repetition of the word itself. Even if you point to a giant statue while doing so. And even if that statue bears the name of Liberty.

Granted, the word "freedom" occurs far less frequently in the draft Program of the Soviet Communists than in any speech by President Kennedy. But that is because the whole program is itself the embodiment of freedom, freedom both achieved and so near to achievement as to be palpably felt. Freedom for the working people to administer the life of their immediate community and of the entire country. Freedom of speech and of the press, guaranteed by the fact that all media of information—newspapers, publishing houses, radio stations, film studios, etc.—are owned by the people. Freedom in the choice of profession. Freedom for the development of science and art. Freedom from worry about one's daily bread. Freedom from fear of unemployment, of uncertainty in the future, of poverty in old age. Freedom from fear of the horrors of wars, of the fate of sons and husbands. Freedom from taxation, from rents, from payment for municipal services, and even for food, and freedom from the various other petty cares that take up time so that that time can be used for the all-round physical and mental development of each and everyone. True, the Program does not provide

for freedom of exploitation, racism or war propaganda, but no working people anywhere on earth will have any objections to "restrictions" of that nature.

The Communists do not deny that the bourgeoisie were the first to proclaim the slogan of freedom. But even in the latter part of the 18th century, when the bourgeoisie was a progressive young vigorous social class, it understood freedom from the standpoint of its own private advantage, from the standpoint of the possibility of exploiting its fellowmen. Today it reminds one of Wilde's Dorian Grey who believed himself to be a handsome youth when in reality he had long become a repulsive old man riddled with every human vice.

Yes, capitalist society and its ideologists can be likened to the portrait of Dorian Grey. The Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, is a window through which the peoples of the world can look into the bright future of mankind, a future of abundance, happiness and peace. Anyone who today has still failed to grasp the great humanist essence of the communist ideal, of the ideas of freedom and equality, is bound to grasp it tomorrow when he sees the grand program in operation. *The present generation of Soviet people will live in communism!* Inspired by the example of the socialist countries, other nations will follow suit. Sooner or later all mankind will enter the realm of true freedom. And try as they will, the bourgeois hypnotists cannot turn men's eyes away from this window into the future, cannot put mankind to sleep, with all their chatter about freedom. Before long they will stand fully exposed to the world in their true colours as charlatans and enemies of true human freedom.

Kurt NEUNER

Running Away from the Truth

AT his news conference on June 28 President Kennedy brought up the question of economic competition between the USA and the USSR. "We invite the USSR," he said, "to engage in this competition which is peaceful, and which could only result in a better living standard for both of our peoples. . . . We have to recognize, of course," he added, "the Soviet Union is working extremely hard and enjoys some advantages in being able to mobilize its resources for this purpose."

This is a welcome challenge. "We appreciate such an approach," N. S. Khrushchov remarked.

"This, of course, is far better than competing in the manufacture of ever more destructive weapons. We have always said so and continue to say so."

But while giving Mr. Kennedy credit for this statement we can only express surprise at his calculations concerning:

1) the comparison between the United States national product and that of Russia in 1913 and of the Soviet Union in 1959;

2) the rates of economic growth of the two countries during this period;

3) the prospects of economic competition between them to the end of this century.

Let us consider each of these points.

1. "It is an interesting fact," said the President, "that in 1913, according to the best calculations I can get from governmental and private sources, the Russian gross national product was 46 per cent of the United States gross national product. Interestingly enough, in 1959 it was 47 per cent. Because while the Soviet Union was making progress and improving the material standards of her people in the ensuing years, so was the tired-out runner (the USA—V.K.), and on a per capita basis, the Soviet product in 1959 was only 39 per cent of ours."

First of all, we are surprised to learn that in 1913 the national product of Russia was 46 per cent of that of the United States. Speaking of the gross national product, Mr. Kennedy had in mind the national income plus depreciation. We do not know how his economic advisers calculated the United States national product. But we do know the national incomes of Russia and the USA in 1913. Depreciation accounts for only 3-4 per cent of the national income. Hence, the relationship of the national products of the two countries must be approximately the same as that of their national incomes. Knowing the national incomes, we can easily check the figures used by the President.

In 1913 the national income of the Russian Empire excluding Finland was roughly 16,000 million gold rubles (after deduction of the amount received in rent).^{*} According to the American economist, Raymond Goldsmith, the national income of the U.S.A. in 1913 amounted to \$31,900 million.^{**} These figures, however, are not yet comparable because the national income of Russia is derived from the net product of industry, agriculture, building, transport, communications and trade (material production), whereas Goldsmith included in the U.S. national income the profit of the banks, hotels, insurance companies, the income of the civil servants, servicemen, and so on (services). The source of this profit and income is the sphere of material production, which means that the American economist counted it twice. This duplication in estimating the national income in 1913 amounts to approximately 20 per cent. Hence, to make Goldsmith's figure more or less comparable with that of Russia it should

be reduced by 20 per cent. With this correction the national income of the United States will not be \$31,900 million but \$25,500 million. This figure can now be compared with the national income of Russia in 1913.

At that time the United States and Russia had gold currencies. So the conversion of rubles into dollars and vice versa can be easily effected on the basis of gold parity. In 1913 one gold dollar equalled 1.94 rubles and, accordingly, 16,000 million rubles equalled \$8,250 million. If we compare this figure with the United States national income of \$25,500 million we shall see that the national income of Russia in 1913 amounted to 32.4 per cent of the national income of the United States.

We realize, of course, that these global comparisons need to be carefully verified. Therefore, for the purpose of comparing the Russian and American economies in 1913 we shall take other indices, namely, national wealth and basic funds.

In his recent work the Soviet professor Winestein estimates the national wealth of Russia (the Empire, excluding Finland) for Jan. 1, 1914, at 69,200 million gold rubles.^{*} The reproduced material wealth of the United States in 1913 (and that is the only figure which can in any way be compared with the data for Russia) is estimated by Goldsmith at \$113,800 million.^{**} The conversion of rubles into dollars on the same gold parity enables us to calculate that in 1913 the national wealth of Russia was 31.4 per cent of the national wealth of the United States (military property and land reclamation works are not counted by Goldsmith). Thus the relationship between the national wealth of the USA and Russia is roughly the same as that between the national incomes. But we shall go still further and compare the principal part of the national wealth of the two countries—their basic funds. Winestein estimates all basic funds of tsarist Russia in 1913 at 40,700 million rubles. And from Goldsmith's book we learn that the basic funds of the United States in the same year totalled \$85,000 million, which means that the basic funds of Russia were 24.7 per cent of the basic funds of the United States.

All our calculations can be summed up in the following table:

^{*}S. Prokopovich. *The Experience of Calculating the People's Income in 50 Provinces of European Part of Russia in 1900-1913*. Moscow, 1918, p. 15.

^{**}R. Goldsmith. *A Study of Saving in the United States*. 1956, Vol. III, p. 427.

^{*}A. L. Winestein. *The People's Wealth and Economic Accumulation in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*. Moscow, Statistical Publishing House, 1960, p. 393.

^{**}R. Goldsmith. *A Study of Saving in the United States*. Vol. III, p. 14.

Some Economic Indices of Russia and the United States in 1913

	Russia thous. mill. rubles	thous. mill. dollars	USA thous. mill. dollars	Russia % of U.S.A.
National income	16.0	8.25	25.5	32.4
National wealth	69.2	35.7	113.8	31.4
Including: Basic funds	40.7	21.0	85.0	24.7
Including:				
Production funds	23.9	12.3	50.8	24.2
Non-production funds	16.8	8.7	34.2	25.4

The table shows that Mr. Kennedy's figure for the relationship between the national product of Russia and that of the United States in 1913 is greatly exaggerated. If the data gleaned from these reliable sources seem unconvincing we can appeal to the economist Mulhall who compares the economic indices of various countries. In 1894, Mulhall says, the national income of the USA was £3,116 million and of Russia £1,004 million, or 32.2 per cent of the national income of the United States*, a figure which also does not confirm John F. Kennedy's conclusion.

Kennedy's figure for the relation of the national product of the USSR to that of the USA in 1959 is also wrong. He said it was 47 per cent. But is this so?

According to the Central Statistical Board of the Soviet Union, the national income of the USSR in 1959 was 60 per cent of the national income of the United States. Moreover, under socialism the resources are utilized much more effectively than under capitalism. The Soviet Union, for example, does not spend vast sums on advertising, or on extravagant consumption by the bourgeoisie and their servants. These resources are utilized productively in the Soviet Union. Had Mr. Kennedy really wished to compare the American and Soviet economies objectively he would, we believe, have had to take these factors into account. But we shall leave aside such subtleties, for even without them Kennedy's deviation from the truth is obvious.

Why, it may be asked, was it necessary for the U.S. President to exaggerate the economic power of tsarist Russia and underrate the economic power of the USSR? He had to do this, evidently, to belittle the Soviet achievements in the peaceful economic competition with the United States and to create an impression that the Soviet Union still lags behind the USA to the same extent as tsarist Russia did.

2. President Kennedy also claimed at his news conference that the rate of growth of the United States economy since 1953 has been about 3.5 per cent a year and of the Soviet economy six per cent, that is, the USSR rate outstripped that of the USA by 1.7 times. Maybe this time the President gave the American public correct information? Let us turn to facts again.

Between 1953 and 1960* the national income of the United States increased 18.4 per cent, or 2.4 per cent a year. The national income of the USSR rose in the same period by 95.6 per cent, or 10.0 per cent a year. Thus the rate of growth of the Soviet Union is more than four times that of the United States. If our comparison of the rate of growth of the national income in the USSR and the USA does not, for some reason, satisfy Mr. Kennedy and his economic advisers, we shall take the official figures on the rate of growth of industrial production in the two countries.

According to the American data, in the period from 1953 to May 1961 the average annual rate of industrial growth in the United States was 2.2 per cent. Where is the 3.5 per cent of which Mr. Kennedy spoke so confidently? Or do the U.S. statisticians give different rates of growth, depending on whether they are to be used by the President or intended for the general public? One can only be surprised at this inconsistency.

Let us see what is the annual rate of growth of Soviet industry. According to the Central Statistical Board, it averaged 11.2 per cent in the 1953-1960 period. Thus we have to state again that Mr. Kennedy's comparisons are wrong, that the President is trying to run away from the truth which testifies to the indisputable superiority of the Soviet Union whose level of industrial production is rapidly approaching that of the United States.

*M. G. Mulhall. *Industries and Wealth of Nations*. London, 1896, p. 51.

*The last year for which the official data are available.

3. As we have said, President Kennedy made comparisons relating not only to the past. He also undertook to predict the prospects of the economic competition between his country and the Soviet Union. He did this, although the American press maintains that the President does not like to engage in such a risky business as prophecy.

"... Soviet output," said Mr. Kennedy, "will not reach two-thirds of ours by 1970. Our rate will be far easier to sustain or improve than the Soviet rate, which starts from a lower figure. Indeed, if our growth rate is increased to even four and a half per cent, which is well within our capability, it is my judgment that the Soviet Union will not out-produce the United States at any time in the 20th century." Thus the President is sure that the USSR will not overtake the USA at any time in this century. Many American economists disagree with this conclusion. The discussion of this issue in Congress and other official bodies of the USA revealed that most American economists expect the USSR to win in the competition, if not in the next ten then, at least, within 15 or 20 years.

"The average annual rate of industrial growth in our country," said N. S. Khrushchov, "was 10.6 per cent during the past 16 years. If Soviet industrial output continues to grow annually by 10 per cent, in 1966 the Soviet Union will produce 106 per cent of the present-day American output and in 1970, 156 per cent. To grow 56

per cent in ten years, United States industrial output must increase 4.5 per cent annually. But even if the Americans succeed in ensuring an annual increase of 4.5 per cent, as Mr. Kennedy would like, we shall still overtake them in 1970." These calculations are based on a sober analysis of the postwar economic development of the USSR. They clearly show that the Soviet Union will catch up with the USA by 1970, even if U.S. industrial output increases 4.5 per cent a year. But whether the United States will be able to achieve this rate is doubtful. The postwar development of that country does not confirm this optimistic forecast.

The Soviet Union is competing with the United States honestly and frankly. This competition is not a threat or an end in itself but arises from the determination of the Soviet people to produce more and to live better. And this is precisely what frightens the leaders of the capitalist world.

The draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a program of building communist society published in July, outlines the prospects of Soviet economic development for the next 20 years. When this program is fulfilled the USSR will leave the United States far behind. Of this there is no doubt. This is borne out by the very course of the economic competition between the Soviet Union and the United States, an unusual competition, for one competitor symbolizes the capitalist past, and the other the communist future of mankind. You cannot run away from the truth.

V. KUDROV

Against the Persecution of Democrats

REGIME OF TERROR IN GUATEMALA

THE government's open adoption of dictatorial forms of rule is a sign not of strength but of weakness." This quotation from the report of the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labor to its Third Congress fully reflects the situation in the country today. The Ydigoras government stops at nothing in its efforts to remain in power. It has instituted repressive measures against workers' and peasants' leaders, against all progressive elements, and particularly against the left revolutionary forces—the Party of Labor (Communist) and the Party of Revolutionary Unity which reflects the interests of the radical wing of the petty bourgeoisie. The military revolt which took place in November 1960 and was brutally suppressed, was used as a pretext for a wave of

reprisals—arrests, deportations and dismissal from government offices of anyone suspected of anti-government activity—which still continue.

The present political crisis in Guatemala is also due to the country's grave economic straits. The subordination of the Guatemalan economy to U.S. interests, and the absence of an independent economic policy are causing a drastic decline in the living standards of the people. The North American monopolies are plundering the country right and left with the connivance and direct support of Ydigoras and his reactionary clique.

The government has been trying to suppress one of the organs of the revolutionary opposition, the weekly *El Estudiante*, in a series of direct and indirect measures. One of the paper's editors,

the student Edmundo Guerra Thelheimer, who was arrested and put on trial, told the court that he had been brutally beaten up in his cell in the central jail. The authorities' hatred of the paper is easily explained: *El Estudiante* reflects the revolutionary feelings of the students, intellectuals and workers, and exposes those who set up military bases in Guatemala and recruited the mercenaries who took part in the invasion of Cuba.

But even reactionary papers like *La Hora*, *Impacto*, *Prensa Libre* and *El Imparcial* have written about the cruel torture to which patriots like the venerable Carlos Moscoso de León, Lieutenant Lizardo Mazariegos Gonzalez, the brothers Gilberto and Luis Abadia del Cid, the priest Antonio de la Vega, the journalist Augusto Enrique Noriega and many others have been subjected in the police dungeons.

The leader of the bus drivers' union, Roman Santos Estrada, was arrested by police agents and tortured. He was one of the leaders of the bus drivers' strike for higher wages held last May in Guatemala city. The strike lasted for several days and ended with the victory of the drivers.

The people have openly protested against the crimes of the police and the government. Under public pressure, the government was obliged on two occasions to dismiss its hired assassin Jorge Cordova Molina, the chief of the secret police.

One of Ydigoras' most trusted agents is Ranulfo Gonzalez, chief of the special investigating department of the President's office. Gonzalez has been notorious as the "persecutor of the students" ever since the time of Castillo Armas. Not long ago he headed the group of police which murdered Lieutenant Alejandro de Leon and another patriot charged with "conspiring against the government."

Another crime which aroused general indignation was the murder of Jose Domingo Loarca, former leader of the Peasant Confederation in the town of Malacatan.

A gang of government-hired thugs attacked the progressive journalist Ramiro McDonald Blanco, editor of *Guatemala Flash*, the most popular radio newspaper in the country. This crime aroused a storm of popular protest and an impressive demonstration of professional solidarity. For several days in succession all the radio newspapers (of which there are a great many in Guatemala) gave their radio time to the broadcast by McDonald which had been the pretext for the attack.

The methods employed by the Ydigoras dictatorship differ very little from those U.S. imperialism uses to combat the national-liberation movement. The introduction of a state of emergency, repeal of constitutional guarantees, curfews, etc., are all typical measures resorted to by reactionary rulers.

For several years a reign of terror has prevailed in the countryside. Punitive forces of motorized military police and troops are used by the government against the peasants.

The Guatemalan Communists recently exposed the latest infamies of the Ydigoras government in a statement signed by the Political Committee of the C.C. of the Party of Labor and entitled "The criminal provocations by the government," which has been passed from hand to hand throughout Guatemala.

"The criminal and barbarous fascist-type provocation directed against the demonstration of solidarity with Cuba and for removing foreign military bases from Guatemalan territory has aroused the wrath and indignation of the people," says the statement. "This provocation is the fruit of the desperation and rage caused by the defeat of the intervention in Cuba and the exposure of its ties with U.S. imperialism. . . . As a result of the actions of plain-clothes police, four of the demonstrators were killed and several wounded. The dead are: Leonel Garcia Benavente, Felix Mont, Gilberto Cardona and Joaquin Guardado Lara." The Party urged "organized action and mobilization of the masses" in reply to these provocations.

The mass movement of students and intellectuals, the actions by trade unions and opposition parties, the campaign in press and radio have forced the government to abandon its draft of the so-called "Defense of Democracy Bill." Instead, another bill with the same title submitted by the Christian Democratic Party was adopted. The new law has five clauses, and in accordance with the constitution imposed on the country in 1956, declares that "the Communist Party of Guatemala or any other party or organization of a communist nature are international organizations," and imposes punishment on all persons who use "violent means" to encroach upon government, economic and political institutions.

An appeal to Congress, signed by the leaders of the Party of Labor (Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, Mario Silva Jonama, Alfredo Guerra Borges, Victor Manuel Gutiérrez and José Alberto Cardoza) protesting against the adoption of this reactionary law had a powerful impact on public opinion. This is the first time since 1954, when the Communist Party was declared illegal, that the Communist leaders, who have been working underground, have openly signed a document of this kind. "Nothing can justify the attempt to deprive some Guatemalans of their lawful rights," says the statement. "If it is a question of real democracy, genuine democratic institutions and democratic rights, it would be wrong for Congress to

endorse a law that permits an anti-democratic and irresponsible government to persecute and punish citizens who are really fighting for democracy."

The Guatemalan Communists are the true organizers of the fight for democracy and political rights. They call upon all democratic forces to rally under this banner. J. RODRIGUEZ

UNITY AND ORGANIZATION ENSURE SUCCESS

KEEPING a watchful eye on the intrigues of the reactionaries who have bound themselves hand and foot to U.S. imperialism, the people of Japan are carrying on a determined struggle for the right to exercise the democratic freedoms they have formally won. This struggle was intensified when the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, supported by the Democratic Socialists, announced its intention to put through parliament the Prevention of Political Violence Bill, designed by the Ikeda government as another prop for the U.S.-Japanese "Security Treaty."

The Japanese rulers found a long-sought-for pretext for framing such a bill in the open terror unleashed by the fascists against democratic leaders—the assassination of Asanuma, the Chairman of the Socialist Party, and the attacks made on a number of other democratic leaders. But quite illogically, the bill which was produced was aimed not against the fascist terrorists, but against the democratic organizations.

In essence the bill is a replica of the prewar fascist Defense of Public Tranquillity Act, and is designed to suppress the growing movement for peace, neutrality, independence and democracy, and to hamstring the democratic mass organizations. In violation of the Constitution, the proposed Bill would prohibit demonstrations in the vicinity of parliament and the Prime Minister's residence, place the progressive parties and organizations under police control, and give the police emergency powers to suppress the democratic movement. To all intents and purposes it would give the police the right to interfere in the activities of the trade unions and democratic organizations, revive the old system of secret informers and spies, and legalize the persecution of citizens for their political views.

This latest attack on civil rights has met with determined resistance from the people, the trade unions and political and other mass organizations of the working people.

A vigorous rebuff was given to the reactionary offensive in parliament by the Communist M.P.'s, supported by the majority of the Socialists. The main struggle, however, developed outside parliament—in the streets of the cities and big industrial and administrative centers—growing into a nationwide movement of millions in defense of democratic rights.

In response to a call issued by the General Trade Union Council, mass protest meetings and demonstrations were held throughout the country under the slogan, "Defend Democracy, Defeat the Prevention of Political Violence Bill!" Simultaneously a broad campaign was launched to collect signatures to a demand that the reactionary police law be removed immediately from the parliamentary agenda.

From early morning till late at night an endless stream of people flowed into the parliament buildings to present the protest petitions through the Communist and Socialist deputies. Motorcades were organized in Tokyo and many other big cities, with Communists, Socialists and other progressives, scientists and cultural workers as the speakers, to expose the scheme of the reactionaries and to explain to the public what the proposed fascist legislation really meant. Demonstrations were held outside the parliament buildings and the Prime Minister's residence. Protest strikes took place at factories and offices. The General Trade Union Council, the New Congress of Industrial Unions, the All-Japan Teachers' Union and other mass organizations followed the example of the Communist and Socialist parties and issued statements proclaiming their resolve to oppose the reactionary bill.

The protest assumed proportions comparable to the sweeping popular movement in defense of democracy in 1958 which forced the Kishi government to abandon its scheme to put through legislation giving the police wider powers.

A new wave of indignation swept the country when it became known that the ruling circles had decided to close the debate on the bill and push it through parliament in the absence of the Communist and Socialist members. Although the government had concentrated 5,000 police reinforced with a large number of armored cars and other special police cars to prevent access to the parliament buildings, thousands of factory and office workers and students broke through carrying the slogans, "Down with the Ikeda Government and Lawlessness!", "The Liberal Democratic Government Must Resign!" and "Fascism Shall Not Pass!" Anti-government demonstrations were held in nearly 700 towns and villages with more than four million people taking part. Thousands of demonstrators were injured in clashes with

the police, many so seriously as to require hospital treatment.

The offensive of the reactionaries was bogged down. The Liberal Democratic leaders had to admit defeat and give up efforts to steamroller the fascist bill through parliament. The people had won.

In a statement summing up the struggle, the Central Committee of the Communist Party pointed out that the "conspiracy of the Ikeda government and the Liberal Democratic Party to put through . . . the proposed Prevention of Political Violence Bill by means of intrigue and repression has been defeated."

The statement especially noted the exceptional militancy of the masses and the national organizations and paid tribute to their firm resolve and preparedness to repel any attack of reaction.

However, the government and the conservative M.P.'s have managed to include the proposed bill on the agenda of the next session of parliament. In view of this, the Communist Party has called on the people to be on their guard and to carry on the fight, vigorously to repulse the reactionaries and to develop united action on a still broader scale.

Miura TANAKA

* * *

Another important victory for the democratic forces is reported from Japan: the fight waged for years by the working people of that country

in defense of the Matsukawa frame-up victims has ended in success.

Twelve years ago a passenger train jumped the rails at Matsukawa station and this was used by the police as a pretext for arresting 20 active members of the railwaymen's union. On instructions from the Japanese ruling circles and the U.S. occupation authorities, the so-called Matsukawa case was trumped up. Some of the defendants were condemned to death, others sentenced to hard labor for life or given long prison sentences.

The frame-up started a countrywide wave of protest. Millions of working people rose to the defense of the victims. A National Defense Committee consisting of representatives of various democratic organizations was established with a membership of nearly five million. The case was heard in three different courts, including the Supreme Court. The people, however, stopped the reactionaries from carrying out the sentences. Finally, under the pressure of both Japanese and world public opinion, the Sendai City Court, where the case was sent for retrial, had to acquit 17 of the defendants.

The Communist Party has issued a statement demanding that the authorities take action against the organizers of the frame-up. The Party insists that the members of the public prosecutor's office, the police officials and the judges who had a hand in engineering the infamous case be removed from office and brought to trial.

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT NASSER

I was prompted to write the enclosed open letter to President Nasser after reading the item "Freedom Fighters in Prison (United Arab Republic)," published in World Marxist Review, No. 4, 1961, which reached me a short time ago. If possible, I would like to see it published in your journal.

KURT HANDTKE

MR. PRESIDENT,

When Egyptian army officers under your leadership rebelled on July 23, 1952, and overthrew the rotten regime of King Farouk, I was an enthusiastic supporter of your cause.

I am well acquainted with your splendid country and its people. For four years, from 1944 to 1948, I was a prisoner of war in Egypt. I could see for myself the poverty and want, the luxury and magnificence, the desire to resist and the simmering hatred, and all this made a deep and indelible imprint on my mind. When the ship that took me back to my distant homeland cast off from your shores, I gazed long at the receding shoreline. When, I wondered, would this country with so great a history at last win its freedom? When would the fellaheen be able to live

and work happily? When would they cease to be slaves to their fertile land? These questions moved me deeply, and I wished your country, with which I was parting perhaps forever, the best of luck.

My farewell wishes came to be realized in part. Development could take no other course. Looking at the whole of Africa today, we know that the continent will soon be free and independent.

Yet our confidence is mingled with anxiety. *World Marxist Review* has on repeated occasions carried reports on the sufferings of men and women fighting for the freedom of Egypt. The fact alone that you, Mr. President, like the Federal German authorities, allowed the Communist Party of your country to be banned, has alarmed me. When I read the item mentioned above, I felt first dismay, then anger. What are you doing,

Mr. President? Where are you leading the United Arab Republic? Surely you have not forgotten the help you received—and are receiving—from people in all countries of the world who are the brothers of the people you torment. Was freedom not the great aim of your struggle? Yet today your country, having barely won its freedom, is again enslaved just as Germany, for example, was enslaved up to 1945.

Mr. President, the tears shed for the millions of victims of fascist savagery have not yet dried, and in South Africa, East Asia and the United States things are still happening which people would rather forget. The tears flow again—and

in your country too. Why must this be so, Mr. President?

You, Gamal Abdel Nasser, helped to rid your country of its last pharaoh, the tyrant and parasite. Surely you do not seek to become a new, capitalist pharaoh? I once thought that you could feel the pulse of time, which is against pharaohs.

I love and respect your country. I would like to respect and esteem you as well. But you must be the man you once were.

I greet you and your country,

Kurt HANDTKE,
Federal German Republic

NEW BOOKS

(Books are printed in the language of the country of publication;
the titles here are given in English)

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| A. Matos. <i>Cuba: Revolution in America</i> . Rio de Janeiro, Vitoria, 1961, 213 pp. | M. Krizek. <i>Small-Scale Farming and Socialism</i> . Prague, SNPL, 1961, 212 pp. |
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| E. Lafertte. <i>Life of a Communist</i> . Second edition. Santiago de Chile, 1961, 380 pp. | |

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VIETNAMESE EDITION:
S'o' xuất nhập khẩu sách báo 32,
Hải Ba Trưng, Hà-nội

