

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

PROBLEMS
OF PEACE AND
SOCIALISM

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HANDS OFF CUBA!

Cuba is in danger! U.S. imperialism, acting its role of world gendarme, wants to cut off the island of freedom from the rest of the world, to strangle it by blockade. Imperialism is threatening not only the Cuban revolution; Washington's aggressive moves are a threat to the independence of all freedom-loving nations, a conspiracy against peace. They could start a chain reaction that might lead to nuclear catastrophe.

Cuba is the front line of the struggle for man's future. Cuba's cause is the cause of all peoples. "Hands off the island of freedom! We are with you, Cuba! The aggressors shall not pass!" These words, a clarion call, have echoed across the world.

Ours is an epoch of tempestuous events. And each time the dark forces have threatened to thrust mankind back to the gloom of mediaeval barbarism and violence, the working class and all working people have closed their ranks and raised their voice in protest against military gambles. Today mighty forces are arrayed on the side of the just cause—the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the world Communist movement, all friends of peace and progress. The will of the peoples to act can stop the war maniacs and save peace.

No one can be indifferent. Friends and comrades, let us redouble our efforts! The hand poised to strike at the heart of freedom must be stayed!

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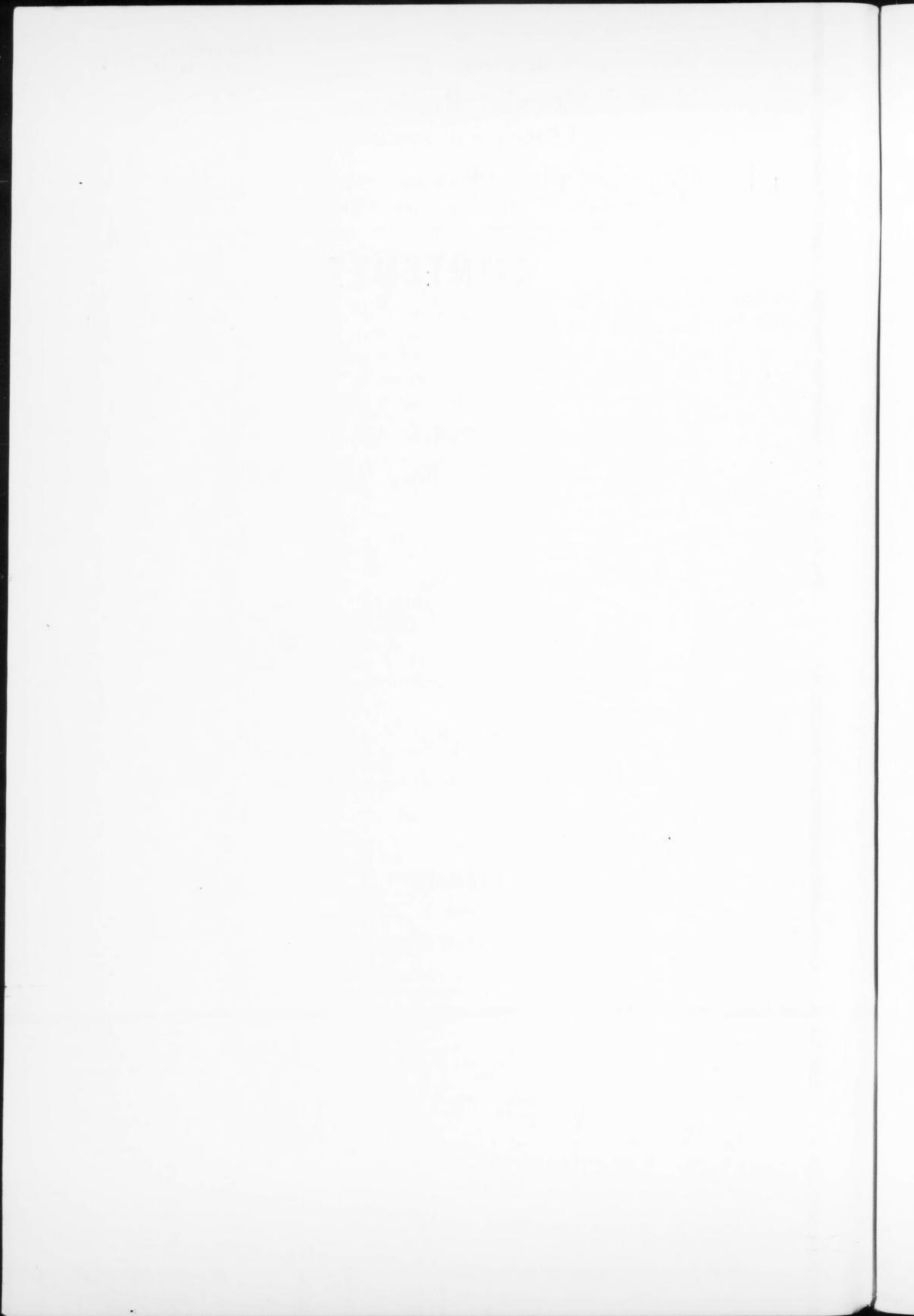
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Socialism in the Historical Offensive

Antonin Novotny

FORTY-five years ago the Russian working class, led by the Party of Lenin, put an end to capitalist and landlord rule on one-sixth of the earth's surface and ushered in a new era. The first socialist revolution in the history of mankind became an example to the enslaved and exploited people of the world. Since then the revolutionary movement and the colonial countries' struggle for independence have taken on a tremendous sweep. Man is advancing towards communism.

Boldly and with revolutionary enthusiasm the working people of the Soviet Union embarked on an unexplored path and began to develop a backward country into a socialist power. They were the first to prove the correctness and the creative force of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Inspired by the example of the Soviet people, the working people of a number of European and Asian countries overthrew capitalist rule after the Second World War and, under the leadership of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, started to build socialism. A socialist world system came into being. The universal significance and validity of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of the point that the socialist revolution can be accomplished both in countries with a considerable expansion of the productive forces under capitalism, as well as in economically backward countries, have been demonstrated in practice.

The rapid growth of the national economy of all the socialist countries; their success in the scientific and technological spheres, to which the Soviet lead in the conquest of outer space bears witness; the advance of education, the rise in living standards and the steady strengthening of the moral and political unity of the peoples are factors enhancing the influence which the socialist world system exerts on world development. The path traversed by socialism in an historically brief period—a mere 45 years—is proof of the strength and viability of socialism and is convincing corroboration of the historical truth of Marxism-Leninism.

In the measure that the strength and might of socialism grow, so imperialism is losing

its power. Under the blows of the national-liberation struggle its colonial system has virtually fallen to pieces, and its ideological influence on the people is waning.

Man's social evolution has placed on the agenda the urgent question of replacing capitalism by socialism on a worldwide scale. The tasks now devolving on the international revolutionary movement are set out in the documents adopted at meetings of the international Communist movement—in the Declaration of the 1957 meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties and in the Statement of the 1960 meeting. To implement the joint resolutions of these meetings is the cardinal duty of every Communist Party true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. An example of how these resolutions, which have been approved by the entire international Communist movement, are being fulfilled has been set by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always regarded itself as an integral part, a unit of the international working-class revolutionary movement and has unfailingly observed its international obligations. It fully recognizes the correctness of the 1957 and 1960 documents and will continue to be guided by them in its activities.

1.

Socialism's path from victory in one country to the establishment of the socialist world system—now the decisive factor in world development—has not been an easy one. The rulers of the capitalist world, who failed in their efforts to destroy the incipient socialist system, maintained that the Soviet people were incapable of building socialism. Bourgeois leaders spoke sneeringly of the "Russian experiment," said it was bound to fail. And even the most impartial of them described Lenin as a dreamer when he spoke enthusiastically about building communism in the Soviet Union. Thanks to the determined efforts of the people, the country grew stronger and mightier.

The achievements of the world's first socialist state, now in the period of all-out communist construction, are universally acknowledged.

ed. When the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU adopted its historic Program few people in the world questioned its feasibility.

The facts are convincing the world of the strength and the might of socialism and communism, and the very existence of the socialist world system exerts a direct and indirect influence on the attitude of representatives of the capitalist world, on the march of history. There is not a single international event of any importance which has not been influenced by it; no big international problem can be solved without reckoning with the standpoint of the socialist countries. But for the might of socialism—which enjoys the constant support of all the peace-loving forces—mankind would long ago have been hurled into the holocaust of nuclear war.

Willy-nilly the imperialists have to reckon with the strength of the socialist camp which prevents their holding the peoples in colonial bondage and has opened the road to freedom for all oppressed countries. Furthermore, socialism and its ideas exert no small influence on the destiny and paths of development of the former colonial peoples.

As a matter of fact, today nearly all the newly-emergent countries speak of socialism as an ideological principle which they will take into account in organizing and establishing their systems, although many of them continue to remain under the political and economic influence of the former colonialists. *Not a single one* of these states now speaks of the capitalist path of development as being the only one for them. From the start some of these countries have, in conformity with local conditions, been carrying through important measures such as land reform, nationalization of banks, reorganization of trade, building up a state-owned industry, establishing agricultural cooperatives and so on, and these measures can have considerable bearing in determining their future road to socialism.

Thus socialism's decisive influence on world development is a corollary of its political superiority and the growing appeal of socialist ideas which are now impelling hundreds of millions of people forward to communism.

But the peoples of the socialist countries have still to solve the principal and decisive task of overtaking the capitalist world in gross volume of production and the economically advanced capitalist countries in labor productivity. Capitalism still has vast productive and financial resources accumulated in the course of decades of exploiting the working class and plundering countries all

over the world. These are still a source of considerable strength, thanks to which capitalism can influence or retard—particularly through neo-colonialism—the development of peoples on the way to complete, all-round independence and social progress. Many of the newly-emergent nations are still dependent on the capitalist countries.

The socialist countries are doing their utmost so that the newly-liberated countries should be free to choose their own way of development. As their economy grows and becomes strong they extend to the peoples of these countries disinterested aid in building their own independent economy. This is one of the points around which an acute struggle is taking place between neo-colonialism and the national-liberation forces supported by the socialist world.

One of the principal manifestations of the growing influence of socialism on world development is the fact that small countries, very far away from the main mass of socialist countries, can now also take the road to socialism and there is nothing imperialism can do to stop them. Proof of this is the example of revolutionary Cuba. Though thousands of miles away from the socialist countries and only a few dozen miles distant from the bulwark of world imperialism, Cuba has nevertheless successfully embarked on the socialist path. The Soviet Union's military advance has abolished the factor of distance. Imperialism has been warned: any attempt it may make to launch a counter-revolutionary intervention in any part of the world will not be left unanswered. The fidelity of the revolutionary parties of the socialist countries to the principles of proletarian internationalism leaves no room for doubt that they will fulfil their international duty.

An important fact in increasing the influence and attraction of socialism and communism all over the world was the development of the Leninist principle of the possibility of peaceful coexistence, a possibility substantiated in the resolutions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. Peaceful coexistence, the general principle underlying the socialist countries' foreign policy, has been widely recognized internationally; it is recognized too by a number of neutral countries and is upheld by all progressive mankind.

The socialist countries' desire to preserve world peace is inherent in the very nature of socialism and communism. We want to see all the facilities at the disposal of society being used for peaceful purposes, for raising the standard of living.

In pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence, we proceed from the firm belief that sooner or later socialist ideas will triumph all over the world. Only our adversaries can say that for the socialist countries to achieve this victory they will have to interfere in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries. The contradiction between moribund capitalism and growing socialism should be solved not by military conflicts, but in peaceful competition. There is now a real possibility of compelling imperialism to solve urgent international issues by peaceful means, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The example of Laos and West Irian show that this can be done.

Our struggle to achieve general and complete disarmament, i.e., to abolish all armed forces and armaments and to restrict to the utmost any possibility of triggering off another world war, stems from the fact that we are guided by the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, by our policy of averting nuclear war.

This does not imply that our assessment of the world situation is unrealistic, or that we are not seeing to our defenses—just in case the imperialists should take leave of their senses and attack the socialist countries in an attempt to reverse the wheel of history. It should be emphasized that while the socialist countries unswervingly observe Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence, they will never be indifferent to a nation which decides to assert its lawful right to end monopoly rule and live the national life of its choice.

2.

Socialism possesses a great force of example. What are the sources of its constantly growing influence?

First and foremost, the creative labor of the peoples of the socialist countries: the day-to-day initiative and selfless activity of hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals who have put all their ability and talent into building the new society. The socialist revolution has elevated the working people to the level where they are fulfilling their historical mission consciously. It has imparted a profound humane meaning to their labor, made them aware of its creative purpose. It has given free rein to the people's talents which can now be used and developed in the interests of society as a whole. No social system has created such material and spiritual conditions for the participation of the working people in the administration of public affairs as has socialism.

History has set the peoples of the socialist countries the task of rapidly expanding the productive forces, of raising the material and cultural level of the working people and of securing the victory of socialism. For the first time in the annals of mankind the working class has been called upon to govern and to build up the national economy of their countries. That is why the Communist parties always pay special attention to economic matters, which Lenin held to be decisive for the victory of the new social system.

The historic victory of socialist production relations, the success in building the material and technical base of socialism and communism, the rise in living standards—these are the results of the activity and initiative of the people, first and foremost of the working class.

It is the aim of socialist production to satisfy in growing measure the material and cultural needs of the working people; and these needs are being satisfied both from the personal consumption fund as well as and primarily from the public funds. Public health and child welfare receive close attention; education, culture and science are forging ahead. The Soviet lead in the conquest of space is a result of the attention devoted to advancing science and technology and is proof of the creative possibilities and strength of socialism, of the correctness of the Leninist path taken by the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU.

The experience of the 45 years since the Great October Socialist Revolution confirms that the progress made by the people of the socialist countries is the outcome of the purposeful policy inspired by Lenin's ideas, of the organizational and educational work of the Communist parties. Steady growth of the leading role of the Party is a process conditioned by objective factors—conscious activity by the people in building the new society; planning the national economy; extending socialist democracy and drawing the working people into the administration of public affairs, remaking man.

The Communists are a powerful force in the working-class struggle to change the world in the interests of the working people. They are the most consistent fighters against exploitation, oppression and war. And for this reason all the enemies of progress are against them. The imperialist attempts to deceive the people with anti-communist propaganda and to blacken the Communist parties are, however, meeting with failure after failure.

The influence wielded by the Communist parties derives above all from the fact that they are guided by revolutionary theory, that they creatively apply the general laws of the socialist revolution and of building socialism to the concrete historical conditions, taking into account the specific features of each country and the interests and needs of the international revolutionary working-class movement.

The activity of the Communist parties presupposes both combating revisionist distortions of Marxist-Leninist principles and struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism.

The basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine are embodied in the documents adopted at the 1957 and 1960 meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties and hold good for all the revolutionary parties of the working class. As a counter to these conclusions the revisionists claim that state-monopoly capitalism will automatically grow into socialism and that class distinctions are dying out. These claims are made in an attempt to persuade the working people that socialism can be achieved without the working class winning political and economic power, without establishing socialist production relations.

If we combat the revisionist attempts to deprive our teaching of its revolutionary essence, this does not mean that we make a dogma of principles or formulas that no longer fit the new conditions. In applying the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, we should now proceed from the fact that the existence of the socialist world system and the growing influence exerted on the world by socialist ideas considerably change the conditions of the struggle of the working class and its allies for political power and for a new social system.

The task of the Communist and Workers' parties is to master the methods and forms of revolutionary struggle with the bourgeoisie, to take account of the various forms of transition to socialism in conformity with the concrete conditions, bearing in mind that the basis of these forms continues to be the winning of power and political guidance by the working class headed by the revolutionary Marxist party. This approach conforms not only to the spirit of dialectical materialism but also to the conclusions reached many years ago by Lenin when he wrote: "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but not all will do so in exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own in one or another form of democracy,

one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate at which socialist transformations will be effected in the various aspects of social life. There is nothing more primitive from the viewpoint of theory or more ridiculous from that of practice than to paint, 'in the name of historical materialism', this aspect of the future in a monstrous grey. The result will be nothing more than Suzdal daubing."*

Revisionism and dogmatism harm the interests of the working-class movement and we must, therefore, constantly combat them. The behavior of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor shows that adherence to dogmatic positions results in a break with Marxism and, ultimately, in the betrayal of Communist interests.

The policy of the Communist parties is based on the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the decisive role played by the people and the steady growth of this role in the process of building socialism and communism. An historical service was rendered by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and N. S. Khrushchov, its First Secretary, in exposing at the Twentieth Congress the personality cult, a cult that belittled the role of the Communist Party and the people in history, and in resolutely eliminating its harmful consequences.

The Communist movement has grown stronger by its adherence to the Leninist norms of Party life; the Marxist-Leninist principles of Party work have been consolidated, as has the parties' contact with the masses; the energies and the initiative of the people have been given free rein. The parties are enlisting the help of the masses more today than ever before. One of the methods now used in the work of some of the parties in the socialist countries is to hold nationwide discussions on vital questions of social development. In all this we see the correctness of the line of waging ruthless struggle against the personality cult and its consequences.

3.

The unity of the socialist countries is one of the principal sources of the mounting influence exerted by socialism. The growing unity and cooperation stems from the objective tendency towards a single socialist world economy and from the need to defend socialist achievements from the aggressive sallies of the imperialists. The unity of the socialist countries is conditioned by the identity of their socio-economic and political systems and is substantiated by Marxist-Leninist theory.

*V. I. Lenin. A Caricature of Marxism.

On this foundation a durable socialist world commonwealth has arisen, building its relations on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and comradely aid. This commonwealth is the guarantee of the final triumph of socialism in the People's Democracies, the guarantee of the durability of their political and socio-economic gains. The unity of the socialist countries is a warning to the imperialists that they will destroy themselves in the event of their attacking any country of the socialist commonwealth.

This unity does not grow automatically, it is the result of purposeful activity, directed by the Communist parties, in the economic, political and ideological spheres. The desire to strengthen this unity finds expression in the internal and external policy of the socialist states. The relations between the socialist countries are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. For them unity implies the obligation to support the common policy on domestic and international questions, to sweep away all obstacles encountered on the common path, uncompromisingly to combat all manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness; to educate the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and thus ensure a joint advance towards socialism.

An important factor in strengthening the unity of the socialist countries is the further development of their economic cooperation on the basis of an international socialist division of labor.

All the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, have made great headway in the past few years. But the development of some was marked at this stage by national restrictedness. The economy of the socialist countries has now developed to such a degree that qualitative changes in their cooperation are called for.

Decisions on these questions were taken at the meeting last June of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member-countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. The socialist commonwealth is now about to enter a new phase of closer integration. This will be a fulfilment of the counsel given by Lenin who right at the start of building socialism pointed out that an indispensable task of the Communists would be to set up a single communist world economy. This single economy, when established, will clear the way for the all-out development of the socialist economy and make possible full use of all the advantages of the socialist system. Thanks

to this, the evolution of the socialist world system will be considerably speeded up and a further step made towards victory in the competition with capitalism.

The growth of socialist cooperation, which will benefit the working people of all the socialist countries and all the peoples generally, will create favorable conditions for the all-round coming together of the socialist nations and for consolidating the unity of our camp, it will help to even out the common line of the socialist countries' economic development.

Our Party will do everything in its power to implement the new principles of economic cooperation as quickly as possible, to do its bit in opposing to the imperialist front the stronger and more united force of the socialist nations, a force based on the genuine equality of the nations, on the identity of interests and on genuine humanism.

The working people of Czechoslovakia fully agree with the policy of their Communist Party and are working to translate into reality the new principles of cooperation between the socialist countries. They realize that all our achievements are inseparable from the successes of the other socialist countries, from our cooperation with them, from the disinterested aid of the Soviet Union.

4.

At the moment the Communist Party and the people of Czechoslovakia are preparing for the Twelfth Congress of the Party. A nationwide discussion has been held on the main Congress documents—the draft of the new Party Rules and the document "On the Perspectives of our Socialist Society." The discussion was not simply an expression of formal agreement with the documents; it was marked by a desire to give constructive thought to the Central Committee's proposals and to make further proposals.

The Twelfth Congress will round off an historical stage in the development of our Republic and will outline the tasks for the next stage in building a mature socialist society, a stage which, simultaneously, will pave the way to the transition to communism. This Congress will deal with two main questions; it will define the basic lines along which the national economy will develop up to 1970, and it will discuss the tasks in the ideological sphere.

On the basis of the further expansion of the productive forces, the economic cooperation with the socialist countries and full utilization of our social, economic, techno-

logical, scientific and cultural potential, we aim at attaining a qualitatively higher stage. Decisive in this respect will be the further expansion of industry, particularly metallurgy and machine building, of the raw material and fuel base. Another task is to expand our agriculture through large-scale socialist farming, and to raise agriculture to the level of industry. We are solving, too, problems germane to the consistent application of the principles of democratic centralism, of strengthening and perfecting centralized leadership, of getting the people to participate to a greater extent in management and control.

In the matter of living standards, our aim is gradually to reduce the workday with a view to introducing a 42-hour working week and a still shorter one in some industries. Consumption will grow, child welfare will be further improved and the aid to large families increased.

The Party's policy is focussed on the working man, the creator of all our values. It is on his labor that the success of our cause depends. In the ideological sphere, therefore, the Party is setting the task of deepening the socialist consciousness of the working people and increasing their knowledge and experience. We consider the Communist train-

ing and education of the people to be one of our most important tasks.

* * *

The 45 years that have passed since the victory of the Russian workers under the leadership of the Communist Party show that the life-giving force of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution has exerted a profound influence on human development. The October Revolution ushered in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. That is its historical significance. And the cause it started is being continued by the whole socialist camp, the entire international Communist movement and all the progressive forces.

History has proved the correctness of the conclusion that there can be no advance in our time unless we go forward to socialism or communism, to a society that will establish peace, freedom, equality and happiness for all. Every year that divides us from the red-letter year of 1917, makes us realize more and more the grandeur of the working class of Russia, the ability of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the genius of Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party and the leader of the October Revolution. The working people will never forget their exploit on behalf of mankind.

Among Our Contributors

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Epoch of Great Revolutionary Change

Maurice Thorez

FIVE years ago two international conferences of historic significance were held in Moscow. On November 14-16, 1957, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries met in the Soviet capital, and after consultation with delegates from the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries, unanimously adopted a Declaration summarizing the development of the entire working-class movement since the war and defining the tasks and perspectives arising therefrom. The Declaration of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries has become the Charter of the international Communist movement.

On November 16-19 another international conference took place—the meeting of representatives of 64 parties. This, the most representative assembly of the world Communist movement that had ever been held, addressed a Peace Manifesto to men and women of good will throughout the world.

When, five years later—years that have witnessed important events and profound changes on the world arena — we survey these two conferences and the documents they adopted we cannot but be struck by the accuracy and wisdom of their analysis of the trend of world development and the problems affecting the international situation. The decisions adopted in November 1957, which were inspired by the momentous resolutions of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, were, in their turn, clarified and elaborated first in the documents adopted by the meeting of the representatives of the 81 parties in November 1960 and later in the Program endorsed by the Twenty Second Congress of the CPSU.

The documents adopted in November 1957 have proved of invaluable assistance to the Communists in all countries in their struggle against the offensive of the reactionaries, for peace and freedom, for socialism. And their significance has in no way diminished in the intervening five years.

The Feature of Our Epoch

The Declaration begins by giving a precise definition of the main content of our epoch: the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

Bourgeois propaganda is at great pains to conceal this, the principal feature of the 20th century; it falsely describes our times as the age of the "maturity" of the "industrial society," its transition to the "stage of mass consumption," which we are told, is identical in "both the East and West." This is done in order to conceal the fact that mankind is on the threshold of a new stage in its history, which will see the end of the private ownership of the means of production and private appropriation of the social product. The world is now divided into two economic and social systems one of which, the system of capitalism, is on the decline, while the other, the socialist system, is on the ascent.

Less than half a century ago the capitalist system still dominated over the entire globe. In the period between the two world wars socialism existed only in the Soviet Union which was encircled by the capitalist world. But, as is emphasized in the Declaration, the situation has radically changed since then: today one-third of the world's population has taken the road to socialism and is building a new society.

At the same time the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism continues. The 1957 meeting noted that in the previous 12 years more than 700,000,000 people, exclusive of the Chinese People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, had got rid of the colonial yoke and established independent national states.

Between 1945 and 1957, 25 independent states were set up on the territories of former colonial and dependent countries. In 1940 nearly one-half of mankind still languished under colonial or semi-colonial oppression; by 1957 only about 160 million people re-

mained in the colonies existing at that time. There were almost no colonies left in Asia, and a vast movement for liberation was stirring the African continent.

As a result of this dual process—the establishment of the world socialist system and the collapse of the colonial empires—the sphere of capitalist relations and imperialist exploitation has shrunk and imperialism as a whole has been weakened. Vast masses of people and huge territories have ceased to be the reserve of imperialism.

As the Moscow meeting noted, the imperialist countries are rent by profound class contradictions. The working class is offering more and more determined opposition to the policy of the big monopolies.

Thus, historical development has followed the course foreseen by Marx and Lenin: capitalism is moving toward its doom, while socialism is advancing and its victory is inevitable. Despite the assertions of the revisionists and reformists, Marxism has not become “obsolete”; on the contrary, it corresponds precisely to the realities of our day.

These were the basic theses of 1957. And in the past five years they have received brilliant confirmation. Socialism is winning one position after another. The decline of the imperialist system continues. In Cuba a people's government has been established and it has taken the road to socialism, the land has been turned over to those who till it, industry has been nationalized and the rule of the monopolies has been ended. A socialist revolution has taken place within 150 kilometers of the United States. This has acted as a powerful stimulus to the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Latin America.

The break-up of the colonial system is proceeding at an accelerated pace. Algeria has become independent, the blood of Algerian patriots who gave their lives for freedom was not shed in vain. The French monopolies, who waged a “dirty” war for more than seven years, were forced to retreat.

In Africa the new independent states have become firmly established. And although the conditions of the masses are still in many instances far from satisfactory and the national wealth continues to flow into the coffers of foreign banks and business firms, a definite advance toward national and cultural revival can be observed in the new countries. In the Portuguese colonies, too,

despite savage reprisals, the liberation movement has struck deep roots.

Further blows have been inflicted on imperialism in Asia. The imperialists, who had sought to crush the national-liberation movement in Laos through armed intervention, were forced to recognize the country's integrity and neutrality. The Dutch colonialists failed in their attempts to prevent Indonesia from recovering its ancient territory of West Irian.

The course of world development today is determined as never before by the competition between the two opposed social systems. Socialism is offering more and more proof of its immeasurable superiority over capitalism. It enables the productive forces to develop at a pace unparalleled and unattainable under capitalism. The socialist system is becoming the decisive factor of world development.

At the time of the 1957 meeting the socialist countries had increased the volume of their industrial production 4.5 times as compared with 1937; the capitalist countries only twice. The corresponding figures for 1960 were 6.8 and 2.5 respectively. This shows that the rate of growth in the capitalist world is much slower than in the socialist world.

Industrial production in the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid showed a 1.5-fold increase between 1958 and 1961. Steel output rose from 67 to 93 million metric tons; oil—from 111 to 181 million tons; electric power from 295,000 million to 451,000 million kilowatt-hours; cement, from 51 to 76 million tons. Output of consumer goods increased substantially.

In the capitalist world, on the other hand, the rate of growth of industrial production lags far behind that of the socialist world even in the more active sectors—as, for example, inside the Common Market, where it is now nearly twice that of the rate of the capitalist system as a whole.

The initiators of West European “integration” who count on retarding the economic progress of the socialist world by this policy are extremely short-sighted. The socialist world system is advancing confidently to final victory in the economic competition with capitalism.

The United States is vainly endeavoring to catch up with Soviet science and technology. The working people and friends of progress everywhere enthusiastically acclaimed the remarkable group flight performed by Soviet cosmonauts Nikolayev and

Popov. This unprecedented feat was the fruit of progress made in many branches of science and was proof of the great potential of socialist industry. It showed the world that the United States is years behind the Soviet Union in this sphere.

In the period between 1961 and 1980 the gross social product of the Soviet Union is scheduled to increase approximately five-fold. Growth of industrial production will be at least sixfold, and that of agriculture, approximately 3.5-fold. In 20 years' time the industrial production of the Soviet Union will be nearly twice the present output of the entire non-socialist world.

The other socialist countries are following the same path. The drafts of the long-range programs for the period 1961-1980 recently discussed by the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid provide for a more than sixfold increase in industrial output; agricultural output will be trebled and the national income will be nearly five times the present figure.

Lenin's prediction that socialism will influence world development chiefly through its economic achievements is being fully borne out.

As was foreseen in the Declaration, the contradictions between the productive forces and production relations in the imperialist countries have grown sharper, as have the contradictions both within and among the capitalist countries.

World capitalist economy is still unstable. The weakness of the U.S. dollar, the economic and financial difficulties experienced by the USA and the fact that its economy, which recovered with difficulty from the 1960-1961 crisis, now appears to be headed for another slump are common knowledge. In Great Britain average annual growth since 1949 has been but 2.7 per cent. For the first time since the currency reform of 1948, the rate of economic growth in West Germany has slowed down, at the very moment when the danger of inflation is imminent. The French economic and financial press predicts a slow down in the coming months.

On March 25, 1957, a few months before the 1957 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, the agreement establishing the European Economic Community was signed in Rome. The Common Market was created by the finance oligarchy at the new stage in the crisis of world capitalism. Inside the Market production has expanded; the monopolies have benefited by the tech-

nological progress and a certain degree of specialization.

But "integration" has in no way altered the character of monopoly capitalism. The Common Market is a "Europe of the trusts," an empire of giant monopolies exploiting millions of working people—workers, peasants and artisans—an arena of sharpening class struggle.

The contradictions between the imperialist countries, too, have been aggravated. The divergence of interests between the Common Market countries and the United States is becoming more and more clearly delineated. The United States failed to foresee all the consequences of creating this organization, the seed of which was contained in the 1947 Marshall Plan. The United States is now discovering that West European "integration," which it regards as a political necessity, is fraught with economic danger to itself. Hence in an effort to check economic competition on the part of the West European countries and to soften the anti-American impact of the Common Market, the ruling circles in the United States want these countries to make a bigger contribution to the "defense of the free world," in other words, to step up the arms race.

The German and French monopolies, in their turn, are anxious to occupy a leading place in the international economic and political unions. The operation of the Leninist law of unequal development can be seen in the growing rivalry between the monopolies, and in the inter-imperialist struggle for division and re-division of world markets.

Britain was at first bitterly opposed to the Common Market. The establishment of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) was intended as a counterweight, but it was unable to compete with the rival grouping and now, not without pressure from the United States which is anxious to avoid weakening the Atlantic bloc, Britain is applying for admission into the European Economic Community.

A fierce political struggle between Britain, on the one hand, and France and Federal Germany, on the other, is being fought over the terms of Britain's entry into the Market. This, however, does not mean that complete economic harmony exists between France and Federal Germany. The position of the German monopolies is growing stronger, and the West German expansion is a thorn in France's side. The acrid debates concerning the forms of "integration" and the establishing of "supra-national" bodies are a sign of

the irreconcilable antagonisms existing between the imperialist powers.

In the meantime the class struggle in these countries is becoming more acute. France has been swept by another wave of strikes: a total of 1,600,000 man-days were lost as a result of strikes between January 1 and August 1, 1962 as compared with 1,425,000 last year, when the strikes lasted twice as long as those in 1960. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that official statistics do not include strikes of civil servants and municipal employees. The strike movement is assuming dimensions unequalled since the establishment of de Gaulle's one-man rule. Most of the strikes are for higher wages.

The impoverishment of the working people in the towns and the ruination of the peasant masses are increasing. And although some sections of the working class have succeeded in winning some wage increases, real wages in some of the capitalist countries are lower than pre-war.

In France real wages in 1962 are lower than they were in 1957. The gap between the growth of labor productivity and wages is widening to the benefit of the monopolies. The speed-up is intensified and hours are longer. Twenty-five years ago, thanks to the People's Front, the French workers won a 40-hour week; today, according to official data, the working week is 46.5 hours. And if the so-called "rough work" (i.e., various additional jobs not covered by law) is taken into account, the working week in some instances will exceed 50 hours. What a contrast to the Soviet Union which will soon have the shortest working week in the world!

Chronic unemployment still exists in many capitalist countries, and especially in the United States. In a statement to the press on August 13, George Meany, AFL-CIO leader, declared that all attempts to solve the problem of unemployment had failed. Unemployment is rife even in those parts of the capitalist world which boast of a more rapid economic growth. The European Common Market has a substantial reserve army of unemployed, consisting chiefly of 1,200,000 unemployed in Italy.

The small producers are being squeezed out. The monopolies are ruining thousands of artisans and small shopkeepers and are putting the small factory-owners out of business. During the past four years 20 per cent of France's textile mills were closed down; the number of small shops decreased by 27

per cent, while the share of the big companies in home trade rose by 50 per cent. In a single year 500 big enterprises increased their turnover by 16.6 per cent, with an average growth of output of six per cent.

Differentiation among the peasantry has assumed major proportions. On the pretext of "modernizing" agriculture and making it more profitable, legislation is encouraging the establishment of big capitalist farms and driving the smallholder and the middle peasant off the land. Some 800,000 of the latter are clearly doomed to disappear.

Financial and economic power is concentrated more and more in the hands of a few giant monopolies, thus aggravating the clash of interests not only between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the working class, but also between the monopolies and all other sections. State-monopoly capitalism, far from being a "people's capitalism," stands revealed as an enemy of the bulk of the population in every country.

War or Peaceful Coexistence?

So long as imperialism exists, the soil for aggressive war will remain, the 1957 Declaration correctly pointed out. Equally justified is its assessment of the United States as the center of world reaction and aggression. By its threats against Cuba, U.S. imperialism has faced the world with the danger of a nuclear war. The firm warning issued by the Soviet Union has been largely instrumental in averting the peril.

The Declaration devotes attention to the resurgence of militarism in West Germany. During the past five years West German rearmament and the whipping up of revanchist sentiment have continued unabated within the framework of NATO. The aggressive and reactionary forces that helped Hitler to unleash the Second World War are raising their heads again.

The Gaullist regime is moving closer to the FRG, thereby jeopardizing peace and security in Europe, intensifying both the arms drive and the world tension. This was strikingly demonstrated by de Gaulle's recent visit to West Germany. The purpose of this visit was not to strengthen friendship between the French and German peoples but to conclude a new anti-Soviet and anti-communist pact between the capitalist leaders of the two countries. De Gaulle is anxious to form an alliance with the Bonn revanchists, who are openly presenting territorial claims to a number of European coun-

tries, refusing to normalize relations with the states which were the victims of their aggression in the recent past, and doing their best to prevent the Big Powers from reaching agreement on the German question and on West Berlin. The sole purpose of a "bicephalous" Europe is to impede the relaxation of world tension and to exacerbate the situation.

The slander that "for France the German threat has been replaced by a Soviet threat" is a pitiful attempt to cover up the preparations for an anti-socialist, anti-Soviet venture by the Paris-Bonn axis. It is not fortuitous that the revanchist settlers in West Germany cheered de Gaulle. The Paris press printed photographs of the French President's car against the symbolic background of posters with the inscription "The Oder-Neisse Frontier—Never!"

In an address to the officers of the military academy in Hamburg, de Gaulle rehabilitated and extolled German militarism. The purpose of his West German visit boiled down to closer collaboration between the armies of the two countries, to what he called "the organic cooperation of the armed forces."

And as always happens in any capitalist coalition, it is the stronger side—in the given instance, the reactionary circles of the Federal Republic—that determine the orientation of its policy. However much the Gaullists may dream of ruling the roost, they are fated to trail in the wake of their German partner who is stronger economically and more arrogant.

The people of France and of all other countries should display the utmost vigilance with regard to the war danger created by imperialism. War or peaceful coexistence—this is the problem facing the world today.

Happily the forces of peace are today strong enough to avert war. These forces include the socialist states, headed by the Soviet Union, the camp in which there are no longer any classes or social groups interested in aggression, and which wants peace in order to carry out its grand tasks of construction; they include the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa who are anti-imperialist and whose influence in the world is steadily growing; they include the international working class, and primarily its vanguard, the Communist movement, and the vast army of peace supporters. An alliance consisting of such formidable forces can avert a world war. In the new inter-

national situation and with the new correlation of forces war is no longer inevitable.

As was pointed out at the 1957 meeting, the Communist parties regard the fight for peace as their main task. They know that peace can be assured only by a determined struggle of all the people to foil the aggressive designs of the imperialists.

The World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, held recently in Moscow on the initiative of the Peace Movement, demonstrated that neither divergence of philosophical or political views, nor social distinctions can prevent the unity of all the forces standing for peace. The representative character of the Congress was noted by all observers. It was attended by two and a half thousand persons from 121 countries, representing all shades of opinion.

The fight for peace has entered a new stage, a stage in which general and complete disarmament has become the universal demand.

There is no need to dwell on the horrors of nuclear war. The "atomic death" potential is estimated by experts at 250,000 megatons, i.e., 250,000 million tons of TNT. According to the estimates, there are now 80 tons of explosives for every man, woman and child on earth. Linus Pauling, an American scientist, has expressed the view that a nuclear war would cost at least 800 million lives.

The squandering of national resources for war purposes has reached staggering proportions: according to official data, military expenditure amounts annually to the colossal sum of \$120,000 million—the equivalent of half of the total investments in world economy.

In these circumstances it is clear that the alternative is either disarmament or nuclear annihilation. The policy of balancing on the brink of war is sheer madness.

The Soviet government, responding to the dictates of the time, has drawn up a concrete and realistic project for general disarmament under strict international control. The plan is pivoted on the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. The fact that the USSR, which possesses the world's most powerful missiles, has nevertheless offered to begin disarmament by abolishing the means of delivery of nuclear weapons, thereby relinquishing a very important military advantage, has been noted by all partisans of peace.

Comrade Khrushchov, who addressed the Moscow Peace Congress, was fully justified

in saying: "We were for peace and disarmament when we were still weak in the military sense. And we are for disarmament and peace today when—let us be frank about it—we have weapons of a power such as no other country possesses. Is this not the best possible proof that the Soviet Union does not want war?"

For the socialist countries and the Communist parties disarmament is not a matter of tactics but of principle. Peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems is the cornerstone of their foreign policy.

Peaceful coexistence does not mean simply the absence of war or some sort of temporary and precarious truce. It is, above all, mutual rejection of the use of armed force as a means of settling disputes between states.

Clearly, such rejection can only be imposed upon the imperialists (for example, by the struggle of the peoples of their respective countries), for their nature has not changed, they have not become any more "reasonable" or accommodating. Hence peaceful coexistence cannot have anything in common with repudiation of political and ideological struggle, with orientation on class "collaboration" or "conciliation." On the contrary, its success depends on prosecution of the class struggle and on the fight for democracy in every capitalist country.

On an international plane, peaceful coexistence between two diametrically opposed social systems takes the form of cooperation and economic competition. Thanks to peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries aim at demonstrating to the world in a brief historical period, the overwhelming superiority of the socialist mode of production, thereby strengthening the hand of the working class of the capitalist countries in their political struggle. In this sense too, peaceful coexistence is the highest form of class struggle.

Competition does not preclude the expansion of economic relations between states and the free development of world trade. Quite the reverse. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are opposed to the policy of exclusive economic groupings like the European Common Market. Seeking to ensure a healthy international climate and to develop mutually advantageous economic relations, they have proposed that an international conference be held to study problems of trade and examine the question of setting up a trading organization to em-

brace all areas and all countries of the world without exception.

More, there should be economic cooperation not only between states but also between groups of states, between the economic unions of the two systems.

Thus, the policy of expanding economic relations goes hand in hand with peaceful economic competition.

Such peaceful competition does not suit the imperialists; they would like to settle international disputes by armed force. Hence, though war is no longer inevitable, it should not be thought that peace will prevail of itself. We cannot sit quietly and wait for peace to consolidate itself. Peace has to be upheld against the forces of aggression and militarism. This places a grave responsibility upon the people in the capitalist countries. On their vision, on their activity and resolve will depend whether mankind will be plunged into the vortex of a nuclear holocaust or whether peace will be preserved. The idea of peace can become realistic and practicable only if the peoples make peace their paramount concern.

It must be admitted that many people in the capitalist countries are not yet fully aware of the full gravity of the nuclear peril and are not active enough in the fight for disarmament. Many are victims of the demagoguery of reactionary governments, which profess passionate devotion to peace while at the same time stepping up the arms race and preparing for aggression.

In France, for instance, the "Franco-German reconciliation" theme is widely exploited by de Gaulle to justify the Paris-Bonn axis. Fraught with future conflicts inasmuch as it encourages revanchist claims, this policy is depicted as a means of resolving all the old conflicts. Militarist machinations are made to appear as a factor of detente.

All partisans of peace would, of course, be delighted to see France contributing to the democratic and peaceful development of Germany and to the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with that country in conformity with its commitments under the Potsdam agreements; in such an event, ties between France and the Bonn government could be useful, side by side with relations of friendship and cooperation with the GDR, the first peace-loving state in the history of modern Germany. One could then speak quite honestly about a reconciliation between the two nations.

But in the present circumstances the kisses of peace are intended for the gallery,

while behind-the-scenes conspiracies are being hatched and the axes whetted. This deception might well serve as a classical example of the treachery of the imperialists, their criminal ingenuity when it comes to misleading the people and diverting them from effective struggle against war.

Peace can be safeguarded only in the spirit of the Declaration and Manifesto of 1957, i.e., only if the people redouble their vigilance and activity.

It is the people, the millions and tens of millions of men and women in each country who can ensure the success of the fight for peace by working vigorously for the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, for terminating the policy of blocs and military bases, for ending the rearmament of German militarism, for a peace treaty with Germany, for making West Berlin an open, demilitarized city; for general simultaneous and controlled disarmament, for a policy of collective security, peaceful coexistence and economic and cultural cooperation of all states.

The Alliance of the Socialist Countries and the Unity of the Workers' and the Communist Parties

The 1957 Declaration laid special emphasis on the need to strengthen the unity and fraternal cooperation of the socialist states. It pointed out, on the one hand, that their relations are based on principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, independence and political sovereignty, and non-interference in one another's internal affairs, and on the other hand, on fraternal mutual aid which is implicit in these principles. The text stressed that the socialist states would continue to develop and extend their economic and cultural relations.

As is noted in the Declaration, the solidarity and close unity of all the socialist countries is the reliable guarantee of the independence and sovereignty of each. All questions affecting their relations can be fully settled by amicable discussion.

The meeting confirmed the identity of views of the Communist and Workers' parties on the basic questions of the proletarian revolution and the building of socialism. It recalled the basic laws applicable to all countries embarking on the socialist course.

The first of these laws is the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another to carry out the aims of the proletarian revolution. This dictatorship of the proletariat—democracy for all work-

ing people—implies leadership of the people by the working class, of which the Marxist-Leninist party is the core.

Then come a number of other laws and general principles which should always be applied with due regard to the specific features of each individual country.

Any disregard of the national peculiarities by the proletariat is fraught with the danger of its losing touch with reality, of losing contact with the masses, thus endangering the cause of socialism. And, conversely, exaggeration of these peculiarities, or departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism can be harmful to the revolution. Consequently, both tendencies should be resolutely combated.

The meeting also underscored that the theory of Marxism-Leninism derives from dialectical materialism, a world outlook which reflects the universal law of the development of nature, society and human thought, and which is valid for the past, the present and the future.

In order to uphold Marxism-Leninism and to advance it, it is essential, the Declaration points out, to intensify the struggle against revisionist and opportunist trends which represent the chief danger at present, and against dogmatism and sectarianism, which can also become the main danger at a given moment. The experience of the international Communist movement shows that preservation of unity in the ranks of the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is the best guarantee of success.

These propositions, set forth in the Declaration have proved prophetic. They have been fully borne out by subsequent developments.

Firstly, the fraternal relations between the socialist countries have been consolidated. These countries are rendering each other friendly aid in building socialism and communism; they have pooled their efforts to defend the gains of the revolution and to safeguard peace.

The socialist countries have built, on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and fraternal solidarity, a widely ramified system of economic relations which play a highly important role in strengthening the political and economic independence both of the individual countries and of the community as a whole. These economic relations have been extended in all directions—foreign trade, coordination of industry and transport, granting credits and loans, scientific and

technological cooperation and exchange of experience, training specialists, etc.

Trade between the socialist countries has developed at a rapid rate: between 1950 and 1960 it grew more than threefold (trade between the capitalist countries for the same period only doubled). Today the socialist countries are faced with the problem of extending the cooperation achieved in the sphere of trade to the sphere of production.

The top-level conference of the member-countries of the Council for Economic Mutual Aid held in Moscow in June 1962 placed on the order of the day such tasks as coordinating the national economic plans, international socialist division of labor, coordination and specialization of national industry, joint scientific and technological research and a coordinated investment policy.

The socialist world system has now progressed to the point where its perspectives cannot be correctly assessed simply by mechanically adding up the national economic achievements of each country; needed today is a single economic organism embracing the whole system, a well-organized ensemble in which the economy of each country will have its place and function in conformity with the socialist law of harmonious and proportional development.

The socialist system is now producing 37 per cent of the world's industrial output; it accounts for 26 per cent of the total area of the world. The economic cooperation should correspond to the level of these greatly increased productive forces. Given this, it would be possible to win much time in the economic competition with capitalism and thus fully demonstrate the superiority of socialism.

The socialist commonwealth is countering the imperialist attempts at "integration" with a far more closely-welded union, founded on the genuine equality of all its partners, on identity of interests and on genuine humanism. This union is demonstrating to the world the advantages of the socialist mode of production and its potentialities, it is ensuring a much more rapid growth of the economy and adding to the prestige which socialism has gained in the world.

As a political community the system of socialist countries has also acquired greater strength and vigor. Imperialist propaganda depicts the struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries for emancipation as Communist infiltration from some outside source, as the "machinations" of the socialist countries. Nothing could be farther from

the truth. The Communist movement is not foreign-inspired, for the socialist revolution is not an exportable commodity; it matures within the capitalist countries as a result of their own contradictions and the operation of the laws of social development.

It is true that the rapid progress made by the socialist countries is convincing testimony in favor of the new world outlook and a factor accelerating human progress. Their achievements in the social sphere are compelling the imperialists in not a few countries to make some concessions and to grant certain rights and benefits to the exploited.

The peoples of Asia and Africa who have thrown off the colonial yoke are turning more and more to the socialist countries for support and protection against the maneuvering of the imperialists. The tone of most of the speeches delivered at the recent Conference of African Students in Europe confirmed this attitude of sympathy and confidence toward the socialist countries.

The African and Asian peoples know that on the moral and diplomatic plane no less than in the technological and economic field they can rely on the support of the socialist camp as a whole, and especially on the Soviet Union, in their struggle against neo-colonialist pressure.

The socialist countries have paved the way to new standards in international life and have given the world an example of genuinely fraternal and equal relations between nations. Under the impact of socialism the struggle of the working people for their emancipation and the democratic movement of the peoples are merging into a single powerful stream which is sapping the foundations of imperialism.

Dialectical materialism, the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism, is winning victory after victory.

In France, as elsewhere in the capitalist world, the struggle of the two ideologies, the two outlooks, is growing in intensity. Witness the refined methods used by idealism in all its forms—from atheistic existentialism to religious mysticism—to combat dialectical materialism and impede progress.

Our Party, understandably, attaches importance to philosophy and to debates on philosophical problems. The need to fight on two fronts makes this imperative.

We are combating revisionism which distorts the truth of Marxism and discredits our teaching, and with the same vigor we

are combating dogmatism and scholasticism, for Marxism is alien to any conservatism, and stagnation of thought.

At the beginning of June, our Central Committee drew the attention of the membership to the fact that the economic and political struggle should be accompanied simultaneously by a struggle in the ideological sphere, by more theoretical training for our activists and educational work among the membership in general. At the same time the Party must be reinforced both ideologically and organizationally.

In the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, the moral and political unity of the Communist parties all over the world has been consolidated since 1957. To appreciate what has been achieved in this respect one has only to recall the numerous revisionist sallies undertaken some five years ago by individual splitters and, in the case of some parties, by groups, and the decisive victory won by all the parties concerned over these harmful tendencies. The hopes cherished by the opportunists and their bourgeois patrons were disappointed.

Events have proved the correctness of the thesis contained in the 1957 Declaration concerning the application of the general principles of communism in keeping with the specific features of each country. This does not imply any "adaptation" of Marxism-Leninism to the different countries. Each Party, in accordance with the conditions, makes its specific contribution to the store of Marxist thought while at the same time guarding against any distortion of that theory on the pretext of national peculiarities, for these should neither be ignored nor exaggerated.

In this way ideological unity is maintained and strengthened. No less necessary is unity of will and action. This unity has been jealously guarded by the international Communist movement which vigorously repulses any factional activity seeking to compromise the movement.

The vanguard role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been a decisive cementing factor for the international Communist movement. Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism in all its actions, and especially in its relations with the fraternal parties, the CPSU is working to further the progress of the socialist camp, of the working class and national-liberation movements, to strengthen the Communist parties.

The experience gained by the CPSU is invaluable for all the fraternal parties; it has also helped them to avoid many mistakes. The international Communist movement as a whole correctly understood, supported and benefited from the resolute efforts of the CPSU to extirpate the personality cult and its consequences.

In the Soviet Union that struggle implied abandoning the anti-Leninist methods of party and state leadership which were an obstacle to progress. It was marked by the defeat of the forces which clung to the old and resisted all that was new and forward-looking, and it cemented the Party's contact with the masses, with the people.

It had also significance for the working-class movement in other countries. Today more than ever before the Communist parties regard strict observation of the Leninist standards of Party life, founded on the principle of democratic centralism, to be an immutable law of their activity. The decisions of the Twentieth Congress ushered in a new stage in the international Communist movement and gave a new powerful impetus to its development.

Against this background the 1957 meeting was a vivid demonstration of the growing forces of communism throughout the world. This growth has been maintained throughout the past five years. Looking back at the path traversed, the Communists all over the world can, despite the difficulties and complexity of their tasks, record with pride the successes they have achieved.

For a Broad Anti-Monopoly Alliance

The final section of the 1957 Declaration is devoted to the tasks of the Communist parties.

In the capitalist countries, it states, the struggle of the working class and the masses should be directed mainly against the big monopoly associations, whose interests clash more and more with those of all other sections of society. The task is to unite, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, the broad sections of the population in the struggle for peace and freedom, for better conditions for the people, for the overthrow of the monopoly rule.

Three years later the 1960 Statement pointed out that as the basic class contradiction of bourgeois society, namely, that between labor and capital, grows sharper, the antagonism between the handful of monopolists and all sections of the nation will increase.

This is what is happening in France where the de Gaulle government stands for the domination of the monopolies and the big banks. The most powerful financial groups, vested with governmental authority, are in a position to further their own interests to the detriment of the rights and the welfare of the nation.

With the wholesale ruination of the small farmers, artisans and tradesmen, and the squeezing out of the non-monopoly enterprises there is a possibility for the working class to unite with broader sections of the population.

The struggle for democratic liberties opens the prospect of uniting large political forces. These liberties are being infringed by de Gaulle who, increasingly, aspires to the role of the "man of destiny," ordained by the Almighty to be the "savior" of his country. The October referendum was designed to lay a foundation for his autocratic rule which savors strongly of the foundations on which Bonapartism rested.

De Gaulle insists that his authority is essential to prevent chaos, civil war, and OAS fascism, but in point of fact the fascist danger is encouraged by one-man rule which is itself the product of the conspiracy of 1958. Attempted assassinations and fascist machinations are increasing, and the regime of personal rule is powerless to bring to heel the rebels from the military caste from which it sprang.

That is why there is a growing desire among all anti-fascists and democrats to join forces in order to put an end to the OAS, crush the fascist danger, and protect freedom against the authoritarian government by saying "no" to the new Gaullist referendum.

It should be added that the reactionary policy of the government in the cultural sphere is causing much alarm in France, especially among intellectuals. The obscurantism in education and clerical domination of the state are arousing protests. New forces are joining in the struggle.

As early as 1959, the Communist Party drew up a plan for uniting all sections of the population suffering from the monopoly pressure, and all economic, political and social movements directed against the political manifestations of this pressure—one-man rule. The Party Congress inspired the working class to form an effective alliance of peasants, urban middle sections, intellectuals, small and middle bourgeoisie to combat the trusts and their reactionary policy.

The big bourgeoisie, clearly perceiving the threat to themselves contained in this course, lost no time in summoning to their aid revisionists of all shades. The latter demagogically maintain that the role of the "progressive" working class consists not in allying itself with the peasants and the "backward" small producers, but in uniting on the basis of technological progress with the "advanced" capitalists, in other words, giving their support to the most dangerous of the monopoly sharks.

Moreover, the revisionists proposed the "positive" policy of "including" the working class and its organizations in the Common Market. If this were a matter of waging an effective struggle against the inimical consequences of the Common Market for the working class, the question would never have come up: ever since 1956 our Party has been demanding that the voice of the exploited be heard by the so-called European organizations. But without success. The revisionist proposal, however, would amount to holding back the struggle for economic and political demands, against the monopolies and their international associations.

Common sense told the working people to disregard this treacherous advice and to follow the line set forth in the Declaration of 1957. The people know very well that the power of attraction exerted by socialism is growing in general, and in particular among the peasantry and intellectuals. They see clearly that the rapprochement of all the victims of the monopolies to the point where the different movements would merge into a single mighty torrent is an objective necessity if genuine democracy is to prevail in France.

True democracy will strike at the monopolies by carrying out nationalization on a broad scale and establishing democratic boards in the nationalized sectors, with the trade unions and workers' committees participating directly in the management.

The Declaration examined this highly important question as well.

Nationalization of this kind is a democratic measure of the utmost importance: in the economic sphere it cuts into the power of the monopoly circles, in the sphere of politics it eases the pressure of finance capital on social life and tends to isolate the ultra-reactionaries. To curb the malevolent power of the monopolies means enabling the working class and its party, as well as the allies of the working class, to play a

more important role in state affairs. And this in turn is a step toward social progress and one that accords with the interests of the majority of the nation.

But nationalization is not socialism. Of course "every hungry hen dreams of corn," as they say, and the revisionists, mainly concerned with avoiding the socialist revolution, depict democratic nationalization as socialism. They try to confuse the issue. Nationalization does not destroy the capitalist regime, but, combined with a democratic government, it can facilitate the movement toward socialism.

Forcing the trusts to retreat and undermining their economic domination through nationalization of large-scale industry and the simultaneous transfer of power into the hands of an anti-monopoly government, extending the rights of the workers and their organizations in the enterprises, turning the land over to those who till it and helping the small producers through reduced taxation and the granting of subsidies and credits at low rates of interest—all this will convince the broad non-working class strata of the expediency of acting in unity, raise the political activity of the people to a higher level and make the struggle for democracy a component part of the struggle for socialism.

In the course of this struggle for democracy the Communists can strengthen their contact with the masses, deepen the political consciousness of all the working people, help the people to understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and its necessity. Thus the prospect opening up before the working class becomes more and more favorable, and the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism appears.

The working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard want a bloodless revolution. This would accord with the interests of economy, and with the subjective desire of the working people. A non-violent revolution is possible when the preponderance of forces is on the side of the working class and its allies and when the big bourgeoisie are forced to make concessions. The whole policy of the anti-monopoly alliance is aimed at bringing about a situation of exactly this kind. And when the Communists strive in the present difficult conditions to set up a broad front against the power of the monopolies they are not deviating from the road leading to the attainment of their ideal, they are laying the groundwork, creating the pre-

liminary conditions for the socialist reconstruction of their country.

The theory of proletarian revolution and the state has been enriched since 1957: the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU reaffirmed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine according to which the victory of socialism can be achieved only through the dictatorship of the proletariat; it showed that in the period of the all-out building of communism the proletarian dictatorship completes its functions and gives way to the state of the entire people.

This contribution to Marxist theory does not of course minimize the importance of the 1957 Declaration.

The 1957 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties devoted attention to the problem of cooperation with the Socialist parties, confirming the timely and correct conclusions arrived at on this question by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. The meeting deemed it necessary to create a united front not only in the struggle for better conditions, for preserving and extending democratic rights, for national independence and peace, but also in the subsequent battle for the conquest of power and for the building of socialism.

Our Party has repeatedly stressed on this score that cooperation with the Socialist Party is not only desirable and necessary at the present stage of the struggle for political and economic demands, but also for building socialism in the future.

The Socialist and Communist workers are already fighting side by side for the demands of the workers in the enterprises. The positions of the Socialist and Communist parties in the fight against the new referendum have been identical: both parties urged the masses to say NO to strengthening the one-man rule. Both parties are opposed to the Gaullist striking force and are united in defending the non-clerical character of the school and the state.

Some aspects of nationalization figure in the program of the Socialist Party. Consequently, here too there are opportunities for mutual understanding and identity of aims.

Under working-class pressure an agreement was reached between the organizations of both parties during the local elections, which are always indicative of the popular sentiment, and during the recent elections to the Senate. As prominent a Socialist leader as the ex-Minister Albert Gazier has spoken publicly in favor of discussion with the Communists.

Thus, although the majority of the leaders of the Socialist Party continue to oppose united action, the possibilities of establishing a united front are growing. The wind of unity, as yet only a faint breeze, is rising among the working masses; two parties which were so deeply divided only a few years ago on the question of the Gaullist rule and the Constitution, now find themselves on the same side as regards the referendum, and moreover together with many other democratic forces and parties. For example, on some points we are in agreement with another Socialist organization, the United Socialist Party, whose program in some respects coincides with our own.

The fact that in the new situation the masses are beginning to sense the possibility of unity and are acquiring confidence in their actions should be properly appreciated.

The Communist Party will spare no effort to establish a stable united front of Communists and Socialists. Its slogan is unity of the working class and alliance of all the democratic forces against the monopolies and their government, for defense of the interests of all working people.

* * *

The 1957 meeting foresaw that the international Communist movement would be faced with new problems and difficulties, and that the imperialists would redouble their efforts to retard the advance of society in the new era. The frenzied efforts of

capitalism to survive may yield some temporary results (the Common Market is a case in point).

But, as the Declaration stated, "no difficulties and no turns in the situation can alter the objective laws of historical development, or break the firm determination of the working class to change the old world and build a new world." To the attempts to hold back their advance, the Communists have replied by further consolidating the unity of the working class.

Now that the capitalist world has entered upon a new stage of its general crisis, intensifying the exploitation of man by man and the oppression of peoples, the "crisis of communism" proclaimed by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists has proved to be just another absurdity. The Communist movement is gaining in strength and in numbers. The program for the building of communism in the USSR adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress has inspired all who are fighting for happiness and progress, for freedom and peace, for socialism.

The 20th century will go down in history as the century of revolutionary changes which open the road to communism for the peoples. Not a year passes but the capitalist world is made to feel the impact of the revolutionary movement. The bastions of imperialism are crumbling, the chains of colonial slavery are being torn asunder, the old world of exploitation and oppression is moving inexorably to its doom.

The Struggle for Socialism in Italy

Alessandro Natta, Giuliano Pajetta

(The Theses for the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party)

THE Theses for the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party have been awaited with interest in Italy, not only by the Communists but by the public generally. And this is understandable. Suffice it to mention the role played by the Communist Party in Italian political life and particularly the importance attached to our stand in the light of recent events, first and foremost the formation of the so-called "Center-Left" government. This government is composed of Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Republicans; in Parliament it has the support of the Socialist Party. Its program contains an undertaking to nationalize the power industry, to engage in economic "programming,"* to set up regional governments, etc. Obviously, however, it is not merely our attitude to the "Center-Left" experiment that has evoked this interest. People wanted to know how we proposed to tackle the problems stemming from democratic development and the socialist perspective. Even among the architects of the present policy there are those who do not deny that these matters are both realistic and concrete. And already the first comments in the press show that the foregoing is the reason why the Theses have aroused such interest. The admission was made reluctantly and in a contradictory manner, but nevertheless shows how determined and effective has been the desire of the Italian Communists to make as precise an analysis as possible of socio-economic life and of class and political forces in order to define the conditions, forms and objectives of the struggle waged by the working class and its vanguard Party for democracy and socialism. The more thoughtful and sincere political commentators (we do not mean, of course, the usual manifestations of the jaundiced anti-communism rejected by life itself, whose adherents question the value and the originality of the Communist document as a pretext for refusing to consider our slogans seriously) are beginning to realize that the political line of our Party and the perspective it holds out are comprehensive

and forceful and certainly call for more serious consideration both in the political and ideological spheres.

The political significance of the Theses—which not even our adversaries can deny—is explained in our view by the fact that they contain a meaningful and consistent discourse from a definite standpoint on: *how at the present stage it is possible and necessary to advance towards socialism in a developed capitalist country such as Italy.* Our solutions for the burning issues—whether they concern the "Center-Left" government, the economic "programming," or the unity of the working class and democratic movement—are very convincing because the document's leading idea is that of a realistic perspective of the struggle for democracy and socialism in countries at the monopoly-capitalist stage. Our analysis of the economic and political situation at home and abroad, our theoretical tenets and basic principles and, lastly, the very concept of a vanguard party, all are linked in the Theses with the perspective of the democratic advance towards socialism. That, in our view, is a step forward compared with previous congress documents which also discussed the problem of the "Italian Road to Socialism," and, as we see it, is a still bigger contribution to the general strategy of the struggle for socialism in capitalist countries.

It is not fortuitous therefore that the study of the international situation in the Theses depicts capitalist Europe in a new light; they point to the process of monopoly expansion and "integration" now under way in Western Europe, and to the role which the West European working class should play in the common fight for socialism. Hence the struggle for peace acquires special significance. In analyzing the changes that have taken place in the world arena and in the world balance of forces, the Theses, naturally, proceed from the well-known principle that war is no longer inevitable, that the fight for peace is the task of tasks.

We should underline the importance attached in the Theses to peaceful coexistence and the struggle for it as being fundamental for

*By "programming" is meant the policy of the "Center-Left" government to plan and carry out economic development—Ed.

the democratic advance to socialism. In other words, *the struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition is organically linked with the development of democracy and the advance towards socialism*, which must be the work of the peoples themselves headed by the most progressive socio-political forces. The chief aims of a democratic foreign policy, applicable first and foremost to Italy, as well as to the whole of capitalist Europe, thus become clear.

These aims are: isolation of the ultra-aggressive groups of the imperialist camp and delivering against them a decisive blow; a settlement of the issues between the Great Powers based on recognition of and respect for the socialist states that have come into being since the Second World War; prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and an end to nuclear tests; general disarmament under effective control; abolition of the military blocs. Unless Italy pursues a foreign policy of peace and takes a neutral stand, it cannot achieve any durable improvement in its home policy.

Thus capitulation, passivity, underestimating the importance of the struggle for peace, and mistakes in interpreting the principles of peaceful coexistence are combated not only with a view to achieving a universal and durable peace, but also and above all, because of the indissoluble link between coexistence and the possibility of socio-economic progress, the development of the struggle for democracy and socialism in our country.

It is on this basis that the problem of the socialist revolution in Italy and Western Europe is posed. In searching for an original way to socialism in the specific conditions of countries at the monopoly-capitalist stage, the international situation is, naturally, always taken into account, especially the existence of the socialist countries with their growing strength. The analysis emphasizes the influence exerted by the successes achieved in building socialist and communist societies in the Soviet Union and other countries comprising such a large area of the globe. On the one hand, these achievements deepen the general crisis of capitalism and aggravate its contradictions. On the other, they add to the influence exerted by the peace forces and hence pave the way to a period of international detente and peaceful coexistence and, lastly, lead to the maturing of socialist political consciousness. *The existence and the achievements of the USSR and the other socialist countries undoubtedly signify new*

conditions for the working people's struggle, and make it possible to advance to socialism in a democratic and peaceful way in the sense that an armed uprising and civil war can be avoided by developing a broad mass struggle capable of foiling any bourgeois attempts to block the democratic path and resort to force.

The Theses emphasize at the same time that we must combat the wrong view that the development of the socialist camp will of itself be sufficient to bring about the collapse of the capitalist system. "Capitalism cannot fall and the advance to socialism cannot embrace new countries unless this process includes the conscious movement of the working class and the working masses seeking to break the domination of the bourgeois classes and become the new ruling classes of society." Thus the Theses resolutely condemn all temporizing and passivity. They criticize, too, the limitations and the weakness of the working class of capitalist Europe and show the groundlessness of the reformist standpoint and the Social Democratic type of experience, as well as the inability of sectarian extremism to organize a genuinely mass political movement to win power and build a socialist society. These points make up the basis of the analysis of the conditions, class alliances, forms and aims of revolutionary strategy in a country like Italy.

A major conclusion to be drawn from the study of the economic and political life, of the changes which have taken place or are under way in Italy, as in all capitalist countries generally, is that we must base ourselves on the facts of life (the economic "integration," growth of state-monopoly capitalism, "programming," nationalization, etc.), on its contradictions, in order to organize in Italy and in all Europe a movement and struggle by workers and the masses which will make it possible to isolate and smash the monopoly forces and carry through far-reaching economic and political reforms. In this way the working classes and their organizations will acquire greater influence and enhance their role. This proposition determines, in particular, our attitude to the European Common Market.

The Theses not only underline the objective character of the tendency towards internationalization of economic relations, they not only recognize that the Common Market has already brought about definite results (the documents of the previous Congress spoke of the change in the relationship of forces

between the United States and Western Europe), not only do they demand representation for the trade union and political organizations of the working class in the bodies of "integrated" Europe. *The main thing is that we see in this economic and political reality the conditions in which the working class and the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe will have to fight for a democratic alternative.* They will not confine themselves to exposing the imperialist character of the process under way, its authoritarian tendencies and contradictions, determined by monopoly rule. The task is to give a positive answer to the problems underlying the capitalist "integration" in order to find in the course of this struggle our own path of transition to socialism. Unitarian initiative and struggle to secure a radical change in the character of the Common Market, to lay the foundations for economic cooperation on a European and worldwide scale with the participation of countries with differing social systems are, hence, not an objective of democratic foreign policy alone. This task, as one of the elements of the struggle for the transition to socialism, also devolves on the Communist parties, especially those in the Common Market member countries.

In the same way—and this applies particularly to Italy—an analysis of the changes in the socio-economic situation, in the balance of political forces and in the political aims, leads, on the one hand, to the conclusion that capitalism is unable to solve or overcome its contradictions and for this reason is the main obstacle to the further development of Italian society. This applies particularly to modern capitalism, which has reached maturity and which in Italy, for instance, has brought about considerable economic development. On the other hand, it is clear from this analysis that, on the soil on which capitalism has to wage a struggle, i.e., on the soil of the state which has taken shape in our country, in particular, as a result of the anti-fascist war of liberation and the fight for a democratic Constitution, the working class will be able to find a better way of organizing the national life, a life corresponding to the growing urge for freedom, cultural regeneration and useful labor. Such an organization of the national life would help to solve the problems of our country, as for example, emancipation of the people of the South, of the peasants and the masses of women; it would pose the question of waging a massive struggle against war and enable us to usher in a democracy in keeping with the needs of

our time and taking in economic relations. As the Theses say, "the need for a radical regeneration, for a democratic and socialist reconstruction of society, becomes still more apparent. It is a fact that the working class is now objectively interested in this change, as well as other sections which include the peasantry, the middle strata, the women and large numbers of the population in the southern provinces."

In this light the following features stand out in the revolutionary struggle of the working class: the close link between the democratic demands and the economic demands of a socialist character; action for more state intervention in the economy under democratic control; action for structural reforms (nationalization, agrarian reform, a democratic state structure, etc.). In this context the importance we attach to working out an Italian road to socialism as a "process of the mass struggle for positive aims, leading to changes in the economic structure and the political system, to changing the balance of forces in favor of the working class and its allies and advancing the formation of a socio-political bloc capable of realizing socialist changes in Italy within the framework of the Constitution," becomes clear.

As we see it, the Theses are such an important contribution to the elaboration of this strategic line that they deserve the most careful attention. Above all this concerns the problem of the correlation between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism. Here the Theses proceed from the assumption that "*the winning of an advanced political democracy does not of itself lead to socialism, does not as yet signify the abolition of capitalist exploitation, an end to the alienation of the working man.*" At the same time the Theses remind us of another extremely important principle, namely, that "*winning political democracy is an integral part of the struggle waged by the working class for its emancipation.*" At a time when the capitalist system has reached the stage of highly concentrated monopolies, the struggle for the development of democracy reveals ever graver contradictions within the system, on the one hand, although on the other, there is the danger that democratic gains may prove precarious and illusory unless extended from the political to socio-economic relations. "A situation now obtains in Italy," the Theses state, "in which democracy must, to ensure its existence and development, embrace the economic structure and open the way to a

unitarian society which would abolish class divisions and place the working citizen's right to freedom on a new foundation." This is a struggle to impart a new, socialist content to Italian democracy, and it derives from the Constitution. And not only because the Constitution affirms the principle of popular sovereignty, but because it attaches a new and decisive significance to labor, recognizes the working people's new rights and provides for definite structural modifications.

Our Party has already spoken of the significance and value of structural reforms and the expansion of state-monopoly capitalism as potential conditions for the transition to socialism. The Theses, in our view, have imparted more substance and clarity to this idea inasmuch as they study the problem of economic "programming" now on the agenda in Italy. We reject the absurd hypothesis that the alternative to the present economic course should be sought in a return to the capitalist rivalry of the old type, i.e., ignoring state-monopoly capitalism. We recognize that the working class must fight jointly with the political forces interested in genuine economic "programming." But the essential thing is to ascertain what action should be taken by the working class to prevent the "programming" from becoming a source of guaranteed maximum profits for the capitalists, an instrument of capitalist "rationalization." The objective is a kind of planned policy capable of solving the old and pressing problems of our country: the conditions of the working class, the problems of its emancipation, the conditions of the peasants, the women's question, the problem of the South and the problems of education and the social services.

The working people and their organizations as well as the local authorities should play a leading and independent part in implementing the "programming." But that is not enough. The "programming" should be anti-monopoly in character and direction, and it should be realized in the interests of man and the community. Hence the participation of the working class "realizing to the full its ideals and autonomy, with the whole force of its unity" is decisive.

And further: "To change the character of 'programming' it is not enough for the working classes to participate in it in one way or another. That is precisely the mistake made, among others, by some representatives of the Left in the working-class and democratic movement. In their view the decisive condition for an 'anti-monopoly' policy is participation in the government, even at the risk

of breaking the working-class unity and jeopardizing the independence of the trade unions.

"Affirmation of the independence of the working class, in the first place independence in the struggle for immediate demands and in the trade union struggle, should not be regarded as a tendency on the part of the working class towards isolation or to stand aloof from the 'programming'. This independence is the criterion for distinguishing our concept of planning from that of a 'concerted' economy, and from neo-capitalist ideas of 'programming'. It is precisely this proletarian independence which in the first instance should determine the positive actions to be taken on the basis of those immediate demands around which unity is created and which are engendered by the country's urgent problems, in order to determine the sequence of the struggle for our aims, in the name of which we should participate in the fight to elaborate and implement a policy of planning."

To realize the significance of the strategy of the struggle for democracy and socialism, we should look at that section of the Theses which examines the problems of the state. Two erroneous concepts are mentioned and criticized. The first proceeds from an abstract evaluation of the state, when it is regarded as an "independent" or "neutral" force and it is forgotten that the state is always the expression of a definite bloc of the ruling forces and that the creation of the new democratic system developing along socialist lines is closely linked with the formation of a new bloc around the working class. "The ideological independence of the working class, its political unity, the development of its class organizations and mass institutions, which link it with other social groups, and its contact with all the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, are decisive elements in forming this new bloc," the Theses say. "This bloc should organize and transform the struggle for immediate demands into political activity aimed at changing the class basis of the state, at gradually abolishing structural disproportions in the country and in this way to bring new classes into the work of running the country."

The other and equally erroneous view is the sectarian extremism which would restrict working-class activity to the factories, denies the importance of the struggle for democracy, separates the advance to socialism from the democratic structure of society, contests the significance of transient aims and gains and,

hence, opposes the policy of alliances. "Precisely because of the wide scale acquired by monopoly domination at the present time, and of the forms in which it is exercised, it is impossible to smash it without combating it on state problems, without opposing the course suggested by the ruling classes, without utilizing and developing the democratic gains won by the working class in the struggle for the common aims of all forces that have declared their fidelity to socialism."

On the basis of this struggle, aimed first and foremost at restricting and undermining monopoly power, and thanks to the intertwining of the socio-economic struggle with struggle for changing the economic and state structure, *new possibilities emerge for forming alliances of the working class and the Communist Party* not only with all the forces—the peasants, middle sections, intellectuals, the youth and women—interested in posing their problems, but also with those political groups who, by virtue of their ideology, their associations with the people and their anti-fascist past, strive, even if in a contradictory and occasionally mystified way, towards the human values of emancipation and social progress.

Speaking of working-class and democratic unity, an essential condition for realizing the socialist perspective, the Theses do not omit to point to the contradictions in our country. On the one hand, some of the difficulties derive from the stand taken by the Socialist Party after annulling the unity pact with the Communists, from the intensified pressure exerted by the Christian Democratic Party and the present "Center-Left" camp with a view to forcing the Socialist Party to change its allies, particularly in the local government bodies (in the communes and provinces, as well as in the administrative regions still to be created). On the other hand, there is, among the working people and the population generally—in, for example, the struggle in town and countryside, among the youth and intellectuals and in the struggle for peace—a strong urge for unity. Hence the search for a broader, more developed policy of alliances, a policy of establishing a new working-class and democratic unity. And while unity between the Communists and Socialists continues to be the pivot of our unity policy, it should not be considered an absolutely indispensable condition, one without which the Communist Party cannot develop its initiative. "The main effort," the Theses say, "should be directed towards promoting new unitarian processes at the base, on the part of the

anti-monopoly and democratic social and political forces, on an autonomous platform, in independent organizational forms and in the multifarious forms of struggle and initiative in which should be concretized all the actions for a democratic and socialist regeneration of the country."

It should be emphasized that the Party makes working-class and democratic unity contingent not only on concrete political initiative and struggle, but also on polemics in the ideological sphere, on principled elucidation of the forms and methods of winning and building a new society in which there will take part, in addition to the proletariat, other social forces and political parties far removed from it and acting in accordance with their ideological principles. The best example of this elucidation is the Theses themselves. It should be said that, by recalling the perspectives and aims of the advance to socialism, the world problems on which human progress depends (the halting of the race to an atomic war, the abolition of colonialism, the emancipation of the working classes and their advent to power, the solution of these problems within the framework of peaceful competition), still greater vigor is imparted to the debate with the other political forces, particularly with the Social Democrats and the Catholics. That is why the unity policy of our Party and its offers to establish contact and to cooperate with other forces have neither a fortuitous base nor a tactical character. At the same time the Theses link this way of posing the question with a series of principles of great political and theoretical interest. In the new conditions, the Theses say, "the very term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' can assume another content differing from that which it had in the difficult years of the civil war and the early years of building socialism in a country surrounded by capitalism. In the struggle against the big monopolies and for expansion of the state sectors of the economy under democratic control, it will be possible to cooperate with new social groups—not only with the farm laborers and working peasants but also with some of the productive middle sections* as well as with engineers and other technical workers and intellectuals."

On this strategic plane the position and the tactics of the Party with regard to the political experiment which began in Italy with the formation of the "Center-Left" government

*The Communist Party, in addition to the peasants, also includes in the "productive middle sections" the urban petty and middle bourgeoisie, primarily the artisans, and the small and middle industrialists—Ed.

appear even more lucid and purposeful. Part III of the Theses analyzes the process which led to the formula and program of the "Center-Left" and assesses the different objectives of the political parties composing the present majority. As a result it was possible to avoid the danger of one-sided assessments and schematism. And if we recognize that new possibilities have opened up for the working-class struggle, we are also keenly aware that the present political course has its limitations and is fraught with certain dangers. These dangers, which emanate primarily from the Christian Democratic Party, are determined by the pressure exerted by the groups of the bourgeoisie who want "gradually to strip the 'Center-Left' policy of its progressive content and reduce it to a series of partial measures which, little by little, would acquire the character of transformationist orientation and paternalistic concessions. . . ."

Thus the tactics of our Party vis-a-vis the "Center-Left" are not exhausted by revealing the latter's limitations, by the fight against stagnation and the worsening situation, by exerting pressure on the government to implement its program. The tactics of the Party are only fully revealed if linked with the broader activities for a genuine turn to the Left, activities which utilize the contradictions of the "Center-Left," particularly the contradictions between the government's program and the new demands advanced as a result of the recent mass manifestations and working-class actions. The defense of autonomy and working-class unity are essential for effecting a Leftward turn in Italian policy.

Hence the significance of our debate with the revisionist and the reformist trends that have emerged in the Socialist Party in the past few years. We are not criticizing the Socialists for participating in the new parliamentary majority. What we are criticizing above all is that the activity of the Socialist Party obscures the socialist objective of the democratic struggle against the reactionary structure of society (both the old society as well as the new, monopoly society). This struggle should proceed certainly from concrete demands, reforms and partial gains, should develop on the basis of still broader class contacts and political alliances, and aim at isolating and smashing the reactionary forces. *But if we do not want the struggle to slide into reformism and opportunism, then it is essential that it should always be waged with the common and final objective of the working-class movement in view, i.e., the defeat of capitalism and radically remaking*

the system. It goes without saying that our ideological and political debate with the Socialist leadership does not in any way weaken our positive policy of reaching the maximum unity with the Socialist Party. We cannot ignore its class roots, or the fact that it has a strong Left unitarian trend; we cannot disregard the impact on the Socialist Party of the struggle now being waged under the banner of unity by the masses with whom this party is linked.

The last part of the Theses deals especially with the working-class Party. The problems of the Party's growth, its ideological and political orientation and its organization are examined, as are other problems, in the light of the need to define as clearly as possible the functions of the vanguard party of the working class as leader of the struggle for socialism in the present conditions, in particular in the conditions of Italy. Our aim is a party of the Leninist type, a party that leads the revolutionary struggle in the world of today. It seems to us very important in this connection to underline that the *Theses reaffirm the significance of a mass party as an "indisputable element of our idea of a democratic and a socialist revolution in Italy."* Important too is the fact that the Theses trenchantly denounce the opportunist and sectarian positions inasmuch as the adherents of these positions either favor a party of different opinions and oppose a party of struggle or seek to turn the proletarian vanguard into something divorced from reality.

Likewise emphasized is the need ideologically to substantiate the political struggle to mould socialist consciousness, for a general reorientation of the ideological front. The Theses urge that a search be made for ways of achieving a still more durable program unity, of combating the dangers in the Italian working-class movement and in the Party itself, i.e., the dangers of reformism and sectarian extremism. Important, finally, is the fact that the Theses uphold the connection between thought and action, between drawing up political programs and practical organizational work; reaffirm the principle of democratic centralism which implies an indissoluble link between discussion and research, on the one hand, and discipline on the other.

We have pointed to only a few of the main points of the Theses. It was not our purpose to give a systematic exposition of the complex and comprehensive document on which the work of the Tenth Congress will be based. We hope, nevertheless, that these general

observations will help to clarify the trend of the Theses. The Theses do not repeat the theoretical and political program positions of our Party. Their aim was, above all, to bring to light the new facts and assess them, to test our revolutionary strategy on the touchstone of living reality, in order subsequently to deepen and clarify it, and to make any necessary modifications. And in this sense we do not consider anything to be final. The Theses emphasize the correctness of the theoretical and political propositions advanced at our previous Party congresses, the effectiveness of the documents issued by the international Communist movement, and, in this connection, refer to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, to the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow and to the Rome conference of 17 Communist parties of Western Europe. In confirming the principles of our concept, the Theses do not anywhere regard them as being

a simple historical heritage. Their soundness has been proved time and again by the experience gained in the struggle of our own and other parties. They are constantly being compared with reality, tested in the course of this comparison and in the polemics with which all the sections of the Theses are permeated and which are spearheaded against incorrect standpoints and distorted ideas about our policy. This way of posing questions, of examining and elaborating programs always strives to be dialectical. It goes without saying that all this imparts diversity and sequence to the Theses. The Party acted in this way in the belief it would thus create the most suitable base for discussion and work, in which all our members should join. We hope that the forms of the struggle for the democratic advance to socialism will be specified in the course of this debate and work and that our Party will be effectively mobilized to achieve these aims in Italy.

Changes in the Making in Guatemala

Hugo Barrios Klee

IN OCTOBER 1944 the people of Guatemala overthrew the reactionary dictatorship that had ruled the country for 14 years and set up a democratic government. Ten years later, in July 1954, John Foster Dulles announced to the world with supreme satisfaction the successful completion of "Operation Guatemala" which he described as a "glorious victory" for the United States. Another grim chapter had opened in the history of Guatemala.

The pro-American, anti-communist regime of Castillo Armas did not last long. It collapsed like a house of cards before the eyes of its architects. The enmity between the heads of the reactionary gang who had betrayed the nation finally led to the assassination of Castillo Armas by his own henchmen.

The imperialists had to find other ways of keeping Guatemala within their orbit. In 1958, using pseudo-democratic slogans, President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes came to power. The new government at once adopted a policy of kowtowing to U.S. imperialism and suppressing democracy. By the end of 1959 Ydigoras was well on the way to establishing another reactionary dictatorship.

In May 1960 the Party of Labor, (the party of the Guatemalan Communists) met in its Third Congress. Held clandestinely, the Congress endorsed the report of the Central Committee and emphasized that the principal objective of the revolutionary forces was to oust the reactionaries and work for the establishment of a revolutionary democratic government. An analysis of the situation in the country showed that a strong desire for change existed among all sections of the population and that these changes could take the most diverse forms. This appraisal of the situation was based on a sober analysis of Ydigoras' home and foreign policy.

What are the fruits of that policy?

Profits for the Monopolies . . .

The roots of Guatemala's political and social ills are to be found not in the actions of "world communism" or in the "intervention" of the Cuban revolution, as the imperialists and the reactionaries claim, but in the growing domination of U.S. imperialism and in the exploitation of the workers and peasants by foreign capital and by the reactionary domestic landlords and capitalists.

The economic domination of North American imperialism in Guatemala is expressed primarily in the growth of U.S. capital investments. According to Banco de Guatemala figures, in 1958 these investments amounted to \$203 million, and were distributed as follows: 131,600,000 quetzals* were invested in agriculture, 42,500,000 in industry, 8,700,000 in trade and over 20 million in mining.

The oil companies, most of them associated with Standard Oil, received concessions for prospecting and extracting oil over an area of 4,600,000 hectares, i.e., nearly half of the territory of the country.

The foreign monopolies operating in Guatemala are making fabulous profits. The Empresa Electrica de Guatemala, for example, with a capital of no more than seven million quetzals, nets an annual profit of 15 million quetzals. The annual income of International Railways of Central America, which has sunk over 22 million quetzals in its enterprises, runs to 31 million quetzals. United Fruit Company has an annual income of over 40 million quetzals, not counting the profit from kenaf and other crops, or the profits from trade.

Foreign investors, taking advantage of the "economic integration" and the "common market" of Central America, are capitalizing on the protectionist laws adopted by the Central American republics in the vain hope of promoting economic development and providing an enlarged market for their goods.

But it is not only the U.S. monopolies and investors who are piling up profits. The feudal landlords and reactionary capitalists who have thrown in their lot with imperialism are also lining their pockets, as are the government officials and especially the ruling camarilla, the high-ranking officers, friends and proteges of the ruling clique.

Ydigoras Fuentes, either directly or through his relatives and associates, has a finger in every new business venture. Even the capitalists complain of being blackmailed on applying for credits or for permission to launch some industrial or commercial enterprise.

U.S. imperialism does not confine its activities to the economic sphere, it is taking over control of the stage, using the government of Guatemala as an instrument of provocation against Cuba.

The military aid agreement with the United States stipulates that a) the USA exercises control over Guatemala's foreign trade "in

the interests of mutual security"; b) Guatemala undertakes to "enlarge its own defense forces"; c) the U.S. military mission exercises control over the Guatemalan national army and attends the maneuvers of Guatemalan armed forces in the capacity of "adviser" and "observer."

Everybody knows that the Ydigoras government is simply a tool of the Kennedy government in the latter's plans to crush the Cuban revolution. Ydigoras himself admitted as much in a speech made on December 31, 1961, and in his address to the Congress of the Republic on March 1, 1962.

. . . Poverty for the People

As might have been expected, the anti-national, reactionary policy of Castillo Armas brought the country to the verge of an economic crisis, manifested primarily in the decline of agriculture.

In 1951-52 the maize crop amounted to 1,600,000 tons. Since then it has been steadily dropping; the best showing for this period was in 1958-59 when slightly more than one million tons were grown. To satisfy home needs the government has had to resort to imports.

The production of beans, another staple food, also falls short of demand and there is an acute shortage of rice which is now imported in increasing quantities.

The government has done nothing to change the structure of the economy. Coffee is still the chief source of hard currency, but the prices on the world market are falling, with the result that income from coffee exports declined from about \$90 million in 1956 to approximately 74 million in 1959, although the amount exported increased.

The burden of the crisis falls heaviest on the shoulders of the people. Poverty is more widespread than ever. The consequences of the economic depression are keenly felt. The cost of living is rising, rents are soaring and unemployment is growing. At the same time wages remain at their former level, the income of the peasants is shrinking, and the small businessmen and manufacturers are in hard straits. Food is growing scarce, there is a housing crisis, and the far from adequate health service is deteriorating.

In 1958 the annual per capita income was 184 quetzals. But in assessing this figure, low as it is, one should take into account the gulf between the high incomes of the bourgeois and landlord minority and the

*One quetzal is equivalent to one American dollar—Ed.

miserly income of the masses, especially in the villages, and in particular the Indian settlements.

The average life span in Guatemala is barely 36 years. Children die owing to lack of medical aid (in 1956, out of every 100 children who died 75 had no medical aid whatever). Out of every 100 Guatemalans, 72 are illiterate.

In 1961 the government, embarking on its "austerity" policy, slashed budget expenditure by cutting out some of the most essential items. As a result large numbers of civil servants and workers were thrown out of work, government construction projects were halted and the salaries of office workers reduced.

Corruption in high places is widespread. The government is selling the country to foreign capital, it has turned Guatemala into a base for aggression against Cuba and is resorting to brutal repressions against the people, the revolutionary and democratic forces.

The repressions are particularly savage in the rural localities, where the so-called "volunteer defense corps" operate. Last March the peasants in the southern part of the country sent a petition to President Ydigoras. "The present situation," they wrote, "which the government calls a state of emergency is being used in order to punish us for a 'crime' which we are forced to commit daily, namely, for demanding plots of land, for complaining about the actions of the governor and the 'volunteer defense corps' who are making our lives unendurable."

Things are becoming unbearable for more and more sections of the population. "We Cannot Go on Living Like This!" was the slogan proclaimed by a group of democratic army men and civilians who formed a partisan front (Alejandro de Leon—November 13) and launched an armed struggle against the government last February.

"It is impossible to continue under a regime which inflicts deep wounds on the national economy and thereby aggravates the poverty of the people," declared another partisan group (the "October 20 Front") which began its operations in March.

The Masses Are Moving into Action . . .

The deepening economic crisis has stirred the masses into action. The feature of the mass movement is its radical trend. There is a growing number of Guatemalans who want not merely to replace Ydigoras by some

other puppet of imperialism and reaction, but who want his ousting to be followed by far-reaching reforms that would enable the country to get rid of all the impediments to independent development, progress and democracy.

Mass action takes a wide variety of forms. There have been demonstrations on particular issues as, for example, that of secondary school pupils demanding the resignation of a certain minister; of teachers for trade union rights; of factory workers against dismissals and for higher wages; and of various sections of the population against the new taxes. At times these demonstrations developed into pitched battles with the government forces, battles that forced the government to proclaim a state of emergency. There have been armed actions, too, as for example the mutiny in the army which broke out on November 13, 1960.

The democratic forces still have no common platform. The revolutionary elements have not yet been able to achieve that degree of unity which could lead to the merging of the National Revolutionary Party (the Arevalists*), the Party of Revolutionary Unity and the non-party democrats who express the interests of the patriotic bourgeoisie and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie.

A party of this kind, acting jointly with the Party of Labor, would help to strengthen and expand the democratic movement. It would be an important factor in the people's struggle to overthrow the dictatorship. The anti-communism of the Right-wing "Arevalism" is, however, a big obstacle to unity in the patriotic movement.

The disunity in the democratic ranks acts as a brake on the revolutionary movement. It is, moreover, the main reason for the failure to take advantage of the weaknesses of the regime.

The opposition to the regime includes the Revolutionary Party, one of the biggest in the country. Originally this party stood for democratic reforms, but of late owing to the anti-communism of its leaders it is losing influence and drifting more and more to the Right. Along with the Christian Democratic Party and the so-called Movement for National Liberation (a political legacy of Castillo Armas), it is being used by the imperialists to split the democratic movement and replace the Ydigoras government with another pro-imperialist government of the Right.

*Supporters of the former President Arevalo—Ed.

... the Government Maneuvers

The weakness and instability of the government were demonstrated during the elections to the Congress last December.

Importance was attached to these elections not only because the reactionary government wanted to secure a pliable Congress for the remaining two years of Ydigoras Fuentes' term of office, but also in view of the fact that Congress will play the main role in the 1963 presidential elections; under the present Constitution, if the presidential candidate fails to win a majority, the Congress has the right to elect the President. (That is how Ydigoras was elected.)

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the congressional elections should have loomed so large both for the government and for all those interested in the political development of the country.

Many of the opposition groups advocated boycotting the elections. The Party of Labor, however, maintained that the elections could be used to rally the masses and unite the democratic forces, besides affording an opportunity for making maximum use of the legal channels for exposing the reactionary policy in the government.

The principal objective in participating in the elections was to strengthen contact with the masses irrespective of the outcome of the voting. The elections were, so to speak, tactically necessary as a means of rallying and organizing the people, and strengthening their conviction of the urgent need for revolutionary changes.

Furthermore, the elections starkly revealed the political weakness of the government. It polled a mere 13 per cent of the vote in the capital, and only by resorting to a flagrant swindle was it able to obtain a majority in the provinces.

The elections were the spark which ignited all the inflammable material that had been accumulating over the years. At the same time they struck a telling blow at the government coalition. The Democratic Unity Party, failing to get an equal share of the "booty"—seats in Parliament and places in the leading committees of the new Congress—bitterly attacked Ydigoras and his clique and withdrew from the coalition.

The People Take to Arms

The democratic forces and especially the Party of Labor have on more than one occasion declared that the Guatemalan revolution can develop along peaceful lines.

Hopes of winning democracy by peaceful means were kindled after the death of Castillo Armas and the overthrow of his government in 1957. The new President declared his intention to direct the life of the country in keeping with the law and with respect for human rights. The people believed him.

They soon saw, however, that they had been cruelly deceived. Reprisals, police terror, trampling on democratic liberties and falsification of elections—these were the methods employed by the new government to implement its policy of subservience to the reactionaries and to U.S. imperialism. The elections in December 1961 were a mockery of the democratic aspirations of the people, who were left with no alternative but to take action to overthrow the reactionary forces that had usurped the power. As the Association of University Students stated on March 13, the thing to do was not to "argue about democracy," but to "fight for it."

This is the slogan under which the people launched their struggle for liberation and genuine democracy.

At the beginning of February this year, the first center of guerrilla action appeared in the North-East. The guerrillas submitted a 13-point program of a democratic character providing for the establishment of an effective government which would pursue an independent policy, eliminate illiteracy and carry out an agrarian reform which would "finally solve the age-old problem of agriculture." They called for industrialization, for an independent national economy and for ending the corruption in the administration.

Early in March a second guerrilla center was formed in the very heart of the republic. It consists of the left revolutionary youth whose aspirations coincide with those of the first guerrilla group.

The Association of University Students, the backbone of the broad front of struggle against the government, called for the annulment of the election returns and the resignation of the electoral tribunal. They followed this up with a demand for the resignation of the Ydigoras government and the establishment of a provisional government which would include representatives of all the forces fighting against the present regime.

The call for a general strike issued on March 13 by the Association was supported by secondary school pupils all over the country. The government was forced to close many schools. The University Council, in its turn, appealed to the professionals

and the teaching staffs of higher schools to take part in the strike.

The entire judicial apparatus as well as the banks were paralyzed. Schoolteachers too joined in.

A call to take part in the general strike was issued also by the Autonomous Trade Union Federation and the Railwaymen's Union, one of the biggest in the country. The electricians, telegraph and telephone workers and large numbers of workers in privately-owned enterprises stopped work.

The establishment of a provisional government is the common demand of all political groups fighting to overthrow the dictatorship. The immediate task of this government would be to dissolve Congress and convene a constituent assembly (in the interim the 1945 Constitution adopted by the democratic government would be in force) and give effect to other measures to hasten the restoration of democracy.

The provisional government would pursue an independent foreign policy, it would respect democratic rights, eradicate corruption and dishonesty in the administration, adhere to an anti-imperialist economic policy and reject any foreign interference in the internal affairs of the country. It would carry out an agrarian, housing and banking reform, adopt a new labor code, and concern itself with public health and education.

In a letter to the Association of University Students the Guatemalan Communists voiced full support for the struggle led by the students: "We fully subscribe to your patriotic desire to direct Guatemala onto the democratic path with a view to establishing a system of law in the interests of the people."

In a statement issued on March 15, the Political Commission of the Party of Labor called for the overthrow of the dictatorship: "The factory and office workers, through a general strike and actions aimed at securing the desired changes, and the peasants, through the development of a broad resistance movement, must demonstrate their strength in order to emphasize the popular content of this struggle and open the way to revolution."

The wave of popular protest shook the government to its foundations. The events left no doubt as to the attitude of the people to the regime.

That the government, resorting to savage reprisals (some 50 killed, 500 wounded and 1,000 arrested) managed to retain control of the situation is no testimony to its strength.

The political decline of the regime continues. To date Ydigoras has failed to form a new cabinet and, on the insistence of the U.S. Ambassador, the country is governed by a military junta in lieu of a "provisional" government. This shows that the government can remain in power only with the aid of the army, which is a blind tool in the hands of U.S. imperialism and Guatemalan reaction.

The Party of Labor has been in the people's struggle right from the beginning. Together with other revolutionary elements, the Communists have borne the brunt of the struggle for democracy. Among those who lost their lives in the struggle are 14 Communists, including Octavio Reyes Ortiz, member of the Political Commission of the Party.

The guerrilla operations, despite the heroism of the fighters, have been too negligible to play any decisive role in the revolutionary movement. The main role has been played by mass actions in the towns and villages. But the armed struggle remains on the order of the day as one of the means of realizing the strategic objective of the revolution—the overthrow of the reactionary regime and the establishment of a national revolutionary government. The guerrilla struggle is a source of valuable experience from which to draw lessons for the future.

This, however, does not mean that the conditions for legal forms of struggle do not exist in Guatemala. Violent and non-violent methods of revolutionary struggle can be beneficially combined, and every legal opportunity must be utilized to strengthen the unity of the democratic forces, organize the people and stimulate the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. The municipal elections in December will offer fresh opportunities for democratic struggle against the swindles and abuses on the part of the government, for exposing the Right leadership of the Revolutionary Party, for combating the conspiracies hatched by the reactionaries in league with the U.S. Embassy, and for propagating the patriotic way of resolving the national crisis.

At present propaganda against the government is combined with propaganda in favor of the revolutionary changes the country so urgently needs. The period of relative lull which set in after the events of March and April is being used for regrouping and training the democratic forces for the battles ahead.

Big Changes in the Offing

The people will triumph over the oppressors. Such is the logical conclusion to be

drawn from the trend of developments. It is not excluded, however, that the agents of imperialism may succeed in disorienting the present struggle for democracy and diverting it from the right path. To this end they may agree to the removal of Ydigoras as a way out of the crisis.

The Party of Labor has warned that this might take place at a crucial moment. It did so in these words: "In the present situation there is a danger that the reactionary circles connected with the U.S. Embassy will try to prevent the realization of changes that accord with the true interests of the country. They will do this either by trading with Ydigoras or by engineering a coup headed by the top army officers. Unless the latter are removed the country will not be able to make a step forward."

But so long as the masses are in action, so long as the guerrilla movement continues, it will not be easy for imperialism to accomplish its purpose by the simple device of transferring the power from one reactionary clique to another. The masses cannot be "contained" unless their demands are satisfied. But to meet these demands is something that no reactionary government can do.

Imperialism may resort to a military putsch or use its stooges in the reactionary parties by assigning them the role of "saviors" of the country from political chaos. But this will not solve the problem.

In this respect the reformist and centrist elements represent a danger to the genuine revolutionary forces. They have abandoned

their anti-imperialist and revolutionary positions, pinning their hopes on the Kennedy government and his notorious Alliance for Progress. They talk about the "extremist" tendencies of the Cuban revolution and advocate Pan-Americanism. They are in favor of a "technical" agrarian reform without "extremism," and seek to reconcile the irreconcilable interests of the exploited and the exploiters.

It should be borne in mind that the reformists, headed by Arevalo, unquestionably wield considerable influence among the masses whose esteem for Arevalo as President of the country during the years of the democratic regime has not lessened. This gives the reformists grounds for considering that at the opportune moment they will be able to win the support even of the U.S. imperialists who are anxious to change the ruling clique now that it has become completely discredited.

The revolutionaries, and especially the Communists, are working to establish a common platform for all democrats and thus extend the front of the people's struggle against the tyranny.

Big changes are in the offing in Guatemala. Whatever form they will take or whether they will materialize today or tomorrow, the important thing is that a new stage in the popular revolutionary struggle has set in, a stage which is bound ultimately to lead to the complete emancipation of the people, to the realization of their hopes, and their striving for independence, progress, democracy, well-being and peace.

The Revolutionary Platform of the International Communist Movement

EVER since the Second World War world events have been moving with unprecedented speed. The forces building socialism, the peoples fighting for liberation, and the working-class and democratic movements generally have dealt capitalism one defeat after another.

In these circumstances the Communists were confronted with the task of analyzing and assessing the changes in the international arena and, inasmuch as these changes made it necessary to move on to a *new stage in the development of the Communist strategy* of worldwide struggle for socialism, the task of working out a program for their further activity.

Important steps in this direction were the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto issued by the conferences of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow in November 1957, which formulated a number of basic principles in keeping with the new stage in history and the corresponding new stage in the working-class and democratic movements.*

1. The Working-Class and Communist Movement at a New Stage

One of the most important points in the 1957 Declaration was the definition of our time as the era of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. This point was carried further in the analysis of the new, third stage of the general crisis of capitalism contained in the 1960 Statement and in its conclusion that the socialist world system, jointly with the forces fighting imperialism, determine *the main content, the main trend and the main features of historical development*.

From this definition follow important conclusions for the working-class and Communist movement.

The 1957 Declaration pointed, in particular, to the more favorable prospects for the tran-

sition from capitalism to socialism and to the emergence of new forms of this transition; it showed that the opportunities for the peaceful victory of socialism in a number of capitalist countries are now greater, and that as things are in the world today world war can be averted. Subsequent policy documents established the feasibility of non-capitalist development in the newly-emerged national states, and examined the relationship between the democratic and socialist tasks of the revolutionary movement.

Taken together, these points clearly delineate the new conditions of the struggle for socialism in the light of which all the other questions of social progress should be examined. This applies, above all, to the struggle for peace, which the Communists regard as their primary task.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class have always regarded peace as the most important democratic demand. All the more so today, when a war fought with nuclear weapons would be catastrophic, spelling the destruction of productive forces and the annihilation of hundreds of millions. But this does not mean that the parties relegate the class interests of the proletariat—the struggle for socialism—or the interests of the peoples oppressed by imperialism, to second place. It is a feature of our time that, in the final analysis, the general democratic movement for peace is a component part of the struggle for socialism, for it helps to rally the millions of working people to political struggle against imperialism (we shall return to this below).

World peace provides favorable conditions both for the liberation of the countries still enslaved and for consolidating the independence of states which have thrown off colonialism; it facilitates normal social and political progress in these countries, which eventually will lead them, through diverse forms of struggle, to socialism.

The Peace Manifesto of 1957 highlighted the need to build up the anti-imperialist movement in order to combat the warmongers, and primarily the main aggressive force — U.S. imperialism. In rallying the masses to the struggle, the Communist parties bear in mind that war preparation and the attendant mili-

*Needless to say, these principles were the crystallization of the theoretical work carried out by the Communist and Workers' parties. The Declaration, clearly, did not signify the completion of the theoretical questing made imperative by the times; the continued searchings in this direction found expression in the Statement of the meeting of the 81 parties in 1960. Invaluable contributions were made also by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and the new Program of the CPSU, and by the numerous policy documents adopted in recent years by other fraternal parties.

tarization of all aspects of social life give the bourgeoisie additional weapons for suppressing and undermining the working-class movement and new opportunities to export counter-revolution. The continuing imperialist intrigues against the socialist camp and the national-liberation movement, and above all the blockade of socialist Cuba which brought the world to the brink of war, show that the Manifesto is as timely today as when it was issued. Clearly, every success in combating imperialism and aggression and preventing war opens *new opportunities* for the forces of progress and socialism.

The conclusion concerning the better opportunities for achieving socialism by peaceful means likewise finds further corroboration. Unlike the reformists, who claim that the peaceful road to socialism lies through the voting booth, the Marxists hold that peaceful transition can be effected only through mass political action by the working people headed by the working class. A big part in winning the masses over to communist ideas is played by the example set by the socialist countries now building the new society. In the capitalist countries the situation is becoming more favorable for the formation of a broad alliance of anti-monopoly forces. In the conditions of the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism these developments open up in a number of countries the tangible prospect of the revolutionary forces building up the decisive preponderance of strength essential for the peaceful transition to socialism.

Whether or not advantage is taken of the favorable objective conditions for taking power will depend on the soundness of the policy pursued by the working-class parties, on their choosing the most expedient forms of struggle appropriate to the specific national conditions and on the flexibility of their tactics.

It follows, then, that in the conditions of today the question of the revolutionary situation, too, should be seen in a new light.

Formerly revolutionary situations came to a head only in time of war and during severe economic upheavals, when the conflict of class interests assumed extreme forms. Now, at the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, the objective possibilities of taking power are determined by the day-to-day march of history; by the struggle between socialism and capitalism on the world arena, a struggle marked by the steady growth of the role and strength of socialism and its power of attraction, by the shape of the political and

economic relationships of capitalism, the heart of which is the constant aggravation of the contradictions between the monopolies and the people.

Needless to say, this does not signify that all capitalist countries are experiencing what might be called a "permanent" revolutionary situation. What it does signify is, first, that there is always, or nearly always, such a situation in the weak link or, as is most frequently the case, in several of the weak links of the overall capitalist set-up. Secondly, it signifies that the role of the subjective factor is growing; in other words, the maturing of a revolutionary situation depends more and more on the activity, determination and alertness of the revolutionary forces.

The five years since the adoption of the 1957 Declaration have fully borne out its conclusions relating to the new stage in Communist strategy. The imperialists have not been able to unleash a "big" war. Nor were these years marked by economic upheavals of catastrophic dimensions for the capitalist system. But although the conditions have been "normal," without wars or major crises, the revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries have made good headway.

As it marks the anniversary of the 1957 Declaration, the Communist movement looks back with satisfaction at the splendid record of the past five years, fully aware of its growing responsibility for ensuring that all the opportunities opening before humanity are fully and properly utilized.

2. Make Full Use of the Advantages of Socialism

The 1957 conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries noted that the socialist system was on the upgrade, advancing from success to success. Summing up the experience of all the socialist countries and all the revolutionary forces, it formulated the principal, objectively necessary laws of development which the revolutionary movement should make its point of departure if it is to achieve its aims. Furthermore, the conference revealed the mechanism of the operation of the general laws in the specific national conditions.

Three years later the representatives of 81 parties went on record in their Statement that the socialist system had completed an important stage in its development (the basic socio-economic changes had been effected ensuring the undivided dominance of socialist

ownership throughout the system and abolition of exploitation) and was entering a new period.

In this new period the following basic tasks will be carried out:

—in most of the socialist countries the material and technological base of a developed socialist society will be created and the groundwork laid for building communism; in the USSR the material and technological base of communism will be completed;

—the socialist world will considerably surpass the capitalist world for volume of production and win the economic competition between the two systems;

—international political developments will proceed under the steadily growing, and eventually decisive, influence of socialism; this will make it possible to exclude world wars from the life of society.

In examining the perspectives of socialism and communism, the parties turn to what at the present stage of the competition between socialism and capitalism is the key to the solution of the urgent problems posed by history.

When Russia started building socialism and the competition between the two social systems was just beginning, Lenin, with his characteristic genius, predicted that ultimately the winner of this competition would be the system which achieved the highest productivity of labor; economic progress, he said, was the principal avenue through which socialism would influence the march of history. This view, and all that it implies for the future of mankind, has found corroboration at each stage in the development of the socialist countries, and in their competition with world capitalism. Hence, solution of the economic problems is, in our time, the most important political task of the parties in power.

Experience has shown that the triumph of socialist relationships is guaranteed on the scale of the entire socialist system and in each of the countries that have broken with capitalism. True, the advance of socialism still encounters difficulties engendered by the conditions in which it is proceeding, imperialist pressure and other factors; but the overcoming of these difficulties and, consequently, the rate of socialist construction now depend above all on the correctness of economic policy.

The plan for building communism adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and the long-range economic plans

of the other socialist states are aimed at ensuring within a brief space of time a powerful upswing in the productive forces, an upswing based on comprehensive technological progress and on higher productivity of labor. Realization of this aim will make it possible to complete the material and technological base of communism, to ensure a high standard of living and the further evolution of social relations, to raise society to an entirely new level and win a decisive victory in the competition with capitalism.

And if higher productivity of labor is, in the final analysis, the main index of the victory of the new system over the old, it follows that the secret of success in the competition with capitalism lies in finding the most effective economic levers of socialism, levers expressing the essence of the new social relations and their superiority over capitalism and, therefore, capable of ensuring an upswing in the productivity of social labor. In practical terms this means, as the parties have pointed out in their decisions, learning to manage the economy better and better, to make fuller use of the objective advantages offered by the socialist relations of production.

The experience of world socialism shows that voluntarism and subjectivism in approaching the basic economic problems, any attempt to take short-cuts instead of normal proportional development of the economy according to plan, any ignoring of the needs of modern production, and a wrong attitude to material incentives can but lead to grave disproportions in the economy and jeopardize fulfilment of the plans. The economic laws of socialism will punish anyone who would "abolish" or ignore them.

The experience accumulated by the socialist system is a help in mastering scientific methods of management. Study of this experience and its utilization help to find the right solutions and to avoid mistakes and snags, to arrive at the most efficient methods with the least delay. As a matter of fact, creative application of this experience is essential to a correct solution of socio-economic problems.

Marxists have always opposed a mechanical copy of the experience of other parties, for blind imitation hampers the utilization of the internal national reserves and retards progress. On the other hand, Marxists have never agreed with those who, invoking the specific national conditions of the transition to socialism and mistakes made in the past, ignore the experience accumulated by socialism generally.

However, drawing on past experience does not obviate the need for the parties constantly to elaborate new methods of economic and political activity. In fact, it is in this way that the common treasure-store of Marxist-Leninist thought is enriched.

The development of the productive forces fully confirms Lenin's view that the way to genuine economic prosperity lies through international division of labor. Scientific economic management within the framework of the entire socialist system therefore presupposes above all correct planning of this division of labor.

The international socialist division of labor, based as it is on fraternal mutual aid among sovereign and equal partners, enables each country to make the fullest use of its resources, to reveal and harness all its reserves and thereby accelerate the development. At the same time, extension of economic cooperation between the socialist countries, specialization and cooperation in production, and all-round coordination of economic policies makes it possible sharply to raise the productivity of labor and add substantially to the efficiency of the entire socialist world economy. And this in turn will bring us nearer to the historical goal of socialism—victory in the economic competition with capitalism.

Because of this an economic policy fully according with the objective tendency toward internationalization of the productive forces is an essential element of proletarian internationalism at the present stage of the struggle between the two systems. And, conversely, any policy suffering from economic insularity and tendencies towards autarchy are incompatible with proletarian internationalism and detrimental to the common cause.

The possibilities open to the countries of the socialist community are boundless. Their achievements to date are a reliable foundation for further progress. But it goes without saying that these achievements will not automatically solve all the tasks. To press onward requires hard work; the parties and the peoples have to wage a persistent struggle to reach their goals. In this connection the question of the *methods* and *means* acquires extremely great importance.

The cynical principle of the end justifying the means is unacceptable to the Communists. Communism—the noblest of man's aims—must be built by means that are unimpeachable, democratic and humane. The Communists reject the personality cult and its meth-

ods. They hold that it is impossible to go ahead to new achievements without putting an end to the mistakes and distortions of the past, without putting one's own house in order.

Wrong methods and forms of leadership which are the corollary of the cult of any individual, the substitution of arbitrary decisions "substantiated" by "universal truths" learned by rote, instead of minute analyses of specific situations—these are things that prevent the advantages of the new society from being fully revealed, retard its development and demand unnecessary sacrifices. But no less important is the political aspect of the matter: the masses are prepared to face privation and hardship when these are caused by objective circumstances, such as war, the need to reconstruct a war-shattered economy, etc., but not when they stem from mistakes in economic leadership. The same applies to curtailment of democracy and many other things.

The best way to combat the consequences of the personality cult and the sure guarantee against its revival is steadfast observance of the Leninist principles of party life, Communist criticism and self-criticism.

The parties at the helm of the socialist countries take a realistic view of their achievements. Far from closing their eyes to the difficulties, to the things left undone and the mistakes committed, they are working resolutely to correct the defects in the spirit of self-criticism. Communists all over the world welcomed, for instance, the resolve of the Central Committee of the CPSU to expose the personality cult and to overcome its consequences. The spirit of constructive self-criticism also permeates the document "On the Perspectives of Our Socialist Society" drafted by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in preparation for its forthcoming congress and also the pre-congress materials issued by the Central Committees of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Sometimes socialist sympathizers ask us: Why all this talk about your shortcomings? Is this not grist to the mills of the enemy? Would it not be better just to set forth the next tasks and not make the criticism public?

Nothing could be more incorrect. Unless the shortcomings are revealed root and branch, they cannot be removed. The Party could not count on the active support of the people in overcoming one or another difficulty if it were to conceal its critical evalua-

tions from the public. Integrity and candor in facing the problems posed by life ensure the Party the undivided support of the working people and help to educate active members of society, people versed in its affairs and capable of waging a conscious struggle for its ideals; "robots" who blindly submit to a discipline imposed from the top are a category alien to socialism.

Any attempt to embellish reality, to gloss over mistakes, to refuse to admit where one has erred, can but damage the relations between the Party and the people and harm the cause of socialism.

The enemies of socialism naturally seize on any self-critical statement by a Communist Party. In a sense this can have a momentary effect. But the fact remains that correcting shortcomings and mistakes furthers the cause of the revolution far more than any transient propaganda advantage gained by its enemies can harm it. This propaganda advantage in itself is highly relative, for thinking people in the capitalist world can hardly fail to see that if the Communists *themselves* are not afraid to admit their shortcomings this is because they are strong. In the long run the prestige of socialism will only gain by it.

In our time the building of socialism is the decisive element of the world revolutionary process. For nothing speaks more eloquently for socialism than its achievements. Clearly, then, the responsibility resting on the members of the parties at the helm of state in the socialist countries is great. Each achievement multiplies the impact of our ideas, strengthens the forces of progress. On the other hand, any mistake is seized upon by the enemies of communism. Because of this the international Communist movement cannot be indifferent to what is happening in the socialist countries. And for the same reason it is the duty of every Party in power to weigh its actions so as to ensure that every step facilitates the revolutionary process.

3. For the Unity of the International Communist Movement

In their 1957 Declaration the Communist and Workers' parties voiced their resolve to strengthen their ideological unity, to wage an unflagging struggle against any attacks on this unity, above all against Right opportunism, revisionism, on the one hand, and "Left" sectarianism, dogmatism, on the other.

This struggle, which can be traced through the whole history of the Communist move-

ment, has acquired particular importance in our times of rapid and far-reaching social changes. It is in times of such change that revisionism and dogmatism are especially pernicious. Revisionism, taking an opportunist view of new developments in social life, seeks to introduce "innovations" in ideology and politics which signify rejection of the very aims of the Communists and of the struggle to achieve these aims. Dogmatism, unable or unwilling to see any change, prevents the proper utilization of the new opportunities opening before the movement, imposing on it outdated forms and methods of struggle which, as a rule, can but lead to defeat.

The entire history of the world Communist movement shows that from neither the political nor the theoretical standpoint are revisionism and dogmatism antipodes. They are two forms of opportunist distortion of Marxism, two forms of the separation of theory from practice, two means of emasculating revolutionary tactics.

By advancing new propositions enriching Marxism-Leninism, the 1957 conference made an important contribution to the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, striking a blow at the revisionist speculations on the new developments of our time and knocking the ground from under the diehard dogmatists who questioned these developments.

Both the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 pointed out that revisionism was the main danger at the present stage. Since 1957 the revolutionary working-class movement has waged a consistent struggle against this danger. The revisionists who at one time were active in some sections of the Communist movement were dealt smashing blows from the positions of creative Marxism—positions precluding dogmatism and sectarianism and hence all the more unassailable. As a result, the 1960 meeting had every ground for stating that "the Communist parties have ideologically defeated the revisionists in their ranks."

While directing Marxist efforts against revisionism, the 1957 conference at the same time stressed the pressing need to overcome dogmatism which, as the Declaration points out, is international in character. "Dogmatism and sectarianism can also be the main danger at different phases of development in one party or another," the meeting declared. This is truer today than ever.

It would be naive to think that dogmatism is simply a matter of ossified thinking, of fear of the new, of clinging to old formulas

and relying only on armed struggle. Far from it. The real danger of present-day pseudo-revolutionary dogmatism consists in phrasemongering to cover up gradual political degeneration. We can see, for example, how the Albanian dogmatists are traversing the road from abstract theorizing to a nationalist adventurist opportunism undermining the unity of the world Communist movement, to open betrayal of the interests of both their own people and of the world revolutionary movement.

The dogmatists began their onslaught by questioning the new basic conclusions set forth in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960—the possibility of preventing war, the growing prospect of a peaceful transition to socialism, the interrelation of the democratic and the socialist tasks of the revolutionary forces. They ignore the stand taken by both conferences on the revolutionary significance of economic upbuilding in the socialist countries and the decisive importance of the example set by the socialist system. In this way crucial elements of the strategic concept of the present-day world revolutionary movement are thrown overboard.

In terms of history, the dogmatist position amounts to an attempt to prevent the working class from making use of the new levers for exerting pressure on imperialism and of the new opportunities in the struggle for socialism. Objectively, the dogmatist position plays into the hands of the imperialists.

True, in words, “in principle,” the dogmatists are not against the struggle for peace or against peaceful coexistence; sometimes they even concede the feasibility of these demands in the abstract. But the moment it comes to concrete action, without which there can be no real effort for peace (for instance, building the peace movement, cementing the united front for general and complete disarmament, or negotiating with capitalist governments with a view to easing tension and finding peaceful solutions for West Berlin and other serious problems), the dogmatists begin to shout about “departing” from principles, and hurl all kinds of charges from “fear” of imperialism well-nigh to “rejection” of the revolution.

Nor have they any sound alternative to offer. They merely call for verbal condemnation of imperialism. This attitude promotes neither the development of democratic movements nor the fight for socialism.

Participation in democratic, anti-imperialist movements awakens the masses to the need

to fight for socialism. And winning the masses to this struggle has always been one of the central tasks in preparing for the revolution. It will be recalled that Lenin in his time urged the international Communist movement to concentrate on finding the forms of the *transition* or the *approach* to the proletarian revolution (as is known, the struggle for peace and for land were the most important of these forms during the October Revolution of 1917).

This task is all the more important today since struggle, not to speak of victory, in relatively normal conditions necessitates mass movements of far greater dimensions than would be essential in situations marked by violent political and economic upheavals in the capitalist camp.

Dogmatism and sectarianism, however, tend to divorce the Marxist-Leninist parties from the masses, from the broad movements. Therefore, to stimulate the political activity of the masses, it is imperative to overcome sectarianism, to work patiently and persistently in the mass organizations, to take a correct attitude to democratic movements and, in this way, through democratic mass struggle, win bigger contingents for the fight against imperialism and reaction generally.

The facts show that dogmatism, while giving lip service to the Declaration and Statement, amounts, in effect, to complete rejection of all the new theoretical, political and organizational achievements of Marxist thought and revolutionary practice generalized in these international documents. In rejecting these principles which correctly reflect the conditions and perspectives of the revolutionary movement the dogmatists are revising the foundations of Marxism—a revision which with each new political development becomes increasingly hostile to the Communist movement. This is evident, for instance, from the leading article in the October 13 issue of *Zeri i popullit*.

If formerly the Albanian dogmatists generally denied the existence of any connection between the peace movement and the revolutionary process, they have now broken completely with the Declaration and Statement, which defined the fight for peace as the primary task of the Communists in all countries, and declare that peace and peaceful coexistence add up to a revisionist concept aimed at “suppressing all revolutionary movements.”

If formerly the dogmatists in Tirana conceded in general terms the expediency of

disarmament, they now declare in the above-mentioned article that general and complete disarmament is a revisionist attempt "to strangle the national-liberation movement."

By means of these and other statements of a similar order the Albanian leaders challenge the entire world Communist movement, renouncing its principles and sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire of extreme nationalism and pseudo-revolutionary adventurism.

The Declaration of the 1957 meeting stated: "The vital interests of the working people of all countries call for their support of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries who, pursuing a policy of preserving peace throughout the world, are the mainstay of peace and social progress." And the 81-Party meeting went on record: "The Communist and Workers' parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being its most experienced and steeled contingent. The experience which the CPSU has gained . . . is of fundamental significance for the whole international Communist movement."

The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor reject these views too. Instead they have launched a vicious smear campaign against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders. Having lost all sense of reality and honesty, they charge that the leadership of the CPSU "has raised the banner of modern revisionism" and is conspiring against the "revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, against the socialist camp, against the entire international revolutionary movement."

As we see, these leaders have descended to repeating the vilest slander of the CPSU. At the same time they have set themselves against the entire world Communist movement. Add to this the allegation made by *Zeri i popullit* that the leadership of the CPSU is "impelling the leading representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties onto the path of betrayal."

The next step followed logically from these fantastic fabrications. The Albanian leaders called for a split in the world Communist movement, for a "mortal blow" to be struck at the leadership of the CPSU, and, "however painful the consequences," "putting an end to the line" pursued by the CPSU and the world Communist movement in fighting for peace, disarmament and freedom of the peoples.

To suggest this, and all the more so at a time when the aggressive forces are becoming more and more arrogant and when the unity of the Communist movement and maximum effort to cement the socialist camp are more essential than ever, is strange and monstrous, to say the least. A greater service could hardly have been rendered the U.S. imperialists or other reactionaries.

Throughout its history the Communist movement has had to combat diverse hostile trends. Leninism matured in this struggle. This was by no means an easy struggle, the more so since the forces inimical to the revolution assumed, as a rule, the most virtuous guises. In each case their defeat was hastened when they dropped their masks and completely revealed their positions. This was the case, for example, in the period of the fight against Trotskyism. The open defection of the Trotskyites to the camp of the enemies of the CPSU and of the revolution spelled their defeat. Now Enver Hoxha and his group have discarded their mask. And by so doing they have simplified the struggle against modern dogmatism.

A feature of the struggle against the anti-Marxist distortions is that at each stage of the revolutionary movement, at each step taken by the working class towards the triumph of its cause, the harmfulness of these distortions becomes more and more apparent. At the same time, and for this very reason, they are revealed as utterly sterile and doomed by history.

Socialism is growing stronger every day. Imperialism is being eroded. And any attempt to split the working-class movement, whatever its source, will be defeated by the revolutionary forces as all previous attempts have been.

* * *

The years from 1957 to 1962 have seen grand victories for the world working class. It is a gratifying record of achievement, but the Communists look back at the path traversed the better to see the way ahead. For the lessons of the past help to build the future.

The past five years have shown that the principles set forth in the 1957 Declaration and in the 1960 Statement remain *the program of the Communist movement, a keen weapon in its struggle*. Hence it is the task of all Communists to guard this weapon and use it well.

What does this mean in practical terms?

It means, in keeping with the creative spirit of the Declaration, to develop its prin-

ciples further in conformity with the changing situation and the requirements of the struggle, as was done in the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties.

It means not only vowing loyalty to the principles of the Declaration but observing those principles, adhering to them faithfully in all our practical activity.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Communists Review the Situation in Brazil

THE weekly *Novos rumos* has published a review of the situation in Brazil setting forth the point of view of the Communists.

Brazil is in the throes of a severe political crisis, the document states. All the remedies tried by the ruling classes have proved ineffective, and the succession of governments representing the different groups of these classes has but aggravated the internecine strife. At the same time the strength and militancy of the fighters for freedom and national independence are growing, opening new, promising prospects to the people of Brazil.

The document stresses that the grip of the foreign monopolies on the economy generally and of the latifundists on agriculture have greatly aggravated the crisis, making radical reforms an urgent necessity. On the other hand, the progress made by the socialist camp and the development of the national-liberation movement, especially the example of the Cuban revolution, are stimulating political awareness among the working class and other sections of the working population, giving a new impetus to the struggle against imperialism and the latifundists. The influence of the working-class movement on political life is growing together with its unity. It has become a force which the rulers can no longer ignore.

The struggle of the peasantry and the agricultural laborers for land and against exploitation by the latifundists is spreading. Armed clashes have taken place between the peasants and the joint forces of police and retainers of the latifundists, and there have been strikes by agricultural laborers. The peasants are becoming better organized and the number of peasant leagues and farm workers' unions is increasing.

Discontent with the rising cost of living, inflation, scarcity in the shops, and the housing shortage is growing among the urban

middle strata. A national students' strike revealed the strength of the organized student movement and its role in political life. How widespread is the discontent of the people in the towns could be seen from the spontaneous demonstrations which took place on July 5 in Rio de Janeiro.

The aggravation of the antagonisms rending Brazilian society, the rising political consciousness of the people, the growth and militancy of the movement against imperialism and the latifundists, and the pressing need for changes in the socio-economic structure of the country—all are reflected in the positions of the various groups of the ruling classes. Hence the conflicts within the government bloc and the frequent government crises.

Although the need for structural reforms is greater than ever before, the latifundists and the reactionary bourgeoisie are doing their utmost to obstruct these. Acting as the spokesmen for these groups are the leaders of the Social Democratic and National Democratic parties and other political groupings constituting the majority in Parliament.* And in the van of these forces is the extreme Right represented by the Lacerda group, known as Parliamentary Democratic Action, which is dead set against any reform.

As a result of industrialization and the political evolution of recent years, the influence exerted by the section of the bourgeoisie whose interests coincide with the national interest has grown in the state apparatus. Represented mainly by the leaders of the Labor Party, Joao Goulart and his supporters, this section on the whole favors democratic reforms. Its object is to promote capitalist development. This has prompted it to support controls on the transfer abroad of profits by foreign investors and to ad-

*The document was published before the parliamentary elections held in October—Ed.

vocate a partial agrarian reform. But restricting foreign capital and the latifundists is still a far cry from abolishing them.

Even though the policy of this group of the bourgeoisie is not revolutionary, it conflicts with the interests of the imperialists and the local reactionaries. On the international plane it aims at utilizing the new world situation — the growing strength of the socialist countries and the Cuban revolution — to bring pressure on the U.S. government and the U.S. monopolies with a view to strengthening their own bargaining positions and winning concessions. Hence the positive aspects of Brazil's foreign policy — the establishment of diplomatic relations with the socialist countries, upholding the principle of self-determination for peoples and non-interference in their affairs and moving nearer to the non-aligned countries on issues such as disarmament. Another policy determinant is the need to reckon with the democratic and anti-imperialist aspirations of the people. Hence the efforts to take the edge off the popular discontent, to divert the people from revolutionary action and contain their militancy within the bounds of reforms conforming to the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

Although this group of the bourgeoisie is in conflict on many issues with the imperialists and the dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries, it is, nevertheless, incapable of making a clean break with the imperialist system with which it is linked by the basic interests of the exploiting classes and fear of socialism. This fundamental contradiction explains the duality of this section of the bourgeoisie and accounts for its conciliatory policy. It has entered into an alliance with the forces fighting for progress and national liberation and takes part in the united national and democratic front, but it will not take the lead in the revolutionary struggle for anti-imperialist and anti-latifundist reforms since it fears that the mass struggle may develop into a popular revolution and impinge on its interests as an exploiting class.

The conflict between the two groups of the ruling classes does not prevent them from pursuing a conciliatory policy towards each other. But since such a policy does not lead to a break with the forces bent on keeping Brazil in a state of backwardness and dependence, it can only be detrimental to the people and give rise to new crises, even though it may temporarily make for relative political stability and understanding between the ruling classes.

Pointing to the inconsistency of the national bourgeoisie, the document notes that its conciliatory policy plays into the hands of U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries who are taking advantage of it to entrench themselves and obstruct any change, however urgently needed. The enemies of the people are stepping up their activities all along the line.

The U.S. Embassy has become a center for channelling funds to such collaborators as Carlos Lacerda, Juraci Magalhaes and Cid Sampaio. Alliance for Progress allocations, credits issued by the Inter-American Development Bank, etc., are used to finance a high-pressured anti-communist drive aimed at splitting the workers' movement, the student organizations and, consequently, the united front against imperialism and latifundism. Diehards control all the propaganda media and above all work through the ultra-reactionary elements of the clergy, including the Catholic hierarchy. Pressure is exerted on the government in order to compel it to change its foreign policy and to break off relations with Cuba and especially the Soviet Union.

The aggravation of the political situation is reflected in the growing political feeling in the armed forces, in particular the differences among the higher officers. Symptomatic in this respect was the statement made by the ministers of the armed forces and the generals expressing support for the government in the matter of holding an early referendum, and, on the other hand, the fulminations of reactionary generals against the "communist danger" and for "constitutional law" which, they claim, is in jeopardy. Clearly, the possibility of military coups capable of giving rise to grave conflicts is not excluded.

The Communists, the document goes on, say that in the present situation the task of the people is to isolate the reactionaries and to work for a national and democratic government committed to an effective program of action against imperialism and latifundism. This program should include the following measures:

- a) rejection of the diktat of the International Monetary Fund and plans associated with the Alliance for Progress;
- b) strict limitation of the transfer of profits abroad by foreign monopolies and extension of the state oil monopoly;
- c) nationalization of the foreign-owned public utilities with compensation for the initial

investment, as well as of other imperialist undertakings in the basic branches of the economy;

d) a radical agrarian reform providing for the distribution of latifundia lands to the peasants, with compensation in state bonds equivalent to their taxable value;

e) steps to curb the inflation and to cut the cost of living; strict control of foreign trade and exchange;

f) repeal of reactionary laws infringing civil rights, i.e., the national security law; restoration to the Communist Party of its legal status;

g) an electoral reform precluding anti-democratic discrimination and corruption of voters; extension of the franchise to all adults, including men in the armed forces;

h) an independent foreign policy, expansion of foreign trade, peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, disarmament and world peace;

i) combating the terrorist bands, stamping out the seedbeds of military coups in the armed forces and guaranteed democratic rights for all citizens.

To achieve these aims, the document points out, it is essential to unite all the national and democratic forces in a movement for liberation and progress embracing the working class, peasantry and that section of the bourgeoisie whose interests coincide with the national interests. It is imperative to work for the establishment of a national and democratic government capable of effective action against the enemies of the people—a government based on a coalition of the forces making up the united front, including those who have contributed most to the struggle against imperialism and feudalism—the peasants, the workers, the revolutionary intellectuals and the middle strata.

Such a government can be achieved only through mass struggle aimed at isolating the reactionaries. In order effectively to combat imperialism and the reactionaries supporting it, it is necessary also to fight the policy of surrender to them. This struggle will succeed only if the masses of the working people and the nation as a whole rally under their own banners to demand effective measures against imperialism and latifundism.

The document stresses the need to combat two harmful tendencies.

First, the "Left" tendency not to lay the emphasis on struggle against imperialism and its domestic agents, not to differentiate be-

tween the pro-imperialist and the national wing of the bourgeoisie, and to ignore the contradictions between the two groups instead of utilizing these contradictions for intensifying the struggle against imperialism and latifundism, furthering the mass movement and thus paving the way to a national and democratic government.

Second, the "right" tendency to identify the interests of the working class and the people generally with the interests of the bourgeoisie as represented by Joao Goulart, to ignore the dual, conciliatory character of the national bourgeoisie and to abstain from consistent struggle against its policy of compromise with imperialism and the diehard reactionaries.

Stressing the link between the struggle for a change in the political balance and a national and democratic government, on the one hand, and struggle for urgently needed structural changes, on the other, the document points out that the majority in Parliament is out to prevent such changes or completely to emasculate them. Goulart, while declaring for structural reforms, is procrastinating, concentrating on his differences with Parliament in the matter of the plebiscite. The document recalls that when Brochado da Rocha was Prime Minister the government, while talking about reforms, announced an agreement with the United States on "guaranteeing investments," a scandalous agreement which granted new privileges to foreign capital.

Experience shows that radical reforms can be effected only if they are backed by a broad mass movement. Moreover, mass actions for basic reforms should be linked with the struggle for immediate demands—for a higher minimum wage, against the high cost of living, and for a solution to the food problem.

Goulart claims, the document goes on, that the parliamentary system is what is holding up the reforms, that they cannot be carried out without a plebiscite and a return to presidential government. The Communists are in favor of an early plebiscite, for the people should be consulted on the form of government since it was changed by the reactionary majority in Parliament without popular consent. But the solution of the national problems depends not on whether the regime is parliamentary or presidential, but on who sits in the government bodies. The governments of Kubitschek and Quadros were presidential, but they, too, failed to carry out reforms essential to the independent progress of the country. Like the present government, they based them-

selves on a compromise between the nationalist bourgeoisie and the pro-imperialist and reactionary forces. *The people of Brazil should not allow themselves to be side-tracked into debates of secondary importance concerning the form of government but should intensify the struggle for a national and democratic government.*

The document points out that whatever the future will bring, the masses will be able to cope with the events to the extent to which they rally their forces right now through the workers', students', peasants' and other organizations, the extent to which they press on in the fight for structural reforms, for a na-

tional and democratic government, for their immediate demands, for civil rights, for isolating and defeating the imperialist and latifundist forces, and against the government's policy of conciliation with the enemies of the people.

The times, the document points out, demand of the Communists the utmost effort, closer contact with the working people of town and country, correct understanding of the political situation and correct assessment of the leftward swing among the masses. The advance towards the revolutionary goals largely depends on the activity of the Communists and their ability to organize and lead the masses today.

Against the Ruin of the Japanese Peasants

THE Japanese countryside is on the verge of a new series of important changes—the second following the land reform of 1946-1949—which in effect means that the peasants may be deprived of the land they received in the course of this reform. In the guise of “improving the structure of agriculture” and setting up peasant farms capable of “competing with other countries,” monopoly capital is out to ruin the middle and poor peasants, to take away their land and to change the structure of Japanese agriculture by establishing new big capitalist farms. That is the objective of the so-called measures for improving the structure of agriculture, which form the substance of the “Basic Agrarian Law,” and which the Ikeda government is trying to force through.

It is proposed to initiate the “measures” by establishing 90 “leading” and 200 “ordinary” districts. More districts will be earmarked for “improvement” every year so that the whole country will be covered in the next ten years. The bulk of the cost is to be borne by the peasants.

How will the scheme be carried out? As an example, let us take the plan for the Toyosumi district (Chiba Prefecture, the town of Narita) which is included among the “leading” districts. This plan was drawn up under the direction of a group of people from the Liberal-Democratic Party directly associated with Premier Ikeda, and endorsed by the local authorities.

The district has 482 peasant farms. Under the plan 160 of these are to become “normal farms,” 300 will “combine agricultural with

factory work,” while 22 farmers will be forced out of agriculture altogether. Families combining farming with factory work will have only one-fifth of a hectare of arable land. A plot of this size cannot feed a family and means virtual ruin for it. So the plan envisages that two members of each family are to work in industry. It is assumed that these families will live on an income made up of the wages received by the workers and the yield gathered from the one-fifth of a hectare. The plan calls for an enterprise big enough to employ 600 workers (two from each of the 300 farms). The plan therefore envisages the construction of a factory in the Toyosumi district. The conditions thus created will compel the workers to provide themselves with dwellings and food on their own farms and to work in the factory for a miserable wage.

A “normal farm” will have four hectares of arable land.

By having these two categories of peasants—of which one will be deprived of land altogether, and the other combining farming with factory work—it will be possible to merge the “vacated” land and set up model capitalist farms on it.

This one example gives an idea of the essence of the “measures to improve the structure of agriculture.” Their purpose is:

1. To establish, simultaneously with “liberalizing” foreign trade and currency exchange (primarily in the interests of the U.S. monopolies), a system which would absorb U.S. farm surpluses; and, in view of the Japanese monopolies' advance in the countries of South-East Asia, to cut down rice production in

Japan itself with a view to purchasing rice and other products from these countries;

2. Considerably to reduce the state subsidies which since the reform of 1946-1949 have been paid to the peasants with the idea of winning them over to the side of the reactionary government; to cut down the reserve fund for domestic purchases of rice and to transfer the sums so released to the monopolies in the form of subsidies;

3. To create, in the interests of the U.S. and Japanese monopolies, a vast and cheaper reserve labor force;

4. To expand the market for monopoly-produced agricultural machinery, fertilizers, fodder, and chemicals by artificially accelerating class differentiation among the peasants and encouraging capitalist farming.

In the recent period, with the growing class differentiation among the peasants, the reactionaries have been losing support in the countryside. Hence, one of the aims of the new "measures" is to create a new mainstay with the rich peasants as its core.

It is clear that the "measures to improve the structure of agriculture" are an important link in the basic policy of Japanese monopoly capital which, depending as it does on the American imperialists, has taken the path of reviving militarism and suppressing the working-class and general democratic movement in the country.

Needless to say, the Liberal-Democratic Party government does its utmost to conceal how disastrous this policy will be for the peasants and depicts the "measures" as a way of improving peasant farms generally. And this illusion is widespread not only among the rich peasants, but also among the middle peasants.

Many peasants, despairing of their small farms ever enabling them to live a decent life, tend to the view that the only way is to create big farms. The Right Social Democrats are spreading the myth that "the agricultural cooperation" will, under the rule of the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces, gradually open the way to socialism. They are doing nothing to rally the masses for struggle against the reactionary plan to "improve the structure of agriculture."

In this situation it is only the Communist Party and the advanced workers and poor peasants under its influence who are working actively in the countryside to expose the essence of the plan. The Communists, relying on the poor peasants, in close alliance with

the middle peasants and in a bloc with a section of the rich peasants, call on the masses to rise in struggle against this design of the U.S.-Japanese monopolies.

The countryside, the Communists declare, should not be regarded simply from the standpoint of the profitability of peasant farms, especially as this depends on the specific conditions of economic development. Through all the talk of "improving the structure of agriculture," one must also see the social side, the fact that this plan spells ruin for millions of working peasants.

Fully aware that only a socialist revolution can finally solve the agrarian problem, the Communist Party of Japan, in the present situation, takes the line of firmly defending the interests of the poor and middle peasants, of working to prevent their ruin by monopoly capital. The Communists are fighting to ease the tax burden, for long-term credits at a low interest rate to the poor and middle peasants, for better prices for agricultural produce and lower monopoly prices for agricultural machinery, fertilizers, electric power and other manufactured goods.

Although the Party's propaganda so far covers only a part of the countryside, its influence is growing. Last June, during the elections for the Upper Chamber the appeal made by the Party and its sympathizers in the countryside to fight against the above-mentioned measures reached the ears of the peasants. Some 1,500,000 leaflets and copies of the daily and Sunday issues of *Akahata* were distributed in the course of the campaign. The Party's activities in the countryside had an immediate effect on the election results. Compared with previous elections the Liberal-Democratic Party lost votes in the countryside, while the Communist vote increased. This shows how important it is for Communists in the countryside, where conservative sentiment is still strong, to present a correct and clear-cut policy to the peasants and agricultural laborers. It also reinforces the Communists' belief in the possibility of frustrating implementation of the "measures."

To win in this struggle is no easy matter. For all the organizations of the Liberal-Democratic Party have been alerted and the entire machinery of state-monopoly capitalism set in motion to carry out these measures. At the same time we cannot fail to see that the reactionary government and the ruling classes are torn by internal contradictions. Little by little, implementation of the "measures" lays the contradictions bare. And the peasant's

protest movement against them is gaining momentum.

The Toyosumi district plan was widely publicized as a model one by the Liberal-Democratic Party and the bourgeois press. But the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, as *Akahata* of September 4 reported, opposed it, stating that "in line with government policy," it could not give such a big subsidy. And although the plan was revised and the total of government expenditure reduced to 1,394 million yen (less than half the sum envisaged initially) the Ministry has not yet endorsed it. Nor has any progress been made in building the factory: not a single company has shown any initiative, as so far no budget allocation has been made for preparing the site.

In view of this, the Party sent a group of propagandists to this region during the election campaign who exposed the real nature of the "measures" and so helped to extend the Party's influence. A protest movement is growing in all the villages of this district against the government's attempt to make the peasants shoulder the cost of carrying through the "measures."

These facts aggravate the situation in the countryside and cannot but embarrass the reactionaries. A National Conference of Party activists in the peasant organizations held in August discussed the policy of the Party on this issue and emphasized that the key to victory in the struggle against the "measures" lay in having stronger Party organizations in the countryside, in extending the Party's influence among the peasants, in setting up trade unions or agricultural laborers as well as peasant unions.

Comrade Susumu Fukaya, member of the Central Committee, who made the main report, exposed the reactionary essence of the government's agrarian policy, in which the plan to "improve the structure of agriculture" holds pride of place. "Of course," said Comrade Fukaya, "for Japan's agrarian problem to be radically solved, the small peasant households should be turned into big socialist farms. But to do this, an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly power of the people must be established by accomplishing a people's democratic revolution directed against the Ameri-

can imperialist rule that is now grinding down the Japanese nation, and against Japanese monopoly capital which, leaning on the American imperialists, is reviving militarism. We must, consciously, and on a political basis, develop the struggle for all the economic demands of the peasants; we should orientate ourselves neither on the 'Basic Agrarian Law' nor on the 'measures to improve the structure of agriculture' which will make victims of many peasants, but should aim at rapidly developing agriculture by improving farming methods and raising the standard of living of all the peasants."

Comrade Fukaya criticized the Socialists, who have seized leadership of the All-Japan Federation of Peasant Unions (*Zennichino*), the only all-national militant peasant organization. He spoke of the wrong attitude of Socialist leaders who are opposed to bringing the class point of view into the peasant movement; of the need for *Zennichino* to base its policy on a class analysis of the changes in the countryside; of the importance of forming trade unions for the farm laborers. He emphasized that there was now a real possibility of organizing several million farm laborers and poor and middle peasants into peasant unions and trade unions. Only by relying on such organizations can the plans of the reactionaries be defeated.

The strengthening of the peasant movement and the establishment of a worker-peasant alliance as a base for a united national democratic front depends first and foremost on the independent activity of the Communist Party. Only by redoubling our activity in the countryside can we build a really mass, militant peasant movement. And here the key to success lies in building the Party in the countryside, in extending its influence among the peasants.

The Japanese peasants, who became small landowners as a result of the 1946-1949 land reform, are again threatened with the loss of their land; hence the land problem is of paramount importance for them. Favorable conditions are maturing for drawing the peasant masses into a powerful anti-imperialist struggle headed by the Communist Party.

D.O.

SCANNING THE PRESS

Party Activists

IN recent years the Rumanian Workers' Party has built up a strong core of activists who are playing an important part in its work. As Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej pointed out at the Third Congress of the Party, the Party's local committees already then had over 150,000 voluntary functionaries.

The importance attached by the Party to increasing the numbers of these functionaries is discussed in an article entitled "Activists of the Local Party Bodies" by Gh. Rosu, secretary of the Bacau Regional Committee of the Party, in issue No. 7 of *Munca de partid* (Party Work).

The Party committees in the region, Rosu writes, have seen for themselves the role the activists can play in economic and cultural development. The region now has nearly 4,500 activists doing day-to-day work in the committees alongside the paid functionaries.

"The Party committees could not cope with all aspects of their activities if they were to work only through the full-time functionaries," Rosu writes. "The membership in Bacau Region has grown by nearly 15,000 since 1956, but the number of full-time functionaries has decreased. Thanks to the bigger membership and its higher political level and greater organizational experience, it has been possible to draw many members into the work of the local committees on a spare-time basis and steadily to reduce the salaried staff."

Besides experienced old members, many younger Communists are doing good work as spare-time functionaries.

Many workers, engineers and intellectuals are now devoting their spare time to work in the Party committees. More than 400 of these functionaries have had either a secondary or a higher education, and over 200 have finished a six-month, one-year or higher Party school.

Last April the Central Committee recommended to the district and city committees to enlist the services of voluntary instructors, roughly at the rate of one to every 3-5 Party branches, to help the full-time staffs.

The Bacau Regional Committee, too, has paid attention to building up a body of spare-time instructors. In most cases a full-time instructor of a city committee attends to the affairs of anything from 16 to 20 branches and has not enough time to pay sufficient attention to all aspects of their work. With the assistance of non-staff instructors, however, he can organize the work much better.

The Party committees in the region now have more than 150 such instructors. Rosu cites examples of their good work. A typical case is that of Stefan Alexandru, a construction engineer, who in his spare time works as an instructor to the Roman City Committee. His job is to help the Party branches in two of the local building organizations. Verifying the activities of one of these branches, he found that the quality of the building work was not good enough. Together with the branch bureau he analyzed the reasons for the shortcomings and suggested ways and means of overcoming them. The suggestions were then discussed at a general meeting attended by both the Communists and non-Party activists. It was decided to assign Communists to all the building teams, improve the organization of the socialist emulation movement and to carry out a number of other measures.

The steps taken raised the prestige of the branch as the political leader of the building workers and helped to improve the quality of the work on the construction sites.

The district and city committees have made arrangements for differentiated training and briefing of the voluntary functionaries.

Help to the Countryside

Zivot Strany (Party Life), a journal published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, prints in its issue No. 19 an article by F. Pristach, secretary of a rural Party organization in

Trencianské Jastrebi, discussing the Party work done in rural neighborhoods by Communists who live there but work in industry.

"Members of rural Party organizations," Pristach writes, "complain that members

working in the factories do not give them sufficient help. . . . I should like to tell how we enlisted members employed in the factories in the work of our organization. Our point of departure was the Central Committee decision on registering such members living in the villages."

In Trencianské Jastrebi 40 Party members work in industry. But only a few of them used to do any political work in the village. The village branch is very small and was not always able to cope properly even with the tasks facing the local agricultural cooperative, not to speak of those in public organizations and in the subcommittees of the local council. Although the factory comrades were invited to attend general meetings, few of them came. Appeals for assistance found little response among them. Hence the decision of the Central Committee that factory members living in villages should be registered with the village branch was welcomed by the members.

Our branch bureau began by inviting five or six of the commuters at a time to its meetings to discuss how they could help the local organization. They all agreed to lend a hand.

The results were good. Most of the registered Communists now work in the subcom-

mittees of the local council and display more initiative in tackling the problems and helping the cooperative. In the public order subcommittee, for example, there are several of the newly registered members. As a result, the subcommittee is doing much better work.

The villagers themselves make a point of drawing the subcommittee's attention to shortcomings. Other subcommittees, too, are displaying more initiative in their respective spheres. The local council as a whole is working more efficiently. Public organizations, too, are now more active and there has been a livening up in sports activities. The young people are taking part in building a clubhouse and a reservoir and volunteering their assistance to the cooperative. So far the youth organization has recommended three of its members for membership of the Party.

Since as a result of the registration each member has a definite assignment, the branch is now much more active than it used to be and its prestige has grown. Whereas formerly the peasants used to complain about shortcomings to the higher Party and government bodies, they now come to the branch with their problems.

Meetings of Central Committees

COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium held in September heard a report by Frans van den Branden, Vice-Chairman of the Party, analyzing the international and internal situation and outlining the tasks confronting the Party and the Left forces. The meeting exposed the latest imperialist intrigues in the Congo and put forward a plan of action for peace. Other decisions call for struggle against the growing military expenditure, against extending the term of military service and against NATO nuclear bases in Belgium; they call for support for a nuclear test ban treaty, and demand that the government submit the question of Belgian nuclear armament to Parliament, declare for a nuclear test ban and support the Soviet proposals on Berlin.

Analyzing the internal situation, the meeting noted that the government and the big employers have launched another offensive against the workers' rights and wages. Particularly grave is the situation in the coal-

mining industry, which, as a result of Belgian participation in the European Coal and Steel Community, is faced with a gloomy future. The plans of the leaders of the Community to close more pits in Belgium must be countered with effective struggle to keep the pits going, for a national fuel and power policy and for better conditions for the miners.

The ruling circles, seeking to curb the workers' struggle in defense of their vital interests, are now scheming to put through legislation which would virtually abolish the right to strike.

The Central Committee called on all workers and all trade union organizations to fight these schemes, stressing that the unity of the Left is decisive for success in the struggle both against the external threat and for social progress. The new situation is favorable for drawing into the struggle more and more Socialist workers, with whom the Communists are already working together in the General Federation of Labor, as well as working people

under the influence of the Catholic organizations.

The Central Committee drew up a Social Program containing demands with regard to guaranteed employment and wage increases, shorter working hours, higher pensions, revision of family allowances and ensuring democracy in the educational system.

A program of work was adopted for the

coming months. It is planned to organize a Party-building campaign with a view to bringing the membership up to 15,000 and establishing new branches, primarily in the enterprises. It is also proposed to conduct conferences to discuss united action among the Left, to organize Party training courses during the autumn and to increase the circulation of the Party press.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

THE Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held over September 24-27 in Peking. The meeting discussed and took decisions on the question of further consolidating the collective economy of the people's communes and developing agricultural production, the question of commercial work, and a number of organizational questions.

The international and the domestic situation were also examined.

The session noted, the official communiqué states, that the international situation is developing in a direction even more favorable to the people of all countries. The communiqué makes a survey of this situation, stressing the growing struggle waged by the people of the whole world against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war as well as against colonialism, old and new. This struggle offers impressive evidence of the vigorous development of the national and democratic movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples for national independence, democracy and socialism is playing an ever greater role in the defense of world peace. The growing strength of the countries of the socialist camp and their unity based on Marxism-Leninism and internationalism constitute the decisive factor in defending world peace and give extremely important encouragement and support to the liberation struggle of the peoples of various countries.

The communiqué points out that the general foreign policy line of the Chinese People's Republic is to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the five principles with countries having differing social systems and to oppose the imperialist

policies of aggression and war; to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations against imperialism and colonialism.

"We should continue to hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, uphold the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement and resolutely and thoroughly oppose modern revisionism—the main danger in the international Communist movement," the communiqué goes on. "This is our main task at present and for a long time to come. At the same time we should resolutely and thoroughly oppose dogmatism, oppose sectarianism and oppose great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism. This is also a long-term task. The purpose of all this is to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism."

The communiqué dwells extensively on the tasks of building socialism in the Chinese People's Republic. The session noted with satisfaction that since the Ninth Plenary Session held in 1961, and particularly since the beginning of this year, the work done by the whole Party in implementing the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards in the national economy and in strengthening the agricultural front has yielded remarkable results. Despite the serious natural disasters for several consecutive years and the shortcomings and mistakes in the work, the condition of the national economy last year was slightly better than the year before, and this year it is again slightly better than last year.

The communiqué cites numerous facts about agriculture, industry and trade which indicate that the economic situation is steadily improving in the villages as well as in the towns. In particular, it notes that the actual harvest of summer crops this year showed a slight gain over last year, and the yield of autumn crops is also expected to register an increase.

This is the result of carrying out the Party's series of policies concerning the rural people's communes and thus giving play to the advantages of the collective economy of the people's communes.

"The Chinese People's Liberation Army and the public security forces are strong and reliable armed forces of the people," the communiqué says. "Our country has also a heroic militia force of vast numbers. They have performed well their glorious task of defending the motherland, the people's labor and the socialist system. At all times they are vigilantly guarding the frontiers of our great motherland and protecting public order, and stand ready to smash the aggressive and sabotage activities of any enemy. Tested in all these struggles, our country is worthy of being called a great country, our people a great people, our armed forces great armed forces, and our Party a great Party."

The communiqué goes on to say that the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists gloated over the temporary difficulties encountered by the Chinese people, and they wantonly vilified China's general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune, striking up an anti-Chinese chorus which was sensational for a time. U.S. imperialism instigated the Chiang Kai-shek gang entrenched in Taiwan to plot vainly an invasion of the coastal areas of the mainland. At home, those landlords, rich peasants and bourgeois Rightists who have not reformed themselves and the remnant counter-revolutionaries also gloated over the difficulties and tried to take advantage of the situation. But the imperialists and their running-dogs in China and abroad completely miscalculated. Their criminal activities have not only further exposed their hideous features, but have heightened the socialist and patriotic fervor of the Chinese people who are working vigorously for the prosperity of their country. The people of China have resolutely smashed and will continue to smash every one of their scheming activities, be it intrusion, provocation or aggression, or subversion within the state or the Party.

The Plenary Session points out that the reactionary ruling classes which have been overthrown are not reconciled to their doom but always attempt to stage a come-back. Moreover, there still exist in society bourgeois influences, the force of habit of the old society, and the spontaneous tendency toward capitalism among part of the small producers. Therefore, a small number of individuals,

making up only a tiny fraction of the total population, who have not yet undergone socialist remoulding, attempt to depart from the socialist road and turn to the capitalist road whenever there is an opportunity. Class struggle is inevitable under these circumstances. This is a law of history, elucidated long ago by Marxism-Leninism. We must never forget it.

The communiqué stresses the historic significance of the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Eighth Central Committee which was held in August 1959 in Lushan. The importance of that meeting was that it defeated attacks by Right opportunism, i.e., revisionism, and safeguarded the Party line and the unity of the Party. Both now and in the future, the Party must sharpen its vigilance and correctly wage a struggle on two fronts—against revisionism and against dogmatism. Only in this way can the purity of Marxism-Leninism be always preserved, the unity of the Party constantly strengthened and its fighting power continuously increased.

The urgent task facing the Chinese people, the communiqué stresses, is "to carry through the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, as put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, attach first importance to the development of agriculture, correctly handle the relationship between industry and agriculture and resolutely readjust the work of the industrial departments according to the policy of making agriculture the foundation of the national economy."

Concretizing these tasks, the meeting outlined an extensive program of measures in agriculture, industry, commerce and in the sphere of science, culture and education. The communiqué dwells in particular on the need to mobilize and concentrate the strength of the whole Party and the whole nation in an active way to give agriculture and the collective economy of the people's communes every possible material, technical and financial aid as well as aid in the fields of leadership and personnel, and to bring about the technical transformation of agriculture, stage by stage and in a manner suited to local conditions.

In the sphere of industry, the first thing to do is, in accordance with the needs of the technical transformation of agriculture and the present availability of materials and manpower, to carry out further rational readjustment, strengthen the productive capacity of the weaker departments, energetically im-

prove management, increase the variety and raise the quality of products.

Although more goods were produced both last year and this year and the living conditions of the people have improved, the communiqué says, output is still insufficient to meet the needs of the urban and rural population. The whole Party and the whole nation must strive to expand production, ensure the supply of goods and so gradually improve the livelihood of the people. At the same time, the urban and rural inhabitants of the whole country must give attention to diligence and thrift in construction work and housekeeping, practise economy and lay aside some savings so that they may gradually be better off and be prepared against the needs caused by natural disasters and other unforeseen events.

The session expressed its firm conviction that, though certain difficulties still exist, it is entirely possible to overcome them. "We have already made great achievements," the communiqué says. "Our future is bright. Provided the whole Party and the whole nation,

united as one, strengthen democratic centralism, carry through the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, and further conscientiously carry out the work of readjustments, consolidation, filling out and raising standards in the national economy, we will certainly be able, after making efforts for a period of time, to usher in a new period of great upsurge in our country's socialist construction."

The session called on the workers, peasants, intellectuals, democratic parties and patriots of all the nationalities throughout the country to unite even more closely, to raise still higher the glorious banners of the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's communes under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, to go all out in their efforts to increase production and practise economy and strive for a bumper harvest next year, for a new growth of the national economy and for new victories in the socialist cause of the Chinese People's Republic.

Short Notices

SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA

AFTER consultations at Central Committee level the Communist Party of Mexico, the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Communist parties of Salvador and Honduras, the Socialist Party of Nicaragua, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica and the People's Party of Panama issued a joint call for solidarity with Cuba.

The U.S. government, says the call, is preparing another armed intervention in Cuba. In this grave situation the parties signatory to the call express their resolve to give every support to the people of Cuba and their government.

By resisting the plans for invading Cuba the Latin America peoples will be defending their own right to be free, their right to complete economic and political self-determination, to national sovereignty, democratic development, and emancipation from the oppression, dependence, plunder and exploitation to which they are still subjected, to their right to establish in their countries a political regime which will guarantee democratic rights and well-being for

the people, the right to carry out their own revolutions of national and social emancipation.

"We call on the working class and on all working people in town and countryside in our countries," the call continues, "to organize and use all the means at their disposal to proclaim their solidarity with the Cuban revolution, to be ready to fulfil the duty which the threat hanging over Cuba imposes upon us!"

"We call for the curbing of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries who in their subversion against the Cuban government not only use the territories of our countries and, with the connivance of our rulers, violate our laws, but act also as a fascist shock force of the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries, as an instrument of provocation against the anti-imperialist and patriotic movement, and as storm troops for the U.S. export of counter-revolution.

"We call on all patriots, on all anti-imperialists and on all true democrats to join in a united front in order to foil the aggressive designs of the imperialists which, in addition to imperilling Cuba, also imperil the independence of our countries!"

STATEMENT BY THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE UNION OF THE PEOPLES OF CAMEROUN

AT a meeting of delegations representing the French Communist Party and the Union of the Peoples of Cameroun, held in August, the delegates registered the unanimity of their views on the major problems of the day. The delegations, hailing the victory won for the cause of peace and national liberation in Algeria, noted that the ending of the war in Algeria was yet another sign of the inevitability of the complete disintegration of colonialism.

The continuance in Cameroun of an arbitrary regime closely associated with the French monopolies and other neo-colonialist interests, particularly the U.S. and West German imperialists, shows that genuine independence and freedom are still to be won. The French delegation stressed the significance of the courageous fight waged by the people of Cameroun and the role played in this fight by the Union of the Peoples of Cameroun.

The two delegations declared their resolve to step up the struggle for the complete abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism, for dismantling foreign military bases, particularly in Cameroun, for ending the nuclear tests in the Sahara and for a treaty which would ban test-

ing altogether, for a peaceful solution of the German problem and the removal of other centers of tension.

CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY

A CONFERENCE of the Communist Party of Norway, held in Oslo in mid-September, was attended by over 100 delegates representing Party organizations in all parts of the country.

The main point on the agenda was the draft of the new Program of the Party "Norway's Road to Socialism." The present Program was adopted at the Eighth Congress in 1953. In 1957, however, it was felt that it should be amended, and the Tenth Congress, held in March 1961, appointed a commission to prepare a draft.

After discussing the draft the conference decided to submit it to the Central Committee to be amended in line with the suggestions made by the delegates. When this is done the draft will be submitted to the branches and the final decision on it will be taken at the Party conference scheduled for March 1963.

The conference also discussed the plan of further work of the Party, including measures to celebrate the Party's fortieth anniversary in November 1963.

Exchange of Views

Anti-Communism, the Enemy of Mankind*

Siegfried Schultz (Federal Republic of Germany):

IT IS common knowledge that for German imperialism anti-communism is the main ideological and political weapon of its home policy and of its aggressive foreign policy. And although the old methods of anti-communism are becoming less effective, yet in its multifarious, refined forms it still influences many people in West Germany. Why is this?

When fascism went down in defeat, the people throughout Germany wanted a radical change in the direction of democracy. And it was the Communists and other anti-fascists who headed this movement. In the eastern part of Germany the proper conclusions were drawn and that part of the country began to develop along new lines, a fact which could not but have an impact on West Germany. But the imperialist powers, under U.S. leadership, had other aims: with the aid of atomic blackmail and the revival of German imperialism and militarism, they sought to revise the anti-imperialist results of the Second World War. With this end in view they partitioned Germany. In the guise of carrying through democratization and denazification "from the top," they prevented a genuine democratization.

At the same time the German imperialists, jointly with the Western powers and leaning primarily on the Right Social Democratic leaders, invented the "democratic" variant of anti-communism. In doing so they capitalized on the people's abhorrence of another war, on their longing for a lawful, democratic government; thus communism was denounced as "totalitarian," as a regime which knew no rights and which sought to achieve a world revolution by means of war. They managed to conceal the inner link between imperialism, fascism and war. The imperialists made use of concepts whose very proclamation, without any explanation of their class content, were designed to play on the emotions, especially after the dark night of fascist tyranny. I have in mind concepts such as "freedom," "the rights of man," "democracy," etc. With the invention of the

"democratic" variant of anti-communism, it became possible in some measure to link up these concepts with capitalism.

As a result of a series of reactionary political measures and ideological manipulations, anti-communism was kept alive even in the post-war, despite the bankruptcy of the Hitler regime. While formally condemning Hitler, the monopolists and the old-time Nazis preserved his anti-communism. And, by confusing the people and allowing them no say in political matters, German imperialism and militarism were revived. The Social Democratic leaders were brought into the picture to influence the working people. The defunct Schumacher, leader of the German Social-Democrats, announced in 1948 that: "Were it not for German Social Democracy, Germany and, perhaps, some other West European countries would by now be under the political and ideological domination of communism."

The parties of monopoly capital and the Social Democratic leadership so twist things that every act of political terror in the country and every preparation for aggression are construed as "a defense measure" against "the danger" of internal and external "communist attack." The result is that cause and effect change places: the attempt is made to make us, the Communists, responsible for German imperialism's policy and its consequences. We communists are blamed for the collapse of the Weimar Republic and for Hitler. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are charged with having changed the frontiers of Germany and with dismembering the country. The German problem, they would have the people believe, can only be solved in an anti-communist spirit.

The question arises: Why is it that so many people in West Germany have fallen for the bait of the new anti-communist tactics?

It should be pointed out firstly, that both before the war and ever since it ended there has been a continuous spate of anti-communist propaganda by all the non-communist parties and the government itself; and thanks to the

*Concluded. For beginning see WMR Nos. 8, 9, 10 for this year.

splitting activities of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders, this propaganda was not countered either by a popular front or a united action front. Secondly, the Nazis managed to embroil masses of Germans in the war, made many of them accomplices in the plunder of other peoples, and thus bound them to Hitler, ideologically and materially. It was not to be expected that these sections would show any resistance to anti-communism: quite the reverse. They approved its "democratic" camouflage. Thirdly, there are numerous resettled people in the Federal Republic who are particularly receptive to anti-communist policy and ideology.

The struggle against the German Democratic Republic, a state in which fascism, militarism and imperialism have been rooted out, the state to which the future belongs, has been greatly stepped up, and this is the main form of anti-communism in West Germany. And the anti-communists seize upon the temporary difficulties in the GDR—difficulties conditioned by a number of objective circumstances—and, of course, shout from the housetops about the postwar economic gains in the West which are due largely to lavish American credits and to West Germany's growing weight in the imperialist camp.

The anti-communist propaganda and policy paved the way to the banning of the Communist Party of Germany, which was a severe blow to the anti-imperialist forces.

The working class, intellectuals and even some bourgeois circles, however, are beginning to show signs of discontent with bellicose anti-communism. The changed balance of world forces and the peace policy of the socialist countries on the one hand, and imperialism's policy of preparing an atomic war on the other, have brought trends into being which are already dissociating themselves from rabid anti-communism. It is our task to rally all forms of opposition, no matter how insignificant, into a general broad stream.

Symptomatic of the growing discontent with anti-communism are the speeches delivered against it by the Bundestag Deputy-Chairman Dehler, by ex-Deputy Bucerius, and by a group of Protestants, etc., although this is far from implying that they are well-disposed towards communism.

What is taking place in the working class is most interesting. Mention should be made of the successful strike waged by 5,000 workers in Mannheim against the dismissal of ten production council members charged with communist activity. Then there were the protests against the anti-communist outbursts in speech-

es made on May 1, the condemnation by some delegates of the anti-communist heckling at trade union youth conferences. Noteworthy were the actions by young Social Democrats. Their Falcon organizations took part in the Easter march against the atomic bomb in the West German cities, despite the calls by the anti-communists to boycott the march. Over 200 functionaries were excluded from this organization for participating in the march.

It should be stressed that not all forms of discontent with anti-communism mean outright opposition to it. It would be more correct to say that often the dissatisfaction is directed only against some aspects of it. The opposition likewise differs in sharpness.

The measure of class consciousness among the workers and also of the degree to which other sections are abandoning anti-communism is their attitude to the German Democratic Republic. Here, too, we have not been too successful so far. Seeing that anti-communism is giving rise to discontent, the enemy resorts to demagoguery, saying he is for mutual understanding with the Soviet Union but not with the GDR. And we must say that people are taken in by these slogans.

The actions against anti-communism are varied and they unite us to some extent with people who on some issues still think along anti-communist lines. Our field of action thus becomes obvious:

1. We should make clear the class basis of fascism and expose the so-called democratic anti-communism of the Right-wing Social Democrats. At the same time we must seek, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle, to achieve maximum flexibility in tactics; we must not refuse to cooperate with anyone on particular issues even though he takes an anti-communist stand on others. We should carry through all general actions in any anti-war, general democratic and imperialist movement, confident in our own strength and in alliance with anyone who can be drawn into it. The general struggle for concrete aims is one of the principal means of overcoming anti-communism.

2. We show that German imperialism is responsible for the calamities suffered by the German people and from this draw the conclusion that it is essential to establish the leading role of the working class; but this cannot be done until the anti-communism has been rooted out of it.

3. Our job is to show that the danger to peace, freedom and democracy emanates from imperialism. We say: "Act for what you believe to be right. You should do this for the cause itself. You cannot refuse to do the right thing

just because the Communists also believe it to be right. You should understand that this anti-communist deception is spearheaded against you, against your interests, against the expression of your free will. Furthermore, you should understand that you have allies, that you can redouble your strength and so reach the goal more quickly by acting jointly with the Communists."

4. We say that there can be no advance towards peace, democracy and national unity if the GDR is ignored, and we explain its role and significance.

5. We point to the class content of freedom and democracy. But above all we show, on the

basis of the experience of building socialism and communism, on the example of the policy of disarmament and peaceful coexistence pursued by the socialist countries, what socialism and communism really signify, i.e., we combat anti-communism by propagating the lessons of experience. This helps our struggle and undermines the roots of anti-communism.

We use both legal and illegal means in carrying out these tasks. We appreciate the help given by the GDR and other socialist countries through, for example, the radio. We are confident that it is not only essential but also possible to triumph over anti-communism in West Germany.

Aziz Al-Hajj (Iraq)

ANTI-COMMUNISM is the official policy of the present government of Iraq which is, on the one hand, anti-imperialist and, on the other, anti-democratic. While this policy does not adopt slogans directed against the socialist countries, it is designed to confine the people to the framework of the narrow interests of the ruling bourgeoisie. It is, therefore, necessary to differentiate between the anti-communism of the imperialist forces and their agents and the anti-communism of the national bourgeoisie which wants to wage the anti-imperialist struggle and at the same time to suppress the people with the utmost brutality.

At one time many of our members failed to see the difference between the two anti-communist trends in Iraq. Our Party, however, has succeeded in drawing a demarcation line between the two, and has educated its members and supporters accordingly. Our guiding principle has been to direct our main fire at the imperialist activities and to isolate the imperialists. As for the ruling bourgeoisie, we combat its anti-democratic policy, firmly uphold the interests and freedom of the masses and, on the other hand, exert maximum pressure on the bourgeoisie in order to compel it to return to the path of national unity.

When the Kassem government started out on the anti-communist road, all the other parties, we regret to say, fell for the reactionary demagoguery and gave the government their wholehearted support. The bourgeois parties and their leaders were under the illusion that the campaign would be confined to the Communist Party, while they would only stand to benefit since, they believed, they would be able to replace the Communists in the mass movement and, particularly, in the peasant associations.

Experience, however, has shown that although the Communists bore the brunt of the blows, they were not the only victims. Even the National Progressive Party, which supports the government, has begun to complain about the "inconveniences" caused by the government machinery.

The government's Kurdish policy developed into a campaign of annihilation of the Kurdish people. The Agrarian Reform Law was violated in the interest of the big landlords. Thousands of trade unionists were victimized; elections to trade union posts and to posts in other organizations were rigged; democratic newspapers and journals were suppressed.

Anti-communism is currently being pursued behind the smokescreen of "maintaining a balance between Right and Left." The ruling bourgeoisie interprets the "Right" in terms of the pro-imperialist elements and the extreme nationalists, while by the "Left" it means all the democratic forces in the country. In point of fact, this "balance of forces" policy throws the door wide open to the reactionaries in the administration, in the armed forces, in the public organizations and in the press. Kassem carries out this reckless policy on the pretext of being "above trends and tendencies," of "upholding the supremacy of law." In an endeavor to crush the democratic movement he has incited the patriotic and national forces against each other and has sown seeds of discord between the various nationalities. Anti-communism, however, whatever the pretext on which it is conducted, brings grist to the mill of imperialism and reaction. The ruling bourgeoisie, sliding down into the abyss of anti-communism, is playing with fire, jeopardizing the independence of the country, and this is contrary to the

interests of all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist forces, including the national bourgeoisie.

In the assassination campaign conducted against the democratic elements during the past three years, hundreds of patriots lost their lives. The bourgeois propaganda machine tried to present the assassinations as an "ideological struggle between Right and Left" and to justify them as the "reaction of the Right" to the "unlawful actions of the Left." The aim of this campaign of terror was not only to blacken the Communist Party and other democrats but also to provoke the Communists into retaliation and thus find a legal excuse for intensifying the campaign against democracy. The Party, however, stood firm and did not fall for the provocations, despite the strong feeling among the rank and file and the people in favor of retaliatory measures. Instead, the Party painstakingly

explained the reasons for the assassination campaign. This yielded good results. The people began to blame the real culprits—the government and the reactionary groups of the national bourgeoisie which support it. Moreover, they began to demand that the government should bring these actions to an end and punish the terrorists. And the government was forced to take action.

When it failed to ban the Communist Party officially, the government resorted to a new maneuver aimed at splitting and weakening the Party. It granted a licence to a handful of renegades to function under the name of the "Iraqi Communist Party." Pressure was brought to bear on our Party to remove some members of the Political Bureau and to merge the Party with the opportunist group. But these efforts failed. The firm stand adopted by our Party consolidated its unity and won greater prestige for it.

Arnost Kolman (Czechoslovakia)

TO UNDERSTAND the essence of the anti-communist ideology correctly, one should make a distinction between bellicose anti-communism on the one hand and the philosophical, historical, political, economic, legal and other schools and trends differing from Marxism, as well as those who reject communism as a social order, on the other. Anti-communism implies militant, politico-organizational activity and propaganda aimed chiefly at combating communism, persecuting the Communists, spreading slander against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, fomenting war hysteria and race hatred.

In distinguishing between groups (particularly among the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals) whose attitude towards Marxism and communism ranges in varying degree from sympathy to hostility and among whom only a minority are protagonists of bellicose anti-communism, we should be on guard against the slogan: "He who is not with us is against us." Rather we should wage the struggle under the motto "He who is against us is not with us."

We shall make no ideological concessions, agree to no kind of "ideological coexistence," no "rapprochement" between Marxism and, say, existentialism, "Left" catholicism or neo-positivism. But without relinquishing any of our world outlook, we are always ready to discuss with anyone who, while disagreeing with Marxism in the sphere of philosophy, political economy and sociology, nevertheless stands for peaceful coexistence, friendship between na-

tions, for democratic freedoms, for ending colonialism and establishing social justice.

Towards the bellicose anti-communists the attitude should be different. With them there can be no discussion, only bitter struggle. We should not lose sight of the fact that anti-communism is now resorting more and more to the tactic of infiltration, of "rapprochement" with Marxism with the idea of undermining it from within. We should bear in mind that, objectively speaking, ideological "neutrality," and indifference to politics renders anti-communism a very great service.

Inasmuch as the anti-communist ideology expresses the interests of the exploiting classes, whose interests clash as never before, both within the framework of the several countries and on an international plane, and who are united only by the animal fear of losing their domination, it is obvious that this ideology cannot represent any one single system. It can only be an eclectic mish-mash of utterly unscientific concepts thought up at various times by reactionary philosophers, historians, and politicians. And to modernize it and give it a "scientific" face-lifting, play is made with the latest scientific achievements (needless to say in a distorted form).

But anti-communism can no longer, as it frequently did in the past, merely shrug off Marxism without even attempting to enquire into its principles. Now that the Marxist ideology has gripped the minds of millions it has become a powerful material force for trans-

forming the world, with the result that anti-communism is obliged to occupy itself with the details of the Marxist doctrine; it, naturally, distorts these in the first place and then "refutes" them by juggling with the facts, by sophistry, and by embellishing capitalism.

Speculating on any mistake we may make either in practical politics or in theory, in any sphere of public life, culture, science or the arts, and seizing especially on the distortions of the Leninist policy during the Stalin personality cult both in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, anti-communism seeks to utilize the disappointment felt by some people. It orientates on base instincts, on greed and careerism, on the petty bourgeois urge for egalitarianism on the one hand, and self-exaltation on the other, on nationalism and religious fanaticism, on the desire to let social problems take care of themselves and to engage in debauchery or mystics—it doesn't matter which.

Anti-communism tries to falsify the fundamentals of our world outlook and method; Marxism, it claims, is "obsolete," and it denies the validity of the Marxist division of philosophy into two camps—the materialists and the idealists; it denies the class character of philosophy and represents the Leninist principle of the Party-spirit in philosophy as "anti-scientific," as not being "objective," and as substituting politics for philosophy. At the same time it denies the possibility of the existence of a scientific world outlook; it affirms, furthermore, that the basic concept of Marxist philosophy—the concept of matter—"is full of contradictions" and that dialectics is a "dogma," citing as proof the achievements of the natural sciences, which are correspondingly falsified.

The Leninist theory of reflection, and Marx's tenet that social being determines social consciousness, his principles on the relationship between the social base and the superstructure, and his materialist conception of history—all these, and the Marxist-Leninist concept of social progress are denounced as a fiction. Their class prejudice is most clearly revealed in the heat with which the anti-Communists attack the terms "social class," "bourgeoisie," and "proletariat"; they say that these terms should be thrown out of scientific usage. Marxist political economy with its theory of surplus value is "obsolete," and, the anti-communists continue, there is nothing to correspond to it in the economy of the "free world," particularly in the United States and in Federal Germany.

In their attempts to tear Marxist theory to shreds, the anti-communists "discover" contradictions between Marx, Engels and Lenin. With the willing aid of the revisionists they

make a show of citing distorted pronouncements—a practice now fashionable in the West—by the young Marx about "dehumanization"; the "eternal standards of natural ethics" are counterposed to class principles of ethics; they distort the socialist principle of linking personal interests with the interests of the collective, alleging that under socialism personality is "suppressed."

A device frequently employed by the ideologists of anti-communism is not to deny the incurable ills of the capitalist system, but, on the contrary, to recognize them as being "inevitable," as emanating from the very "nature of man" and, hence any combating of them is, so the argument runs, as pointless as the attempts to abolish natural law.

One of these devices is to extend to society the theory of "complementarity" used in quantum physics; according to this theory it is impossible simultaneously to measure with exactitude, for example, such characteristics of the micro-particle as its position and its mass. Complementary pairs of social categories are, it seems, "freedom and equality," as well as "national independence" and "peace between the nations." Given one of these pairs, they affirm, the other cannot be obtained, and vice versa. There is also no "equality" in the United States but there is "freedom." The reverse allegedly holds good for the Soviet Union.

Anti-communist propaganda paints the home and foreign policy of the socialist countries in sombre colors, that of the capitalist countries in bright colors.

All the efforts made by the socialist camp to achieve peaceful coexistence and disarmament are dismissed as a "maneuver," as a cover for "Soviet imperialism." And the policy of the Communist and Workers' parties, which aims at creating a united front against fascism and war, is, according to the anti-communists, designed to serve the interests of the Communists alone.

In combating anti-communism we must not forget its provocative methods. Seizing on any discussion in Marxist social science, on art, literature, etc., the anti-communists see in these signs of the incipient "disintegration" or "division of Marxism," and those Marxists who criticize dogmatism are lumped together as belonging to non-Marxist trends. In addition to this purely propagandist aim, they pursue at least two others. They hope that the Marxists whom they have praised will be "alienated from Marxism," and that the Marxist theoretical front will thus be weakened. What they really hope for is that any discussion of debatable theoretical problems will cease altogether among the

Marxists. This would make Marxism sterile, stagnant, out of step with scientific progress and life generally.

In exposing the anti-communist ideology, we should bear in mind that its principal slogans differ according to the economic and political situation obtaining in one or another country. The ideological struggle against "anti-communist theories" must be waged with a deep understanding of the matter; the enemy's arguments should be convincingly demolished; one cannot make do with general phrases. The broadest

democratic forces should be enlisted in this work.

Now that science and technology have produced armaments of incalculable destructive power, leaving man with no alternative but to achieve general disarmament and peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition and the struggle against anti-communism acquire a special significance. The spate of anti-communist propaganda must be contraposed by profound theoretical research and popular literature which will elucidate the problems of the day—and we should do this on an immeasurably greater scale than hitherto.

Valentino Gerratana (Italy)

ANTI-COMMUNIST ideology is extremely varied in content. There is no single philosophy of anti-communism. There is only a combination of multifarious ideological elements—both old and new—ranging from idealism to empiricism, from neo-positivism to existentialism, from agnosticism to religious metaphysics. Each of these philosophical trends adds its own "arguments," not only different, but often contradictory, to the anti-communist ideology, which is also reinforced by current prejudice.

It is not its theoretical content that is characteristic of the anti-communist ideology, which, by virtue of its being so varied, could not become stable nor could it fulfil its dangerous function were it not cemented by spiritual material. Fanatical intolerance is the thing that typifies the anti-communist ideology, its essence. If in the political sphere anti-communism acts as a weapon for splitting the democratic forces, for breaking the unity of the people, in the ideological sphere it becomes an irrational myth, a fanatical formula for the division of mankind by spreading the poison of ideological intolerance which paralyzes discussion and the honest confrontation of ideas. Without this myth, or should the myth lose potency, anti-communism, too, loses ground in the political sphere and inevitably enters a state of crisis.

This conclusion is confirmed by the experience of our struggle against the anti-communist ideology. The clericals play the leading role in spreading the ideological myth of anti-communism in Italy. Under its banner the clerical reactionaries wanted to win the dominant position for themselves in the political and cultural life of Italy, to subordinate to clericalism all the movements which reject the perspective offered by communism. With this aim in view

the clericals tried to embroil the communists in a religious war, because this, had it come off, would have justified intervention on their part and, in particular, subordination of all trends of thought to the needs of the anti-communist struggle.

In the traditions of Italian society, in which the influence of the Catholic Church has deep-going roots, the clerical forces had much in their favor and could have met with success had they succeeded in creating an atmosphere of political hysteria and ideological intolerance. But though they tried hard, their attempts in this direction met with failure. This failure looks like being conclusive, and the entire anti-communist bloc is now in a state of crisis. No longer is the old anti-communist front united, its forces have been compelled to seek new ways and new and subtler weapons.

This is the result of the line of action followed by the Communists, who refused to become embroiled in a religious war. The Communists showed the Catholic masses that the bogey of anti-communism has nothing in common with defense of religion, that it is merely a weapon in the offensive launched by the reactionaries. The Communists fought to unite all the forces seeking the regeneration of Italian society, and they thwarted all the efforts to hamper this unity by artificially interposing ideological differences. At the same time, by pointing out that fanaticism and intolerance were the essence of anti-communism, and having shown that these were an obstacle to cultural progress, the Communists were able to wrest adherents of the other trends from the influence of the clericals. It was clear that ending anti-communism was in the interests not only of the Communists themselves, but was essential if the road to the re-

gression of all aspects of political and spiritual life was to be blocked.

In the Catholic world, too, new democratic trends appeared, which, while barely perceptible and hesitant took upon themselves the task of charting a new course and came out against the old anti-communism of the clericals. Though they insisted on rejection of anti-communism as a method of intolerance and ideological suppression, the Communists did not call on the other political and cultural forces to renounce their own positions. All they wanted was that the struggle should develop through the use of more civilized methods, through discussion and the comparison of positions—positions as they are in reality, not in the distorted way polemics, utilizing prejudice and ignorance, depicts them.

Tolerance in the ideological debate, which the Italian Communists call for, also excludes eclecticism, any tendency to ideological neutrality. The Communists believe that they can but gain from a calm confrontation of ideas, gain by virtue of the scientific nature of their world outlook and method of analyzing reality.

The results of our struggle for a new atmosphere of creative thinking, dialogue and discussion between the various trends have proved effective and encourage us to continue the course we have chosen—that of more tolerance in the search for the truth. This method allows of no respite in the struggle; on the contrary, it obliges everyone, first and foremost every Communist, to make a greater spiritual effort.

In the climate of spiritual competition and constructive confrontation of ideas, the Communist ideas spread out and find fruitful soil. But they do not spread automatically, and they certainly cannot be deepened unless our members redouble their efforts creatively to understand the new problems posed by life. The arguments of the bourgeois philosophers, economists, and sociologists lose much of their effect when shorn of the halo created by the anti-communist myths. But these arguments must be refuted and criticized by means other than those used to combat these fanatical anti-communist myths. To expose the falsification of Marxism-Leninism, for example, it might suffice to repeat some of its well-known truths. But it is doubtful whether mere repetition of old Marxist-Leninist formulas will enable us to advance knowledge, enter into debate and wage the battle of ideas. Hence, the obligation on the part of the Marxists creatively to deepen and develop the study of the new phenomena.

And this calls for a critical and specific assessment of each phenomenon, an evaluation which does not place all the phenomena occurring out-

side the Communist ideology on one plane and which does not reduce them, by the use of one and the same method, to an anti-communist denominator. Not all mistakes and not all the wrong attitudes towards our world outlook mean one and the same thing, or perform one and the same function. I, too, am convinced of the need to uphold the concept of the dialectics of nature as an integral part of dialectical materialism and hence of the need to criticize any tendency to deny this concept. But we should be able to distinguish the particular import of each trend by examining its sources. In some cases it is simply a matter of seizing on a pretext for a debate with a view to discrediting Marxism and undermining its influence. In such cases we should expose this tendency as being part and parcel of the anti-communist ideology. Not always, however, does a refutation suffice, and should the debate be transferred to the scientific plane, then we must thoroughly analyze those elements which confirm or reinforce in a new way the concept of the dialectics of nature. This research should not be superficial; it is, naturally, a more difficult and complex matter than refuting the anti-communist prejudices. So we should not be surprised if there are philosophers who hesitate, or make the mistake of denying the truth of the dialectics of nature. But it would be an even graver mistake to label them, for this reason alone, as anti-communists. What is needed on the contrary, is a differentiated criticism, criticism ruthless in exposing anti-communist fanaticism and skilful in upholding and developing Marxism by means of scientific argument; criticism faultless from the point of view of modern science.

We believe this to be a useful method in discussions between Communists too. In this connection I would like to tell you about a certain neo-positivist philosopher who during the Resistance joined our Party. This man was a philosopher of prestige, a man who had made no mean contribution to neo-positivism in Italy. For many years after joining the Party he adhered to his neo-positivism and continued to uphold it. Should our Party have exposed this man as an anti-communist and expelled him? Had it done so it would in all probability have strengthened anti-communism. What we did was to discuss things with him; we criticized his attitude, but never once did we question his political integrity as a Communist and his competence as a scientist. And he himself, on the basis of his own experience, and by a critical reappraisal of his own standpoint eventually reached other conclusions and became a champion of dialectical materialism, a critic of neo-

positivism, an advocate of the concept of the dialectics of nature.

All our experience shows that the success of the ideological struggle against anti-communism is bound up with the struggle against intolerance, that this struggle is an important and essential condition for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. And, conversely, any concession to dogmatism and sectarianism, strengthening as it does the revisionist trends, far from aiding the struggle against anti-communism, reinforces the latter and facilitates it.

Andrej Siracky (Czechoslovakia)

ANTI-COMMUNISM can be termed a symbol of the struggle waged by all the dark forces against progress, socialism and peace, against all that makes life bright and noble. Not an insignificant part in this political and ideological crusade is played by the clerical forces.

The ideologists of anti-communism rely not only on philosophical idealism and religion but also on the political, mainly Christian, parties, or the Church and their organizations. The political parties of the bourgeoisie and the so-called "labor" (reformist and revisionist) parties stand on the common platform of hatred of communism and the cult of abstract humanism. They all see the way to "moral survival" of the so-called "free world" in joining hands with the churches. F. Heer, for example, wrote that the survival of humanity and the future of Christianity lay only in enhancing the prestige of the Church, in renewing the belief in God and withdrawing from the world into inner religious feelings, to what strengthens in us the faith in the higher order.

The arguments of these idealist and religious philosophers logically combine concepts of "freedom," "justice," "humanism," "higher order" and the "reign of God" with the narrow political interests of the bourgeoisie and its allies. This explains the inner connection of all non-Marxist philosophical and religious trends as well as of alliances between the political parties and the Churches in the capitalist countries.

Catholic anti-communism has an ideological center in the Vatican. The Vatican's struggle against communism changes from time to time, its tactics and methods being adapted to the new conditions. This can be seen from the encyclical "Mater et Magistra" (Mother and Teacher) of Pope John XXIII, published in July 1961.

The desire to draw attention to this aspect of the problem by no means implies that we lose sight of other aspects of the anti-communist struggle, aspects which have been emphasized in this exchange of views. Extirpation of all remnants of sectarianism and dogmatism is, however, linked with the fulfilment of these tasks. It will enable us to repel the enemy's attacks with more suitable means, both in the sphere of propaganda and in the political and ideological spheres.

The encyclical, repeating that socialism is the mortal enemy of religion, imparts the character of a socio-philosophical system to the political doctrine of the Catholic Church. Speaking about the "fullness of the higher life" and about "human rights and dignity," it aims at "saving the Christian world" and weakening the working-class movement. It denounces both liberalism and Marxism and lauds reformism (e.g., the "third way" which is also preached by the Right-wing Socialists and revisionists). In his philanthropic system the Pope singles out three "fundamental values": the use of material goods (respect for property), labor (labor-capital collaboration) and the family (also based on private property).

Reformism and philanthropy are designed to divert the workers from the class struggle and revolution and to safeguard the social system by making minor concessions.

The Pope admits that some progress and discoveries have been made in the sphere of the natural sciences. He argues, however, that the problems raised by scientific and technological advance can be grasped only if seen in the light of active and sincere faith.

The clerical propagandists of anti-communism give currency to the idea that religion is marching in step with modern science, whereas Marxism in general and dialectical materialism, its philosophical foundation, in particular, "grossly contradict" truth and science. The book *Theory of Cognition of Dialectical Materialism* by the Jesuit De Vries (1958) tries to disprove the Marxist theory of cognition. Using "arguments" which distort the concepts and deliberately obscure their content, the author tries to prove that dialectical materialism does not provide a satisfactory answer to the question of the "ultimate basis" of human cognition. De Vries mystifies the concept of objective reality.

Another religious author, Jacob Hommes, in his *Crisis of Freedom* falsifies Marxist philosophy along the same lines, though with fewer "arguments." He advances the fantastic thesis of a "single line of development" from Hegel through Marx to . . . Heidegger. Mention should also be made of Protestant theologians and philosophers who concentrate on "disproving" the Marxist teaching on socialist revolution, the Marxist concept of freedom, morality, etc. These theologian "critics," following in the footsteps of Spengler, claim that all the efforts expended on building socialist and communist society will be in vain. "Paradise on earth," they say, is an illusion, for man cannot be satisfied with a "temporal life."

The philosophy of Christian philanthropy, irrationalism and mysticism and the efforts of the "reformers" and "critics" of Marxism have a common basis—hatred not only of communism but of progress as such. If one adheres to

the standpoint of moribund capitalism, abstract Christian love, which is either false or in any case utopian, and which has recourse to superficial metaphysical methods, he will not be able correctly to explain the world or to foresee the stages of its development. The specter of the apocalypse, which recurs so often in idealistic thinking, is but a reflection of the socio-economic conflicts that cannot be resolved under capitalism. Man's dreams and aspirations are realizable. And this is not an illusion but a possibility based on the logic and law-governed processes of the objective world. Today, under socialism, we are transforming the relationships of things into relationships between men, we are building a society in which things are controlled by and subordinated to the supreme value—man who has been emancipated from exploitation and all forms of discrimination. The struggle against clerical anti-communism is a struggle for progress, for man's future, for peace and socialism.

Erhard Albrecht (German Democratic Republic)

THE anti-communists in West Germany, anxious to tighten their grip on the masses, rely above all on the support of the two highly influential forces—the Catholic and Protestant churches. The theologians use both pulpit and press for propaganda against the peace forces and against all genuine democrats. Thus, Dr. Eberhard Mueller, director of the monopoly-financed Evangelical Academy in Bad-Boll, declared in his book *The Preparedness of Christians for Peace and Defense* (1956) that the question of war and peace was a "matter of subjective reasoning."

The churches and Christianity are utilized to further the interests of militarism. The clericals call for an atomic crusade against communism. Thus, Father Aurel von Juechen has said bluntly that "Bolshevism might destroy the soul, but the atom bomb, while destroying the body, can preserve it. And since we Christians have eternal bliss ahead of us, the atom bomb should have no terrors for us."

The Hamburg theologian Thielicke in his *Theological Ethics* says that atomic war is unavoidable since "man cannot be changed." For Thielicke, communism denies all the principles of order, signifies the "moral doom of the world." It is necessary, he teaches, either to put up with this dangerous world in which we live and which is constantly under the threat of atomic destruction, or "risk communist domination of

the world" with all its consequences. And to avoid this "communist hell" the Christian must be ready, if the worst comes to the worst, to "help in the total atomic destruction of everything created."

Slanders about the threat from the "Communist East" are used in West Germany to thwart any attempt to democratize the schools and colleges. Insisting on the need for struggle against communism, the anti-communist ideologists and their monopolist masters reject the requests of scientists and students for more funds for research, adequate grants for students, and for extending and rebuilding the universities. For example, at a meeting of the council in charge of the universities, Dr. Luebke, President of the Federal Republic, counterposed his own concerns and worries to the requests from the scientists. But what was it that worried Luebke? Among other things, it was the scientific work in the Soviet Union "which is a grave danger to the future of the free world," the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideology and everything associated with the growing superiority of the socialist camp in all fields. "The world," he said, "should know that all the teachers in the higher educational establishments have the obligation and the duty to counterpose to the Communist morality which enslaves the soul the morality of a genuine striving for the truth."

By suppressing all democratic ideas, particularly Marxism, the anti-communists are building a spiritual wall to insulate the intellectuals, factory workers and all working people against the Marxist ideas of humanism, democracy and progress, and to use the working people as an instrument in the hands of the reactionary Bonn politicians. And the anti-communist propaganda, let it be said, has had its effect on the masses, and not only on the middle sections but also among the workers. Anti-communism helped the clericals to divide the working class.

The following example shows how the clericals conduct their activities in West Germany. Some time ago they were extremely active in removing Dr. Victor Agartz, a well-known economist, from his post as head of the Cologne Economics Institute under the auspices of the Amalgamated Trade Unions. Agartz had made no bones about his opposition to clerical influence in the unions; he had, moreover, denounced the false theories of "people's capitalism" and "social partnership." He insisted that the political neutrality in the unions should be overcome, and that organized labor should think and act from a class standpoint so that the unions, as a means of struggle for the emancipation of the working class, could consolidate their positions. This conscious proletarian line in the trade unions ran counter to the concept of political Catholicism which ideologically justifies the Bonn strategy of preparing for a nuclear war. And so, not without the participation of the Jesuit Nell-Breuning,

Agartz was dismissed and charged with anti-state activity.

But both in clerical circles and among the national bourgeoisie there is a growing opposition to the idea of an anti-communist crusade. For instance, Pastors Barth and Niemoeller and other prominent theologians advocate mutual understanding with the Democratic Republic and speak out against the anti-communism. Barth has declared on more than one occasion that Christians should avoid anything that tends to add to the tension between East and West. The struggle against anti-communism, he said, is an important task of Christianity. Anyone who sharpens the contradictions and pours oil onto the fire is guilty of instigating war.

Albert Schweitzer, Aloys Wenzl, Gerhard Gollwitzer and many other scientists, politicians, artists and clergymen want the government to do something about disarmament and make constructive suggestions for resolving the national question. Dehler, well known in the political world, has opposed the pernicious anti-communist policy of the Bonn state.

The anti-communists in West Germany are intensifying the struggle against Marxism-Leninism in order to forestall the growth of opposition among the working class and the intelligentsia. Their efforts, however, are doomed to failure. History has already delivered its verdict on clerical anti-communism which will share the destiny of its predecessor—the Nazi type of anti-communism.

Walter Hollitscher (Austria)

IN OUR country the parties of the government coalition — the Catholic People's Party and the Socialist Party led by the extreme Right-wingers — not to mention the neo-fascist so-called "Party of Freedom," are competing with each other in anti-communist propaganda. The Socialist leaders are most zealous in this, trying to widen as far as possible the gap between its members and the Communist Party. But the People's Party, being a mass party, also exerts a baneful influence on large numbers of working people.

In this brief talk I would like to discuss a minor question, namely, some of the anti-communist "arguments" used by Catholic propaganda and the way in which we counteract them.

The first seems paradoxical on the surface. In the past, and not infrequently nowadays as

well, the Catholic clergy anathematized the Communists and the countries led by them as the "creation of the devil." They tried to persuade Catholics that life in the socialist countries was a "hell" in the literal sense. This propaganda is so familiar to us that it would be out of place to give any quotations. Today, however, the Catholics reproach the Communists for cherishing the daring desire to build a paradise here on earth. They tell the people that the Communists are aiming first, at the impossible, and secondly, that what they are doing is undesirable. For the "Communist paradise," no matter how attractive it may be for the working people, is still a "variety of hell." Here, as we see, the new "argument" echoes the old one. Moreover, Marxism is treated as a "religion," and a bad religion at that.

Why do the Vatican theoreticians claim that we are trying to create a paradise? One of the main reasons, in my view, is the following. The working people have realized that while the capitalist "welfare states" bring fabulous profits to the monopolists, they by no means provide the wonders promised by capitalist propaganda. They see, on the contrary, how under socialism the standard of living is rising steadily and that the Soviet 20-year plan envisages conditions which for many workers, to use religious terminology, will indeed be like "paradise." We Communists know that after man has solved the current tasks, he will turn to more majestic undertakings. But for the masses today the targets of the 20-year plan seem to be the realization of all that man has ever dreamed of. And so the Catholic leaders say to the people: "Not by bread alone does man live! What the Communists promise you is not worth thinking about. It may be that socialism will give you more material things, more schools and, possibly even peace, but it will injure the soul of man."

The clerical propagandists of anti-communism in Austria have produced yet another "argument." They say that the rich have already attained the standard which is the goal of the materialists. And since all thinking people see the moral morass into which the exploiters are sinking, and resent their way of life, the anti-communists, like forgers passing counterfeit money, try to depict this disgust with the vices of capitalism as disgust with the genuinely good life under socialism. Sermonizing about the "materialism of the epoch" they say: "This is what the Communists have in mind for all!" In short, they try to deflect the masses from the struggle for a really better life.

Recently Gustav Wetter, the Jesuit from the Collegium Russicum in Rome, visited Austria

to lecture on dialectical materialism. The self-sacrifice of the Communists, said this Jesuit, their faith in the victory of their cause were the things that made them dangerous. And he added: Maybe the Communists will abolish exploitation as they promise to do, but in the event of their doing so life will become "gray and dull"! Wetter evidently hoped to alert his listeners, particularly the youth, against being "seduced" by Marxism. In this, however, he failed. We answered his attacks on Marxism by organizing lectures on the same or almost the same themes.

We speak about Marxism and religion and analyze their true content. We speak about "purpose in life" as understood by the Marxists and Catholics, and show the facts and solutions on the basis of which we Marxists are striving to impart the deepest and greatest meaning to our life. We speak about the Papal encyclicals (in the first place about "Mater et Magistra"), and show that they, too, uphold private ownership of the means of production and, hence, the exploitation of man by man.

The Communist lectures are well attended and the attendance (especially of young people) is growing. Clergymen, too, come to take part in the debates. Of course, one lecture will not convince people that religion is a relic of superstition, but it will make people think, especially young people; the listeners learn that true Marxism differs vastly from what the anti-communists say about it. They begin to understand that the Communists are sincere champions of man, that they fight for his interests.

Thus, step by step, the barriers erected by our enemies begin to fall. It is no secret that the aim of anti-communism is to isolate us from the masses. But the activity, of which I have spoken, helps to overcome this isolation and is one way of combating anti-communism.

A. I. Pashkov (USSR)

BOURGEOIS economists in the service of anti-communism can be divided into two groups: avowed enemies of socialism who deny the very possibility of a socialist economy and its effective functioning, on the one hand, and on the other, the more subtle enemies of socialism who, in theory, "admit" the possibility of a socialist economy and who evolve all kinds of abstract, scholastic "models" and "schemes" for it, but who in reality, like the former, have entered the lists against the genuine, living socialism in the USSR and the People's Democracies.

It is difficult nowadays to deny the possibility of a socialist economy or its effectiveness. Hence in the sphere of economic theory anti-communism mainly adopts the second way—hypocritically "admitting" the possibility of socialism while simultaneously interpreting it in a manner suited to the capitalists.

The elaboration of various "models" and "schemes" of socialism by bourgeois economic writers is a form of anti-communism. They try to distort and falsify the essence of genuine socialism and thereby extol the capitalist economy. This kind of anti-communism, revealing

as it does the hypocrisy of its advocates, is certainly more dangerous than the direct attack on socialism. At the same time the two forms show that the bourgeoisie and its ideologists have no really scientific basis whatsoever from which to combat socialism and communism.

One of the methods of falsifying socialism is the attempt to deny that the socialist economy is in any way superior to the capitalist economy. This aim is served, for instance, by the so-called theory of a "single industrial society" (J. Adams, R. Aron, etc.). Aron, for example, in his *Industrial Society and War* writes: "We should not forget that the Soviet Union and the Western countries represent two variants of industrial society . . . whose aim is to exploit the natural resources, raise the standard of living, and create abundance." Industrialism, i.e., the high level of industrial development, is recognized to be a feature common to both socialist and capitalist society. According to Aron, the results of the industrial growth and technological advance in the socialist and capitalist countries are identical.

The "single industrial society" theory is designed to conceal the advantages of the socialist economic system. Its proponents claim that the "resemblance" between the capitalist and socialist economies will become greater, and ultimately the two will merge into a single entity. However, this "mixed economy" of the future looks like a reformed capitalism with all its basic features retained.

The advocates of the "single industrial society" persuade the working people that there is no need for a revolutionary struggle for socialism, no need for a struggle between the two ideologies in the world arena. Hence the success of this line among bourgeois and Right-wing Socialist economists and sociologists.

A variation of this theory is the now fashionable theory of the "stages of economic growth" expounded by the American economist W. Rostow in his book *The Stages of Economic Growth. A Non-Communist Manifesto*. To the Marxist-Leninist periodization of history Rostow counterposes his own design according to which humanity passes through the following five stages: 1) the traditional society; 2) the transitional society with the preconditions for "take-off"; 3) the "take-off"; 4) the drive to maturity and 5) the society which has reached the age of high mass consumption.

Like the authors of other variants of the "single industrial society," Rostow ignores the

relations of production. He tells us that historical epochs differ only in the technical level of production. His "stages" have absolutely nothing in common with genuine science. They reflect, in a distorted way, some of the formal features of the actual stages of socio-economic development, for example, the transition from pre-capitalist production to manufacture (according to Rostow, the "transitional society"), the industrial revolution of the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries ("take-off"), the industrial growth of the capitalist countries ("the drive to maturity"). But Rostow by-passes the far-reaching social changes in the economic life of society caused by the expansion of the productive forces, and obscures their significance in the real process of man's development. Thus, Rostow's "traditional society" includes three socio-economic formations utterly different from each other: primitive society, slave-owning society and feudalism.

It will be recalled that bourgeois ideologists like to present socialism as a way of life incompatible with freedom and the rights of man. They declare the task set in the USSR—to ensure a standard of living higher than in any capitalist country—to be at variance with the "communist regime." As the living standards of the Soviet people rise, they say, individualistic tendencies will set in, the Soviet politico-economic system will be gradually "regenerated" along capitalist lines, and private property and bourgeois "freedom" will be re-established. According to Rostow, although Soviet society is now on the threshold of "mass consumption," its leaders are postponing the advent of high mass consumption since given mass consumption the very substance of communism will disappear.

In other words, the anti-communists hope that the working people in the Soviet Union, after their standard of living has risen to a high level, will want to return to capitalist exploitation and exchange their real, genuine freedom for the spurious bourgeois "freedom" which in fact is a freedom only for the rich and the exploiters. The absurdity of these "forecasts" is obvious to any man in his right senses.

In our century the people have firmly entered upon a new stage in their development — the stage of the transition to socialism and communism. And there is no force capable of halting this process.

Rudi Goguel (German Democratic Republic)

I WOULD like to make some comments on the so-called "Eastern research" conducted in West Germany, on the "brains trust" whose task is to supply the arguments for anti-communism and revanchism, to popularize these arguments through a ramified and well-organized distribution network, and to provide the theoretical substantiation for the policy of the Bonn government. "Eastern research," a product of imperialism, appeared after the First World War and was one of the main ideological weapons of German imperialism in preparing for, and waging, the Second World War. After the defeat of German imperialism, "Eastern research" proved to be a spiritual bankrupt. All its "theories" about the imminent "collapse" of the Soviet Union, which for decades had been dished up in dozens of variants, turned out to be utter falsehoods. Years were needed before "Eastern research" could recover from the shock of defeat. Only the revival of German imperialism and the return of the Federal government to the *Drang nach Osten* policy placed it again in the foreground.

In the changed political conditions of the postwar the Nazi concept of a Great German Reich became unacceptable. It was necessary publicly to disavow the Nazi crimes and justify by all means the present anti-Soviet policy of the Federal government.

Bonn's "researchers" tackled these tasks in a commendable way. However, other problems arose, deriving from the aims of the imperialist cold war policy, among them that of building a worldwide anti-communist front. These tasks could no longer be resolved by the cut and dried methods employed by the "Eastern researchers." The appearance in the late fifties of the so-called "Sovietology" as a new category of "Eastern research" is an expression of the new political problems.

The main tasks of the "Sovietologists" can be roughly defined as follows: 1) the main blow to be directed against Marxism-Leninism as the ideological foundation of the Communist movement; 2) extensively to coordinate the activities of "Eastern research" in the various branches both between researchers and with "Sovietologists" in other imperialist countries; 3) to mould public opinion in the interests of the ruling monopolies by using new or old but modified and refurbished anti-communist methods through the so-called "multipliers"; 4) to draft measures to weaken and divide the socialist camp and undermine Communist influence

in the young national states and in the imperialist countries.

The clerical "researchers" headed by the Jesuit Wetter and the Dominican Bochenski are still trying to "overcome" Marxism-Leninism from the standpoint of Christianity. Although they still represent the dominant trend in West German "Sovietology," they find themselves face to face with growing difficulties owing to the reactionary ideological standpoint from which they "criticize" Marxism-Leninism. Hence the growing significance, of late, of a rather "modernist" trend which draws its ideological sustenance mainly from the arsenal of the reformists and the Trotskyite renegades. The "modernists" attack Marxism-Leninism from what is known as the "criticism immanent in the system" or, roughly speaking, they try to "disprove" Marx . . . by invoking Marx. In contrast to the conservatives the "modernists" advance a pseudo-socialist alternative to communism. Spokesmen of this trend can be found, for example, in the Eastern Bureau of the Social Democratic Party, among ex-Communists such as Wolfgang Leonhardt.

It should be said that despite the different ideological starting points both the "modernists" and the conservatives are united in principle in their struggle against communism, in their deliberate support of the class interests of imperialism.

The coordinating function of "Sovietology" acquired an organizational base with the establishment, on April 6, 1961, of the Federal Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies (Institute on Sovietology) attached to the Ministry of the Interior of the Federal Republic with its headquarters in Cologne. The functions of this body are "to study the Communist movement both inside and outside the Eastern bloc as well as its ideological and socio-political development with special regard to the problems of the newly-emergent Afro-Asian countries, to generalize and publish the results achieved, and to assess situations and draw conclusions for the Federal authorities."

Whether this new body as well as the older "Eastern research" will be strong enough seriously to influence the public remains to be seen. True, their publications appear mostly in small editions and are designed for a restricted readership. What cannot be denied, however, is that anti-communism is more widespread in West Germany than in any other capitalist country of Europe. The job of spreading

anti-communism is done by the institutes which, in the jargon of the "Eastern researchers," are known as "multipliers." Through seminars, conferences and classes they embrace a certain range of people who, by virtue of their positions of influence in the administration, in industry, in the public organizations, research establishments, in the press, radio and in the colleges, relay what they are told to the public generally.

The main office of this kind is the Eastern College of the Federal Center of Service to the Fatherland founded in 1957 in Cologne which, like the Sovietology Institute, is under the Ministry of the Interior. Other "multipliers" are the European Study Combine in Vlotho, the Eastern research centers in Koenigstein (Taunus), Lueneburg, Loccum and Eichstaett.

The Bonn revenge-seekers attach very great importance to the direct planning of counter-

revolutionary measures by the "Sovietologists." In this respect West Berlin plays a particularly important role as the only imperialist strongpoint for espionage and sabotage on the territory of the socialist camp. It was not fortuitous that one of the first postwar "Eastern research" institutes was opened in West Berlin, and that the "Eastern Europe Institute" there is the biggest West German center for "Eastern research."

"Eastern research" in West Germany is far more extensive now than it was in all Germany before the war. Its methods are more refined, while its significance for Bonn's aggressive policy has grown immeasurably. Hence, the need for vigilance, especially ideological vigilance, is all the greater. And for this reason we must intensify our efforts to expose the reactionary role of "Eastern research" as an ideological center of anti-communism.

E. P. Sitkowsky (USSR)

ALL the contemporary bourgeois philosophies are against communism in one way or another. Every idealistic or positivist theory today is hostile to Marxism because the philosophical foundation of Marxism is dialectical materialism which is incompatible with and completely alien to idealist philosophies of any kind. Moreover, the present-day bourgeois idealist philosophers rarely confine themselves to abstract philosophy. Not infrequently they descend to the political plane to let off occasional broadsides against Marxism and communism.

But occasional anti-communist diatribes or grumblings of individual bourgeois scholars in the West—or even the formulation of idealist theories with no anti-communist slant—are one thing; altogether different is the systematic, organized action against communism. It is only in the latter instance that we have to deal with what can be called anti-communism in the literal sense. And this applies in full measure to the philosophical anti-communism of which we have spoken here. Philosophical anti-communist propaganda is not in the hands of a few isolated "volunteers"; it is sponsored and directed by organizations with large staffs.

I should like to dwell, for example, on the activities of just one of these organizations—the East European Institute in West Germany which is financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and enjoys the support of the Adenauer government. It is headed by the Dominican Father Bochenski, doctor of philosophy and theology

and a professor at Freiburg University. Bochenski, who heads the West German branch of the Rockefeller Foundation, is the author of numerous books and pamphlets directed against Marxist philosophy and against communism. His politics can be judged by the fact that he appeared as an "expert" during the trial of the Communist Party of Germany by the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe and demanded that the Party be banned. In 1956 he published an anti-communist book entitled *The Communist Ideology and Human Dignity, Freedom and Equality in the Light of the Basic Law of the Federal Republic*. In 1957 Bochenski in collaboration with one Niemeyer published a *Guide to World Communism*, a compendium of anti-Soviet and anti-communist slander running to some 700 pages.

The East European Institute publishes its work regularly in the form of supplements to the newspaper *Parliament*. Beginning with 1958, it has been putting out a series of philosophical books under the general title of *Sovietiana*. These publications make a show of "objectivity" in their treatment of ideological life in the Soviet Union. "We use the inductive method only," is Bochenski's claim, "we are concerned solely with the empirical presentation of the facts, of things as they are, without distortion, we do not believe in vituperation or name-calling." But of course this is only one aspect of the matter. Bochenski's *Sovietiana* is in reality Anti-Sovietiana pure and simple. What

he calls induction is nothing more than deduction from the tailored postulates supplied by the Rockefeller Foundation on whose appropriations the Institute exists and also by the Vatican with whom it is connected and by Adenauer's party.

Bochenski has invented a theory of his own with regard to Marxism-Leninism; the teaching of Marx and Engels, he affirms, has nothing to do with either socialism or communism; socialism and communism are merely one interpretation of the teachings of Marx and Engels and, in his view, an erroneous one at that.

The "evidence" adduced by Bochenski to substantiate his assertion merely reveals how shallow is his understanding of the things he so boldly and so categorically argues about. In his interpretation, Marxism is, in the first place, "the product of the industrial revolution round about 1850 in Western Europe." Communism, according to Bochenski, is the product of Soviet conditions in the mid-20th century. Secondly, he maintains that the central point in Marx's teaching is the concept of "alienation." Advancing this "argument" as proof of the absence of any connection between Marxism and communism, Bochenski resorts to the threadbare device of contrasting the young Marx to the mature Marx. Bochenski maintains that Marx, in his early writings, published under the title *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, in which the concept of "alienation" is widely used, was an idealist; that he placed the accent not on economic relations, but on legal concepts, following the teachings of Hegel who deduced material relations from legal con-

cepts. In this work, Bochenski continues, Marx appears not as a Communist but as an individualist and a humanist, in the vague bourgeois sense of the word in which the emancipation of man from the fetters of "alienation" is envisioned not as the result of proletarian revolution but through "individual perfection" and "individual re-education." The fallacy of this interpretation of the above work of Marx has been demonstrated time and again by Marxists.

As to Leninism, according to Bochenski, it has nothing in common with Marxism, and what he calls the modern "Soviet ideology" has nothing in common with Marxism or Leninism. It is the "ideology of the industrial civilization" which arose in the Soviet Union in the mid-20th century. This entirely unsubstantiated concept of "contemporary Soviet thought" Bochenski has borrowed from the theories—much in vogue at present in the West—of the "industrial society," "technocracy" and the "managerial revolution," and applies them to the Soviet Union.

The semblance of objectivity in Bochenski's work and the publication in many languages (German, English, French, Russian) of handbooks of all kinds, source material, collections of quotations, reviews and summaries, giving the impression of a thorough knowledge of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have earned Bochenski and his institute a certain reputation in the West. He is able to pose as an "expert" on Soviet philosophy which he does not hesitate to falsify. Hence we should counterattack and expose his "philosophical" exercises.

Nikolai Iribajakov (Bulgaria)

NEO-POSITIVISM as a branch of philosophy and sociology is inimical to Marxism and incompatible with it. Hence it is not surprising that such prominent neo-positivists as Karl Popper, Ernst Topitsch and their like should be the authors of anti-Marxist works. Take, for example, Popper's two-volume treatise *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. According to its author, the work is intended as a "critical introduction to the philosophy of politics and history." Popper says that his interest in social science problems, and particularly in "social philosophy," is due chiefly to the growth of "totalitarianism." He sets out to prove that bourgeois society is a humane society, the society of "reason," "liberty," and "permanence." His purpose is not only to allay the

fears of his own class but to disarm the working-class movement. At the same time, he argues for active struggle in defense of capitalism against communism. Rejecting the Marxist premise that capitalism is doomed by the objective laws of historical development and that the future belongs to communism, he writes: "It is on us that the future depends, not we who depend on some historical necessity." Popper's subjectively idealistic and voluntarist conception is, in substance, an ideological weapon of bellicose anti-communism.

Speaking of the "permanence" of the bourgeois society, Popper claims that this society is capable of changing and perfecting itself through "democratic social reconstruction," i.e., through gradual social reform. Reformism has

always been opposed to broad theoretical generalizations which give a comprehensive view of the epoch, of the basic processes and motive forces of social life, and particularly the more distant perspectives of social and historical development. Reformism needs an ideology that would close its eyes to the perspective of social development, to society as a single entity; it never goes beyond the immediate and the particular. Hence it goes hand in hand with those who minimize and disparage the role of theory, who reduce theory to the study of isolated processes and phenomena, and, in the final analysis, to vulgar empiricism in science.

Popper's views, his hostile attitude to concepts which seek to embrace the historical process as a whole and to reach out into the future are determined not by any abstract theoretical considerations but by the interests of bourgeois reformism. Popper is against such concepts, against the Marxist view on social

development, because this "hinders the application of scientific methods to the problems of social reforms." "We will be able to shape our own destinies," he writes, "when we cease to imagine ourselves prophets."

But experience refutes such contentions, it shows that an integral scientific theory of socio-historical development is not only possible but that this theory has existed for more than a century.

This theory, the theory of Marxism-Leninism, discovered the laws, motive forces and the perspectives of development of society which serves the Communist parties as a guide in their struggle for the revolutionary remaking of the world. Under the banner of this theory, one-third of humanity has destroyed the old system based on the exploitation of man by man and is building a new society, the society of socialism and communism.

Ernst Menert (Czechoslovakia)

PSYCHOLOGY is the science which studies the working of the human mind, on the one hand, and the most effective means of influencing men's minds, on the other. It is important to distinguish between these two aspects in speaking of anti-communism and its use, or rather misuse, of psychology.

Anti-communism employs psychology in a variety of ways, but chiefly to select the media and forms of propaganda. Differentiated in accordance with the particular group of the population it is designed to reach, this propaganda is calculated to appeal to reactionary and primitive minds, and especially to the emotions of certain strata of the population. In this way ideological and political backwardness is not only preserved but cultivated and fostered.

It is not by chance that using psychology as a means for influencing the public, anti-communist propaganda uses primarily those methods which play on their emotions and particularly on their instincts. The purpose is to engender a psychosis of fear and hatred of communism. This is accomplished by restricting and suppressing authentic information. Ceremony, ritual, mummary, whipping up emotions to the point of hysteria — all the old methods practised by the Church are being refurbished and modernized to suit the purposes of anti-communism.

The method of reasoning and scientific analysis is reserved for a narrow stratum of intel-

lectuals who, as a rule, are conscious of the scientific and ideological strength of communism and hence act like Voltaire, who though he himself did not believe in the devil, insisted on his tailor believing in him.

The main spheres in which psychology is employed are industry, advertising, and, of course, politics. The reactionary measures and campaigns, doctored press reports and similar devices are calculated to produce a certain psychological effect. It is assumed, and not without grounds, that the effect of such conditioning will not be lost even if the given undertaking fails, or if for example, the false report has to be denied. This is the psychology behind the many newspaper canards which are constantly appearing, as, for example, the fantastic report in the American press at the time the U.S. invasion of Cuba was being prepared to the effect that "Cuban agents" were plotting to kidnap President Kennedy's daughter. Of course, sensations of this kind quickly fizzle out, but the object is achieved—in the given instance, to arouse hatred for Cuba on the eve of the invasion. The same purpose is served by the periodic reports in the American press concerning the appearance of Soviet submarines in United States coastal waters. The war hysteria caused by these reports remains long after the reports have been officially denied.

Nuclear defence drilling in which the civilian population is asked to take part is another measure designed primarily to keep the war psychosis alive. Moreover, the American people are made to believe that the Soviet Union is the "aggressor." The use of Soviet military uniforms during American army maneuvers is part of the same pattern.

The success of the socialist camp in science, industry, technology and in raising living standards have sent the complex psychological structure toppling. Recall, for example, how the first Soviet sputnik swept away the tissue of lies and slander about the Soviet Union. But these facts, these successes do not operate

automatically. The most beautiful music is powerless to move those who are deaf.

The psychological effect of the anti-communist propaganda, as we have shown, is aimed at making people blind and deaf to the truth about communism. It would, therefore, be an illusion to assume that the truth is enough in itself and does not stand in need of propaganda. The task of communist propaganda, from the standpoint of psychology, is to find ways of appealing to the intelligence of people, and to make them responsive to reasoning and argument. Our propaganda must be psychologically effective. Communist propaganda must be worthy of the great truth it propounds—the communist truth.

Victor Joannes (France)

TO DEFEAT anti-communism, to destroy this virus which the bourgeoisie has managed to spread in the democratic movement, to extirpate it above all in the working-class movement, it is essential to have a correct understanding of the struggle against the main class enemy, i.e., monopoly capital. It is essential, too, that the working class be aware of the menace presented by anti-communism; and no less essential is painstaking ideological and political criticism of the Social Democrats. The Communists do not seek to gloss over existing contradictions; on the contrary they do their utmost to bring them to light. And that is why they should never refuse to define exactly the class nature of this or that idea, of this or that attitude, no matter in what form it may appear.

This ideological principle—without which it is inconceivable that the Party can exist—does not, of course, preclude the possibility of entering into contact, alliances and joint actions with non-Communist parties or groups; of building a united front; of channeling all the discontent felt by the people into a single, powerful stream of sweeping away all the obstacles erected by the monopolists and their government to pre-

vent the people from winning freedom and genuine democracy.

These tactics of ours are not fortuitous, are not a maneuver on our part; they imply implementing the Marxist-Leninist principles on the need for alliance between the working class and the middle sections, particularly the peasantry, and, in practice, have found corroboration in the working-class revolutionary movement in France.

It is such cooperation between the working class and the other democratic national forces that the French Communist Party now proposes to the other parties expressing the aspirations of definite social sections and aware of the need to extend and regenerate democracy in close alliance with the working class. Such an alliance and cooperation do not signify that the Communist Party alone will grow stronger, and they certainly do not imply that only one party will remain. On the contrary, they presuppose the existence of strong well-organized parties fully aware of their responsibility to the nation and able to uphold the interests of the non-monopoly social trends and govern the country on their behalf.

A. I. Sobolev (World Marxist Review)

THE subject we are discussing is an extremely important and complex one. I should like to express my views on some of the aspects of the fight against anti-communism, above all

the question of where the main effort should be concentrated.

Some believe that the crux of the matter is the ideological-theoretical defeat of the eco-

economic views, sociological concepts and philosophical systems of the protagonists of anti-communism. There is no doubt, of course, that we must redouble our efforts in the sphere of theory and prove that the postulates of anti-communism are scientifically invalid and historically doomed. But in my opinion theoretical struggle is not enough. All the more so because elements of an academic abstract approach sometimes creep into the theoretical criticism of anti-communism. And when this happens the fight often becomes purely defensive, or at any rate the active element is not always very pronounced.

Another viewpoint gives priority to exposing the sources financing the diverse anti-communist organizations, their links with the monopolies and the bourgeois class character of their activities.

Needless to say, we should work more energetically and effectively to lay bare the class roots of anti-communism, to expose the machinations of the monopoly bourgeoisie in raising a barrier of anti-communist organizations to halt the march of history.

But there always is the danger that concentrating on unmasking the various anti-communist organizations might detract from painstaking, persistent work among the masses to build up a broad anti-monopoly front. Then, there are suggestions as to forms of the struggle against anti-communism, but these, too, take only separate aspects of the problem into account. As I see it, combating anti-communism is a many-sided and highly complex matter in the present stage of the class struggle. *It is a political task in the broadest sense*, and for this reason requires a political approach.

Abolition of the anti-communist barriers is basic to the revolutionary reconstruction of society. It is a question of winning the masses for the revolution, for socialism. It is a question of uniting the masses—workers, peasants, intellectuals and the middle strata—and rallying them for the democratic and socialist tasks.

The struggle against anti-communism is at once the national task of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the capitalist countries and the international duty of all Communist parties, including those which are in power; it is the historical duty of all progressives. Therefore, in order to break down the anti-communist barriers, thoroughly prepared and well-coordinated united action along lines substantiated by Marxist theory is needed both on a national scale and on the scale of all the Communist parties.

Every success—and every setback for that matter—of the progressive forces, wherever it may occur, in a big country or small, far from

the socialist countries and the major centers of the working-class movement or in these countries and working-class centers, is bound to have repercussions in the overall worldwide, revolutionary process.

Thus, on the one hand, all the parties have common aims and tasks in the struggle against anti-communism. On the other hand, because of the continued differentiations of historical conditions, the forms and methods of the struggle are becoming more and more specific, the problems more varied, and the need for *correct* tactics increasingly pressing.

In order to work out methods of combating anti-communism it is essential to ascertain its sources and the reasons for its tenacity. Communism is the future of mankind and the Communists are its builders. Why, then, are there people who view this future with distrust? The reasons for the bourgeoisie being anti-communist are obvious: communism spells an end to its existence as a class. But why have anti-communist views gained wide currency among broad sections of the population in many countries, and in some even among the working class? In my opinion, unless this problem is thoroughly examined in the light of the specific conditions of each country, any attempt to devise ways and means of overcoming anti-communism will be abstract and divorced from life.

Without attempting to go into all aspects of the question, I should like to dwell on some of the objective causes giving rise to anti-communism and the subjective factors accounting for its persistence.

Anti-communist views, as we know, have their material roots in private property. Since communism is the complete negation of private property, fear of socialist nationalization of the means of production makes the bourgeoisie, the landlords, all the exploiters and their retainers its mortal enemies. The small proprietors too—farmers, artisans, shopkeepers—i.e., the numerous strata which in some circumstances are susceptible to anti-communist views, often tremble at the thought of socialization. These fears are difficult to overcome. But overcome they must be, for otherwise there is little hope of socialism substantially gaining ground and triumphing in one or another capitalist country.

Previous speakers have said that in order to overcome anti-communist prejudice among the non-proletarian strata of working people, the Communist parties pay close attention to making their policy clear with regard to small property. Above all they are working out ways and means of upholding the interests of the

smallholders under capitalism, seeking to give each section of the working people a clear understanding of its economic prospects under socialism, and working to convince the mass of the population that the new system will bring them social well-being. It can be assumed that political and tactical clarity on this question will have a beneficial effect also on the work among those sections of the proletariat still influenced by petty-bourgeois ideas. For it is common knowledge that the monopoly bourgeoisie (especially in such highly developed capitalist countries as the USA, Britain, Federal Germany, Canada, etc.) are cultivating—and in many cases not unsuccessfully — such ideas among the workers by making concessions, buying over certain sections of the working class and propagating “social partnership,” “co-ownership” of the means of production, etc. In this way the bourgeoisie seeks to sow fear of socialism and communism in the working class, to subject it to anti-communist indoctrination.

In analyzing the sources sustaining anti-communism, it is essential to bear in mind the difficulties attending the birth of the new system in any country and especially in countries where the productive forces have not been developed. Take, for example, the USSR. As we know, the old Russia was a comparatively backward country. For a long time it was ringed around by the capitalist countries and suffered much from their attacks. Clearly, to build socialism in these conditions the Soviet people had to make certain sacrifices. And reactionaries seized on this to vilify the socialist system.

Serious difficulties are encountered also in other countries building socialism. Overcoming these difficulties demands sacrifice and self-denial for a time—the very things the petty bourgeoisie and many intellectuals fear. Moreover, the monopoly capitalists do their utmost to aggravate the difficulties, resorting to military provocation, economic boycott and political subversion. Experience has shown that the anti-communist propaganda consists mainly of slander based on these difficulties.

Now let us take some of the subjective factors which nourish anti-communist sentiment. First there is the ideological indoctrination of the masses in an anti-communist spirit. But although there is massive anti-communist propaganda in all the capitalist countries, not everywhere is it equally effective. And this fact merits attention. Evidently it is not only external reasons which account for the spread of anti-communist ideology among the working people in some countries, while in others the bourgeois propagandists suffer setbacks. Clearly

the policies pursued by the Communists with regard to the different sections of the population, their tactics and the forms of mass work, as well as the methods and effectiveness of their ideological struggle, also have a bearing on the matter.

It seems to me that the persistence of anti-communist views is, in a measure, due to the shortcomings and especially the mistakes in the work of Marxist-Leninist parties—both in the capitalist and in the socialist countries.

Comrades have already pointed to the damage done to the Communist cause by political sectarianism and pseudo-revolutionary adventurism, which tend to isolate the Communist vanguard and provide the bourgeoisie with a pretext for vilifying the Communists as “totalitarians,” etc.

I fully agree with the comrades who hold that revisionism paves the way not only to reformism but in the long run also to anti-communism. Because of this, persistent struggle against revisionist distortions is one of the conditions for a successful struggle against anti-communism.

I would like to say a few words about the role played in the fight against anti-communism by the Marxist-Leninist parties which are in power in their countries. If in the past their role has been great, today, in view of the increasing internationalization of revolutionary processes, it is infinitely greater.

Any step, any decision taken by a ruling party is reflected in the general worldwide struggle for socialism and communism. The momentous events of recent decades clearly show that by their political and economic achievements, which of late have made a particularly deep impression on the people in the capitalist world, the socialist countries strike at the very foundations of anti-communism. The Communists in the countries where they are in power consider it their international duty in the fight against anti-communism to forge ahead still faster along the highway of social progress; this, indeed, is their main contribution to the struggle against the reactionaries. On the other hand, failings in political leadership, economic mistakes, and ideological weaknesses, both past and present, are grist to the mill of anti-communist propaganda. The bourgeoisie clearly tried to take advantage of the Stalin cult and its consequences to spread anti-communist views. Nor is there any doubt that the reactionaries took advantage of the mistakes of the Rakosi-Gerö clique, and of the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary, to whip up anti-communist hysteria. There is no doubt that Left adventurers of all kinds who talk about using armed force against imperialism and ad-

vocate the artificial "hastening" of the revolution play into the hands of the anti-communists, providing them with arguments and instilling doubt in the minds of many as to the correctness of the Communist position.

It is of prime importance to take all these circumstances and factors into account in order to bring about the complete and final defeat of anti-communism, which has been doomed by history.

I think that we all agree that a new stage in the historical offensive of the revolutionary forces against anti-communism was ushered in by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. The line charted at that Congress was further developed and consolidated at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

We all remember how the bourgeoisie seized upon the criticism of the personality cult and the measures taken to eradicate it in the CPSU and other fraternal parties, hoping that this would weaken the general front of revolutionary struggle, split the Communist movement and reinforce the positions of anti-communism. But these hopes have not materialized. The Communist movement today is immeasurably stronger than it was before the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU though it still has no few difficulties to overcome before it can move on to the complete triumph of communism.

The conditions are becoming more favorable for overcoming these difficulties. Many of the negative features which sprang from the fact that the march to socialism was begun within the bounds of only one country have now been eliminated. Today humanity is stepping out along the road to communism, and each step is a heavy blow to the anti-communist fabrications.

Humanity now has a clear picture of what

communism is and what it means for the world. A scientific picture of the communist way of life is contained in the Program of the CPSU. Blasting the fabrications of anti-communism, it sets forth substantiated solutions for the problems confronting mankind. It shows how under communism an abundance of material values will be created in the interests of all and the people's requirements will be satisfied in full. This demolishes the anti-communist claim that by abolishing private property communism deprives millions of the means of subsistence. The accomplishments of socialism and the plans for the future show that socialist ownership of the means of production opens up vast reserves for improving material well-being. This fact has a particularly powerful impact at present when the monopolies have stepped up their offensive against the standard of living of the working people in all the capitalist countries.

The Program of the CPSU, which charts the path to the state of the entire people and, eventually, to the complete withering away of the state, decides once and for all the debate about the relative merits of bourgeois and socialist democracy and shatters the reactionary fabrications concerning the "totalitarianism of the socialist system." By revealing the new laws governing the inter-relations of the individual, the collective and society and the prospects of man's all-round development, the Program blasts another anti-communist fabrication—that the individual is "suppressed" under socialism. The Program is an arsenal of arguments proving the superiority of the new society over the capitalist society, and this naturally greatly facilitates the complete and final defeat of anti-communism by the joint efforts of the Communists of all countries.

Problems of Modern Capitalism

An exchange of views on the problems of modern capitalism, sponsored by WORLD MARXIST REVIEW (Problems of Peace and Socialism) and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, took place in Moscow from August 27 to September 3. The symposium was attended by Marxist scholars from Austria, Belgium, Britain, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Federal Germany, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Switzerland and USA, and by members of the editorial staff of WORLD MARXIST REVIEW.

The exchange was opened by A. M. Rumyantsev, chief editor of WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, who dwelt briefly on the basic problems and laws of contemporary world development. A paper on the subject "Problems of Modern Capitalism and the Class Struggle" was read by Academician Arzumanyan.

The paper and the participants in the discussion concentrated on three problems of modern capitalist society:

- 1. State-monopoly capitalism.**
- 2. European "integration."**
- 3. The position and struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.**

Socialism and the Changes in Capitalist Society

(From the Opening Speech by A. M. Rumyantsev)

WE have met for our exchange of views in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has requested me to wish this gathering every success in its deliberations. We have gathered here to examine the *new* elements that have appeared in capitalism in recent years. Consequently, the questions we shall seek to answer are: Has capitalism changed? Has it changed in substance and in form? Have its structure and policy changed?

Monopoly rule, as Lenin showed, is the essence of imperialism. In this respect capitalism has undergone no intrinsic changes since Lenin's time, notwithstanding all the efforts of the bourgeois economists, the reformists, and the revisionists to prove the contrary. But only dogmatists can fail to see that the forms of monopoly domination are constantly changing. From this standpoint much has changed in the structure of modern capitalism, not only over the past decades, but in the last few years. The principal change is the rapid development of state-monopoly trends.

Lenin with his keen foresight predicted that monopoly capitalism would inevitably develop into state-monopoly capitalism. Today this has become the predominant feature in all imperialist countries. Moreover, recent years have wit-

nessed the blossoming of supra-national state-monopoly associations, a striking example of which is the European Economic Community. These changes have profoundly affected the basic class contradiction of capitalist society—the contradiction between wage labor and capital—and the conditions of the working class and its struggle.

The basic processes under way in modern capitalism should be examined from the standpoint of the objective conditions engendered by the third stage of its general crisis. The first stage of this crisis set in when capitalism *ceased to be the all-embracing global system*. Its second stage dates from the time capitalism *ceased to be the sole world system*. And now in the third stage of the crisis capitalism is *no longer the dominant system: socialism has become stronger than imperialism*. Needless to say, it would be a mistake to think that socialism already wholly determines social development on a world scale. To say so would be tantamount to declaring that progressive mankind no longer has any problems to solve, would amount to closing one's eyes to reality, to underestimating the strength of imperialism, and this could only do harm. But at the same time it is obvious that imperialism is no longer able to determine the trend of world development, that in many of the basic issues of our time the forces of socialism are already

*Transcript by the staff of the journals *World Marxist Review* and *World Economy and International Relations*.

now compelling imperialism to reckon with their will. Socialism is becoming more and more the decisive factor in social development. This new thesis, contained in the Moscow statement of the 81 parties and developed further in the Program of the CPSU, is a powerful stimulus to theoretical thought and is of no little importance in practice. We Marxists-Leninists should give this serious thought and be guided by it in our theoretical labors.

What are the principal results of the growth of socialism into the decisive factor of our time?

First. The new social system has triumphed completely and finally on the scale of the socialist world system. Imperialist domination has been ended *for all time* in countries inhabited by one-third of mankind—a fact which is of importance not only for these particular countries.

Second. Because of the new world balance, imperialism has been unable to prevent the disintegration of the colonial system. A large part of the world's population has broken away from the political domination of imperialism. Social development in the former colonies, even though it remains within the framework of capitalist relationships, is no longer governed solely by the laws of imperialism and is influenced by the balance of forces in the world arena generally. This cannot but impinge on the situation in the advanced capitalist countries, affect their policy and, in the final analysis, leave its imprint on the forms in which monopoly capitalism is developing.

Third. The socialist world system, in alliance with the national-liberation movement, has weakened imperialism. This makes it possible

to compel the imperialist states to accept such new forms of economic and political relations as economic competition and peaceful coexistence.

Marxists are now confronted with a theoretical question of fundamental significance: To what extent and in what way are the new laws now asserting themselves in the world arena influencing the processes taking place in capitalist society? At least three circumstances command attention. First, the changes that the rise of the socialist system has brought about in the conditions in which the class struggle is being waged in the capitalist countries. Second, the diminished opportunities for imperialist export of counter-revolution, for the strength of the socialist world system puts a curb on such designs. Third, the economic policy of the developed capitalist countries. The fact is that the ruling circles of the imperialist countries cannot embark on any major undertaking without keeping in mind the socialist countries and the economic competition between the two systems in which they are compelled to engage by the march of history.

It can be said, then, that from the standpoint of methodology our approach to the study of capitalism differs somewhat from that of the Marxists of the last century or the beginning of this century. In analyzing present-day capitalism we cannot limit ourselves to an examination of the purely internal, spontaneous development of its contradictions. In our times the laws of capitalism must be examined in the light of the influence exerted on it by the advance of socialism. This methodological principle is the key to the examination of the important and pressing problems which we have gathered here to discuss.

New Developments in Capitalism

(From the paper read by A. A. Arzumanyan)

IN ANALYZING the new developments in capitalist society it is essential steadfastly to combat both revisionism and dogmatism. For it is impossible to discern the new while clinging to formulas which have outlived their time. But neither should this new be regarded as something requiring revision of the essence of Marxist-Leninist theory. The answers to the basic questions facing humanity can be found in the policy statements of the conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties and the Program of the CPSU, and these documents therefore help us correctly to assess the problems of contemporary capitalist development

and to determine the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle waged by the Communist and Workers' parties at the present stage.

The Monopolies Command the Life of the Nations

The development of capitalism in recent decades fully confirms the Leninist theory of imperialism. We have seen an unprecedented growth in the concentration of industry; the stranglehold of the monopolies, of finance capital and of the finance oligarchy has tightened; export of capital has increased, and an econo-

mic redivision of the world among the international unions of capitalists is under way. All the threads of predatory capitalist exploitation lead to a single center—to the handful of monopolies which counterpose themselves to the nation generally and order its very life. This handful controls a growing share of the production in the key branches of capitalist economy. For instance, in the United States four corporations have concentrated in their hands more than 75 per cent of the total production in 43 branches of manufacturing industry, and 50 to 75 per cent in 102 branches. A similar situation prevails in Britain, Federal Germany, Japan, and other imperialist countries.

The principal factors underlying this concentration are:

the economic policy of the capitalist state, which serves monopoly capital through government investments, purchases, orders and credit, rechanelling the national income through the budget, diverse forms of open and concealed subsidizing of the big corporations, and the sale to the latter of state-owned enterprises at low prices

the arms drive and the placing of the bulk of the military orders with a few monopolies. Using the avenues opened up by the militarization of economy, the state provides these corporations with guaranteed sales, tax exemptions, subsidies, etc.;

the scientific and technological revolution is accompanied by a considerable increase in the minimum capital needed. Only the big capitalists (chiefly the monopolies and monopoly associations) can take advantage of the new technology;

a sharp aggravation of the market problem, which the monopolies are trying to solve, at least in part, by diversifying production; one of the results of this is a rising wave of mergers and takeovers;

the growing power of the banks, which, as in the past, have the monopoly in the sphere of credit and act as the central link in the capitalist economy.

The finance oligarchy, having augmented the old, traditional institutions with new ones, has extended its power. As a result of the more flexible methods used to attract capital, the number of stockholders has greatly increased in all capitalist countries.

But these small shareholders have no say in corporation affairs. Consequently, the increase in the number of shareholders and the resultant diffusion of formal ownership simply strengthens the hand of the finance oligarchy.

Inner Contradictions

The growth of state-monopoly capitalism is, then, a feature of modern capitalist society.

State-monopoly capitalism was engendered by the growth of the monopolies, by monopoly domination. Hence it would be incorrect to regard it merely as a matter of socialization of production or to attribute to it a striving to regulate the economy generally.

The growth of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism does not signify a new stage of capitalist society, nor a new phase distinct from imperialism. What the fusion of the state and the monopolies does show is that the monopolies are complementing the union of banking and industrial capital with the union of the finance oligarchy and the machinery of state. In no way does state-monopoly capitalism lead to any change in the nature of the capitalist state; it does not convert it into a force standing "above classes," nor does it make it an arbiter guarding the interests of labor and capital alike, as the apologists for imperialism would have us believe. Under state-monopoly capitalism the economic functions of the state are aimed as before at strengthening the stranglehold of the finance oligarchy, at intensifying the exploitation of the working people in order to enrich the monopolies at the expense of the nation.

The imperialist bourgeoisie seizes upon state-monopoly measures as a last resort to save capitalism. It sees in these measures the only way to expand the productive forces, an alternative to socialism, a way to save capitalism from its irreconcilable contradictions. But as the facts show, state-monopoly capitalism cannot overcome the basic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production.

The main contradiction in modern capitalist society is the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production. The productive forces, having attained the maximum degree of socialization possible under capitalism and straining to burst the integument of the capitalist relations of production, are imperatively demanding transition to social ownership. But state-monopoly capitalism cannot solve this problem. State ownership under capitalism cannot be a substitute for social ownership. The positions of the basic classes in production and the mode of distribution of the national income likewise remain the same.

The growth of state-monopoly capitalism is a dual process torn by inner contradictions. On the one hand, it greatly increases the power of the monopolies and, on the other, it aggravates the old contradictions and gives rise to new ones which shake the foundations of capitalist soci-

ety. The paradox of state-monopoly capitalism is that it seeks to perpetuate the capitalist mode of production by methods that conflict with its private-capitalist nature. A striking manifestation of this is state ownership acting as ownership of associations of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The monopolies control the nationalized enterprises and industries through the machinery of state-monopoly capitalism. But this does not imply that the fight for nationalization loses all meaning or that at best nationalization can be advocated only in a revolutionary situation. In the present conditions, when side by side with state-monopoly capitalism there exists the socialist world system, nationalization, too, should be seen in a new light. Nationalization and the extension of state ownership undermine faith in the superiority of private ownership and demonstrate that production can be carried on without the capitalist class. In the present conditions democratic nationalization is a slogan capable of uniting broad sections of the population — the working class, the farmers and the urban middle strata — against the monopolies. It is becoming a powerful factor in building an anti-monopoly coalition.

European "Integration"—an Economic and Political Weapon of Imperialism

It should be recognized that the state-monopoly association of the finance oligarchy of six European countries known as the Common Market is an economic and political reality. "Integration," however, does not signify that capitalism is entering a new, post-imperialist stage; on the contrary, it is "integrating" precisely on the basis of imperialism and within its framework. State-monopoly associations like the Common Market are an attempt on the part of the finance oligarchy to adapt itself to the objective demands of production. Through West-European "integration" monopoly capitalism is seeking to reconcile the private capitalist form of economy with productive forces which have outgrown the national boundaries and make the transition to socialism imperative.

Formerly the uneven development of capitalism led to the division of imperialist Europe into rival groups. In our time, however, when the capitalist system is confronted with a powerful and steadily growing socialism, the imperialist forces of Western Europe are compelled to search for a new solution to the problem of foreign markets. West-European "integration" is one of the results of the searching.

But the new state-monopoly association cannot do away with the acute competitive struggle between the imperialists. In reality it is a

form of the redivision of the capitalist world market in conformity with the new balance in the imperialist camp, and for this reason, it in no way precludes the possibility of military conflicts on that account.

Accelerated technological progress, mass production and automation accentuate the trend towards internationalization of economic life, and act as a stimulus to international specialization of production. Imperialism cannot ignore these processes. But under imperialist conditions they acquire distorted, reactionary forms. One of these is the imperialist "integration" in which the principal role is played by international interpenetration of finance capital, in particular, the emergence of a new type of international cartel.

There are, however, objective limits to capitalist "integration." Regulation of economic life on an international scale conflicts with the capitalist means of regulation. The finance oligarchy tries to soften the antagonisms inherent in monopoly capitalism without changing property relations, solely through state-monopoly regulation. But this it obviously cannot do. And if such regulation gives rise to insoluble contradictions within the separate countries, on the scale of several countries the contradictions will be aggravated all the more.

From its very inception the Common Market has borne the imprint of militarism. Its members, affiliated to NATO, are the "European arsenal" of this bloc.

The Common Market is an instrument of the strategy and policy of imperialism aimed against the newly-independent sovereign states. By offering outwardly attractive conditions, the imperialists aim at luring as many of the economically underdeveloped countries as they can into the trap of the Common Market, a fact which has evoked understandable anxiety in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Lastly, exclusive trade blocs are a weapon in the economic war waged by imperialism against socialism. "Integration" is an attempt on the part of imperialism to organize joint economic actions against the socialist camp and to injure its interests by means of discriminatory trade policies.

The Common Market confronts the working class with a number of new problems and emphasizes the need for new forms and methods of struggle. The working class is fighting to isolate the monopolies, to restrict and undermine their domination, to regenerate and extend democracy, to form an anti-monopoly government, to nationalize industry, to bring state property and the nationalized industries under genuine democratic control, to extend the rights

of the working people and their organizations in the enterprises, to foil the military plans of imperialism and to secure durable peace in Europe. The objective possibilities for joint action by the working class of the different countries against the international monopoly associations are growing. Such joint action for nationalization can undermine or even frustrate the monopoly conspiracy underlying the Common Market.

The working class of the Six can and should uphold its interests on the scale of the Common Market. In particular, it can work for equalizing wages and working conditions generally, not at the lowest or at some medium level but at a higher level, by demanding that the biggest social gains won by the workers in the particular countries be extended to all. Speculating on the popularity of the European idea, the monopolies are seeking to perpetuate the division of Europe and to unleash war between West and East. To the bourgeois-cosmopolitan European spirit the working class counterposes its genuinely internationalist Europeanism — the cooperation of all the countries of Europe irrespective of their social systems and without economic discrimination or division into military blocs. The working class wants a peaceful Europe, a Europe without wars.

The Procrustean Bed of the Capitalist Production Relations

State-monopoly capitalism has not brought capitalist society even partial political or economic stability. The deep-seated processes now taking place in this society testify to the extreme senility of imperialism, which has condemned the greater part of the non-capitalist world to a state of extreme backwardness and which has proved incapable even in the developed capitalist countries of fully utilizing the productive forces.

The new trends in social reproduction are accompanied by a growth in the chronic underemployment of plant, by rising unemployment, by a further aggravation of the market problem and, in the USA and Canada, by more frequent economic crises.

True, the phases of the capitalist economic cycle have become less regular in the postwar. But this is not because any of the capitalist countries have found an antidote to crises. The explanation lies in a number of factors which readily lend themselves to analysis.

The most important of these can be listed as follows:

extensive state-monopoly intervention in economic life on a national scale and internationally;

the aftermath of the Second World War, the eradication of which was greatly delayed;

an arms drive on a scale unprecedented in peacetime;

the accelerated scientific and technological progress and the big changes in the economic structure of all the developed capitalist countries;

mechanization of agriculture in the developed capitalist countries;

the disintegration of the colonial system and the far-reaching changes in the structure of the economy of the metropolitan countries and their former colonies;

changes in personal consumption due in particular to the expansion of consumer credit.

These factors, differing in origin, affect the economy differently. Some tend to advance it, others cause it grave injury. Only by taking into account the entire complex of the interacting and counteracting forces operating in conformity with the general laws of capitalism can a true picture be obtained of the dynamics of the economic cycle.

The consequences of the Second World War and imperialist economic policy, which have intensified the fragmentation of the capitalist world market and glaring disproportions in the capitalist world economy, have upset the regularity of the phases of the world cycle. But for all that the cycle is there: for instance, the 1957 crisis, which began in the USA, gradually spread to the entire capitalist world economy. In the countries accounting for 75 per cent of the overall capitalist industrial output, production declined.

Also dispelled was the myth that militarization of the economy was the cure-all for crises and that production of armaments guaranteed economic prosperity. While militarization enriched the war-industry concerns, it did not insulate the capitalist economy against crises. The example of the USA and Britain, the two imperialist countries with the most highly militarized economies, clearly proves the fallacy of the idea that armaments mean prosperity. Militarization has the effect of a newly opened market only when the war industries are being built, or when they are rapidly converted to the output of new types of armaments, provided the conversion involves new construction and large-scale renewal of plant. But after production has been launched of arms which are either destroyed or stockpiled, militarization no longer acts as a stimulus to the growth of production generally. A critical point is reached after which the military spending begins to erode the foundations of reproduction, leading to economic collapse and the exhaustion of the nation.

The general instability of the capitalist economy is heightened by the agrarian crisis. The contradictions in agriculture have been aggravated by technical progress. More and more branches of capitalist agriculture and country after country are being gradually gripped by the farm crisis which began in the USA in 1948. France, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Spain, Greece, Canada and Australia are all experiencing difficulties in marketing their farm produce.

Monopoly capital and its state machine are trying to solve the problem by placing the accent on large-scale capitalist farming and squeezing out the small and medium producers. The expulsion of peasants from the land on the pretext of "improving the agrarian structure" has been elevated to official policy in Federal Germany, France, Italy, Japan and in other capitalist countries. But the expropriation of millions of peasant farms by no means does away with the inherent disproportion between industry and agriculture under capitalism, a source of sharp contradictions in the capitalist economy and one of the reasons for its instability.

The Working Class Is in the Forefront of the Struggle Against the Monopolies and Reaction

The social structure of modern society is developing in the direction Marx and Lenin predicted. History has fully confirmed the Marxist view about the increasing proletarianization of the small and even the middle bourgeoisie, clerical workers and the intellectuals. As a result, the social base of the working-class struggle against finance capital is expanding all the time, and the proletariat is confronted with the task of uniting all the basic strata of the nation in a mighty anti-monopoly movement which will sweep away monopoly rule and pave the way to the political and social regeneration of society.

The working class can call a halt to the inroads on its conditions only by steadfast struggle. This struggle is now being waged along a wide front, with more and more political actions taking place alongside the economic strikes. In recent years the part played by political strikes in the general struggle of the proletariat has sharply increased. If in 1958 and 1959 the number of participants in such actions amounted respectively to 44 and 46 per cent of the total who downed tools, in 1961 the percentage went up to 60-62.

The farmers, too, are joining in the struggle. Marxists hold that the ruination and the wholesale expropriation of the farm population as

a result of monopoly policies does not make for social and economic progress, is not a condition for the transition to socialism. On the contrary, this is a development that brings agriculture more and more under the heel of the monopolies. Moreover, it can be utilized by petty-bourgeois and fascist parties to further their own ends.

The Marxists are convinced that the peasantry can rid themselves of the monopoly yoke only by entering into an alliance with the working class, only by helping forward the general struggle for socialism. Their fight cannot be limited only to economic demands. Hence, supporting and heading the peasant movement, the working class guides the rural masses towards the struggle for political aims, the realization of which would pave the way to a radical improvement in their conditions.

A vital condition for the victory of the democratic revolutionary movement in the developed capitalist countries is unity of the working-class movement. The Communists, therefore, are working to build an alliance with all the sound forces of this movement, both in working for peace and democracy and in the struggle for socialism. In this effort for unity of working-class action they do not lay down hard and fast rules, but display the maximum flexibility, demonstrating their readiness to carry out a common constructive long-range program of joint action and pursuing differentiated policies with regard to the diverse trends in social democracy.

The further approximation of the basic economic and political interests of the proletariat and the non-proletarian sections of the working people and the growing antagonism between imperialism and democracy are the objective foundation on which the democratic and socialist tasks, demands, movements and elements of struggle are becoming more and more intertwined. Proceeding from the unity of the revolutionary process of transforming capitalist society, the Communists do not divorce the immediate aims of the struggle from the ultimate.

How, concretely, does the struggle for general democratic aims further the advance towards socialism?

Realization of the democratic anti-monopoly program advanced by the Communist parties, although it would not abolish exploitation, would seriously undermine the position of the monopolies—the main enemy of the proletariat and the main force opposed to the socialist revolution;

the struggle for this program provides the best objective basis for achieving revolutionary unity in the working-class movement, for unit-

ing the overwhelming majority of the population in the capitalist countries around the working class and making it the leading force of the nation;

the logic of the struggle for peace and democracy and against the monopolies awakens the masses to the need to do away with the system which generates wars and fascism and endangers national independence. The experience gained in common struggle enlightens the masses, as Lenin repeatedly pointed out, much better and much more quickly than the very best propaganda;

the far-reaching socio-economic reforms designed to curb the monopolies can be realized only if these reforms are supported by the resolute struggle of the masses.

In the course of the struggle for general democratic demands, then, the political army of the socialist revolution is formed, a blow is delivered at its mortal enemy, monopoly capitalism, the initial tasks of the revolution are realized and the prerequisites created for the complete transfer of power into the hands of the working class and its allies. The tilting of the scales in favor of the people, the winning of more and more economic and political positions can result in the proletariat taking over the reins of government with the support of the overwhelming majority of the nation.

It is here that the idea of the peaceful advent to power assumes particular significance. The advantages of a bloodless revolution, which were emphasized by Lenin in his time, are unquestionable. The peaceful way means fewer sacrifices on the part of the working people, reduces the possibility of any loss of the productive forces needed for building the socialist economy, and facilitates and accelerates its building. Consequently, a bloodless socialist revolution is in the interests of the working class, of all working people, of mankind as a whole.

The Paths and Prospects of the National-Liberation Revolution

The emergence of the national states which, having thrown off the yoke of colonialism and embarked on the road of independent development, introduces a new element in the life of the present-day world.

In what way does this development affect the economic life of the capitalist world? At present two theses are advanced in the West on this score: first, that the rise of capitalist relations is inevitable in the countries freed from colonial dependence; second, that this will result in better conditions for the expansion of capitalism in the West.

But will this be so? What road will the vast territories which have won their freedom take? Are these countries bound to pass through all the stages of capitalism? These are the questions posed by the times.

On the face of it, the reply would seem to be simple: since political leadership in the developing countries is in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, their development is bound to proceed along capitalist lines. This answer, however, is a superficial one which fails to take into account the multifariousness and peculiarities of present-day realities. In our day the character and prospects of the national-liberation revolution should be examined not only from the standpoint of the internal development of one or another country, but in the light of the conditions created by the struggle between socialism and imperialism in the world arena. The socialist world system is the guarantee of the integrity and national independence of the newly emerged states. And this opens new perspectives for these countries.

Political liberation has accelerated their economic development. But the present rate of growth is still insufficient to enable them quickly to rid themselves of the economic backwardness. All the more so since political independence does not mean that they have been delivered from economic exploitation by imperialism. It should be said that the gap between the economic levels of the developed and underdeveloped countries of the capitalist world is widening. Consequently, there are no grounds for saying that the formation of independent national states as such brings their production relations into harmony with their productive forces, thus clearing the way for rapid economic progress.

What, then, is the way out? Along what lines can these countries speedily build up a really independent economy?

To overcome their backwardness the underdeveloped countries must above all get rid of the monopolies, expel them from their national economy. The colonial economic structure cannot be abolished and industrial development ensured without combating imperialism, without breaking loose from the grip of capitalism which, unless curbed, will prevent economic regeneration for a long time to come.

To get rid of the backwardness it is essential to solve also the problem of capital accumulation. (So far the rate of accumulation in the underdeveloped countries is exceedingly low, a bare 5-8 per cent of the national income.) This problem, too, can be solved only by fighting imperialism, by relying on a state sector direc-

ted against imperialism, feudalism and the capitalist anarchy.

Backwardness cannot be done away with if the present agrarian relations are preserved. These relations not only shackle the productive forces in agriculture, they also act as a brake on the industry of the new national states. More often than not, the national bourgeoisie in power is incapable of heading the agrarian revolution. Sometimes it actually prefers a compromise with the feudal elements. Because of this the revolutionary potential of the bulk of the population — the peasants — is far from exhausted and there is no doubt that it will assert itself in the not too distant future.

The alternative confronting the underdeveloped countries is:

either the triumph of capitalist relations, in which case none of the basic national demands of the people will be met,

or the completion of the national-liberation revolution.

In the political sphere the choice is between undivided rule by the national bourgeoisie and democratic government by the people, i.e., a state of national democracy. In the socio-economic sphere the choice is between the capitalist and non-capitalist paths. And it is on the issue of which path to choose that the struggle is growing sharper. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that it is mainly external forces which are pressing for the capitalist way of development and that the internal forces want the non-capitalist path. The point is that not only the imperialists of the developed countries but also the local national bourgeoisie are trying to impel the countries of the "third world camp" to take the capitalist path. Moreover, in some countries (for instance, in India and in the Philippines) it is not so much a matter of capitalism being implanted from without as of its growth within. On the other hand, the imperialists are, in a sense, impelling the underdeveloped countries towards the non-capitalist path by their policy of exploitation and plunder which retards economic development in these countries and consequently strengthens the opposition to the capitalist path oriented on the West.

The underdeveloped countries cannot achieve genuine and complete economic independence, cannot overcome their backwardness and move towards the level of the advanced countries, if they remain within the orbit of world capitalism. To bring this home to the masses is the task of the Communist parties, the parties of the working people.

To overcome the backwardness of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, it is essential

to nationalize the property of the monopolies and to develop the state sector;

to carry out a radical agrarian reform;

steadfastly to work for democracy in social life and to enlist the masses for the carrying out of socio-economic changes.

Success in these three respects is basic to the achievement of complete economic independence and transition to a state of national democracy, which, in turn, would ensure the development of the liberated countries along non-capitalist lines. It follows, then, that the winning of freedom by the colonies, far from rejuvenating world capitalism, will but hasten its demise.

Struggle in the Sphere of Foreign Policy

The monopoly bourgeoisie is making frantic efforts to change the world balance in its favor, to halt the march of history. This is evident, in particular, from the trend, characteristic of our time, towards military-political consolidation of all the imperialist forces around the monopoly bourgeoisie of the USA.

In taking this course the ruling class in each of the capitalist countries pursues its own particular aims. But there are, in addition, aims which all imperialists share in common.

The most important of these are:

to ensure for imperialism economic and military-strategic superiority over the socialist camp, to weaken the economic and political positions of socialism, its role and its influence in the world arena;

to counteract the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, to prevent the newly-emerged states from achieving genuine independence and political sovereignty, to entangle them in the imperialist policy, using for this purpose both military blocs and neo-colonialism;

jointly to extinguish the revolutionary sentiment and to suppress the steadily growing anti-imperialist movement of the people in the capitalist countries.

And while imperialist foreign policy is now a very grave danger to humanity, the fact is that the rise of the socialist world system and the growing strength of the USSR and the other socialist countries, the emergence of neutralist states, and the mighty democratic movement for peace in all countries have, for the first time in history, made the prevention of world war a

tangible possibility. But peace will not come of itself. It must be won in struggle against the source of the war danger—imperialism.

Consolidation of the forces of imperialism does not signify the advent of an era of "harmony" among the capitalist states, as the capitalist apologists claim. It is impossible to abolish the antagonistic contradictions between the countries of the imperialist system. A number of basic groups of contradictions are clearly discernible in the complex set-up of inter-imperialist relations.

The growing economic might of an "integrated" Western Europe is accompanied by the monopolies of Federal Germany, France and Italy laying claim to a bigger role in world politics. Confronted with this situation the United States, anxious to compensate for the decline in its share of the capitalist world economy, is intensifying its military build-up. It reminds its allies that the role of one or another state in the capitalist world today is determined not only by the amount of its foreign exchange and gold.

At the same time in Western Europe itself the struggle for leadership between Britain, France and Federal Germany is mounting in intensity. A big factor in this struggle is the "Paris-Bonn axis," largely aimed against Britain, although it is beginning to cause anxiety in Washington too. Another serious tangle of inter-imperialist contradictions is emerging in connection with the growing economic strength of Japan and its expansion on the world markets.

The new alignment in the imperialist camp forebodes a considerable aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions all along the line. This situation can and should be used by the proletariat to step up the struggle against the

military-political alliances of the imperialists, against the Common Market and European "integration," and against U.S. imperialism.

The world is no longer in any doubt as to the outcome of the competition between the two systems. Now that the USSR has surpassed the USA as regards both rate of growth of production and volume of annual increase in the output of many industrial items, and has left capitalism behind in important spheres of technological progress, the wisdom of Lenin's words that socialism would exert its main influence on the international revolutionary process by its economic achievements is more apparent than ever.

Senile capitalism cannot alter the course of the competition in its favor. Still, it would be wrong to think that it has been deprived of the opportunity to maneuver. No doomed class has ever departed from the historical arena voluntarily. The imperialists are maneuvering not only by drawing on their military, political, ideological and diplomatic resources, but also in the sphere of economic competition. As the experience of recent years shows, they are resorting more and more to state-monopoly capitalism, "integration" and neo-colonialism. And the chances of their finding and using other reserves are not excluded.

The working class should watch these imperialist maneuvers closely and draw the right conclusions from them for its struggle against capital. There can be no doubt that the conditions in which the struggle will be fought out will become more and more favorable for the working class. The victories of socialism will be a pillar of strength for the international proletariat in its struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

1. STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

ITS ESSENCE. FORMS. LIMITS. CONTRADICTIONS. TRENDS

STATE-MONOPOLY capitalism is the main line of development in present day capitalism. A comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon provides the key to the understanding of the basic economic and political trends in capitalist society, and to the correct strategy and tactics of the class struggle at the present stage. It is understandable, therefore, why the conference gave priority to this subject.

The speakers emphasized that the source of the growth of state-monopoly tendencies lay in the aggravation of the basic contradiction of capitalism — that between social production and private capitalist appropriation. This contradiction is further intensified by the rapid

advance of science and technology. The powerful productive forces evolved in the highly developed capitalist countries cannot be fitted into the restricted framework of capitalist production relations. These forces imperatively demand the transition to socialism. In driving ahead with state-monopoly forms of economy, the monopoly bourgeoisie aims at guiding the expanded productive forces within the restricted economic framework based on private ownership, at finding an alternative to socialism, suppressing the working-class movement and continuing its economic domination in the former colonial world.

WHAT CAUSES THE GROWTH OF STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM? RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. THE CAPITALIST STATE IN THE SERVICE OF THE MONOPOLIES.

In explaining the rise of state monopoly many speakers have suggested that we should not proceed solely "from the pure play of economic forces." "Even in analyzing the internal process taking place in capitalism," stressed *B. Zacharescu* (Rumania), "we should not abstract ourselves from the influence exerted on these processes by the socialist world system."

State-monopoly capitalism should not be seen as a purely economic phenomenon. State-monopoly measures, said *J. Schmidt* (GDR), are applied not only with a view to ensuring profits but also to prevent the balance of forces from tilting in favor of socialism. This idea was developed also by *A. Romyantsev*. "Socialism," he stressed, "is the permanent factor compelling monopoly capitalism to use the capitalist state to the utmost in order to strengthen the capitalist system as a whole. This is the main task entrusted to the capitalist state at present."

I. Yonehara T. Watanabe (Japan), *I. Lemin* (U.S.S.R.), *J. Eaton* (Britain) and others expressed the view that with the growth of the international revolutionary processes the primacy of politics over economics in the development of state-monopoly capitalism will be further intensified.

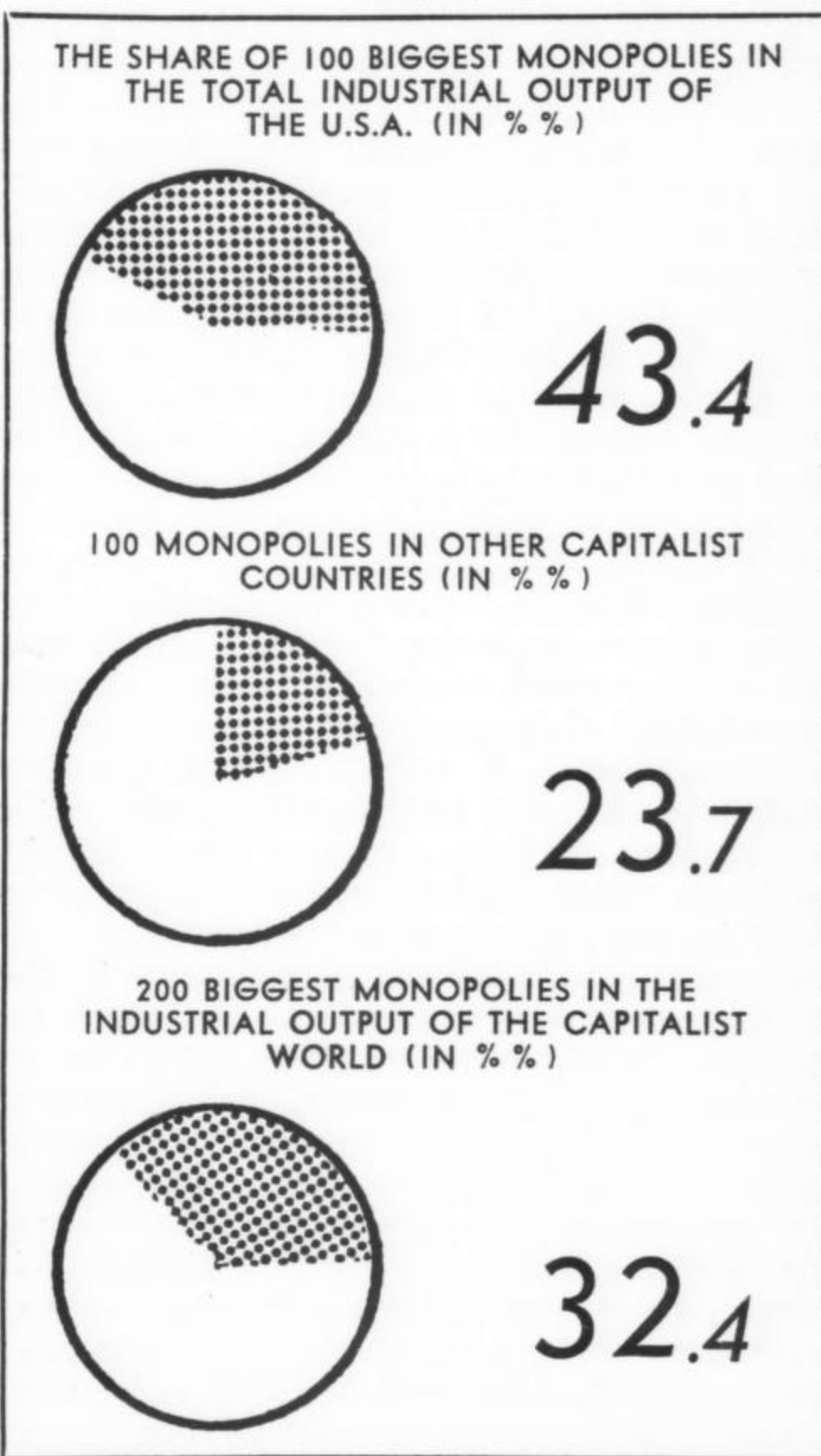
The speakers agreed that state-monopoly capitalism should not be reduced merely to the growth of state-owned property. The forms of state-monopoly capitalism are becoming more varied, including state property, the state market, government financial and economic policy in all its shades and variety of methods applied in the different countries.

The economic aspects of state-monopoly capitalism, stressed *J. Schmidt*, cannot be separated from each other, nor can they be counterposed to one another. In their totality they add up to a single system. Their unity is revealed, in particular, in that they all serve monopoly interests. It would be wrong, he said, to regard the state-owned enterprises as "genuine state capitalism." In the USA, for example, the number of state-owned enterprises is small, but on the other hand, other forms of state-monopoly capitalism are widespread.

One of these is the economic activity of the state which, according to *A. Romyantsev*, is now an inseparable element of the functioning of the capitalist economy. Many interesting points were brought out in the discussion, showing how the state influences the reproduction processes in the interests of the finance oligarchy. Financing investments from the

state budget, selling the products of the state sector to the monopolies at low prices, using the deposits in the savings banks in the interests of the big firms, compensations for the nationalized enterprises, and state purchasing — all enable monopoly capitalism to concentrate in its hands huge additional funds.

Table I



In the German Federal Republic, for example, the state-owned power stations in North Rhine-Westphalia supply 70 per cent of the power to industry and 30 per cent to individual consumers. But the latter bring them more profits than the former (*J. Schmidt*). In Finland, the timber-industry monopolies, thanks to their close links with the state machinery, enjoy special privileges: their products are transported at cheap rates, they enjoy a privileged position in the ports, as well as tax privileges (*E. Tuominen*). In Japan, the so-called "fund

for state investments and loans" is a means of plundering the working people and enriching the monopolies. Obtaining through this fund long-term loans at low interest, finance capital swallows up a major part of the savings and incomes of large sections of the population (T. Watanabe).

In many countries agriculture too is being "reconstructed" along state-monopoly lines; the "agrarian laws" and "green plans" in the Federal Republic, in Italy, Japan, the USA and France are designed above all to provide subsidies, privileges and technical aid to big capitalist farms and to "clear out" the millions of "inefficient" peasants and smallholders. This process enlarges the market for industrial products (machines, chemicals, electric power and fuel) in rural areas and strengthens the monopoly positions on the labor market in towns whither the ruined peasants go in search of jobs. Interesting examples showing how the economic policy of the government is subordinated to monopoly interests were cited by P. Joye (Belgium), G. Meling (FRG), J. Gomez (Spain), A. Claude (France), V. Martynov (USSR) and others.

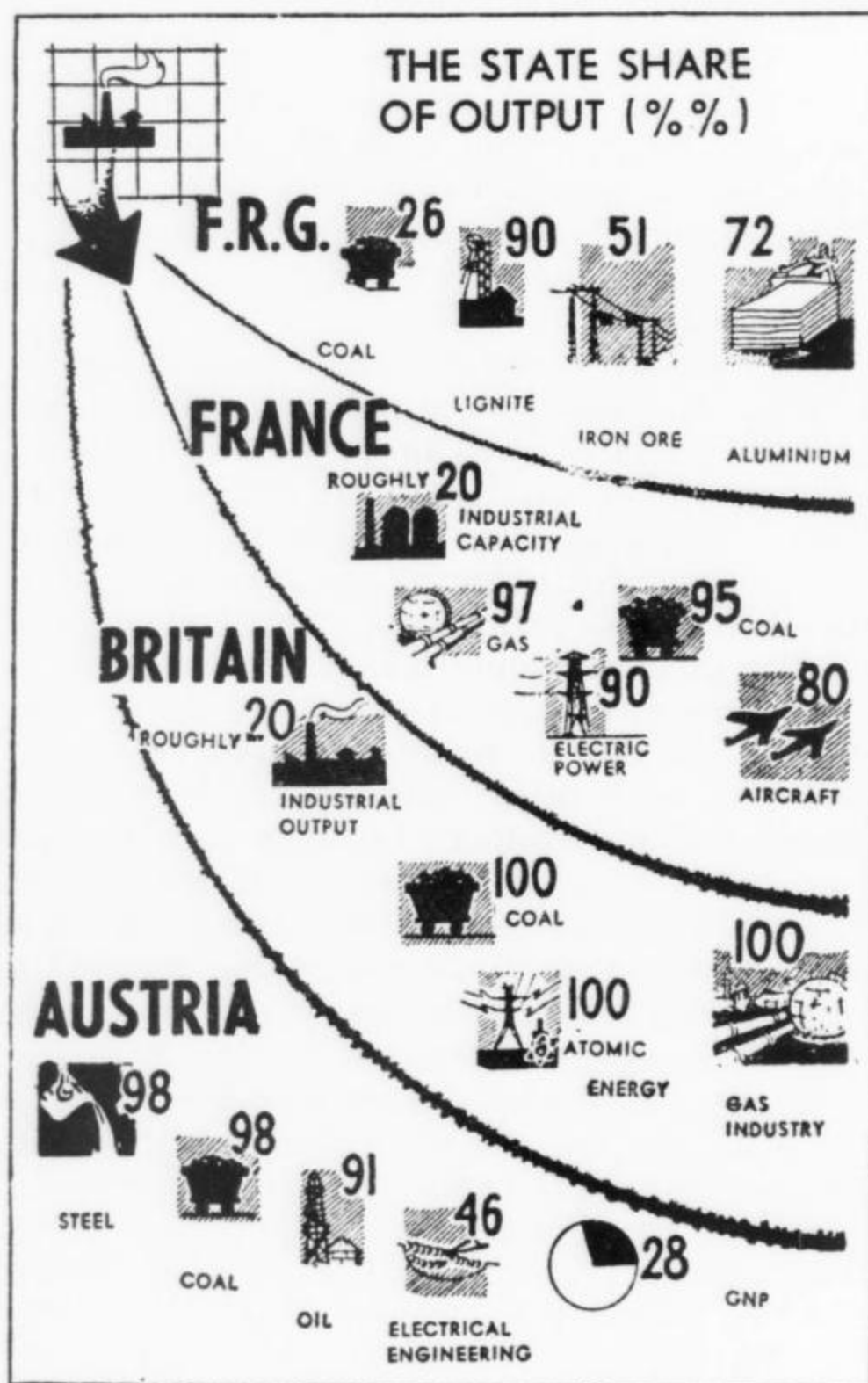
While adding to the power of the monopolies over society, state-monopoly capitalism also generates contradictions which shatter the very foundations of capitalism, and, producing the greatest degree of socialization of the productive forces and subordinating them to the monopolies, defends private ownership by methods which to all intents and purposes signify its negation. It demonstrates objectively that the bourgeoisie is superfluous in the present system of production and brings the working people close to the question of replacing the political power of the outlived class. This contradictory nature of state-monopoly capitalism, it was emphasized, necessitates on the part of the working class and the Communist parties variety and flexibility in tactic. To the varied and national features of state-monopoly capitalism in the different countries, said A. Mileikovsky (USSR), the Communist parties "can and should counterpose varied and flexible forms of class struggle which would take into account the dialectics of state-monopoly capitalism and its contradictions. These contradictions, growing with the implementation of state-monopoly measures, clear the way for a large-scale anti-monopoly coalition, because the growth of state-monopoly widens the gulf between the handful of the monopolies and the bulk of

the population." The importance of these flexible forms of struggle against state-monopoly capitalism was underlined by E. Sereni (Italy), W. Stein (Austria), N. Freed (Canada) and others.

Of interest in this connection was the discussion on the attitude to state ownership and nationalization under capitalism. What should be the attitude of the working class to nationalization? Should it be for or against? These questions were thrashed out at the conference.

J. Eaton expressed the view that the fight for nationalization can be used for the purpose of deepening interest in socialism. Even though in Britain the monopolies have used the nationalized industries for their own purpose, the progressive forces have learned not only negative, but also positive lessons from their experiences. They understand better the superfluity of the private owner. The fight for nationalization is a blow at monopoly capitalism.

Table 2



**INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS OF STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM.
STATE OWNERSHIP UNDER CAPITALISM.
FORMAL LOGIC AND THE DIALECTICS OF LIFE.**

V. Cheprakov (USSR) expressed the view that "one should not confine oneself to formal logic in approaching reality or be afraid of its contradictions. Yet at times fears of this kind come to the fore in discussing state ownership in the West. Some say: if state ownership under capitalism is a form of state-monopoly capitalism, we should not demand nationalization since it benefits the monopolies and not the working class. Others argue: the demand for nationalization of the monopolies means that the state-owned enterprises are no longer one of the forms of state-monopoly capitalism, but a kind of state capitalism within state-monopoly capitalism. Arguments of this kind are typical of the formal approach. Of course, the state-owned enterprises are a form of state-monopoly capitalism. But the fight for nationalization, being a fight against monopoly, undermines the position of the latter. Is this a contradiction? Yes, it is. But it is a contradiction of real life, and there is no getting away from it. To remove the slogan of nationalization of the monopolies from the general democratic struggle would be tantamount to removing the fuse from the mine."

Many speakers showed how interest in socialism was furthered by the fight for nationalization. Nationalization, said G. Meling, has become much more popular in the German Federal Republic where it has been adopted as a program of action by many trade union associations. The program charted by the Communist Party of Canada for nationalization of the basic industries as a means of combating U.S. penetration was mentioned by Tim Buck and N. Freed.

Speakers also pointed out that the nationalization effected by the capitalists could give rise to illusions among the people. But the persistence of these illusions should not be overestimated since experience is a good teacher. Every reform breeds illusions, but this does not mean that we are abandoning the fight for reforms. On the contrary, reforms can be upheld only by carrying on the fight, by using the reform as a springboard for launching further attacks against capitalism.

Of special significance was the discussion on the conditions which shape the attitude of the working class in the different countries with regard to nationalization.

"Some speakers," said I. Yonehara (Japan), "expressed the view that the demand for nationalization as a broad and all-embracing demand of the working class can be put on the agenda today even if a revolutionary situa-

tion is wanting. Naturally, it would be wrong to deny democratic nationalization. But, on the other hand, the nationalization carried out in conditions of monopoly rule results, among other things, in intensified exploitation of the workers. It would be wrong, therefore, to insist on nationalization in general, while ignoring the conditions of real life." Nationalization, in Yonehara's view, should be closely linked with the political aim of overthrowing the monopolies and establishing the democratic rule of the people.

It goes without saying, some speakers noted, that when venturing on nationalization, the monopolies do all in their power to emasculate its anti-monopoly content. But even in this case the nationalization is advantageous to the working class. It is not a question of defending any kind of nationalization, said P. Joye, but is not nationalization, even when effected with monopoly agreement, a basis for the growth of the working-class movement, since after all it signifies eliminating the threat of the economic ruin of entire regions? The existence of depressed areas is not in the interests of the working class.

The fight for nationalization, pointed out W. Stein, E. Sereni, E. Tuominen, J. Schmidt and G. Meling, should be joined with a fight for democratic management of the nationalized property. In this case nationalization can bring maximum benefit to the working class. The slogan of democratic management, on the other hand, should be interpreted broadly, i.e., it should be applied not only to the nationalized enterprises but also to those in private capitalist hands.

Monopoly capitalism, conscious of the dangers of nationalization, resists it even in those instances when it might bring it higher profits and reinforce its positions in the competitive struggle. In Belgium, for example, the bourgeoisie opposed nationalization from the outset and managed to restrict it to the minimum. In Canada nationalization is obstructed by the U.S. monopolies and in Britain by the resistance of both Conservatives and Right-wing Labor leaders. In Finland the monopolies want to control the state-owned power companies, and insist that the shares of state-owned enterprises should be sold to private owners, etc. In West Germany the Volkswagen and Preissag companies have been denationalized. The reactionary essence of the denationalization slogan can be seen with particular clarity from the example of Austria where the campaign for the return of state property

into private hands has been under way since the early 1950's.

"What conclusions can we draw from the Austrian experience?" asked W. Stein. "Although nationalization is not a socialist island in the capitalist sea, it at least does signify the weakening of the position of the capitalist class despite the benefits it brings to big capital, or, at any rate, it makes it possible to rally the masses against the monopolies. For instance, the revived large-scale West German concerns would gain most from the denationalization. And is there a more pressing task facing the people of Austria than the struggle to prevent the sapping of their country's independence and neutrality? The transfer of the nationalized key branches of the economy into private hands would be a shattering blow to Austria's independence."

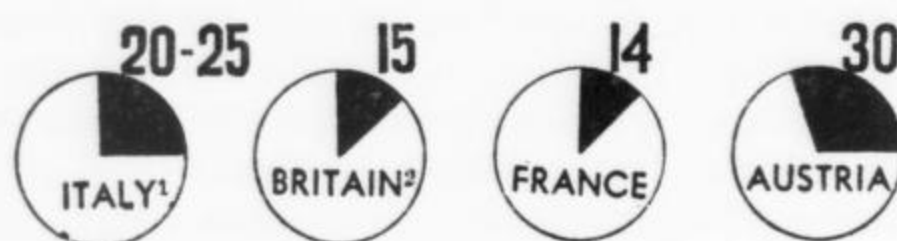
A lively debate took place also on the question of the character and limits of the influence exerted by state-monopoly capitalism on reproduction and crises.

"The postwar experience," said E. Khmel'nitskaya (USSR), "points to a definite influence. The fusing of the power of the monopolies with that of the state into a single mechanism has created certain possibilities for maneuvering in the economic field, as well as for mobi-

lizing and using resources on definite sectors of the economic front. These new possibilities explain such postwar developments as the faster rates of growth of output and technological advance." The growth of state-monopoly capitalism, observed M. Mileikovsky, has led to changes in the economic structure of the capitalist countries. For instance, it has become

Table 3

EMPLOYMENT AT STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES IN PERCENTAGE TO THE TOTAL LABOR FORCE



(1) Employed in industry and transport.

(2) Percentage to the gainfully-employed population.

possible, by using state funds, to build new, not yet profitable but technologically advanced, branches of industry. The monopolies, other speakers pointed out, are aided by the enlarged state market which is relatively independent, and by other measures of indirect intervention in the economy on the part of governments.

PRIVATE MONOPOLIES AND NATIONALIZATION. CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. CYCLICAL DEVELOPMENT TODAY.

The economic power of the big monopolies, said J. Schmidt, has grown since the Second World War. As a result they are less afraid of the economic consequences of protracted crises of overproduction. But what they really fear is the political consequences accompanying each crisis. Prolonged crises of overproduction at a time when socialism is forging ahead would create a dangerous situation for the capitalists. Hence the attempts by the capitalist state to "regulate" the economy and the search for a "constructive alternative" to socialism. J. Eaton, P. Joye and others pointed out that the slow rates of growth, and in the USA, the recurring crises, had prompted the increased intervention by the state in the economy in the USA, Britain and Belgium. The "state, representing the combined interests of monopoly capitalism, can at times enter into conflict — a conflict of a secondary or even serious order — with one or another group of the ruling class. In the new conditions it tries to regulate the activities of the monopolies" (A. Romyantsev). The ways in which the regulation is affected were described in detail by J. Eaton, H. Claude, P. Joye, J. Gomez and others.

State intervention, according to some of the speakers, has made it possible to "mitigate" the economic cycle to a certain extent. The increased role played by state orders, said J. Schmidt, and the growth in the number employed directly or indirectly by the state tend somewhat to mitigate the cyclical crises, although they by no means enable capitalism to solve the problem of markets.

Mention was made of the limits of state regulation, of the contradictory nature of state intervention in the reproduction processes. J. Eaton stated that the monetary policy of successively "curtailing" and "expanding" demand which operated throughout the 1950's on the pretext of "maintaining the balance of payments," had by now become utterly discredited, dooming Britain's economy to a slow rate of growth. Even the *Financial Times* now looks back on this policy as a "costly stupidity."

"It has been said here," observed S. Menshikov (USSR), "that state-monopoly regulation may result in a certain mitigation of the crises. Partly, this is true. But it is not always so. In the postwar we have witnessed a steady extension of the sphere of economic crises.

Thus, whereas the world crisis of 1948-49 was relatively mild and limited, the 1957-58 crisis reached out to countries which account for nearly two-thirds of the industrial output of the capitalist world."

Redistribution of the national income in favor of the monopolies and the enlarged state market, said T. Watanabe, have increased the "parasitic dependence of the monopolies on the exploitation of the people through the power of the state. This has accelerated the decay of capitalism and has affected the stability of the economy as a whole."

The impossibility of removing the contradiction between production and marketing, according to J. Schmidt, is evident also in that the brevity and mildness of the crises are "compensated" by an intensification of the other forms of capitalist overproduction. In most capitalist countries chronic excess of production capacity and under-capacity operation in many vital branches have increased, and this in the new conditions partially fulfils the role of cyclical crises. This is due solely to the redistribution of the national income in favor of the big companies and to the additional encouragement of monopoly investments by the state. In this way, the striving of the finance oligarchy to soften the crises with a view to preventing the balance of forces from changing further in favor of socialism, leads merely to changing the forms in which the contradictions of capitalist reproduction are

manifested, but by no means to a lessening of the contradictions.

"Comrade Schmidt has said here that the cyclical overproduction develops in part, as it were, into chronic overproduction of basic capital," said S. Menshikov. "While this is an extremely valuable point, it should not be regarded as a law signifying that today the cyclical factors must necessarily yield their place to chronic under-capacity operation. I think that the correct understanding of this thesis implies the following. Capitalism is able to soften crises to some extent but only at the cost of enlarging the chronic excess of basic capital (J. Schmidt: Correct!). The point can be illustrated by the USA where a series of the so-called mild crises has resulted in an accumulation of overproduction contradictions which find expression in chronic stagnation.

"Some of our economic writers say that all the postwar crises have been mild and insignificant, which is, of course, wrong. And usually the 1929-1933 crisis is taken as the yardstick for comparison. This is also incorrect. The 1929-1933 crisis was an unprecedented crisis. But if we take all the other crisis eruptions, it can be safely said that the current crises are not a whit inferior to them either in scale, range, or, as we say nowadays, in 'synchronization'. Every one of the crises that took place in the 19th century was 'asynchronous' in the sense that it began in one country from whence it spread to others."

CRISES OR CHRONIC SIGNS OF OVERPRODUCTION? PLANNING — A MYTH OR REALITY?

No matter in what form the contradictions of capitalist reproduction are manifested, it was pointed out, either in the form of the cyclical crises which nowadays are gaining in intensity, or in the form of chronic overproduction, one thing is indisputable — the sum-total of the contradictions is increasing. Here we have the proof of the growing economic instability of the capitalist world and one of the reasons for the instability. The working class should be alive to the realities of the situation, should study attentively what is taking place in the capitalist economy and so be prepared for the still graver economic upheavals which are inevitable under capitalism.

Under state-monopoly capitalism, it was pointed out, there are other ways in which the state can influence the cycle. In recent times the press, particularly in Britain and in the EEC countries, has talked loudly about "planning." The "planning business," said H. Claude, has enabled the big capitalists to influence the petty-bourgeois sections and the reformists. But this "novelty" changes nothing,

neither in the substance nor in the laws of state-monopoly capitalism. For example, in France the "fourth plan for modernizing equipment" during 1962-65 envisages *selective* aid to the enterprises, an increase in the numbers of the "free, active population," i.e., displaced peasants, and an accelerated concentration of capital. "Direct intervention by the state, in the interests of the financial oligarchy, in the process of capitalist reproduction—is how state-monopoly capitalism is characterized in the CPSU Program, and this characterization is fully borne out by Plan IV in France," said H. Claude.

"There may be an assumption," said S. Aarovich (Britain), "that in a downward phase of the cycle the Common Market governments could coordinate their policies by so-called Keynesian methods. If British experience is any guide, there is a certain reaction against such methods among the ruling classes in Western Europe." J. Eaton suggested that in the likelihood of any change in monopoly policy it would, evidently, be mainly along lines of end-

ing concessions to the working class and the going over to an open offensive against the working people. "The effect of such contradictions," he said, "is constantly to weaken and undermine the position of monopoly capitalism. In the past British capitalism has maintained itself by maneuvering and making concessions; but today its economic position is weakened and its power to make concessions correspondingly less. British monopoly capitalism may now try to stand more firmly against social and democratic advances and test its strength more bluntly against the struggle of the working-class and the popular forces generally."

Another task of the exchange of views, speakers emphasized, was to determine the range of problems for further research by Marxist economists. *One problem could be a study of the modifications in the operation of the economic laws of capitalism in the third stage of its general crisis.* Other problems in need of detailed study were also mentioned. *E. Sereni*, for example, pointed to the need for a thorough analysis of the present-day structure of finance capital.

"What," he asked, "is typical of the present structure and policy of state-monopoly capitalism? It is that the biggest monopoly groups

control not only their own vast capital in the form of commodities, and not only the huge bank deposits and the fictitious capital of the holding companies, but also that growing mass of money which the state has acquired through its tax, commercial and credit policies. So that in this sense, too, the predatory character of finance capital, demonstrated in his time by Lenin, far from disappearing, has been elevated to a leading place. It is acquiring the ugly features of the predatory policy of the monopoly state. I think that a thorough study of the vastly expanded sphere of the interpenetration of capital, and especially of the new significance of fictitious capital in the structure and in the contradictions of modern capitalism, is both necessary and urgent not only with a view to exposing reformist and revisionist distortions, but also in order to provide a more concrete assessment of the character and essence of the capitalist cycle, the inflationary tendencies, monopoly 'integration,' and extending the sphere of monopoly plunder to bigger sections of the population."

The imperialist "integration" in Western Europe is a higher form of state-monopoly capitalism. The subject of "integration" was discussed at length. This discussion will be featured in our next issue.

NATIONALIZATION UNDER CAPITALISM. ATTITUDE OF COMMUNISTS.

SUMMARIZED CONTRIBUTIONS BY:

Tim Buck (Canada)

The only sector of the economic and political life of Canada that has not yet been brought under the effective domination of U.S. imperialism by the process of finance-capitalist integration is the public sector . . . To help mobilize the broadest circles of the people against monopoly capital and its drive for integration, proposals for nationalization should be advanced in a much broader and bolder way and fought for more systematically. It is true that in capitalist society the nationalized industries are exploited to increase the profits of the monopolists. But popular actions to compel governments to nationalize industries — and then to prevent their denationalization — are mass actions against state-monopoly capital. They are the means by which to develop the forces to stop the exploitation of the nationalized industries by the monopolies.

W. Stein (Austria)

Can one be indifferent to nationalization on the ground that the capitalist class derives profits from state-owned enterprises, and limit oneself merely to saying that nationalization in a capitalist country is not yet socialism? Is it possible to forego class struggle in the nationalized enterprises by not making proposals concerning their management and participation by the workers and trade unions in running them and, above all, concerning the need to uphold nationalization and extend it?

This, clearly is not possible. And we Austrian Communists have repeatedly made suggestions of this kind; in 1960 we advanced them in our nationalization program. Without going into detail, I would like to stress that the underlying idea of our proposals is to remove the representatives of the capitalist class from the management of the nationalized enterprises, to ensure the workers' participation in running them so that these enterprises should become models of a progressive wages policy and guarantee the social rights of the working people.

A. Meling

(Federal Republic of Germany)

The struggle for nationalization and against denationalization is closely linked with the struggle for better conditions for the workers—higher wages, shorter hours, the right to work, and for workers' participation in the management. It is also linked with the struggle for more democracy, against attempts to abolish democracy, against the emergency laws now being drafted.

U. Kusmanto (Indonesia)

I want to say a few words about nationalization, not under state-monopoly capitalism, but within the framework of the national-liberation movement which in Indonesia bears an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character.

The state sector which is being established or strengthened by nationalization, is a capitalist sector. Nevertheless, the struggle for nationalization and, consequently, for enlarging the state sector should be carried out. I think this holds true particularly for the newly independent countries in which nationalization or even confiscation of the imperialist enterprises is an important aspect of the struggle.

In Indonesia a large number of undertakings, including those of vital importance to the economy, are state-owned. But this does not mean

that the state sector automatically holds a commanding position and can fulfil its mission of combating imperialism and abolishing the economic backwardness of the country. In order to strengthen the state sector it is necessary to put its management in the hands of patriots, capable people, people who are democrats. Democratic management, the fight against bureaucracy, corruption and squandering state money, abolition of the financial policy which imposes a heavy burden on the state enterprises, and the struggle to prevent any denationalization in any disguise—such is the way to strengthen the state sector in Indonesia.

J. Schmidt

(German Democratic Republic)

The working class should resist denationalization and fight to extend nationalization. It should do so not only because state enterprises are the proof that the economy can be run without capitalists, but also because nationalization, even if used by the monopolies for their particular aims, enables the workers to curb this utilization through political action and even to prevent it altogether. I fully agree with W. Stein that it is not enough to expose the utilization of the state-owned enterprises by the monopolies. It is necessary also to show how this utilization can be combated, how to wage the fight for more nationalization.

Reviews

The Rape of Africa

AN ESSENTIAL element in the growth of capitalism, said Marx, was slavery and the slave trade. He wrote: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production."

Marx stressed the special place allotted to slavery in the growth of British capitalism: "Liverpool waxed fat on the slave trade. This was its method of primitive accumulation."

What was the extent of this slave trade? How long did it last? What were the consequences of this slave period on the slavers in Europe? And on African society itself?

These are the questions which Basil Davidson sets out to answer in his recent book *Black Mother*.^{*} In a previous book, *Old Africa Rediscovered*, Davidson, on the basis of recent archaeological discoveries, surveyed and assessed Africa's civilizations in the region south of the Sahara before the first European incursions. This earlier study was an important aid in exposing the myth, still repeated in colonialist circles in the West, that Africa "had no history."

In *Black Mother* Davidson carries his story a stage further. Here he covers the period between the 15th and 19 centuries, ending before the Berlin Conference, 1884-5, which was to lead to the complete division of the continent by the Western powers.

The period thus covered in this book is the years of the slave trade. The trade, and the hunt for slaves, was a catastrophe for Africa.

^{*}Basil Davidson: *Black Mother*, London, Victor Gollancz, 1961, 269 pp.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has written: "It was the rape of a continent seldom if ever paralleled in ancient or modern history."

On an estimate that for every slave imported into the Western hemisphere about five were killed in Africa or died on the high seas, DuBois makes the point that slavery meant to Africa the frightful loss of some 60 million people. Davidson quotes other estimates that 50 million slaves were landed alive across the Atlantic. If this were so, then DuBois' calculation of five lost for every one landed alive would give the appalling figure of 300 million lives lost to Africa during the four hundred years of slavery!

For European capitalism, of course, the trade was a boon. For Britain, in particular, the trade was most profitable. It has been estimated that nearly four times as many African slaves were transported in British ships as in the ships of all the other slaving nations combined. The accumulation of capital from slavery paved the way for the emergence and growth of capitalist industry. The building of ships for the transport of slaves helped the development of Liverpool, while the manufacture of cotton goods for the purchase of slaves was a factor in the growth of Manchester. "Without slavery," explained Marx, "you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry."

At a time when Western propagandists are still talking of the "benefits" which their so-called "civilizing mission" brought to Africa, it is as well to recall that modern capitalism rests on the foundations of slavery and the slave trade. In depicting this period for us, Davidson has performed a valuable service for all who are striving for the completion of Africa's independence.

Most of his book, however, is devoted to an examination, in many ways an original one, of the effect of the slave trade on African society itself. Davidson shows that Black Africa was left to work out its own destiny, largely cut off from any direct and steady influence from the civilizations of the Mediterranean and the Middle East. In consequence, some African societies carried their ancient tribalism, with its special loyalties, customs and attitudes, into more recent times; other African societies embarked on a process of economic and social change which brought them to the threshold of feudalism.

And yet, argues Davidson, "there lay in the heritage of these feudal systems in Africa no

great period of chattel slavery, no far-reaching process of 'detribalization.' That is why, I suggest, this African feudalism may reasonably be called 'tribal feudalism'."

It was this society, in some regions still tribal, in others "tribal-feudal," which was to suffer the onslaught of European incursion and its resultant slave trade.

The effects of the slave period on African society were disastrous. However, the disaster of these "grey years," as Davidson terms them, was not felt all at once. Even after the slave trade had got into its stride, "Africans continued to weave textiles, smelt and forge metals, practise agriculture and carry on the manifold techniques of their daily life." But gradually economic growth, especially near the coast, was stifled and society was crippled. After about 1650, African production for export became "a monoculture in human beings." In exporting slaves, points out Davidson, African states were exporting their own capital without any possible return in interest or in the enlargement of their own economic system.

"The African slaves could contribute nothing except to the wealth of their masters—a wealth that never returned to Africa. Dealers in Africa undoubtedly received payment for the slaves they sold; but the nature of the payment was strictly non-productive. The very conditions of the exchange prevented the kind of capital accumulation that could have led to a more advanced economy. Such 'capital' as the kings and prime merchants could accumulate was in mere baubles or the weapons of war. From an economic standpoint, in short, European slaving may be rightly regarded as a primitive and particularly destructive form of colonialism: the sale of consumer goods for the raw material of slave-labor."

The widespread use of firearms was to prove a special factor in Africa's undoing. Not only did these weapons help to break down African opposition; more serious still, they became a means of virtual African suicide, compelling African society into internecine struggle and self-destruction. "The drastic but inescapable alternative was to enslave others—in order to buy firearms—or risk enslavement oneself. This indeed was the inner dynamic of the slaving connection with Europe. . . ."

Thus the slave traders, apart from robbing Africa, also held back and suffocated the growth of productive forces in Africa by the very nature of the slave trade. Slaves were exchanged for guns, gin and baubles, commodities which had no productive value. To save themselves from slavery each tribe desperately sought guns, the new powerful weapon

introduced by European capitalism. But these guns could only be gained by the sale of slaves. Hence tribe was turned against tribe, state against state. This internecine war, and the exchange of society's main productive forces, manpower, for unproductive items, prevented any upward movement of the economy. The very conditions created in Africa by the slave trade blocked the progressive growth of society. While in Europe, whose rulers waxed rich on the slave trade, new techniques appeared and new class forces arose, African society stagnated and froze in its more elementary and semi-feudal stages.

Once Europe entered the stage of monopoly and imperialism, Africa underwent a further and different form of conquest, expressed in the colonial system of the 20th century. Colonialism, superimposed on an Africa which had already suffered terrible blows over the

previous four hundred years, suffocated once again the normal growth of productive forces in Africa. But this period is not within the scope of Davidson's book.

The task which Davidson set himself was a difficult and complex one. There is scope and certainly need to discuss further many of the problems raised by this thoughtful book. But with its main thesis—that for Africa the four centuries between the 15th and 19 centuries “were years of isolation and paralysis wherever the trade with Europe, essentially a trade in slaves, could plant its sterilizing hand”—no one can seriously quarrel. It is to Davidson's credit that in pursuing and presenting his main argument, he does not hide from the reader his sincere sympathies with the African people nor his desire that this exposure of a tragic period in Africa's history should contribute to Africa's brighter future. *Jack WODDIS*

Communications and Comment

Labor Party Conference

AT the beginning of October the British Labor Party met in Brighton for its 61st Annual Conference. In opening the Conference, Mr. Harold Wilson, M.P., referring to the oncoming general election, stressed the need for Labor unity. Wilson forecast “an end to the lean years.” Labor, he said, was advancing to power.

Two issues faced Conference: to agree to a firm stand on the Common Market, and to find the means of establishing unity in the face of the coming elections.

Conference had before it the final draft of a document on the Common Market issued by the National Executive. The first draft of the document had been more critical of the Market, but it had split the Executive. In an attempt to placate the Right-wing, the final re-draft was more of a compromise. The document was adopted as policy by Conference after a speech by Mr. Gaitskell, the Party leader. It repeated Gaitskell's view that the best solution would be to enter the Market on good terms. To go in on bad terms would mean not only a bad let down of the EFTA countries, but also an end to the Commonwealth.

The document criticized the government for its failure to gain worthwhile concessions; for creating a crisis in Commonwealth relations; for not regarding the problems of Asia and Africa; and for its readiness to surrender vital interests

even before joining.

The document then set out five conditions for entry. It wanted strong and binding safeguards for the Commonwealth; freedom to pursue an independent foreign policy; firm guarantees for agriculture; fulfilment of the pledges to EFTA countries; and the right to plan Britain's own economy. Only when these were agreed to should Britain join.

In his speech Gaitskell built up a strong case against Britain joining, shattering the Right-wing pro-market group, and bringing Conference to its feet in a remarkable ovation. Towards the end of his speech he made a clear demand for a general election, if the terms negotiated by the government were rejected by Labor as not being good enough.

To those who said that Britain must join this cultured Europe, he warned that Europe had two faces. It had produced Hitler and Mussolini as well as racial policies which had no place in civilized society.

Yet, despite his vigorous attack on the Common Market, Gaitskell left the door wide open to the interpretation of the actual terms. Although most of the fifty-one resolutions which had appeared on the agenda were against the Common Market on Socialist grounds, Gaitskell ignored them. The case he put to Conference was the British imperialist's case against the

Market. It was not fortuitous that he spoke in support of NATO or that chauvinist notes appeared in his speech. He painted a picture of a patriotic Labor Party anxious to continue "the thousand years of British history," with all that it stood for.

Moreover, he hardly gave any alternatives to the Common Market. He made no reference to trade with the Socialist sector as the main alternative.

Despite the fact that an immediate general election would be favorable for the Labor Party, for the masses are against entry, Conference turned down a resolution calling for an immediate election and it also rejected a resolution which put the Socialist case against joining.

Conference concerned itself with many other matters too. The Executive's request for wider powers to expel Labor Party members "associated with" proscribed organizations was heavily defeated in a secret session. This issue had arisen over the sponsorship by Labor Party members, including Bertrand Russell and Canon Collins, of the World Peace Congress. The Executive had sought to expel them but the rank-and-file refused to allow it.

Although the voting on most other issues seemed to show an apparent unity, there was no real unity. The method of voting at Conference is such that one or two Right-wing trade union leaders with large memberships can, by raising their cards, throw two to three million votes on any side they wish. Therefore very often the results do not reflect the mood of Conference or the sentiments of the rank-and-file members.

The class struggle is intensifying in Britain. The working class is being attacked with increasing ferocity by monopoly capitalism. Unemployment is growing, and the nationalized industries are being deliberately ruined, especially mining and railways.

That is why, despite the attempts of the platform to exorcise the class struggle, it made it-

self felt throughout the proceedings. Delegates from the mines, mills, railways and factories brought the class struggle to the fore every time they took the rostrum. Teachers, doctors, building workers and others spoke passionately of what the Tories were doing to housing, education, health, the youth and pensions. The delegates showed that entire areas in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland are facing economic and social ruin. As they spoke, rising anger developed in Conference which the platform did all it could to soothe away by careful but meaningless phrases.

Despite the attempts of the platform Socialist demands kept bursting into the open at the Conference, whilst attempts to raise the communism bogey signally failed.

Summing up, it must be said that although Conference did not declare in principle against the Common Market, nevertheless it opened up new possibilities for broad pressure against the objective process of integration being utilized to the advantage of the monopolies.

Although the rank and file fought strongly for a Socialist policy, it was a gravely disquieting Conference. Apart from the Common Market and Nuclear Tests, it allowed the platform to exclude from the agenda all references to foreign policy, the burning issue of the hour, on which over fifty resolutions, most of them critical, had been sent in. "It is about time Foreign Policy stopped," said the chairman of Conference Arrangements Committee when reported that they intended to do so. Thus, Conference could not find time to discuss Cuba and Berlin, Disarmament, the Adenauer-de Gaulle Axis, German Bases, Polaris, and similar issues.

Above all, Conference showed more than ever the real need for a clear Socialist leadership, and the need to break the Right-wing grip. At heart, as was so obviously shown, the movement is sound, but it is still misled and confused to far too great an extent by the Right-wing and Tory influences. *Hymie FAGAN*

Against the Persecution of Democrats

THE COURAGE OF PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS

SAVAGE persecution of Communists and other progressives is continuing in Portugal.

At the end of August Salazar's political police arrested 24 members of the Communist Party, including several women. Two weeks later Antonio Lourenco, member of the Party's Secretariat, was arrested and jailed in Aljubi.

In September Antonio Pedro Benge, an outstanding fighter for the freedom of Angola, sentenced to ten years' imprisonment at the beginning of this year, was killed after being tortured in a Lisbon prison.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party has called on "the people immediately to launch a campaign to prevent the secret police from torturing and killing the freedom fighters." The Party appeals also to the people of other countries to "act in solidarity with the people of Portugal."

We asked Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Portugal, to tell our readers about the courage and dignity displayed in the fascist courts by his comrades, whom neither torture nor threat of death can break.

Cunhal, himself, it should be said, is an example of a Communist selflessly devoted to his Party and to his people. All in all he spent 13 years in Salazar's notorious dungeons in which even medical aid is denied the prisoners.

Cunhal's whole life is a life of devoted service to the Communist Party. "What I have been through," he once said, "has been experienced by other Portuguese Communists. I worked for ten years in the underground, but many of my comrades have been underground for much longer. In the dungeons I was tortured, but there are comrades who have suffered even more than I did. I spent a total of 13 years in prison, but there are Portuguese Communists who have been in jail for 20 years and more. When I was brought to trial before the fascist tribunal I defended first of all my Party. And this is the rule for all Communists."

In January 1960 the Portuguese Communist Party organized the escape of Cunhal and a group of other leading Party members from the Penixe Fortress. Upon regaining freedom, Cunhal at once plunged into the fight on behalf of the working people, for peace, democracy and freedom.

Long prison sentences and torture have been common in the life of thousands of Portuguese Communists during the 36 years of Salazar's fascist dictatorship.

The fascist tribunals make a farce of justice.

There are three vital things for the Communist who is held by the enemy: he must be firm, act as a real revolutionary, in the police cells, in the court and in prison.

Militao Ribeiro, member of the Secretariat, Jose Moreira, Germano Vidigal and other Party members died under the torture rather than betray comrades to the secret police.

But the trials of the Communists have not broken their will; in prison, too, they carry on the fight. The daring prison escapes made by Communists, who immediately join the underground activities, are the best proof of their revolutionary zeal.

His behavior in the fascist court is but one of the aspects of the behavior of the Communist when captured by the enemy. Salazar's judges, like his police and gaolers, are obedient servants of the government of the monopolists and latifundists, which dooms the people to poverty and deprives them of elementary rights. Our members have never entered into a compromise with the fascist tribunals.

When the Communists speak in court they invariably address their words not to the judges but to their fellow Communists and to the people.

Tortured, physically exhausted, often gravely ill, Communists appear before the court filled with pride and faith. From being the accused, they become formidable accusers.

The voice of Communists in court has a par-

ticular power of conviction, since it belongs to those whose hands are tied by the enemies, whom the enemies are trying to hide from the world, and who face years in prison. The voice of Communists in the courtroom raises the prestige and influence of the Party, helps to educate its cadres, and enhances the revolutionary spirit of the working class.

It is to the honor of democratic lawyers in Portugal that they have always acted staunchly in defending Communists on trial. Not infrequently, imprisonment has been the price they have paid for doing their duty as defense counsel. And while it is true that they have never succeeded in obtaining a milder sentence, their aid has always achieved its purpose—it has exposed the injustice masquerading as justice, the lawlessness in Salazar's courts, and the tyranny of his regime. In this case juridical defense becomes political defense.

In a letter to Yelena Stasova and to comrades in a tsarist jail, written in 1905, concerning the way the Communists should behave in court, Lenin pointed out that Russian revolutionaries had no great experience in this respect at that time and that "in getting this experience the comrades will, in many cases, have to be guided by their appraisal of the concrete circumstances and by their *instinct as revolutionaries*." Big changes have taken place in the world in the half a century that has passed since Lenin wrote these lines.

The international Communist movement as a whole and each Party have gained much experience with regard to the stand to take in court. Yet Lenin's words are as valid now as they were then. The Communists act in accordance with

the general line of behavior which is easy to determine now that we have the necessary experience. At the same time they should be able to decide on the line to take in each instance, take cognizance of the circumstances in which the trial is held, the political situation in the country, and the possibilities and difficulties of political defense. On the other hand, whenever something unexpected arises during the trial, they should be guided by their "instinct as revolutionaries."

The Portuguese Party determines the attitude to be taken in court, guided by the counsel given in their time by Marx, Engels and Lenin and also drawing inspiration from the examples of the 19th century revolutionaries, the Russian Bolsheviks and the militants in other fraternal parties. It makes wide use of the experience gained by the international Communist movement and of its own experience during the long years of underground struggle.

During the 36 years of the dictatorship the special tribunals, which deal with the so-called "political crimes," have invariably adhered to the same methods—crude violation of the law.

Passing sentences and exiling prisoners without bringing them before the court has been practiced since 1936. This being so, do we use the "trial" and the "verdict" in order to fight back? Bento Goncalves, General Secretary of the Party, who was kept in his cell when his "trial" took place, submitted a written defense. He was sent to the Tarrafal concentration camp where he died in 1942. But his statement, a brilliant exposition of the policy of the Party, was printed by the Party and circulated all over the country. To this day it is an example of defense before a fascist tribunal. Many comrades have followed this example.

The defeat of fascism in the Second World War and the rise of the democratic movement in Portugal compelled Salazar, in 1945 and later, temporarily to give a semblance of legality to his judiciary machine. The names of the special tribunals were changed, and the presence of the accused during the reading of the sentence became customary. Seizing upon the new conditions, catching the enemy unawares, many freedom-fighters were able to turn the dock into a tribune from which they castigated the regime.

The government, however, soon recovered and ordered the judges to apply the draconic measures again. Since then the judges have not allowed Communists to speak. Despite this, the Communist prisoners never kept silent. As they are led out of the dock, they proclaim slogans expressing faith in the Party and de-

nounce the fascist government, its police, and its tribunals.

As one of the many examples we could mention Antonio Gervasio, a farm laborer, who was beaten even in the dock. After he was removed he was again severely manhandled. Antonio was unable to say much in court, but his dignified behavior and his denunciations became widely known.

Thus, even in his cell, and in the dock, the Communist fights for his cause.

The conviction that his cause is a just one, and the lofty ideals of Marxism-Leninism impart to the Communist an invincible moral force. No matter how adverse the conditions may be, the Communists know that the future is theirs, that communism will triumph even though its victory in their country may seem to be far away. "Its (the bourgeoisie's) fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable," proclaimed the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. And history has proved that Communists have every ground to believe that this will be so. The building of communism—the future of all mankind—is under way in the Soviet Union. The socialist world system—the main gain of the international working class—stretches from South-East Asia to Central Europe, and its first bastion is being built in the Western hemisphere. The colonial system is disintegrating and the peoples who until recently were doomed to be slaves, are gaining their freedom. "Our epoch, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism," declares the Program of the CPSU, the Communist manifesto of our times, "is an epoch of struggle between the two opposing social systems, an epoch of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system, an epoch of the transition of more and more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale."

The struggle for emancipation from imperialist bondage, to build socialism and communism, is a long revolutionary process. In the capitalist countries the Communists, displaying heroism and self-sacrifice, are fighting not for a distant future, but for the future which today is a reality for one-third of the world and which will soon become a reality for their own peoples.

And the Portuguese Communists will continue to fulfil their international duty no matter what the trials may be.

Alvaro CUNHAL

REACTIONARY INTRIGUES IN ARGENTINA MUST BE FOILED

FASCISTS have raised their heads in Argentina in recent months. This is seen not only in the appearance of pamphlets glorifying Hitler, not only in the foul anti-communist and anti-semitic inscriptions on walls, and in tirades by demagogues at street corners. Armed gangs are at work in the Argentine, organizing attacks and murders. The public was shocked when it learned what happened to Graciela Sirota, a university student. She was beaten and kidnapped by bandits, who seared her with lighted cigarettes and cut a swastika on her breast. Ricardo D'Alessandro, also a university student, had swastikas cut on his face.

These are not just isolated episodes; they are links in a chain of criminal actions started at the time when the oligarchy and the pro-imperialist reactionaries, upon coming to power, decided to crush the growing movement of the working class and the people generally. The machine-gun raids by "unknown persons" on the premises of democratic parties, student and progressive art and cultural organizations, Jewish unions, the homes of politicians and trade unionists; the unpunished armed attacks on public meetings, against the diplomatic representations of the socialist countries, etc.—all add up to the "unofficial side" of one and the same medal of anti-democratic persecutions.

The "official side," equally shameful and brutal, finds its expression in banning the activities of political parties, closing their premises, in police raids, arrests and torture. Norma Beatriz Melena, a student, killed by fascists at a meeting of the Law Department of Buenos Aires University, and Juan Pedro Ubiria, doorkeeper at the head office of the Socialist Party, killed by fascists, were victims of the same policy of repression which killed Hector Mendoza, Peronist workers' leader, tortured to death in a police dungeon.

In a desperate attempt to counter the growing unity of the working class and all democrats, the military-civilian camarilla which rules the country on behalf of the International Monetary Fund is creating an atmosphere of terror and intimidation. Wherever it cannot utilize the state intelligence service (SIDE), the repressive bodies of federal coordination, the Department for the Investiga-

tion of anti-Argentinian Activities, the federal police or the intelligence services of the armed forces, the camarilla resorts to hired terrorists to organize racial and anti-communist provocations.

The outrageous assaults on Sirota and D'Alessandro revealed the close link between the official bodies and the fascist gangs. The impunity and the insolence with which these criminals operate prove that the connivance by the authorities borders on direct participation. It is indicative that the moment these fascist crimes became known to the public, the police prefect, the Minister of the Interior and other government officials tried to minimize their significance and defended the criminals. In an attempt to save the bandits, who serve them as tools for provocations, these officials did not hesitate to indulge in slander against the Jewish population and the Communists, and even tried to blame them for the attacks. Moreover, the victims of the bandits were subjected to insulting interrogations by the police.

The attempts of the authorities to cover up the traces were exposed when the assassin, Jorge Stephen Soler, connected with the fascist Tacuara organization, admitted that the arms used by the fascists were supplied by the armed forces and federal police. He also named the leaders, many of whom belong to the oligarchy circles and are linked to the top state officials and senior officers. Soler spoke about the military camps in which the fascists were trained.

The people of Argentina are now aware of the tie-up between fascist terror and the reprisals of the dictatorship. The protests such as the meeting of 4,000 students of the Medical Department, the strike carried out by the Jewish population, and the statements issued by the trade unions and democratic parties have exposed the reactionary government which bears responsibility for the terror and the reactionary onslaught.

In this situation the democratic organizations stress the need to unite all progressive forces for joint action with a view to establishing a social system which will put an end to the violence, terror and murders.

Rubin SINAY

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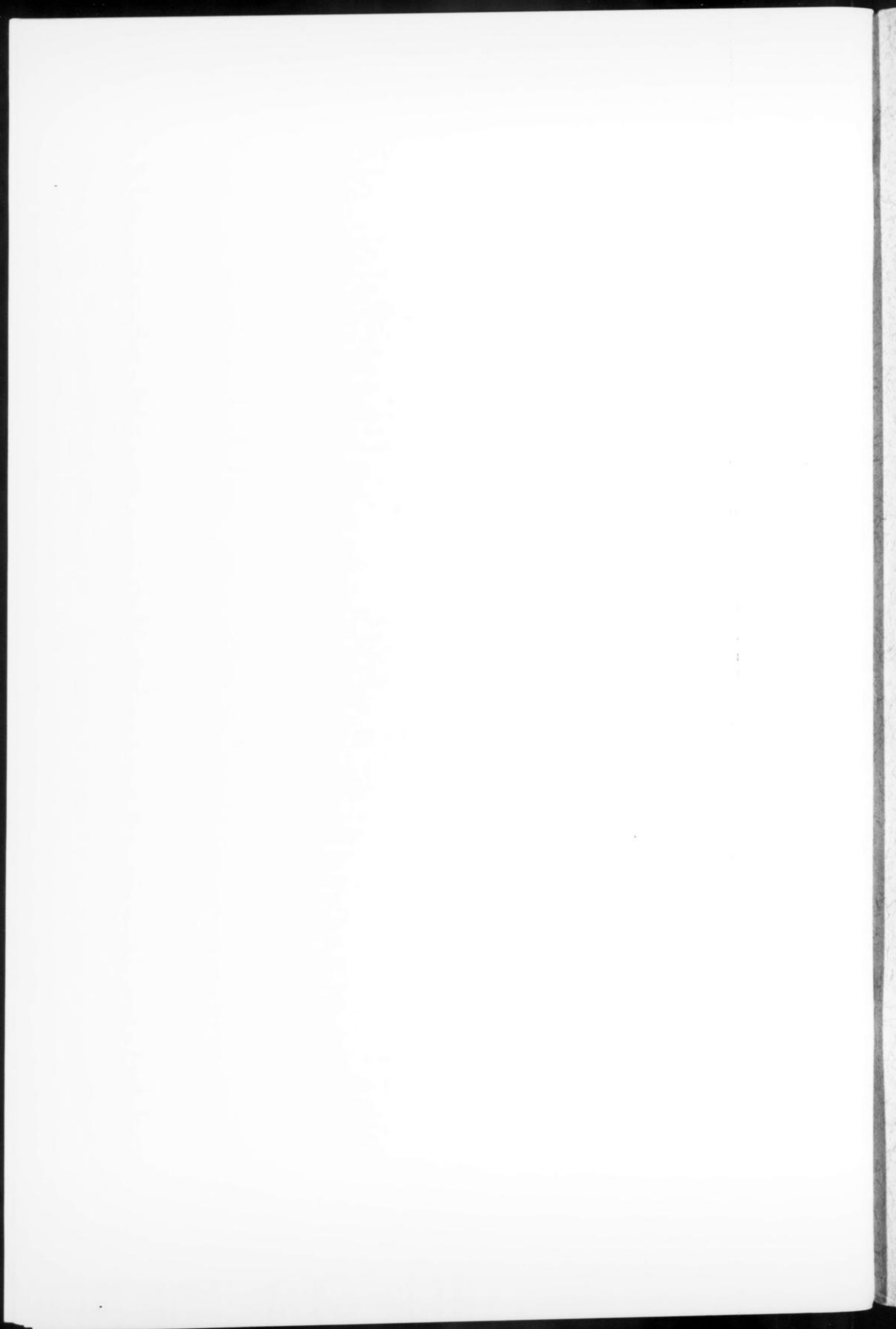
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