

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

# **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**

PROBLEMS  
OF PEACE AND  
SOCIALISM

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Another glorious page has been inscribed in the history of mankind. Two valiant sons of the Soviet Union, Andrian Nikolayev and Pavel Popovich, have accomplished the first group flight into outer space, a flight unprecedented for complexity and duration.

Once again the world has seen that the Communists are taking the lead in science, in space as on Earth. For them there are no obstacles, no difficulties that cannot be overcome.

The Editorial Board of **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW** heartily congratulates the intrepid cosmonauts and all those who helped to make this magnificent achievement possible. Communists all over the world are proud of their fellow-Communists, Nikolayev and Popovich, whose names have become the symbol of valor.

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## *Among Our Contributors*

*N. S. KHRUSHCHOV: First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.*

*JOHN GOLLAN: General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain.*

*DEEPA NUSANTARA AIDIT: Chairman, Central Committee, Communist Party of Indonesia.*

*FRANTISEK HAVLICEK: Czechoslovak journalist.*

*ROCKWELL KENT: American artist.*









# World Marxist Review:

## Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal  
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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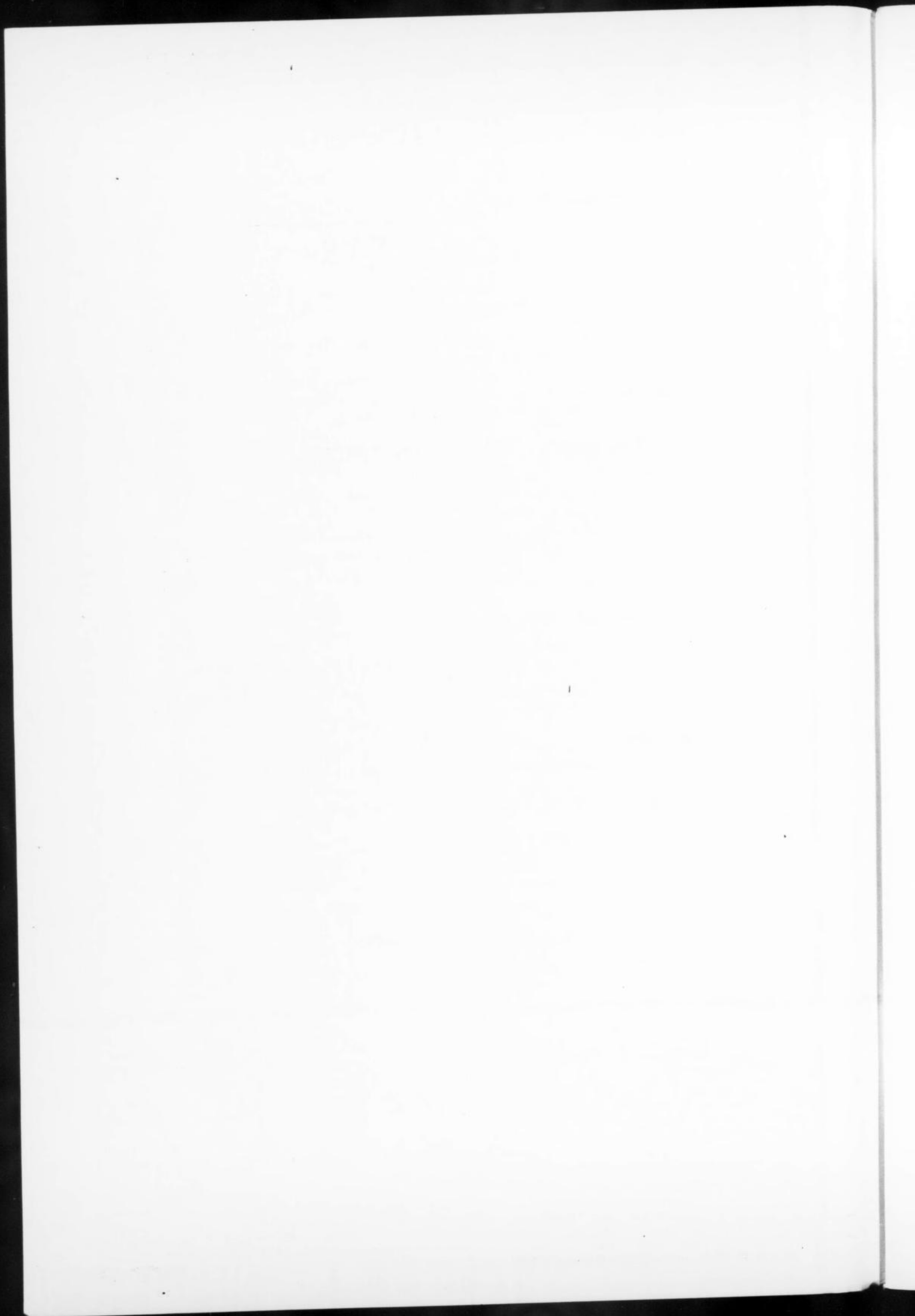
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# Vital Questions of the Development of the Socialist World System

N. S. Khrushchov

THE meeting in Moscow of first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member-countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, held on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party in June this year, was an important event in the life of the countries of the socialist commonwealth. That this meeting will play a big role in further strengthening the socialist system and in extending its influence on world development is beyond doubt.

Attention was focused on current problems of economic cooperation between the member-countries, problems of the greatest interest both to each of the countries and to the socialist world system as a whole. These problems have their source first of all in the internal requirements of the growth of world socialism, and also in the need to ensure our superiority in the competition with capitalism. Their solution will powerfully stimulate the further expansion of the productive forces and will be a milestone on the road to closer friendship and cooperation of the nations now building a new life, on the road to our common goal.

Lenin foresaw the future collaboration of socialist nations as taking place in a single worldwide cooperative in which the economy would be conducted according to a common plan. In his address to the Third Congress of Workers' Cooperatives in 1918 he pointed out that only one thing was needed at the moment—the unanimous desire to go ahead with an open mind in this single worldwide cooperative (*Collected Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 28, p. 309).

These words of Lenin express the final aim towards which all the socialist countries and the entire international revolutionary movement of the working class are striving. However, the formation of a "worldwide cooperative of the nations" is a long, complicated and many-sided process. The main thing about it is not just the consistent, step-by-step realization of economic cooperation between our countries, but also the ideological,

political and cultural coming together of the socialist nations, in the course of which the mistrust and alienation of the nations engendered by capitalism will ultimately disappear and the spirit of fraternity, friendship and cooperation will prevail.

On the way to this aim we shall go through a series of successive stages, none of which can be bypassed. It will be necessary to work hard over the solution of the many big and small problems of all kinds in order to reach that high level of unity without which one cannot even imagine the future joint life of the socialist nations.

With the rise of capitalism the expansion of the productive forces destroyed the local and later also the national exclusiveness. Capitalism brought into being firm international contacts, contacts which are being extended all the time. The trend towards a single worldwide economy regulated by the working class of all nations according to a common plan "is already quite clearly revealed under capitalism and, undoubtedly, will be further developed and fully consummated under socialism," Lenin said (*Collected Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 31, p. 125). The objective necessity for a single world economy finds its fullest expression in the main productive force of society—the working class—which, in the course of class struggle, becomes a powerful social force.

In the Soviet Union the victory of socialism led to the social and economic unity of the whole of society which became the sole owner of all the main means of production. And on this basis the social, political and ideological unity of the Soviet people took shape.

Now with the emergence of socialism beyond the boundaries of one country we observe for the first time in history the process of working people joining in the effort to build a new society on the scale of a world system. Strictly speaking, this process set in a bare fifteen years ago with the rise of the new relations between the peoples and of new forms of all-round cooperation of the socialist countries. In the socialist countries there are still classes, but these are friendly



classes; the national peculiarities will remain for a long time, and what is more, the most favorable conditions are being created for the flowering of the nations. It follows, then, that national and, to a certain extent, class interests and distinctions still remain. At the same time, irrespective of class and national affinities, a steadily growing significance is acquired by the main and decisive things, those that unite and make kindred all the people taking part in building the new life, namely, their common interests in the fight to ensure the victory and consolidation of socialism and communism on a world scale, and their common Marxist-Leninist ideology.

And this grand community of political aims and interests, resting on the granite foundation of Marxist-Leninist teaching and on proletarian internationalism, is the guarantee of the stability of the socialist world system, the guarantee of those splendid successes which socialism is ordained to win.

### 1. A New Stage in Economic Cooperation

The socialist world system is advancing to a higher level, as are the forms of the contacts and the cooperation between the countries. After the victory of the socialist revolution the peoples of all our countries, naturally, sought to combine their forces in order to uphold their gains. The main thing at this period was to combine politically with the aim of consolidating the rule of the people, reinforcing the socialist system in all spheres of social and economic life in each country, and organizing the joint defense of the socialist countries from possible imperialist aggression. In substance this was a military-political alliance of the socialist countries.

On the scale of the world system an important thesis of Marxism-Leninism had found affirmation, the thesis that the socialist mode of production could arise and expand only after the working masses headed by the working class had won political power in the course of the socialist revolution and had organized defense of their gains against the onslaught of the counter-revolution.

In the economic sense, and especially in the sphere of international economic relations, the countries of people's democracy in Europe could be described as breakaways from the capitalist world. The new socialist relations did not triumph overnight. The economies of these countries were multiform and preserved deep traces of the antagonisms and ills left by capitalism. The economies of most of the

People's Democracies, orientated on the West, still retained the hallmarks of subordination to the big imperialist powers with whom they had been closely linked in the past. At this time the economic relations between the socialist countries rested largely on a bilateral basis. The socialist world market had just appeared on the scene and the new forms of cooperation characteristic of the socialist commonwealth had just begun to take shape.

This phase could be described as a kind of transition from the old system of external economic relations typical for capitalism to the moulding of the new type of international contacts. And just as the separate countries that had had their socialist revolution found it necessary during the transitional period to erect a new socio-economic edifice using the old materials, so too in establishing the new system of relations between the countries taking the socialist road, we had to make do with what we inherited from capitalism, to make use for the time being of those forms of economic contact left to us by capitalism.

The formation in 1949 of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid marked the beginning of multilateral cooperation at first in the sphere of trade and afterwards also in the sphere of production. The socialist world system is now beginning to take shape as a single entity not only politically but also economically. In the course of the twelve years' existence of the Council we have succeeded in creating, at least for the member-countries of the organization, a solid basis for joint cooperation and mutual aid.

The functions of the Council in organizing joint economic cooperation do not extend as yet to all the socialist countries. The differences in time in taking the road to socialism prevented them from simultaneously entering into joint economic cooperation. However, the successful economic integration of the member-countries will make joint cooperation easier for all the socialist countries. Between the member-countries and the socialist countries which do not belong to the Council broad economic contacts are taking shape, and these are paving the way for still wider economic cooperation.

At present the socialist camp as a whole and most of the countries comprising it have a developed industry and large-scale socialized agriculture. The socialist system, which embraces 26 per cent of the territory of the world, produces, according to incomplete figures, about 37 per cent of the world industrial output. In most of the socialist countries



industry accounts for approximately three-quarters of the overall national product.

The socialist world market in which all the socialist countries are taking part—the Soviet Union, People's China, and the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia—has grown stronger.

The socialist countries are now at a stage when the conditions have ripened for raising their economic and political cooperation to a new and higher level. At this level a special significance is acquired by coordinated national-economic plans, socialist international division of labor, and by coordination and specialization of production which will guarantee the successful organic development of the socialist countries.

The socialist world system is now at a stage when it is no longer possible correctly to chart its development by merely adding up the national economies. The task now is to do everything to consolidate the national economy of each, broaden its relations and gradually advance towards that single worldwide organism embracing the system as a whole which Lenin's genius foresaw.

With the emergence of socialism beyond the boundaries of a single country, its economic laws found much greater room for action and their operation became more and more complex.

For example, the law of planned and proportional development operating on the scale of the system as a whole calls for planning and definite proportions both in each of the socialist countries taken separately and on the scale of the entire commonwealth. To utilize the economic laws of socialism fully we must take due cognizance of their operation not only at national levels but also on the international plane.

We are now faced with a task of historical significance—to learn how to make the most effective use of the advantages of socialism, advantages flowing from the existence of the new world system, that is, to direct the socialist international division of labor, specialization and coordination of production, coordination of research and technological work and to make full use of the possibilities opened up by the socialist world market.

Marx in his time pointed out that even the simple addition of labor greatly increases its productivity. All the greater then is the productivity of social labor, given the combined efforts of the socialist countries with their single-type social structure and community of political aims and interests. By coordinating the economies of the socialist

countries we will be able to increase tenfold the strength of each and of the system as a whole. We are bringing the forms of our economic cooperation into conformity with our increased productive forces, and we are clearing the way for their further development.

Streamlining the system of cooperation and mutual aid will help to bring the socialist nations closer, make for the evening up of their economic development generally and, at the same time, enhance the sovereignty of each country since each will have in addition to its own forces the support of the entire socialist community. Not to make use of the advantages deriving from the international division of labor now that we have a socialist system would mean taking the more difficult road in creating modern productive forces, depriving ourselves of the possibility of expanding production in keeping with the latest achievements of science and technology.

It goes without saying that a precondition for the continued expansion of the productive forces of the socialist countries and, consequently, of the entire socialist world economy, is the fullest utilization by each country of its internal resources, steady improvement in the forms and methods of economic leadership and consistent application of the Leninist principles and methods of socialist management.

The socialist world system, it should be said, can forge ahead only through the all-round cooperation of the countries belonging to it, through their coordinated effort, bearing in mind the interests of each country and of the socialist community as a whole. There is no other way.

The need for more active cooperation between the socialist countries is dictated also by the interests of winning time for victory in the economic competition with capitalism. We should bear in mind that the imperialists, having seriously accepted our challenge to compete with them economically, are now seeking to combine their forces in order to halt the onward march of socialism. They would like to wipe out the socialist system and restore capitalist rule throughout the world. But the countries of socialism have reached such a level in their economic, scientific and technological development that even some circles in the West now appreciate that they cannot realize their designs by way of war. The imperialists cannot but see that, with the growth of modern arms, corresponding to the new developments in science and



technology, the socialist camp, far from lagging behind, is in many respects ahead of them. Only those who have lost all sense of judgment can count on resolving the historical conflict between socialism and capitalism by means of war.

True, there are in the West enemies of socialism who say that it would be better to die under capitalism than to live under communism. But this is the view of the lunatic fringe. Sober-minded politicians in the West tend more and more to the realistic view that, willy nilly, they have to reckon with the existence in the world of the two systems—socialism and capitalism—that is, they have to take into account the policy of peaceful coexistence. Naturally, this conclusion does not mean that the imperialists have become reconciled to socialism, to our theory, to our practice, and to our ideas. Not at all. This is an involuntary recognition of the new balance of forces on the world arena brought about by the growth of the powerful socialist system. There is no escaping that. That is why the imperialists have been forced to take into account the existing state of affairs. Objectively this signifies that gradually we are impelling the capitalist countries onto the highway of peaceful competition between the two systems.

In this recognition of things the imperialists, clearly, act solely from the standpoint of their interests. They have not the slightest desire to part with the hope of undermining the socialist countries in one way or another, nor have they relinquished their struggle against the socialist camp. But in the military sphere this struggle lands them in a blind alley since both sides, that is, the socialist countries and the capitalist countries, possess powerful nuclear weapons. Not risking at the moment to start a war against the socialist countries but without any let up in the arms drive, the imperialists are utilizing all their possibilities in the struggle against the socialist world system in the sphere of economy, politics and ideology.

At the moment the question stands like this—which system will manifest the greatest viability, that is, which system in the quickest time will provide the people with more material and spiritual values. Evidently it is in this area that hard battles will be fought between capitalism and socialism.

After the adoption by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU of the program for building communism in the Soviet Union, the imperialists began loudly to trumpet about the "economic challenge" of the USSR, to

work feverishly to hold their own in the economic competition between the two systems. The leaders of capitalism and its ideologists forthrightly declare that, in view of the growing threat of an economic offensive on the part of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the capitalist countries should combine their forces. It was not accidental that President Kennedy, in a recent declaration about the so-called interdependence of the Western powers, called for joint effort on the part of the imperialist countries of Western Europe and the United States with a view to establishing an "Atlantic partnership." It goes without saying that Kennedy's plans provide for maintaining and enhancing the leading role of the United States in the capitalist world. These developments show once again that the imperialists dread economic competition every bit as much as they dread our military might, and are trying to counterpose to the socialist countries, to the international communist movement, and to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples a solid front of the reactionary forces.

After the Second World War the trend towards integrating the foreign policy and the economies of the capitalist countries became more pronounced. We saw the rise of international organizations such as the European Coal and Steel Community, the Common Market, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and others. The rulers of the Western world, notwithstanding all their antagonisms, have partly succeeded in forming inter-state alliances the activities of which create difficulties for the newly emergent countries in Asia and Africa and also in Latin America.

How is it that the imperialists, despite their antagonisms, have managed in a measure to coordinate on an international scale economic cooperation in a number of important spheres?

First, we see manifested here, although on a contradictory basis, the objective trend towards greater internationalization of economic life, rendered more pronounced in our days by the rapid scientific and technological advance. State-monopoly capital on its part is anxious to encourage this trend and to use it for its aggressive military-political aims. By forming their inter-state economic associations, the imperialists are trying to counteract the negative consequences of the spontaneous development of the capitalist world economy.



Second, faced with the fact of the growing might of the socialist system and its planned economy, and faced with the fact of the rapid advance of the emancipation movement of the peoples, the imperialists are forced to find ways and means of easing the antagonisms in their camp. Dreading peaceful economic competition with the socialist countries, they are trying to tone down their internal antagonisms in view of the basic contradiction of our epoch—the contradiction between capitalism and socialism.

The Common Market signifies big advantages for the imperialist monopolies. At the same time it threatens the interests of the working class, the peasantry and the middle sections of the urban population. The small countries will, increasingly, be more dependent on this imperialist alliance which, in substance, signifies a new form of the division and redivision of the capitalist world market. The aggressive forces want to use the Common Market for the purpose of reinforcing NATO and stepping up the arms drive.

With the formation of the international imperialist alliances, the smaller countries of the capitalist system, losing their previous role and their sovereignty, are forced to follow in the wake of the United States and the other big imperialist powers. The rulers of these countries are going so far as to forego even their independence, because they see in the Common Market and in other organizations of its kind a certain defense against the onward march of socialism and against the pressures coming from the working people.

Here we see manifested yet another aspect of the military-political alliances of the imperialists—more and more openly they are assuming the role of international gendarmes for the purpose of crushing the movement of the peoples for freedom and social progress.

The imperialists and their propaganda depict the movement of the peoples for freedom and the struggle of the working people for their rights as the penetration of communism from "without," as an external force upsetting the political balance in the world. These arguments are designed as a screen for their dread of the growing discontent of the popular masses. And they try to distort the obvious truth that the Communist movement, far from being brought in from outside, grows inside the capitalist countries on the soil of class struggle, on the soil of the mounting antagonism between the working

class and the capitalists, between all working people and their exploiters.

The rulers of the Western world cannot but see that the balance of forces is tilting more and more in favor of socialism. The old world of exploitation, colonial tyranny and oppression of the working masses, is disintegrating under the powerful blows of the emancipation movement of the peoples, is cracking up, threatening the ruling classes with catastrophe. And in the endeavor to maintain the peoples in subjection, the imperialists are forming aggressive military blocs like NATO and SEATO which, on the one hand, are spearheaded against the socialist system as the main bulwark of the freedom and happiness of the peoples, and, on the other, fulfil functions of a gendarmerie in relation to the national liberation movement and the working masses striving to overthrow the rule of the exploiters. The so-called economic alliances of the imperialists are designed for precisely the same purposes. The Western rulers do not bother to conceal the direct link and interdependence which exist, for example, between the economic organization of the Common Market and the aggressive NATO alliance. They delight in stressing that their economic unions are also called upon to fulfil important functions for the so-called defense of the West, by which they mean the aggressive policy of the imperialists.

It goes without saying that one should not exaggerate the possibilities of these international unions of the imperialists. No matter how much they talk in the West about European integration and its results, one cannot get away from the fact that the formation of these unions cannot rid the capitalist world of its deep-going antagonisms and defects. Dominated by the United States, these military blocs and alliances are frequently in a state of crisis arising from the contradictions between the main imperialist powers. The interests of the small group of imperialist powers conflict with the interests of the other capitalist countries and with the interests of all nations. This state of affairs, obviously, cannot but weaken the imperialist amalgamations and unions.

But if we do not exaggerate the strength of the adversary this does not mean that we should ignore it. It would be unwise not to pay attention to the designs and actions of the men behind the European integration. The Communists are combating the attempts to use the Common Market and other amalgamations of this kind for the purpose of preparing another war and of intensifying the



armaments drive, for purposes of exerting economic and political pressure on other countries and especially on the newly-emergent states. We have exposed and we shall continue to expose the dangerous consequences of the capitalist integration for the working people.

At the same time we take cognizance of the objective trend towards internationalization of production which can be observed in the capitalist world and, in keeping with this, we are designing our own policy and our own economic measures. And this brings us to the question of the possibility of economic cooperation and peaceful economic competition not only between the separate countries with differing social systems, but also between their economic amalgamations.

We can see the danger contained in the striving of the imperialists to utilize the advantages flowing from West European integration for the purpose of forming exclusive inter-state economic groupings bearing an aggressive character. By means of this policy the West is erecting barriers in the way of world trade and economic cooperation between the economic unions of the two systems. In contrast, the socialist countries in this new situation advance proposals aimed at expanding international trade between the countries of the two diametrically opposed systems.

In the published communiqué the participants in the meeting expressed the desire for more trade with the capitalist countries. They advanced the proposal for an international conference to discuss the forming of an international trading organization which would take in all areas and all countries of the world without discrimination.

We stand for cooperation with the capitalist countries also in the sphere of production. The socialist countries, for example, have repeatedly put forward proposals for cooperation with the West European countries in the extraction of raw materials that are in short supply, in multiplying energy resources, joint exploitation of waterways, and in other branches.

At the same time, with the imperialists working overtime to combine their forces, we Communists draw also another conclusion. To the combined front of imperialism the socialist commonwealth counterposes a still closer union based on genuine equality, community of interests and lofty humanist aims.

Our vital interests—the interests of building socialism and communism—call for com-

bined efforts in the matter of developing the national economy of each of the socialist countries and for increasing the might of the socialist commonwealth as a whole; they call for constant attention to strengthening the unified material and technological base of socialism. For us these are milestones along the highway leading to a worldwide socialist economy.

## **2. The International Division of Labor, Cooperation and Coordination of Production**

International division of labor, realized by way of coordination and specialization of production, is vital to the successful development of the socialist world economy.

Division of labor between countries has existed for a long time. And indissolubly associated with it is the advance made by the productive forces of society. Capitalism, as we know, right from its inception made the widest possible use of international division of labor. But under capitalism the link between the economies of the different countries took on a deformed, lop-sided character with the result that in the imperialist era the world found itself so divided that alongside a small group of highly developed industrial countries—exploiters—there was a large number of underdeveloped countries which became the objects of colonial exploitation and dependence.

Under capitalism the international division of labor serves as an instrument of the monopolies for plundering the nations whose economic development was retarded. Through a thousand economic threads, including financial and other "aid," these countries were bound to the big powers, thus deepening the inequality of the countries and dooming millions to backwardness and poverty.

Under socialism the international division of labor is a striking expression of the relations of genuine friendship, equality and cooperation that exist between the nations building the new life. The socialist division of labor accelerates our rate of advance and facilitates overcoming the economic and other difficulties which arise. It is aimed at abolishing the economic gap between the industrial countries and the formerly backward countries, at facilitating the industrialization of the agrarian countries, at accelerating their economic and cultural progress, at consolidating the independence of all the socialist countries.

At the level of the socialist system as a whole the international division of labor is organized as a planned process based on con-



scious utilization of the economic laws of socialism and, precisely because of this, contains unlimited possibilities for accelerating expansion of the productive forces and for multiplying the material benefits of society. Socialist international division of labor and wide specialization and coordination of production provide the national economies of the socialist countries with the broadest opportunities for the most fruitful development; the various economies, supplementing one another, will gradually merge into a single streamlined economic complex with each having its own place and functions and in which each country, each people, will have an even stronger foundation for solving the national tasks of socialist construction.

Much work has been done to further the socialist international division of labor during the years of the existence of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. Not long ago the Council published its Basic Principles of the Socialist International Division of Labor. This document will be a guide in economic cooperation. Many recommendations have been worked out for specialization and coordination of production. And while some of these have already been carried out, far more will have to be done in this direction.

The participants in the meeting of the Council unanimously recognized that joint shaping of economic policy is of the utmost importance at present for the advance of the socialist world system, that it is becoming the main thing in our economic cooperation.

The need for agreed national-economic plans on the scale of the socialist world system derives from the objective economic law of the planned and proportional growth of the socialist economy. If we learn to utilize this law on the scale of the socialist system as a whole, or for a beginning on the scale of the countries belonging to the Council, if we improve planning not only of the national economies but of the entire system of economic relations, the socialist world economy could make still more rapid progress, the opportunities for operating with our economic resources would be greater and we could produce more economically, with the minimum expenditure.

Work along lines of coordinating the national-economic plans of the member-countries began as early as 1956. This enabled us to reach agreement on a number of important targets up to 1965. At the moment consultations are under way on plans for the next twenty years. The results of joint decisions concerning fuel and power and raw

materials are quite good, and the same can be said about specialization and coordination in machine building and in the chemical industry.

Thus in the matter of agreed national-economic plans the member-countries got off to a good start. And with these good results behind us, we should now be able to make even greater progress in this vital matter. We are now in a position to reach agreement not only on separate output targets but also to work out the main national-economic proportions in keeping with our common interests, and to arrive at a kind of overall balance which could fulfil the role of a joint plan for the economy of the member-countries. It was said quite correctly at the meeting that we should work out unified plans for the basic branches of industry. This would make it possible to satisfy not only the requirements of each country separately but of our whole organization.

Marx pointed out that under capitalism planning was possible only within the limits of a single enterprise, beyond the walls of which reigned the spontaneous action of economic laws and anarchy of production. We, Communists, having abolished the capitalist production relations in our countries, have got rid of the anarchy of production and, at national levels, we have curbed the blind market relations. Now we are confronted with the need to go beyond this and, by starting out from planning on a national scale, go in for planning at the level of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, and afterwards at the level of the socialist world system as a whole.

Our aim is to build the socialist world economy as a single entity. But to accomplish this the socialist countries have no resources to draw on other than the accumulations created by each. It follows, then, that we cannot get on without agreement, even if only in general outline, on the policy of creating and utilizing accumulations on the scale of the Council. This presupposes, first, allocating funds for building common enterprises—a thing which we have just begun to do—and, second, agreed national investment plans which would take into account both the national and the common interests.

Inherent in the socialist world system are many advantages similar to those enjoyed by the socialist economy within the national boundaries. And these advantages, for one thing, enable us to avoid the unnecessary expenditure which is a feature of capitalism and also of small-scale commodity production.



An analogy with the agricultural producer cooperative will not be out of place. Where a producer cooperative has one large modern farm building, individual peasants have two or three hundred small ones which, in the aggregate, are very costly. If we transfer this example to the socialist economy as a whole, we will see that the socialist countries operating with agreed plans will find it advantageous to build one large enterprise instead of several smaller ones separately.

In coordinating programs for capital building we should, evidently, aim at a more balanced allocation of effort in the sphere of capital expenditure. It goes without saying that it is the sovereign right of each country to determine what proportion of its national income goes for accumulation. In each country this share is fixed on the basis of the concrete tasks of economic construction and the specific conditions. But each socialist country may be expected to take an equal share proportionate to its economic potential in developing those vital branches which serve our common needs.

Since our job is to secure the most effective utilization of the means allocated for capital building, it may well be that we shall have to re-switch some of the allocations from country to country, on mutually acceptable conditions, of course, for the interested countries. This way of doing things will be well worth while and will benefit the countries concerned.

The Soviet government, like the governments of the other member-countries of the Council, stands for extending the joint financing of industrial building, transport installations and other enterprises of an international significance. Joint financing should be practised first of all in the raw material branches working for export since these branches are the biggest consumers of capital. In our view the conditions have matured for jointly examining in the Council plans for the more important enterprises of common interests.

Coordinating capital building will ensure a rational distribution of the productive forces on the scale of the entire commonwealth. And should we succeed, and of this there can hardly be any doubt, in agreeing on plans for capital building between the countries with the proviso that the new enterprises will cater not only for national but also for common needs, that account will be taken not only of the production capacity of one's own country but also of the others, then

it will be possible to release quite substantial funds for other things.

Coordination of plans, far from restricting the economic initiative of the countries, will, on the contrary, give free rein to it. The result will be a much better and fuller utilization of the possibilities for advancing both the economy of each country and that of the socialist world as a whole.

In the past the Council was not in a position to revise the system of coordinating plans generally and investment plans in particular on a new basis, because, first, according to the old statute it did not have the necessary powers and, second, it lacked the necessary planning instruments—material balances, comparable national-economic indices and unified statistics. The decisions of the June meeting will, however, enable the work of the Council to be organized in a new way.

Coordinating the national-economic plans together with coordinated and specialized production will help to bring the economies of the socialist countries closer together and will add to our common economic potential. What we need are those flexible forms of mutually advantageous and equal cooperation that will best take into account the interests of each country and help them to prosper.

The process of deepening the international division of labor is reflected best of all in foreign trade. The overall volume of foreign trade of the member-countries of the Council in 1961 exceeded the 1950 volume three and a half times. The increase in the direct trade between the member-countries was approximately the same. True, the volume of industrial production for this period rose in the same proportion. But if we bear in mind that the growth of agricultural output was somewhat more tardy, we will find that the growth in trade between the member-countries exceeded the growth of their overall national-economic production. This was due partly to the extended division of labor.

The foregoing figures, while they can be regarded as satisfactory for the previous stage of cooperation, do not correspond to the tasks of today. With the substantial extension of the division of labor and specialization and coordination, the growth of trade between the member-countries will noticeably outstrip the growth in their output and the increase in the volume of their overall foreign trade.

Some bourgeois economists delight in stressing the successes of the West European integration, particularly in the sphere of the division of labor. They point out, for exam-



ple, that the growth of trade between the Common Market countries from 1950 to 1961 was double the rate of growth of their industrial output, that it considerably surpassed the growth of their overall foreign trade.

Comparing the growth of trade in the Common Market countries with that in the member-countries of the Council, they claim that the international division of labor among the countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid is still at a lower level than in the European Community. But in saying this they ignore the fact that we started out from different levels, and that it took the capitalists dozens of years to reach their present level. Long before the integration, the "Six" were highly developed industrially and specialization and coordination were more widely practised. But we had to begin from scratch. In the early stages the conditions needed for extensive division of labor did not exist in all the countries of people's democracy. Some of them had little or no industry, no sources of accumulation and, consequently, lacked the base without which effective international division of labor is unthinkable.

Now, however, this stage has been passed. All the member-countries of the Council have their own industrial base, which can be extended more rapidly by way of the socialist international division of labor. The higher the level of the productive forces the more insistent the need for greater coordination and specialization and the better will be the conditions for their realization.

The facts show that year by year in the socialist camp the exchange of goods, mainly raw materials and other items, is growing. This, of course, is a good thing. As to the mutual deliveries of manufactures, and of machinery and equipment in the first place, their growth so far has lagged behind the increased output in these branches. For the period from 1955 to 1960 the output of machinery and equipment in the member-countries of the Council showed a growth of 95 per cent. Moreover, up-to-date machines were exported by former agrarian countries like Bulgaria, Rumania and others, which is proof of their successful industrialization. The mutual deliveries between the member-countries for the same period showed an increase of 79 per cent. By 1965 the member-countries of the Council anticipate that output of machines and equipment will have risen approximately 50 per cent compared with 1960, while the growth of mutual deliveries of this production, in keeping with trade agreements, will be 45 per cent. But the level of the

division of labor between our countries no longer corresponds to their economic requirements.

The lag in the mutual deliveries of machinery and equipment compared with their general growth of production reflects an insufficient development of the division of labor and of specialization and coordination. But there can be no doubt that the lag is but a temporary matter which can, and will, be overcome by our joint efforts.

It should be said that in the sphere of specialization and coordination in the manufacturing branches of industry the member-countries of the Council inherited a pretty bad "legacy" from capitalism. The conditions in some of the People's Democracies in the past when they were part of the capitalist world economy were such that they were left with an economically unjustified universalization of industry based on small-quantity production. The absence of a reliable raw materials and fuel base and above all the economic dependence on the imperialist monopolies of the Big Powers deprived the majority of these countries of the possibility of developing large-scale production. This circumstance prevented them from taking part in the international division of labor on any kind of favorable conditions and engendered a tendency for them to produce as many types of manufactures as possible. They had no guarantees that they could get the things they needed in exchange for their own products.

The course of the cooperation between the member-countries of the Council made it quite clear that this kind of "universalization" had no justification—it was much too costly.

The tendency for a country to produce as many types of manufactures as possible, which derives from the principle of "having everything of your own" regardless of the cost, generally speaking can arise in our time either as a result of an insufficiently developed economy or for reasons of a non-economic character. We are speaking here not about the Big Powers, for they can afford to have a more universal industry thanks to specialization and coordination inside their countries and to a relatively big home market. But even for these countries international coordination has its advantages.

Under socialism the operation of the law of value does not bear a spontaneous character. Our enterprises do not come under the hammer even when they show a loss. But it goes without saying that we cannot afford



to ignore the principle of "profitableness" without which it is impossible to conduct a socialist economy.

The more profitable the socialist enterprises are the greater the accumulations at the disposal of the state for extended reproduction and for satisfying consumer needs. The profitable enterprise nowadays is the enterprise in which there is mass production and specialization, the enterprise equipped with the latest achievements of science and technology. Hence for the member-countries of the Council the question stands as follows: either the way of universalization of industry in each country or a resolute advance along the road of coordination and international specialization. The member-countries hold that only in the latter way will their successful development be assured.

As we know, the expansion of the productive forces under capitalism is associated with a vast concentration and centralization of capital which makes it possible to engage in mass production. In the developed capitalist countries the ups and downs of the market lead to the abolition of small production. As a rule the enterprises which come out on top in the competitive struggle are those which engage in mass production and where production costs are low. The capitalists are impelled to division of labor and specialization by the merciless operation of the law of value according to which any enterprise must be profitable, otherwise it goes to the wall. Mass production is the key to the economic successes of capitalism. Why, for example, was Ford able to sell his automobiles on the world market? Because he engaged in assembly-line production, which is the cheapest way to produce.

But it is here, too, that we see the weak and vulnerable sides of capitalist production. Concentration of capital and mass production under capitalism are based on private ownership of the means of production. The capitalist produces not for himself but for the market. In the conditions of private ownership and the operation of the blind laws of capitalism growth of production comes up against the relatively narrow dimensions of the market, making it impossible to foresee for any considerable length of time the requirements of the market. This is one of the sources of the many unpleasant moments encountered by the capitalists, including crises and stagnation in their industry.

The socialist countries, having put an end to private ownership of the means of production, have liberated themselves also from the

ills engendered by capitalism. And if we now, on the scale of the entire socialist system, combine our planning with the organization, on the basis of socialist "concentration of capital," of assembly-line production—the advantages of which were first demonstrated by capitalism—we shall undoubtedly accelerate our victory in the economic competition with the capitalist system. But for this we must widely organize coordination and specialization on the scale of the socialist world system. Highly developed production such as that in the socialist countries has nothing in common with autarchy. To cling to the national exclusiveness of the economies of our countries would signify turning our backs on the very great advantages flowing from the socialist system, artificially holding back our advance, thus causing injury to our cause.

The socialist world system is not just a socio-political union of countries, it is a world economic system. It follows then that the coordination should be pursued not within the restricted limits of each socialist country but on the scale of the socialist world economy, which means overcoming the national exclusiveness inherited from the past. Our planned production will enable us to do this successfully.

We are now advancing towards a much higher level, a level from which it is possible to observe and to take into account much more fully the interests of the entire socialist world economy.

International division of labor and specialization of production offer the best conditions for socialist industrialization, especially in the formerly backward countries. We, Communists, fully understand the strivings of each of the socialist countries towards industrialization since this is a pre-condition for expanding the national economy, raising the culture and evening up the general level of economic development in the socialist community. We fully appreciate the desire of the people of these countries to overcome as quickly as possible the legacy of the past and to reach the heights of the developed countries. And we hold that specialization and coordination will make possible the construction of bigger and more profitable enterprises equipped with modern technology. Given this approach, the national income will grow rapidly, accumulations will be built up for extended reproduction and better conditions will be created for training highly skilled personnel and for scientific and technological progress.



The big specialized enterprises set up in keeping with the socialist division of labor are guaranteed sales for their products on the socialist world market, and the planned character of the economy ensures a stable demand for them. What is more, since all or many of the socialist countries are interested in these specialized enterprises, this presupposes joint activity and help in building and running them. It follows, therefore, that building a specialized and coordinated industry is equally advantageous both for the countries which already have developed industries and for those now advancing along the road of industrialization.

International specialization will benefit not only the small countries but also such big countries as the Soviet Union. It goes without saying that the home requirements alone of a country like the USSR with its immense market enable it to build large enterprises of optimal size. But it, too, can benefit from participation in the socialist international division of labor. The Soviet Union is prepared even to cut down production of certain types of manufacture should it be found more expedient to manufacture them in the other member-countries of the Council.

Cooperation in the Council has now reached a point when it is necessary to decide the trend of the specialization in each country, that is, decide exactly which branches, in what complex and on what raw material base, should be built in each of the countries so as to meet our common needs in the most economic way. The time has come to draw up a balance sheet of production and consumption of the main types of manufacture in our countries for a period extending at least up to 1970 and in this way prepare a general scheme for inter-state specialization and coordination. The intention for the immediate years is to produce the more important types of manufacture on the basis of international specialization and coordination.

The program for promoting the socialist international division of labor should be supplemented by agreed measures for improving organization and planning in the sphere of trade. With the emergence of socialism beyond the boundaries of a single country there arose the socialist world market—a completely new sphere of international exchange—which, in contrast to the capitalist world market, is governed not by blind laws but by planning. Trade between the socialist countries is ensured by long-term agreements based on planned production.

From the foreign-trade relations which have taken shape, we can see that we are still not making full use of the abundant possibilities for expanding trade among the member-countries of the Council. It often happens that needed goods are purchased "on the side," whereas with the proper organization they could be purchased in our own countries. There is hardly any need to say that this state of affairs hampers our economic advance.

The socialist international division of labor can develop successfully only if the mechanism of our foreign trade operates smoothly and without a hitch, if trade ensures the full and timely realization of the goods created through the division of labor. This explains why the member-countries have agreed on a series of measures to improve the system of foreign trade. In particular a big role will be played by going over to multilateral accounting, and also by measures to enhance mutual responsibility for fulfilment of obligations.

Expansion of foreign trade depends on the rate of growth of production, on the level of the international division of labor, and on the state of the foreign trade relations. Up till now the expansion of trade on the scale of the member-countries has had its source chiefly in the growth in volume of production. The time has now come to make the fullest possible use of all three factors.

The greater international specialization and coordination provide a sound basis for long-term trade agreements. The Council is now faced with the job of drawing up a system which will ensure going over from bilateral to multilateral planning and regulation of the trade and accounting between the socialist countries.

Also important in the sphere of foreign trade is to extend the range and improve the quality of consumer goods. This, for many reasons, is a particularly urgent matter. The industry of the socialist countries now has everything needed to ensure a fuller and wider satisfaction of the needs of the population for consumer goods. It should be said frankly that the opportunities for doing this, in the Soviet Union for example, are not being fully utilized. We have set ourselves the task, on the basis of an advance in agriculture and the expansion of the chemical industry, greatly to improve the quality of consumer goods, to widen the range of the goods and to make them more accessible to the customer.



In the capitalist world, as we know, competition is a powerful stimulus to improving quality and extending the range of goods. On our socialist market there is no such thing as a competitive struggle. But this does not mean that we should reject the principle of healthy competition for quality and variety of goods, for such competition will enable us to decide how best, from the economic standpoint, to allocate the productive forces and production capacities.

It is obvious that the demand above all for the more essential, low-priced and high-quality goods will, increasingly, become the guiding principle both within our countries and on the scale of the socialist world market.

The measures for extending the international division of labor, coordination and specialization will in the next few years strengthen the mutual relations and the interdependence of the national economies of the member-countries of the Council and of the socialist community as a whole. In this context questions of accounting and control, and of strict economy, which are essential to socialist economic management, will acquire special significance. Applied to the socialist world economy this signifies, first, a balanced growth of the national economy of each country and of its foreign trade and, second, interchange of the results of the economic activity with mutual compensation for the socially necessary labor expended.

What we have in mind here is the carrying forward of the Leninist principles of business accounting practiced in foreign trade on an enlarged international arena.

Wider use and improvement of these methods which have fully justified themselves in building the socialist world economy presuppose mutual fraternal aid in all its forms. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union sees its international duty in continuing to help the other socialist countries in the matter of gathering resources with which to expand their economies, in doing everything possible to reinforce the defense capacity of its country which stands guard over the socialist gains of our commonwealth and in reinforcing the defense capacity of the socialist camp as a whole. We hold that one of the main tasks of the Council is to study the question of extending mutual aid among the socialist countries, especially help to those still behind economically. This applies, for example, to the newest member of the Council, the Mongolian People's Republic, which needs the aid of all our countries.

In order to ensure the correct combination of the economic interests of the separate countries with the interests of the commonwealth as a whole we would do well to think in terms of better utilization of the system of incentives. Clearly, one of the important tasks facing the Council is to find those economic levers which would stimulate the interest of the socialist countries in extending coordination and specialization, in expanding mutually advantageous trade. We should work towards a situation in which the economic needs, the economic advantages and the self-interest of each of the socialist countries would act as a stimulus to the socialist international division of labor and help to bring the national economies closer.

This aim, possibly, could be furthered by a policy of preferential prices for specialized products and also by joint credits for enterprises which are being built or reconstructed by way of international specialization and coordination. It may be expedient to establish a joint bank of the socialist countries for financing measures of this kind.

Just how to arrive at a system of incentives for the specialization and coordination is a matter for close study by experts. In our view the stimuli should be worked out first of all for the more important branches of industry, which are of the greatest significance for the socialist system as a whole and in which specialization yields the best results, and also for branches producing goods which are in particularly short supply. For each particular type of production the incentives should be calculated for a definite period, since in the future, with production in full swing and the launching of mass production, the producer country would automatically derive greater advantages and be no longer in need of supplementary material stimuli.

Coordination of production, bringing the economies of the various countries closer together, the evening up of their development should, ultimately, lead to a state of affairs in which it will, possibly, be advantageous and desirable for the goods of one socialist country to find a direct outlet on the markets of the others. This will be one of the manifestations of the gradual lowering and abolishing of the economic barriers between the socialist countries.

### **3. Strengthening the Material and Technological Base of the Council Countries**

Already today the strengthening of the material and technological base of the social-



ist countries necessitates the solution of a number of urgent problems. At the moment the member-countries are consulting about the main trends of their economic development and their inter-relations for the next twenty-year period. As can be seen from the projected long-term plans on which the consultations are being held, the industrial output of the Council countries for the period from 1961 to 1980 will increase more than sixfold, agricultural output threefold, while the national income will rise nearly fivefold.

For the purpose of completing these tasks it is most important that through joint efforts the way should be found for the most effective solution of the problems of fuel and raw materials since their increased output involves enormous capital investment.

In 1960 the member-countries produced 970 million tons of fuel (in terms of conventional units), and by 1980 it is anticipated that the output will be in the region of 3,400 million tons. The attainment of this goal will be facilitated by working out a single fuel and power balance for our countries in which the satisfaction of the fuel needs of each should be gauged from the standpoint of minimum expenditure and progressively increasing consumption rates.

Of the utmost importance is the application of methods which ensure an economy of coking coal. For the first time in world practice we are now making wide use of natural gas in the iron and steel industry, with the result that we have greatly cut our expenditure on the costly coke. If simultaneously with using natural gas in the blast furnaces we were to add oxygen, the saving of coke could be raised to 30-35 per cent. And what is more, the saving would be accompanied by greater furnace productivity.

The preliminary outlines of the twenty-year plan envisage a production in the member-countries of the Council in 1980 of 3,500,000 million kilowatt hours of electrical energy compared with the 1960 figure of 407,000 million. In resolving the fuel and power problem we should aim at achieving by 1970 the establishment of a single power grid for the European countries of people's democracy and the European part of the Soviet Union. This would give us an invaluable means for going ahead with joint development; the power capacity could be utilized much more effectively and with greater flexibility. This will signify the realization of Lenin's idea about electrifying a number of neighboring countries according to a unified plan.

Another urgent problem is to ascertain the most rational way of rapidly increasing the output of iron and steel to a level that will meet the constantly growing requirements of the socialist countries. Preliminary calculations show that by 1980 the output of steel will have risen to 330 million tons, compared with 86 millions in 1960. In view of the varying locations of the raw material and coking coal deposits close attention should be paid to the more rational siting of the iron and steel enterprises in order to ensure the necessary growth in output with the minimum expenditure of time, money and labor.

Solving the fuel and raw material problems has another aspect. For a number of reasons the socialist countries are still dependent on the non-socialist market for some raw materials at present in short supply. We believe the policy in this question should be to ensure ourselves reliable import sources of such items as copper, nickel, rubber and cotton. Together with this, the new developments in science and technology make it possible for us to arrange for the production of some of these items or their substitutes in the socialist countries. For example, the progress made by chemists in the USSR and in the other socialist countries enables us to think in terms of undertaking in the next few years joint production of a high-quality synthetic rubber which will completely replace natural rubber, and synthetic fibres which will replace cotton.

The long-term plans of the Council countries quite correctly assign a very important place to the rapid development of the chemical industry. But to do this with the forces of each country separately would not be an easy matter. This is a new branch of industry for nearly all of us, and it will be far easier to build it up jointly. In keeping with the decisions of the June meeting, the planning bodies will define the trend of specialization and coordination in chemical production for each country and will provide the industry with the necessary raw materials and equipment.

The volume of the industrial expansion and the division of labor on the scale of the member-countries pose very serious transport problems. According to preliminary calculations, the volume of goods shipped to the European People's Democracies from the Soviet Union alone is anticipated to rise from the 50 million tons in 1960 to 250 million in 1980. A substantial growth of freightage will



take place also between the People's Democracies.

This presupposes new railways and highways, modernization of the old ports and building new ones, bigger river and marine fleets, new waterways and other means of communication. We shall cope more easily with these tasks if we jointly work out plans for building and reconstructing transport arteries of international significance and also the methods of financing and administering them.

We are living in the time of a great scientific and technological revolution, in a time when truly astounding discoveries are being made. The new advances open up tremendous possibilities for the rapid growth of the productive forces generally and especially in the conditions of our system. In the economic competition with capitalism the scientific and technological advance is becoming decisive in our accelerated forward march and at the same time an arena of intense struggle. We can outdistance the leading capitalist countries for productivity of labor only by utilizing all the achievements of science and technology, by a better organized production, and communism will finally triumph when the productive forces and the productivity of labor will have outpaced the capitalist countries. Hence full use must be made of science and technology and of the advantages offered by our socialist planning to enable us in the shortest possible time to surpass capitalism in the economic sphere. With this in mind we are doing everything to make sure that our socialist science and technology and production organization will be in the lead.

The socialist countries have vast possibilities for introducing the new achievements of science and technology. Our countries do not compete with one another, we have no so-called commercial or industrial secrets. We exchange scientific and technological information widely and in a disinterested way. Yet the introduction of progressive methods is in some instances proceeding slowly. Take, for example, the method of continuous smelting of steel worked out by Soviet scientists and engineers. By means of this method the output of rolled metal can be raised by an average of 8-10 per cent, and of some types by up to 17 per cent, and productivity of labor can be raised by approximately 20 per cent. Moreover, there will be no need for powerful blooming mills or slabbing units. The saving that could be effected by this method is obvious. And yet here in the Soviet Union its introduction is still proceeding

slowly, and as far as I know it is not being used at all in the other socialist countries.

Some say that the method of continuous smelting narrows the possibility for producing different types of steel. That is true. But here again the international division of labor comes to our help. If the production of certain kinds of steel were to be divided between our countries and arrangements made for its exchange, we would gain considerably from the more efficient method of production and the necessary assortment would be ensured.

Big advantages would flow from the abolition of the unjustified parallelism in technological research and designing methods which at present results in dispersal of manpower and money. For example, the saving that could be effected by abolishing in member-countries parallel designing of the same type of metal-cutting machines would amount to 4,500 man-months—the equivalent of one year's work by a thousand designers.

Evidently the time has come to go over to planning scientific and technological development at the international level, to conduct research of joint interest according to a uniform long-term plan. This would enable us to distribute the lines of research and to suggest problems which it would be advisable to solve through the combined efforts of researchers and engineers of a number of countries.

In the matter of creating the material and technological base in our countries an important place belongs to agriculture. Our plans for building socialism and communism would have no reason whatever if they, in the long run, did not ensure an abundance of material and spiritual benefits for the people. And we can reach this abundance only if we have a highly-developed and productive agriculture.

Each of the socialist countries is tackling this job, and correctly so, chiefly with its own manpower and means. Still here, too, international cooperation could be very useful. We could combine our efforts, say, in the matter of mechanization and in applying chemistry to agriculture, in designing and producing agricultural machines, in electrifying the production processes and so on.

It is necessary to study each other's experience in managing agriculture, and make use of all that is best in the different countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union attaches great importance to agricultural management. At the meeting of the Central Committee of our Party held last March a system of measures was drawn up



for reconstructing the agricultural bodies and for radically improving farm management. The Party and the administrative authorities have already gained some experience in this respect. At the same time we are ready to study and make use of everything of value which the other fraternal parties have to offer in this respect.

The June meeting approved the important proposals made by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Government of the Polish People's Republic for enhancing the role of the Council and improving its functions. There was unanimous agreement that the organizational structure of the Council and the forms and methods of its work were no longer abreast of the times.

The decision taken at the meeting that the first secretaries of the fraternal parties and the heads of government of the member-countries should meet regularly to discuss the current problems of economic cooperation, the establishment of an Executive of the Council invested with broad powers, and the other measures outlined in the communique and adopted at the meeting will, undoubtedly, raise the organization of the economic cooperation between our countries to a level corresponding to the new phase of development.

#### **4. The International Influence Exerted by the Economic Successes of Socialism**

We are living at a time when man's social development has posed the question of replacing the capitalist system by socialism on a worldwide scale. Ours is the era of sharp struggle, with capitalism doing its utmost to stave off the hour of its demise, while socialism, in addition to growing stronger and consolidating its gains, is helping all the peoples to realize their just aspirations of national and social emancipation, of peace and progress.

For us, the Communists, the basic question in the struggle of the two systems is how, and in what way, to ensure the steady growth of the influence of socialism throughout the world. The answer to this question was supplied in his day by Lenin who said that socialism would exert its main influence on the course of world events chiefly by successfully developing the socialist society and above all its economy. (*Collected Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 32, p. 413). This was said at a time when socialism had triumphed only in one country, in Russia. We can easily infer the full significance of these words now

that the ideas of socialism are being realized on the scale of an entire system.

History has imposed on us the task of demonstrating in the briefest possible space of time the superiority of the socialist mode of production and its limitless possibilities. And in order to do this we should combine not only our political but also our economic energies. Through coordination, division of labor, better and more effective utilization of the new achievements of science and technology we must secure a still more rapid growth of the socialist countries. This, which is recognized by all the Marxist-Leninist parties, is set forth in the program documents adopted at the meetings held in Moscow in 1957 and in 1960.

There are, however, people who call themselves Marxists and who try by means of scholastic arguments to denigrate the conclusion reached by Lenin about the need for peaceful economic competition between the two systems — socialism and capitalism — about the decisive significance of our economic successes. Speaking against the policy of peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition, these people declare that it is simply repetition of the theory of the Economists who, as is known, gave priority to the economic struggle of the working class and relegated the political struggle of the workers, against capitalism to the background.

But such arguments can be invoked only by people who are unable to grasp the essence of Leninism.

The thesis about the peaceful economic competition of the two systems has nothing whatever in common with the theories of the Economists. Lenin, criticizing the Economists, emphasized that the working class should fight not only to improve its economic conditions, but, as the most revolutionary class, it should not lose sight of its main aim—the struggle for the overthrow of the autocracy and capitalism—since any fundamental improvement in the economic conditions of the working people was impossible without the abolition of tsarism and capitalism, and the capitalist system could not be abolished without putting an end to the rule of the capitalists and landlords.

The peaceful economic competition of the two systems, which is re-stated in the policy documents of the Communist and Workers' parties, does not deny class struggle, on the contrary it presupposes the political class struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries for socialism. And it is precisely the successes of the socialist countries on the



economic front which create the most favorable conditions for unfolding the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries for its social emancipation, for intensifying the national-liberation struggle of the peoples. This truth is obvious and recognized by all Marxists.

In the new conditions the world Communist movement, on the basis of a profound analysis of the situation, carried forward Lenin's ideas at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow in 1960. The sense of the decisions of the meeting and of the exchange of views which took place is that the Communist movement is searching for, and finding, the surest ways of increasing its influence on world development.

All the experience of our struggle from the time of the October Revolution up to the present day convincingly shows that the more we advance towards our great goal the stronger the power of attraction of socialism and of its ideas. The success registered in building socialism and communism, seen in the most convincing material—the facts of life—demonstrates the tremendous possibilities and the advantages of socialism as a system, furthers the deepening of class consciousness among the working people and the growth of class struggle in the capitalist countries.

Here we recall Lenin's words: "We have said and we continue to say that socialism possesses the force of example. . . . It is necessary to show in practice, on the basis of example, the significance of communism" (*Collected Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 31, p. 426.).

In recent years the role of the example set by socialism in the matter of social development has grown immeasurably, becoming more and more convincing. After all how could socialism exert an influence on the course of events by economic success in Lenin's day when Russia alone had taken the socialist road, a Russia that had been left desolate by war and intervention? The imperialist powers, Lenin wrote in those days, prevented the new system established by the revolution from "at once taking the step forward that would have justified the forecasts of the socialists, that would have enabled them to develop the productive forces with enormous speed, to develop all the potentialities which taken together would have produced socialism and thus vividly demonstrated to each and all that socialism contains within itself vast stores of energy and

that man had now entered a new phase of development replete with the most glorious possibilities" (*Collected Works*, Russian Ed., Vol. 33, p. 456.).

The Soviet Union and the European People's Democracies have, in the main, already overcome the effects of the unfavorable factors which prevented socialism right from the very first steps from overtaking capitalism in all the main indices. We have in mind first of all the legacy of economic and cultural backwardness which capitalism left to many of these countries compared with the highly developed capitalist states, and the devastation and loss of life caused by the last war. Important, too, is the fact that socialism has now acquired experience which enables it to avoid many mistakes. Also of significance is that resolute struggle which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union waged against the personality cult and its consequences, a struggle which was correctly understood and supported by the international Communist movement.

The successful overcoming of the unfavorable factors, and the successes achieved in building socialism in our country have brought us to a new new phase in the competition with capitalism. Moving forward now from the new level we can in the near future outdistance the more developed capitalist countries also in those spheres where we have been lagging behind, including the sphere of material well-being and production of consumer goods.

Successfully building socialism, and then communism, consolidating and expanding the economy, we are creating sound guarantees for the gains of the socialist countries against any encroachment on the part of the imperialists. The military might of socialism is a shield reliably defending the cause of world progress. More than once in the past the might of the socialist countries has halted the imperialists in their attempts by means of military action to finish with the socialist and the national-liberation revolution. And so long as the imperialist states refuse to agree to general and complete disarmament under strict international control, the socialist countries will do everything to reinforce their military strength, the safeguard of the peace and security of the peoples.

The economic successes of socialism create the possibilities for extending still wider and more varied aid to the other countries in building their economies. This is especially important for the newly-developing national



states. The aid of the socialist camp enables them to get rid of their dependence on the imperialist powers, to avoid the danger of a new enslavement, it stimulates their progress and contributes to the normal development and even acceleration of those internal processes which may take these countries onto the highway leading to socialism. And as for the economically underdeveloped countries which have already taken this road, the economic aid of the socialist countries enables them to advance towards socialism and to save their people from the burdens and the torment associated with the capitalist stage of development. This signifies that real possibilities for building socialism are being created in all the countries irrespective of the level of economic and social development reached by them at the time of their revolutions.

The socialist commonwealth now has tremendous new possibilities for exerting an influence on world development. And this cannot but be a source of joy to us Communists. But as internationalists we realize that this imposes also obligations. On the socialist countries and on their Marxist-Leninist parties rests a truly historical responsibility so that these possibilities may be used in full measure both in each country and on the scale of our entire system.

The further strengthening of the socialist world system, perfecting the political and economic interrelations between the socialist countries, being powerful accelerators of their economic development, will add enormously to the influence exerted by socialism on the course of events all over the world and, in this way, will be a big contribution to the cause of social progress for all mankind.

## The Only Way to Peace

LOOKING back at the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace and rereading its message to the peoples of the world, the importance of that grand assembly and the timeliness of its call stand out in bold relief.

The armaments drive is assuming more ominous proportions. The stockpiles of deadly weapons are mounting. Already now there are 80 tons of explosive for every man, woman and child on our planet. The danger clouds hanging over the world are gathering at an alarming rate.

Fortunately, people today are no longer defenseless in the face of war, as the Pompeians were before Vesuvius. The warclouds are man-made, and men can, and must, dispel them. Clearly, the moment brooks no delay. For the lightning flashes of the threatening storm flare up now and then on the political horizon.

What can be done in the present situation to avert war? This was the question examined at the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace which met in Moscow over July 9-14. Its proceedings and findings contain a wealth of data, conclusions and recommendations most useful for giving a new impetus to the struggle against war.

### I

In the course of the preparations for the World Congress and during its deliberations

a vast amount of basic information was assembled providing the factual groundwork for effective peace efforts.

The main sources of this information were the speeches of the spokesmen of public opinion of 121 countries and the documents and data they submitted. Moreover, the heads of the governments of many countries, including the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, India, Indonesia and Ceylon, advised the Congress of the views of their governments. Finally, the Congress received messages and greetings from many organizations and individuals who took no direct part in its proceedings.

On the basis of a thorough analysis of all this information, there was elaborated a universal but nevertheless clear-cut and concrete program of action. Above all this program indicated to all who seek to play their part in the struggle the *main direction*, the *main goal* the achievement of which would make peace secure. This goal is general and complete disarmament.

Needless to say, disarmament will not abolish the social causes of war. These causes are rooted in imperialism with its aggressive designs. But by doing away with the technical means of waging war, the war danger can be dispelled, the international climate could be improved and confidence, now undermined by the cold war, restored between countries and peoples.



Having reviewed the existing disarmament projects, the progress of international negotiations and the attitudes of governments and peoples in the various areas of the world, the Congress declared that "disarmament is not only imperative, it is possible. No longer is it a dream of only the best minds of humanity. For the first time in history it has become a practical task facing each and every one of us."

The participants in the Congress did not conceal from themselves or from those who followed their deliberations that there still are serious obstacles in the way of disarmament—some engendered by blindness and indifference, others by greed, still others by the militarist thirst of the aggressive elements. But all these barriers can be broken down and the road cleared.

"On us all depends the dawn of the day when mankind will be liberated from the threat of nuclear death," the Congress declared. "We who want peace are many. If we all should act, and if all who act should act together in friendship, we could clear the road to our common aim, enduring peace."

The Congress did more than issue this call. It provided an example of how people can act together in friendship. It was a Congress that brought together the peace forces.

Much has changed since the first postwar world peace congress held in 1949. At that time—thirteen years ago—there was actually only one international peace organization, headed by the World Peace Council. Today too the Peace Council is the most active and consistent of the organizations combating war. But alongside it there exists a large number of peace groups and trends of diverse political orientation.

The Moscow Congress was the first attempt to bring together these different peace movements and to find common grounds for cooperation. To find a common denominator for them all was no simple matter, for, as we have said, the Congress was attended by people of widely divergent views. No wonder, then, that its sessions were marked by lively debates (these are reported in the article "A Triumph for the Idea of Peace" given elsewhere in this issue). Some bourgeois observers have preferred to lay the stress on these debates, deliberately ignoring the far more important fact that they resulted in the unanimous adoption of a message to the peoples of the world, i.e., unanimous approval of the program of struggle for peace. The negative votes of two federalists and the

abstention of seven other delegates do not alter the overall picture.

## II

In his speech, Professor Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, referred to the vast numbers outside the session hall whom the peace movement still has to reach.

This reminder has a deep significance. That some 2,500 activists of various peace movements, and public figures championing the cause of peace found a common language and were able to draw up a program acceptable to all—a program which no doubt will greatly advance the movement against nuclear death—is, of course, a very good thing. But the delegates alone and appeals alone, however well they may put the case, cannot prevent war.

To prevent war and bring about disarmament the concerted efforts of the masses—of those who were not in the Congress hall—are needed. The creation of a *broad anti-war coalition of the peoples* is an imperative of the time.

This idea permeated the proceedings of the Congress. "What I would like to see is a period in which movements of different kinds are working along their own lines, but knowing what the others are doing, supporting them when they agree with them, and adding their efforts together," Professor Bernal said in his opening speech.

All personal likes and dislikes should be subordinated to the common cause—this was the conclusion the Chairman of the World Peace Council drew. Continuing this idea, Rameshwari Nehru, the head of the delegation from India, declared: "The Indian delegation sees before it the vision of a vast, great popular united front against the threat of nuclear war, embracing people in all continents, working together, struggling together."

The same idea was voiced by Rafael Jornet, delegate from the opposite side of the world—Argentina. "We came to this Congress prepared to seek understanding with representatives of all countries, irrespective of ideology, language or color."

At the closing session many speakers expressed the hope that the Congress would mark the beginning of a new stage in the fight for peace and lay the foundations for an anti-war coalition of the peoples. All the conditions for this exist. But to take full advantage of these much work will still have to be done.



It is an open secret that although all peoples want peace, not in all countries are the masses working as actively for peace as the urgency of the moment demands. This applies above all to the countries belonging to aggressive Western military blocs, where a considerable part of the population is not only taking no action against war preparations but has actually placed its trust in parties and leaders committed to a policy of militarism and war, supporting those forces and governments whose entire record stamps them as protagonists of the armaments drive and war psychosis.

Each nation of course is entitled to choose and support the governments and leaders it wishes. But no one can deny the peoples who have already been the victims of aggression the right to raise a warning voice against the repetition of the tragic events of the recent past.

It was for these peoples that N. S. Khrushchov, the head of the Soviet government, spoke when, addressing the Congress, he pointed to the fact that many of the reserves of the peace movement have not yet been drawn on, and that many potential contingents of peace defenders still stand aloof from the struggle. The issue now is to open the eyes of these contingents to what is going on in the world, to rally them and lead them to the forward lines of the fight against the warmongers.

To do this, the delegates pointed out, it is essential primarily to carry on extensive work among the masses to expose the hypocrisy of the Western rulers who pose as peacemakers while actually preparing war.

But even among those who long have seen through the imperialist cant and lies, those who stand firmly for peace and disarmament, there still exist false notions about the present situation which doom them to passivity.

One of these notions is that while peace must be upheld the might of the socialist camp is sufficient to guarantee it; the peoples, according to this view, are only a secondary, auxiliary factor in the fight against war.

True enough, the socialist camp is strong enough to defeat any aggressor. The armies of the socialist countries, and above all the Soviet Army, are equipped with the most up-to-date weapons in the world. And if the imperialists were to dare, in defiance of common sense, to encroach on the socialist countries and embroil the world in war, this insane step would be the last step for the entire system of imperialism.

But the might of the socialist camp does not relieve any people of its duty to uphold peace. The peoples of the socialist countries are performing this duty by building up their strength which is counterposed to the military strength of the forces preparing another war; by pursuing an active policy of peaceful coexistence, and by rendering every assistance to nations fighting against aggression. Their devotion to peace is manifest at every step; peaceful constructive labor is the content of their daily life. The latest confirmation of this is afforded by the magnificent exploit of the Soviet cosmonauts Andrian Nikolayev and Pavel Popovich in overcoming one more barrier to the mastery of outer space — an exploit performed in the service of peace and the interests of all mankind.

The peoples of the non-socialist states, especially those involved in the Western military blocs, are confronted with a task of a different kind — that of creating in their respective countries a climate that would make it impossible for anyone to pursue aggressive policies. Potential aggressors should be made to feel every minute of the day that their every move, each step they take, is vigilantly watched by the millions who are prepared at any moment to say their weighty word. It is by combining the might of the socialist camp, the efforts of the peace-loving countries of Asia and Latin America and the activity of the masses generally — by combining all these factors, not relying on one or another taken separately — that peace can be preserved and made enduring.

Another excuse often used to justify passivity is the so-called "balance of terror" theory, which imperialist propaganda has eagerly seized upon. The two blocs are so powerful, this thesis goes, as to rule out any possibility of one defeating the other; hence, war is unlikely. The two sides will but threaten one another and let it go at that.

This journal has already pointed to the utter fallacy of such arguments. "For what does the 'balance of terror' mean in practice? It means piling up armaments, building up the destructive potential to the utmost. And the more armaments there are in the world, the greater the chances of even a minor conflict sparking off a world conflagration and the greater the opportunities for provocations on the part of the aggressive forces.

Passivity in our time stems from lack of a feeling of responsibility for the lives of the



present and future generations. This was reaffirmed by the Congress. "Divided protests are not sufficient," it declared in its message. "It is time for a mighty movement of resistance to the arms race and all war preparations . . . Passivity harms the cause of peace."

### III

"Ways must be found, appropriate to every country and every organization to continue this beginning," the appeal of the Congress states. This is a highly important point.

In other words, while redoubling efforts for disarmament on the international plane, special attention should be paid to work within the bounds of the various countries. As a matter of fact, a very great responsibility rests on the *national* peace organizations.

It is precisely on the national scale that concrete forms of struggle can be most readily found and efforts directed toward definite aims corresponding both to the worldwide struggle against war and to the national requirements close and understandable to every patriot.

Speakers at the Congress showed that the best organized and most alert groups of peace fighters have already coined slogans which help them to swell their ranks and to win the trust and recognition of the masses. In Japan, for instance, notable achievements have been registered by organizations that have concentrated on combating the Japano-American "security treaty" and the U.S. military bases in that country. Peace champions in France are successfully waging a struggle against West German militarism and the Adenauer-de Gaulle coalition.

It was correctly stressed that the forms of struggle in each country should correspond to the national traditions and the existing situation. A great variety of such forms have already been devised. In Britain and the Scandinavian countries, for example, anti-bomb marches and demonstrations have become widespread. Peace pickets are common in the United States. The choice of forms is a matter for the national peace organizations. The important thing is that they should serve the basic task of enlisting the largest possible numbers of people in active struggle.

The slogans and the forms of struggle are, we repeat, of prime importance. But the underlying issue, on both a national and a global scale, is that of *unity*, of broad cooperation between the diverse social forces, different organizations, people of all ages

and from all sections of society, men and women — the issue of joint, coordinated mass action.

On the international plane, the spokesmen of diverse sections of the people of 121 countries agreed that they can work together successfully. But it would be a mistake to assume that this unanimity solved all the problems arising on the national plane. Paradoxical though it may be, the fact remains that during the Congress it was often more difficult to achieve unity inside one or another national delegation than on the scale of the assembly as a whole. And the danger unquestionably exists that some of the groups whose representatives worked together at the world forum will not be able to continue this cooperation in their respective national arenas.

There is reason to fear this if only because instances of this kind have occurred in the past. The representatives of diverse groups and organizations from one or another country frequently were able to agree among themselves at international gatherings because they managed to rise above their usual relationships; the general atmosphere of uplift, of anti-war unity, could not but influence them, and this was as it should be. But later the same people seemed to forget that they had ever come to any agreement. The deadweight of mutual distrust, often resulting from erroneous concepts and lack of understanding, old political enmities and disagreements on questions which, though perhaps important in themselves, had no bearing on the struggle for peace and hence need not have been an obstacle to unity in this struggle — all this blocked the cooperation that seemed to have been so auspiciously inaugurated.

The fundamental premise in building an anti-war coalition is perfectly clear. All nations, all men and women, want peace. Peace is in the interests of *all classes*—participation in the Moscow Congress of people from all the main social groups leaves no doubt on this score.

The backbone of the anti-war coalition of the peoples is the working class — the class of builders, the vehicle of all that is progressive. It is this class which is destined to say the decisive word; its attitude will determine the direction which the mass of the undecided and vacillating will take. The idea that neither party alignments nor ideological differences should be allowed to prevent the anti-war unity of the working class was forcefully voiced at the meeting of trade



unionists attending the Congress. For the unity of the working class is a prerequisite for success in building an anti-war coalition of the peoples.

All those who are for peace should be brought into this coalition. No participant, no ally, is superfluous. The difficulties which are bound to rise when people of different political and ideological trends come together should be gradually overcome through patient discussion and mutual elucidation of positions.

Needless to say, the establishment of an anti-war coalition will not erase all the differences; the political and ideological struggle will inevitably continue. Nothing could be more mistaken than the view that participation in joint anti-war action presupposes the ideological surrender of one or another of the participants. What is in question is a broad non-partisan alliance for a concrete goal shared by all humanity — peace.

The 2,500 delegates and guests present at the Congress included Communists, who made a constructive contribution to the common cause of the peace-loving peoples.

Like all other peace champions, the Communists fully support the decisions of the Congress. And not merely out of respect for so representative a forum of the peoples. They support those decisions for at least two reasons. First, all the Communist and Workers' parties regard the struggle for peace, to exclude war from the life of society, as a primary task stemming from their Marxist outlook. Second, the decisions of the Congress, even though they represent a compromise between the various peace forces, nevertheless confirm the correctness of the assessment of the situation and the conclusions contained in the statement of the 1960 meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties.

In recent months Communist Party congresses or meetings of Party Central Committees have been held in a number of countries. The decisions they have taken are permeated with profound concern for the preservation of peace. An analysis of these documents shows that the Communists consider it their most important task in the fight for peace, first, steadfastly to explain the essence of the present international situation and the peace policy of the socialist countries so as to awaken the masses to their responsibility in the struggle against war; second, to rally, through militant action, the ranks of the peace supporters around the working class, irrespective of party affiliation

or other distinctions; third, to elaborate in all countries such forms and methods of struggle as will impart to it a concrete, militant, purposeful character. It is the Communist view that only by fulfilling these tasks can success be achieved.

Together with other peace supporters, the Communists everywhere have set to work to rally the masses, on the basis of the Congress decisions, to the struggle for disarmament and peace, for a worldwide anti-war alliance of the peoples. They have no intention to monopolize this movement, but are ready to cooperate with all who are working for disarmament and peace, irrespective of divergence of views and different approaches to one or another problem.

At the same time the Communists will, naturally, continue to criticize the shortcomings and limitations from which some anti-war trends suffer. They proceed from the fact that success in the fight for peace is possible only if the sum total of domestic and international factors is properly understood and assessed.

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Time and again in the post-war years humanity has stood on the brink of war. That peace has been preserved is due to the foreign policy of the socialist camp, the consolidation of the might of the socialist countries, the activities of the Communist and Workers' parties and the growing activity of all peace-loving forces.

Today the issue is to foil the renewed efforts of imperialism to thrust humanity deeper into the vortex of the armaments drive which can only end in nuclear disaster. The World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace called for a general mobilization of all the peace forces. Action is what is needed today.

Developments in the various countries since the Congress indicate that more and more people are becoming aware of this basic truth. It is not difficult to see the influence of the Congress decisions in the proceedings of the World Youth Festival in Helsinki and the Eighth International Anti-Nuclear Conference in Tokyo. They also came up at the U.N. Economic and Social Council, which has unanimously decided to convene an international trade conference.

It can be said that the peace forces are already displaying greater activity in all countries, even in those where they formerly tended to be passive. The leading role in this, as always, belongs to the World Peace Council. In many countries the representa-



tive committees established during the preparations for the Moscow Congress are also coming forward as initiators of joint action. The work is proceeding apace. But much

remains to be done. All who cherish peace, life and human happiness should combine their efforts to prevent another war. This is the only way to peace.

## Britain: Results of Party Building Year

John Gollan

### General Results

OUR Twenty-Seventh National Congress at Easter 1961 decided on a year of Party Building, from June 1961 to June 1962.\*

On June 16-17 last the results were reported to a National Conference, which discussed the experiences of the twelve months' campaign and decided on measures to maintain and expand the advances made.

During the twelve months the net gain in membership of the Party was 3,405, bringing the total to 32,492.

(No national target had been set; targets adopted by District Committees had aimed at a total of 34,000.)

Membership of the Young Communist League was raised by 1,187 to a total of 4,019.

The daily circulation of the *Daily Worker* showed a net gain of 1,000 during the year; weekend sales rose by 5,000 (as against the target set by our 27th National Congress of a 10,000 increase).

Candidates put forward by the Party in the local elections of May 1962 numbered 500—the biggest number since 1949; they secured a total of 98,000 votes.

Two new seats were won, and in a number of other localities Party candidates were defeated by only a few votes.

These results are of the greatest significance for our Party—of far greater significance than the still modest increase of 12 per cent in membership.

In the course of the campaign

583 major public meetings were held;

nearly six million leaflets on current political issues were distributed;

over 15,000 posters were put up;

sales of publications included 147,000 pamphlets and 56,000 copies of *A World of Difference*, a pictorial presentation of the Party's program *The British Road to Socialism*.

The 3,405 net increase in membership during the Party Building Year is the biggest net gain in any year since the days of the anti-fascist war. It would be foolish to overestimate our success; but neither should it be underestimated. We are building the fighting weapon around which we can expand into a mass party.

Every District of the Party has grown, though unequally, ranging from 19 per cent in the Midlands and South East Midlands down to three per cent in the West of England. These net figures would have been much higher but for the losses in members during the year; the London gain of seven per cent would have been almost doubled if fluctuation there had not been so high. Three quarters of our branches made recruits. It is impossible to estimate how many of our members made recruits, but the number is quite high.

Forty-one new branches were started, fewer than we expected. Of these, 23 are new factory branches in important enterprises—started largely as a result of our recent national factory conference.\*

Our new members are a tremendous accession of strength to the Party. They are people who have spent a lifetime in the Labor movement as well as young people who up to now have taken little part in political activity.

The fact that so many of the recruits are young is of vital importance—a developing Party is a young Party. The majority are industrial workers. Many wives of existing

\*See *World Marxist Review*, August 1961, John Gollan, "Great Britain: Party Building Year."

\*See *World Marxist Review*, May 1962, W. Lauchlan, "Britain: Communist Party Factory Conference."



members have joined. Reports also showed an increase in membership of the Party among students—at a college in the North East of England the Party branch has grown from five to 28. In West Salford (Lancashire) Party membership had been raised from 70 to 180; in Gravesend (Kent) from 20 to 48. A big number of recruits have themselves become recruiters, without inhibitions, boldly asking everyone to join the Party they themselves have joined.

Reports noted the circumstances which facilitated the success of the Party Building Year.

The experiences of the best branches confirmed the need for our factory branches to develop all-round industrial and political activity.

Throughout the reports the essential part played by the *Daily Worker* was stressed. Experience had shown the value of the *Daily Worker* in carrying the Communist lead to the people, in strengthening the outlook of our own Party members, and in rebutting the continuous attacks on communism. Sales of it in the streets, outside factories, and in door-to-door canvassing, had led to the discovery of new sympathizers with the Party, and asking these to join the Party had contributed to the success of the recruiting campaign.

The success in Party work was closely linked with the active participation of the Communists in local elections. The putting up of 500 Party candidates in the local elections was an important factor in developing the public activity and propaganda of branches as well as bringing forward new cadres and winning recruits; in the final month of the Party Building Year some 1,200 new members were won for the Party as a result of canvassing sympathizers found in the election campaigns. Stress was laid on the need to fight local elections not only on local issues—which is essential—but also on the general policy of the Party and our socialist aim. As a further step in developing our electoral fight, a Party candidate had been put forward in a parliamentary by-election in West Lothian (Scotland). The report on this campaign, which had been concluded just before our Conference, showed that our vote of 1,511 was more than double the vote we secured when this constituency was last fought by us in 1950; and that 73 new members had been won for the Party during the campaign, besides a substantial increase in *Daily Worker* sales.

What we have done is a considerable achievement, but the result could have been greater still if more members had been drawn into the campaign and all branches had gone about the job in the way the best branches did. Seven branches more than doubled their membership; five went up by 75 per cent; eight by over 50 per cent, and 18 by between 30 and 50 per cent.

Weakness in the work of the branches to which attention was called included insufficient effort to draw in women workers to the Party, even in factories employing a large number of women; and there were only a few cases in which a Party factory branch had helped to build up a Young Communist League branch in the factory.

Perhaps the greatest achievement in the campaign has been that it has made the cadres party-building conscious and that a momentum of expansion has been created.

### Reasons for the Advance

The increased growth of the Party during the Party Building Year is part and parcel of the new political situation developing in Britain and in turn has helped to speed up political developments.

The worst cold war years were years of slowly declining or stagnating Party membership. At the beginning of 1955, the membership was 32,680. With the internal Party struggle over revisionism following the Hungarian events, it fell to 24,900. The turn came at the beginning of 1959, when the re-registration of members showed a total of 25,313—a modest increase of 1.7 per cent.

Why was it possible for us to make this turn?

*Because at the moment of crisis in the Party we fought and won the battle for a Marxist-Leninist party.*

Each successive re-registration of members since 1959 has seen an increase: that of 1960, 2.5 per cent up; that of 1961, 5.7 per cent up; and that of 1962, with the first effects of Party Building Year, 10.5 per cent up.

What was the reason for the further advance in 1961 and 1962?

Not only the changes in the political situation, but above all because our Twenty-Seventh National Congress made the political case for the Party, and cleared up doubts regarding the indispensable position of the Party in the Labor movement and the Party's electoral position. Many of these misconceptions holding back our progress have dogged us for years.



What was the essence of our Congress decision?

*That there is no substitute for the Communist Party in the Labor movement; that the transformation of the movement into a really socialist movement is bound up with the development of a mass Communist Party.*

And that the development of our Party into a mass organization is linked with the urgent need to secure Communist representation in Parliament and in the local Councils: the contradiction between the general influence and activity of the Communist Party and its electoral position must be ended. As a first step, Congress decided, the number of our candidates in the 1962 local elections must be greatly increased.

The position following the Scarborough Conference of the Labor Party in 1960—when the Left was successful on major peace issues—shows the problem of winning a basic and lasting Left advance. After Scarborough the Right, with the main Labor Party machine in their hands, fought harder than the Left, and succeeded at the next Labor Party Conference in 1961 in reversing the Scarborough decisions. Yet, as our Congress pointed out, a still higher stage in the fight was needed if the Left advance was to be consolidated. The still greater change needed in the balance of forces in the trade union movement must express itself in changes in the composition of the TUC General Council, the Labor Party Executive and the Parliamentary Labor Party, in the defeat of the Right and the triumph of the Left progressive forces. Experiences since the Scarborough Labor Party Conference show this.

How can this be done without a powerful Communist Party, organized in every factory, powerful in every union, the centralized organized force of the whole Left, the Party which the Right-wing Labor leaders can neither discipline nor disrupt?

How can this be done without the unity of the Communist Party and the Left forces in the trade unions and Labor Party, repelling all new efforts of the Right to introduce new bans and prescriptions directed against the Communists, and winning the removal of those which exist now?

Political organization of the working class for socialism cannot be met by the loose Left struggle inside the Labor Party, beset by discipline and controls, nor even by the most progressive trade unions. It needs the organized party—the Communist Party—with its consistent program and ideology of Marxism; its basic organization and self-discipline

for struggle; its organized leadership and ability to fight.

Discussion at our Conference in June clarified the position, arising out of the experience of some of our branches. They had found that some members of the Labor Party, although recognizing the stagnation imposed on that Party by the Right-wing leadership and although fully agreeing with our policy, were reluctant to leave the Labor Party and come into the Communist Party. They argued that they could do more effective work to change the policy and leadership of the Labor Party if they remained members of that Party; that to leave it would mean leaving the field clear for the Right.

The reply to this argument is to explain that the aim of a socialist is not just to get Gaitskell removed from the Labor Party leadership—it is to fight for the vital needs of the people for democracy and to win socialism. For this, a mass Communist Party is essential, especially in view of the numerical strength of the Labor Party. The stronger the Communist Party, the more the Left will grow within the Labor movement. But the decisive leading force must be the Communist Party. In the trade unions, which are decisive within the Labor Party, Communists work alongside the Left to win the unions for a socialist policy.

The growth of the Left in the Labor movement and their victory over the Right depend on the mass struggle of the workers; in this struggle, the strength and the prestige of the Communist Party are decisive. To leave the Labor Party and come into the Communist Party is not to leave the field clear for the Right-wing Labor leaders. Their influence will be weakened more and more, as the Communist Party, whose policy revitalizes the Left in the Labor movement, gains in strength. That is why the strengthening of the forces challenging the Right is the decisive factor in the general struggle of the working class in our country.

The development must be seen as a process linked with the class struggle, in which masses of workers move to the Left and those who best understand the nature and aims of the struggle come over to the Communist Party and strengthen its influence and activity.

### **The Political Situation and the Next Steps**

The advances made by the Party during the Party Building Year, and the new sense of confidence and expansion throughout the Party, are of immense significance in the developing political situation.



Now there is a new fluidity in the whole political situation—the anti-Tory swing which undermines Tory rule; the Liberal Party's advance; the Left movement in the Labor Party; the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Peace Movement; the growing political and industrial activity of the middle sections; the developing political ferment among young people; and the growth of the Communist Party and Young Communist League.

What are the main causes underlying these developments?

*The bankruptcy of the cold war strategy of the West generally is daily more obvious.* Great changes in the balance of world forces since the war have made it impossible. But while this stage has been reached, positive and decisive negotiations to end the cold war are not yet taking place. The international situation reflects this basic position.

Despite a generally favorable position, there is also a new element of urgency and danger. We have *both* Western indecision and certain moves in the direction of a settlement, *and* an intensification of the war danger.

We have now reached the stage where the prospect is no longer that of the cold war dragging on for years, with neither a stable peace nor a nuclear war. Unless a settlement is reached we are faced not only with the development of still more terrifying destructive weapons, including the military use of outer space, but also the imminent spread of nuclear weapons to further nations.

*So with a new sharpness the issue now becomes: to win peaceful coexistence or to face nuclear catastrophe.* Splendid though the efforts of the Peace Movement have been in Britain, it now faces its greatest test.

Doubts and hesitations about the Common Market are growing. Alone among the political parties our Party has opposed entry. The majority of the British people can be won for this view.

The violent Stock Exchange fluctuations reflect a deeper sickness of the system than share price inflation. The rate of economic growth barely keeps pace with the rise in population, and Britain's rate of growth is the lowest among the capitalist states. A chronic under-utilization of capacity is developing, and in the United States there is widespread and persistent unemployment. The West German "economic miracle" has come to an end. *The result of all this is the sharpening of all the economic contradictions*

*between the capitalist powers and a growing intensification of the trade war between them.* The still further expansion of the great monopolies and ruthless elimination of smaller competitors follows from it.

Underlying the vicious Tory attack on wages, conditions and the social services was the preparation for Britain's entry into the Common Market. Now all the Common Market Governments and the United States are fighting for wage restraint and some measure of state regulation of wages. The fact that in Britain the government has managed in the main to keep wage advances down to 2.5 or three per cent (against a cost of living increase of six per cent) is only due to the disruption and cowardly lack of fight of the Right-wing trade union leaders. As the dockers' victory (a wage rise and improved conditions equivalent to eight per cent) shows, fighting resolution and preparedness to use the organized strength of the movement could end wage restraint and deal a shattering blow at the government.

The white collar, professional and middle sections, attacked by the government just as viciously as the industrial workers, have shown their fighting ability too. As the Tory Party has relied on such sections for support, the political repercussions have been great.

The essence of the political situation in Britain today is that the overwhelming majority of the British people, working class, middle class and professionals, small shopkeepers and farmers, are against the monopolies and the Tories. The government has lost the support of the people. It could be swept out of office. The parliamentary by-elections and the local elections show this.

But while the government is under the heaviest pressure, there is complete failure of the Labor leadership, because of its outright cold war policies, to give leadership and win the political support the Tories are losing. Politically, therefore, it is not surprising that the Liberals have been gaining increased support in by-elections and, in constituencies outside the old-established industrial areas, are challenging Labor as the alternative to Toryism. Liberal politics are capitalist politics. But in the absence of a clear anti-Tory lead from Labor the Liberals appear to speak for the discontented, combining opportunism and demagoguery.

Whether the Liberals will re-emerge in Parliament as a new capitalist center Party orientated on the professional middle sections depends on the leadership and action



of the Labor movement. Right-wing policy will consolidate the Liberal advance. A Left-wing progressive policy can win these sections behind the Labor movement.

The growing role of the middle sections is a vital development in the political situation. As early as 1951 in *The British Road to Socialism* we put the winning of a broad popular alliance of workers, professional people, the middle sections and farmers as a major question of political strategy for the labor movement. A popular alliance of this kind was needed for both immediate political advance and for the winning of socialism in Britain. To get it, *The British Road* pointed out, required leadership of a united working class which had broken the Right-wing grip in the Labor movement, and unity of the Left forces with the Communist Party.

The peace movement, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100 is the most significant coming together of the middle and professional circles and the progressive wing of the Labor movement since 1945.

Similarly the community of interests between the industrial workers and the professional sections has been shown in the wages and salaries movement.

But not only as official Right-wing Labor failed to attract these sections of the CND for Labor, they are actively engaged in driving them away.

It is in this situation that we have to see the growth of the Communist Party and its further development and mass work. Therefore our Conference decided to call on the Party for mass campaigning, by public meetings, in the factories, in the Labor movement and the Peace movement, for the following aims:

1. To win Britain to end nuclear strategy and weapons; to finish with Polaris and German bases; to support peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

2. To win the British people to reject the Common Market.

3. To defeat the policy of wage restraint, and ensure that the Trades Union Congress General Council should break with the government's "National Economic Development Council."

4. To defeat the Tory attacks on the social services, and the increased rents.

5. Linked with all these, to demand the resignation of the government, and a General Election now.

Great new opportunities are arising. The development of the Party into a mass force is the key to transforming the political situation. Our Party Building Year launched the struggle to build the Party, and now we must take systematic further steps to develop our strength.

Our Conference therefore decided to aim, by the time of our Twenty-Eighth National Congress at Easter 1963, to raise the Party membership to 35,000; to help to raise the membership of the Young Communist League to 5,000; to increase the weekend sales of the *Daily Worker* by a further 5,000, and to make a sustained effort to increase daily sales.

In making these advances, to ensure that a number of new factory branches are organized, and that new area branches are opened up where at present we have none.

In ensuring a high rate of Party growth, our experiences during the Party Building Year have shown that two things are necessary—a high rate of recruitment, and the lowest possible rate of loss among members. To make a net increase in our membership of 3,405 we had to recruit 6,907 new members. A certain loss of members each year is inevitable; but our present rate of loss is too high. We recruit to our party not to number heads, but to make Communists. Therefore the necessary time and steps must be taken to consolidate our gains.

The act of joining the Party is for most new comrades only the first step to becoming a Communist. Classes and education must be provided to enable new members to understand what our Party stands for, our Communist aims and methods of work. To ensure that new members become regular readers of the *Daily Worker* is not only valuable to increase circulation, but is a means of drawing the new members closer to the Party. Help needs to be given to enable members to find their place in the Party. Branch life and activity should be of a varied nature offering scope for every member to find something to do. As the reports at our Conference showed, many new members can at once undertake responsible work, and their enthusiasm can put new life into a Party branch. It is necessary too to ensure the regular collection of dues, and to tighten up the procedure for transfers from one branch to another.

The limited progress made during Party Building Year among professional circles with the meetings of lawyers, doctors, artists and musicians should be improved on in the coming period. The *Marxism Today* Forums,



which up to now have been held only in London, should be extended to other Districts, and preparations made for the "Week of Marxist Thought" scheduled for September 1963.

Marxism is increasingly attracting students, and with the growth of our student membership during the year we now have student branches in most major universities. The new Communist graduates from student ranks are now entering the professions, with all that means for future developments among intellectuals; increased attention by the Party to the universities and increased recruitment will repay the Party a hundredfold.

While our industrial and political campaigns must be maintained at a high level, in the long run our political influence in the country is measured by our vote in local and parliamentary elections. It marks considerable progress that so many of our branches now contest in local elections, and that there has been an extension of contests from one ward to all, or many, wards in a town or council area. In such cases our Party is

appearing not as a group which runs "a Communist," but as a political party. In 1963, although the number of councils involved in elections will be smaller than this year, we aim to ensure the same number of candidates, i.e., 500. In 1964, when the maximum number of councils are involved, we must go all out to ensure at least 1,000 candidates, and a minimum of a quarter of a million votes.

Greater attention must be paid to putting forward local candidates in wards in those parliamentary constituencies in which we have prospective parliamentary candidates. Our campaign in the West Lothian by-election shows that we should fight more and more by-elections in suitable constituencies.

Our Party Building Year, with its results and experiences gained, has given the Party renewed confidence and enthusiasm; the political developments give it new opportunities. It is with this outlook that our Conference adopted the aims set out above as a further step forward towards a mass Communist Party in Britain.

## Party Building and Mass Work

*Deepa Nusantara Aidit*

THE Seventh (Extraordinary) National Congress of the Communist Party of Indonesia, held in April last, laid down the Party's line on the outstanding issues of the economy and policy of the state, and outlined the ways and means of further building the unity of the Party and the people with the object of completing the tasks of the Indonesian revolution.

### Carry Forward the Revolution

The Congress stressed the correctness of the political line of the Party and the fact that the Indonesian Communists were still confronted with the three major tasks: cementing the National Front, carrying the revolution onward, and building the Party.

The democratic revolution which began in August 1954 has not been completed as yet. The following democratic sections of society are interested in carrying the revolution forward: the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie which have joined forces to form

a National Front. Their interests are represented by the three political forces: the Nationalists, the religious groups and the Communists. The cooperation of these democratic parties, which we call in our country NASA-KOM (NAS—Nationalists; A—religious groups; KOM—Communists), is of paramount importance for the development of the revolution.

The reactionary forces in Indonesia are the imperialists who still preserve considerable footholds in the country, the landlords, the compradores and the bureaucratic capitalists who have strengthened their positions in recent years.

The struggle between the supporters and enemies of the revolution is being waged in the economic, political, military and cultural fields. The reactionaries, who have suffered a number of setbacks, still represent a grave danger to the revolutionary gains. They are doing all in their power to halt the democratic, revolutionary movement of the peoples,



to split the national unity, foster anti-communist sentiment and prevent the establishment of a consistently democratic government representative of the people. This government, the Gotong Royong Cabinet as we call it, should be made up of the three political forces cooperating with each other: the Nationalists, the religious groups and the Communists.

The reactionaries would like to deprive the concept of Guided Democracy of its democracy part and to use the guidance principle to foster one-man dictatorship of bureaucratic capitalism, and to divert the country along the road to fascism. To achieve these aims they utilize the state of emergency which has largely restricted the democratic rights of the people. The reactionaries have already gained much power in the country, especially in the provinces.

Violent subversive activity is waged against the people in the economic field.

Foreign capital pumps out of the country enormous profits obtained primarily in the oil and rubber industries. The national resources, too, are being plundered on an increasing scale by the bureaucratic capitalists. The situation is worsening in practically all branches of the economy, accompanied by growing inflation and soaring prices. Feudal relationships still prevail in agriculture. The laws adopted in the sphere of agrarian relations only limit but by no means abolish the rule of feudal landlords and foreign imperialists. The people are eking out a miserable existence.

The basic cause of the economic crisis is that Indonesia's economy still bears the imprint of colonial dependence and is closely linked with the capitalist world market. Only by fulfilling the demand of the August revolution for reconstruction of the colonial economy of the country into a national and independent economy will it be possible substantially to improve the situation.

Implementation of the economic and political tasks is hindered by the fact that so far there have been no changes in the government or in the state apparatus as promised in the political documents issued by the President.

The Communist Party shows the people the real way out of the present difficulties. It resolutely fights for the further all-round development of the democratic revolution, for closer national unity the basis of which is the worker-peasant alliance under working-class leadership.

The principal tasks of the people in the present situation are outlined in the Political Manifesto of the President. And the aims set forth in the Manifesto—extirpation of imperialism and feudalism—are also written into the Program of the Communist Party. Only by solving these tasks will it be possible to advance farther towards socialism. Therefore, for the Communists consistent realization of the Political Manifesto, i.e., the complete abolition of imperialism and feudalism, would signify also the implementation of their own Program.

The Party, fighting for democracy in the political and economic life of the country, urges the masses to make it impossible, at last, for the enemies of the revolution to utilize the state of emergency in pursuance of their anti-national ends, and demands an end to the emergency wherever it is no longer needed.

The Party vigorously supports the foreign policy of the government as a policy of peace and steering clear of blocs. Indonesia is combating colonialism and giving full support to the socialist countries in their struggle against imperialism.

The Communists are the most ardent champions of liberating West Irian. We stand for further intensifying and expanding military training of the people, especially the working youth, the peasant youth and the students. At the same time we say that the indispensable condition for success in the struggle to liberate West Irian is the guarantee of democracy for the people. For only if there is democracy for the people and not for the enemies of the people will it be possible to reinforce the anti-imperialist national unity and mobilize the national potential.

The Communists give priority to the economic development of the country, to overcoming the economic difficulties.

Only by rallying the greatest possible energies of the people will it be possible to surmount the economic and financial crisis which has gripped the country. And only then will it be possible to ensure the fulfilment of the Eight-Year Plan which is now threatened with failure.

We pay very close attention to raising agricultural production, and especially increasing rice yields. We believe that the key to raising the productivity of agriculture lies in democratic reforms, in arousing the enthusiasm and releasing the initiative of the peasants and not in playing around with commands and compulsion. With a view to



encouraging the initiative of the peasants the Communist Party urges the government:

—to replace the ineffective bodies in the sphere of rice production with Enterprise Councils and Agricultural Production Councils in which representatives of workers' and peasants' organizations would participate;

—to grant to the people, especially to the workers and peasants, freedom to hold meetings, to express their opinions both verbally as well as in writing, to negotiate questions related to production, and to prevent measures of force and compulsion being imposed on the people, especially in the settlement of land disputes;

—to implement the provisions of the Law on the Division of the Product and the Basic Agrarian Law, to apply legal sanctions against civil and military officials who do not do so;

—to expand and simplify the system of credits to the peasants;

—to repeal those local regulations which lead to a decline in the productivity of the growers.

In order to improve the economic and financial situation, to stabilize the value of the rupiah and prices, the Party deems it necessary to expand production in every way possible, and above all in the state-owned enterprises, for which it is essential to fix realistic targets for an increase in production and to ensure that every investment in the state enterprises is accompanied by a concrete plan for raising performance and production. The state enterprises should, in this way, become the main sources of state revenue and of financing capital construction.

The Communists maintain that in the framework of the struggle for the liberation of West Irian it is essential to confiscate all Dutch capital both in the enterprises which have already been taken over and in the mixed enterprises so as to strengthen the sources of financing the Eight-Year Plan.

The Party suggests that the state should take over control of the foreign exchange earned by the U.S. and other oil monopolies, so as to cover the deficit in the state foreign exchange balance for the import of goods necessary to restore normal economic conditions and implement the Eight-Year Plan.

We also propose that a regulation be introduced that would enable private national enterprises to undertake, in a more rapid and effective way, important construction work.

In order to build a prosperous economy it is necessary speedily to overcome the obstacles raised by the reactionaries in the way of obtaining foreign credits, including credits from the socialist countries, and to utilize these credits effectively for implementing the Eight-Year Plan.

It is essential also to ensure effective co-ordination of all branches of the economy, introduce a system of control from above as well as from below, and a system of periodic reporting on the progress of the plan and, wherever necessary, to revise the plan.

These measures can be carried out only if there is radical re-gearing in political and economic affairs so as to push aside corrupt and incapable persons in positions of responsibility for the Eight-Year Plan and replace them with patriotic, expert persons who are advocates of socialism. The Communist Party maintains that only a Gotong Royong government of the Nationalists, religious groups and the Communists could give effect to these measures, and works persistently for the formation of such a government.

### **Draw All Sections of the People into the Struggle**

The Communist Party is fully aware that on its firm resolve and high-spirited work, and on its ability to mobilize the masses of the people depends above all the solution of both the vital issues of today and the more remote, long-term aims of the Indonesian revolution. Strengthening the positions of the Party among the masses of people will enable us to achieve our noble aims. Hence the Party sees its main task in stepping up in every way its work among the masses. Our Party, a party of the Leninist type, strives to establish closer contact with the masses, to work wherever the masses are, and to approach in a differentiated way the various sections of the population.

The positions of the Party among the workers have been strengthened thanks to the extensive activities on the part of members in the struggle for social and economic improvements. This struggle has resulted, among other things, in wage increases and in an improvement in the distribution of rice and other necessities. Success has also been achieved in defending the workers' rights in state enterprises, formerly belonging to the Dutch, especially the right to obtain bonuses and allowances for holidays. After a tenacious struggle the Act on Dismissals, an inheritance left by the Dutch colonial government, has been repealed.



The biggest achievement of the trade union movement is the cooperation of the various trade union centers with the revolutionary trade union center SOBSI playing the decisive role.

In view of the fact that in the days to come the reactionaries will continue their efforts to shift the burden of the present crisis and inflation onto the shoulders of the working people, the Party urges the workers to wage the struggle in two directions: to oppose the efforts to thrust the burden of inflation and economic crisis onto one side only, i.e., on the working people, and, secondly, to fight for democratic reforms and political liberties for the people. The Party calls on the workers to continue to hold aloft the banner of patriotism, to raise production in state enterprises and give support to patriotic private enterprises.

Important advances have been made in the work *among the peasants*. Thanks to the strong pressures exerted by the peasants, assisted by the democratic groups in Parliament, certain demands have been won which ease somewhat the burdens of peasant life; these include the demand for the reduction of the interest rate on credits from 25 to 12 per cent, the regulation on the compulsory sale of sugar-cane to state sugar enterprises, the right of the peasants to mill their own sugar-cane so as to produce sugar cubes, to secure a reasonable rent for the land used for the cultivation of cane, tobacco and rosella, to have representatives of the peasant organizations in certain Enterprise Councils, and to secure the enactment of the Basic Agrarian Law. This is due mainly to the fact that an anti-feudal peasant united front with the revolutionary peasant organization BTI, which now has a membership of 4½ million, as the backbone, has been created. The peasant organizations have become much more active, due in no small measure to the Second Peasant National Conference held by the Communist Party in July 1961. Very gratifying is the development of the peasant movement in the eastern part of our country.

The movement to raise the cultural level of the peasants, directed by us, is aimed above all at eliminating illiteracy among the peasants and at promoting the activities of peasant organizations of people's art. In order to raise the political consciousness of the peasants we are training more cadres from among the peasants, by setting up more political schools and people's courses where the basic problems of the revolution are

explained to the peasants in a simple and easily understandable manner.

While giving prime attention to the interests of the agricultural workers and the poor peasants, we should not neglect the interests of the middle peasants who also constitute an important driving force of the revolution. In view of this it is particularly important that revolutionary peasant organizations should become mass organizations and purged of landlords and rich peasants.

The middle peasants should be organized in the cooperatives which are closely linked with the revolutionary struggle of the peasants against the landlords and the usurers. Inasmuch as corruption is still a disease of the cooperatives, particularly those imposed from above, Party committees are taking a firm stand against any manifestation of fraud in cooperative managements. We have set ourselves the task of training more Communist cadres for work in the cooperatives, ideologically strong people devoted to the cooperative movement and capable of heading the cooperatives and winning the confidence of their members.

The Party's work *among the intellectuals* is aimed at welding science and culture with the practice of the Indonesian revolution as an inseparable part of the cultural revolution in our country.

Although we have achieved definite results in our work among the intellectuals, we should not forget that there are still quite a number of people who utilize "science" as a screen to resist progress, to oppose the people, and even to oppose science as such.

In analyzing the question what the Communists can do to enable the intellectuals to play a bigger role in the revolution, the Party points out that there are two aspects to our work among this section of the population: firstly, work among non-Party intellectuals and, second, work with the Communist intellectuals and drawing more professional people into the Party. This means, on the one hand, helping the revolutionary intellectuals outside the Party, acquainting them with Marxism-Leninism, and, on the other hand, raising the level of general knowledge and experience of the Communist cadres, teaching them the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism as well as the standpoint and method of the working class.

We plan to organize frequent seminars on the various branches of science and culture like the Seminar on Education held by the



Central Committee of our Party in July 1960.

Also in the field of culture the Communists are stepping up their efforts to defeat the slogan "art for art's sake" and replace it with the principle "art for the people." They do not forget that the reactionaries are continuously striving to revive the reactionary slogan, that the imperialists, headed by the USA, are carrying out a cultural aggression against our country, inundating Indonesia with their decadent literature and demoralizing films.

We note with satisfaction that during the past few years Communist artists and cultural workers have done fine work in the spheres of literature, the graphic arts, music, drama, film and dance. Good relations and cooperation have been established with other democratic and patriotic artists and writers so that an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal cultural front has been formed, which, if maintained and developed, will represent an important force in the revolution.

Notable progress has also been registered in the *youth movement*. The revolutionary spirit among young people has heightened, especially after the start of the struggle for the liberation of West Irian. They have quickly responded to the moves of the imperialists. The Youth Front, in which the following three strongest youth organizations—the Pemuda Rakjat (People's Youth), the nationalist Democratic Youth and the Muslim Anshor youth organizations—constitute the driving force, has become more consolidated. The revolutionary organizations of university and high-school students already represent a force in the fight against subversive and reactionary activities in the schools and universities, and in training people devoted to the revolution.

Under the slogan "Make Pemuda Rakjat a big and strong organization," the Communist youth cadres have undertaken large-scale activities to expand organization and membership and to educate the members in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. This organization is becoming, increasingly, a loyal and trusted assistant of the Communist Party.

Considerable progress has been made in the *women's movement*, too. A strong anti-imperialist united front of women has been built in the capital. There are regions where the various women's organizations are successfully cooperating with each other. But there are also regions where this cooperation is still very poor or totally non-existent.

In recent years the revolutionary women's mass organization Gerwani has made headway in extending and consolidating its membership. This organization, however, requires constant assistance on the part of Party committees. Hence the need for closer attention to the Party groups and cadres working in the revolutionary mass women's organizations in the regions, helping them to find quick and correct ways of solving any contradictions that exist within the groups. The Gerwani has shown its militancy in working for a reduction of prices of daily necessities, organizing joint shopping, actively participating in the cooperatives, etc.

The Party has set itself the task of "educating women Communists to become women whose intellect, tastes and outlook develop as broadly and deeply as possible." There are, however, many Party committees which do not yet pay adequate attention to this question.

Although Party membership has risen from 1.5 million to two million in the past 2½ years, the percentage of women members has not only not increased but has even declined.

In order to improve the work among young women, where there are still many shortcomings, it is necessary to hold a National Seminar of Young Women which will be preceded by regional seminars. In the Party schools we are now giving special lectures on the methods and forms of Party work among women. We are also arranging for more political schools for Communist women, we are holding more conferences of women members, and publishing more pamphlets about the women's movement.

### **Perfect the Methods of Party Building**

Further progress in our work with the masses requires that the Party building should be constantly perfected. And this is easy to understand, since building the Party is part and parcel of the general revolutionary process and, in our conditions, a component of the Indonesian revolution. The present situation in Indonesia makes it incumbent upon us to work out, creatively, the forms of the struggle and Party organization, taking due account, of course, of the specific conditions obtaining in the country.

The Communist Party enjoys the highest prestige in the country and is a force capable of rallying the masses for overcoming all the difficulties that stand in the way of the revolution. This explains why the reactionaries are aiming their main blow against our Party



in the belief that, after having crushed the CPI, it will no longer be difficult for them to dissolve the other political parties.

But no persecutions can undermine the prestige of the Party. The reverse is true: the recent growth of the revolutionary and democratic movement testifies to the enormous strengthening of the positions of the Party, to the all-round support accorded it by the working people.

We never fail to pay attention to improving the ideological and organizational work of the Party. Above all we see to it that the entire work of educating the members and improving the methods of Party work is guided by a concrete and realistic plan. We draw up such plans for a period of three years. Now we are in the process of implementing the Second Three-Year Plan for Education and Organization.

Despite the many difficulties, the Second Three-Year Plan is, in the main, proceeding well. Important successes have been registered by the Four Increases Movement: increase the number of political schools and people's courses; increase the membership of the Party and of the revolutionary mass organizations; increase the number of probationer members becoming full members; increase the collection of Party dues. We have given pride of place to building the Party ideologically, to Marxist-Leninist education, without, of course, forgetting for a moment the work to extend the membership of the Party and the revolutionary mass organizations, and to improve the guidance of the Party committees, sections and groups.

It is being felt throughout the Party that the cadres are enthusiastically studying theory. Not only in the center but also in many regions we have a body of cadres with a profound theoretical grounding. Such a body of theoretically-educated cadres is an important instrument of the Party at all levels of its work.

The increased efforts in the matter of Marxist-Leninist education, and particularly the study of Marxist philosophy, have greatly strengthened the Party ideologically. This, in turn, has heightened the conscious discipline of the Communists, and has made it possible to avoid deviations from the mass line in the political field, and facilitated the struggle against the tendency of placing personal interests above the interests of the people and the Party. Our Party cadres now have a better understanding of the National Front policy, of the need for flexibility in winning support for revolutionary outlooks and

opinions, and for guarding the independence of our Party.

In order to intensify Marxist-Leninist education and, in particular, to double the number of political schools and people's courses, the training of tutors should be improved. With this aim in view we are establishing an extensive network of special schools for tutors. We are also working to resolve the question of compiling and printing textbooks for the political schools; for some of the regions, we believe it would be more expedient if the textbooks were printed in the local language.

There are comrades who maintain that the difficulties we encounter in our work to reach the targets of the Three-Year Plan are due mainly to two factors: first, democratic rights are too limited, and second, life is too difficult. Although they do not say so openly, the Plan targets, according to them, can be reached only if democratic rights are extended and the conditions of life improved. We say to these comrades that, of course, there is a link between implementing the Plan, democracy and the conditions of life. But it should not be forgotten that nobody will give us democracy and better living conditions. These must be fought for, and this struggle will be successful only if the Party and the masses represent a mighty political force.

Thus, we see that implementation of the plan for building the Party ideologically and organizationally and the all-round extension of the revolutionary movement are a must if we want to win democracy and improve living standards.

Facts show that in those regions where the cadres have a correct, active and militant attitude to these problems, they successfully combine the struggle for implementing the plan with the struggle against difficulties due to both limited democracy and conditions of life.

The last two congresses of our Party paid special attention to improving the methods of leadership. The linking of general appeals with concrete demands, the close contact between the leadership and the masses, are decisive in implementing the tasks set by the Party. The methods of leadership should become the subject for discussion in Party committees and at Party schools at all levels. Viewed from this angle, there is a necessity for each region to have its own plan drafted on the basis of specific local conditions and the demands of the Party, and inspired by the General Program of the



CPI, which formulates, in a condensed way, the more general aims and tasks of the Party.

In order to improve the Party's mass work, we always seek to combine the work of raising the spirit of the masses with the daily practical and conscious work. The necessity for this is, on the whole, understood by the Party cadres. And yet, the day-to-day painstaking work is still not being done well enough, with the result that the basis of high-spirited actions is not strong enough, and the achievements already made in this direction cannot be properly consolidated.

The main thing is to activate each Party organization and each Communist in the struggle for the realization of the decisions of our Seventh Congress, for translating the program of our struggle into living reality.

The presence in the leadership of mass organizations, at the highest and lowest levels, of comrades who are doing daily practical work is of course very gratifying. But it cannot yet be said that we have

enough of these comrades. We must admit that there are cadres who, owing to poor knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and lack of experience, do not pay enough attention to the conscious and thorough practical work related to the life of the masses. This is a big job demanding a large number of Party cadres. The Party committees at all levels as well as the comrades working in the mass organizations must be bolder in promoting new cadres.

We shall not be able to educate a large number of capable and determined people and raise the militancy of the Party, if confidence is not shown in cadres at lower levels, who can in fact progress only if they are given greater responsibility. Provided there is good leadership and a correct attitude to people, there will be no talk about weak or bad cadres. For the cadres are revolutionaries who have joined the struggle without any compulsion whatever. They are the children of the revolution and should, therefore, be given a proper place in the revolutionary ranks.

## Perspectives of Socialist Society in Czechoslovakia

*Frantisek Havlicek*

THE Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is preparing for its Twelfth Congress which will meet in December to discuss the work of the Party, and the working people under its leadership, in the period since the Eleventh Congress in 1958, and to chart the main course of the development of socialist society in our country in the coming years. These questions are analyzed in the draft document "On the Perspectives of Our Socialist Society" which will be taken up by the Congress. The draft will be submitted for public discussion at Party meetings to which non-Party people are also to be invited. The purpose of this discussion is to enlist all working people in the task of elaborating the future lines of socialist development.

### A New Frontier

In the four years since the Eleventh Congress, the Communist Party of Czechoslo-

vakia has completed the building of socialism and has accumulated the material resources required for the gradual transition to communism.

In this period socialist production relations won a decisive victory in the countryside and a rapid advance of the productive forces was ensured in industry, volume of output increasing more than fourfold compared with prewar. Substantial progress was made in consolidating socialist democracy, cementing the social, political and ideological unity of the people, and in advancing socialist culture. The targets for raising the standard of living were reached. Socialism triumphed in Czechoslovakia.

The balance sheet of the labors of our people and the activities of the Communist Party in the past period is impressive indeed: in 1958-1961 industrial production in the country as a whole increased by 34.9 per cent, in Slovakia by 49 per cent. Consump-



tion increased by one-fifth and the annual increase in wages ran to 3,700 million crowns on the average, while family allowances have been increasing at an annual rate of 600 million crowns. The state spends 400 million crowns every year on textbooks and classroom accessories and the maintenance of children in creches and nursery schools. With an increase in the lower pension rates, expenditure on old-age pensions has grown by a total of 400 million crowns.

At the same time the Party cannot but deplore the fact that the industrial output plan for 1961 was fulfilled only 99.8 per cent and in the first half of 1962 by 99.6 per cent. The lag is greatest in iron and steel, engineering, capital construction and rail transport. The slow growth of farm production last year (by one per cent) does not meet our growing requirements. The lag in the fulfilment of the plan for technological progress and the slowing down in the rate of growth of labor productivity also affect the development of the national economy. As a result, more labor is expended on producing the planned output than projected; the expenditure of materials and power per unit of output is too high. In a word, the principle of "producing more, of better quality and at a lower cost" has not been consistently followed.

These problems stem from a number of internal and external causes. And they are all the more complex and pressing since they emerged simultaneously and within a comparatively brief period of time.

Most of the shortcomings are caused by factors of an internal nature. In recent years our economy has entered a new and higher stage of development characterized by far-reaching qualitative changes. But not always in the process of concrete leadership and planning were the character and direction of these changes properly assessed; incipient progressive processes were not always given free rein or consolidated organizationally. The complex problems facing the economy and the shortcomings in planning and organization are, therefore, difficulties of growth, manifested at a time when the development of the productive forces, the standard of living and social relationships have reached a high level in the conditions of victorious socialism—difficulties deriving from the complexity of the new tasks we are called upon to solve.

In order realistically to define the tasks and rates of growth of production both now and in the future, it is essential to make a

thorough examination of the changes taking place in production and create an industrial structure which in the natural economic conditions of our country would enable us to make the most effective use of manpower, ensure technological progress and continuously improve the material conditions of life.

At the same time it is essential to utilize more fully the advantages of socialism within the framework of the socialist world system as a whole, to promote international co-operation so as to benefit by the further development of the socialist division of labor with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Our people have entered a new period in their history, a period in which a highly-developed socialist society will be created and the groundwork laid for the building of communism. The country's material and technical base will gradually develop into the material and technical base of communism. The old division of labor will be replaced step by step by a new one, and the essential distinctions between manual and mental labor abolished. An abundance of goods to satisfy the growing requirements of society will be gradually created.

The attention of the Party in the next period will be concentrated on two basic problems:

—completing the economic development program for the period up to 1970. The present difficulties and shortcomings will have to be overcome, the requirements of social development properly assessed and their satisfaction fully ensured, while making our contribution to the further strengthening of the socialist world system;

—solving of important ideological and political questions: consolidating the moral and political unity of the people on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and reinforcing the ideological unity of the Party.

### **The Basic Economic Tasks**

At present a seven-year economic plan is being drawn up for the years 1964-1970. What are the main lines of the economic advance?

The key link is the metallurgical industry. It should develop faster than other branches since increased metal output is a prerequisite for steady advance in the engineering and other branches. Although Czechoslovakia already produces 511 kilograms of steel per capita, this falls short of our needs. We want



to promote steel production further, with a substantial increase in the output of high-grade steels and of new types of rolled metal, which would enable us to effect a considerable saving in materials and labor.

The role and importance of the engineering industry will be still greater in the future. In keeping with our traditions, we must improve the skill of our engineering workers and draw level with world standards in this sphere. The structure of the engineering industry, too, will be subordinated to this end. It is pointless for Czechoslovakia to continue producing 70 per cent of all the types of output turned out by the world engineering industry. So wide a range vastly increases the cost of production. In conformity with our overall aims and the development of international and domestic specialization, it will be essential to reduce the range, lay more emphasis on quantity output and make the machine-building industry more profitable. It is imperative to ensure a sufficient quantity of machine-tools and other equipment for the reconstruction and modernization of the engineering industry itself and to achieve a high level of mechanization and automation.

Development of the chemical industry is another basic task. Thanks to cooperation with the Soviet Union, the raw material supply for this industry can be expanded and the growth of branches connected with the processing of oil and gas accelerated. The immediate job of the chemical industry is to meet the requirements of agriculture, primarily by increasing the output of mineral fertilizers.

As a result of the victory of socialist production relations in agriculture, large-scale socialist farming is expanding and taking firm root. Most important here is to raise agricultural production to the level of industry by 1970.

At present our agriculture produces over 50 per cent of the grain, 85 per cent of the meat and 80 per cent of the butter consumed in the country. The rest is imported. It is our immediate concern to take care of at least the growth in consumption from our own resources, and reduce the percentage of imported meat and butter.

Decisive in promoting farm production is effective utilization of the land. The draft document, therefore, points to the need for more careful cultivation, reclamation and higher yields. Since the area of arable land in Czechoslovakia is limited, it is essential to make use of every inch of soil.

Besides improved cultivation, other factors ensuring a further advance are mechanization and the use of chemicals. In mechanization the main thing, however, is not to keep adding endlessly to the number of tractors, but above all to effect the comprehensive mechanization of all farm work which would reduce and eventually eliminate expenditure of manual labor.

Farming cannot be advanced without highly-skilled specialists. We must achieve a situation where the key profession in agriculture will be that of the power-farming expert, equipped with basic knowledge in crop cultivation and animal husbandry.

All-round growth of the productive forces in agriculture will make for the further development of socialist production relations in the countryside. And the development of the two forms of socialist property — cooperative and state — will help to bring them closer together.

Comprehensive mechanization of farming will do away with arduous physical labor, which will be replaced by more skilled labor. The conditions will also arise for reducing the need for seasonal labor, for introducing shift work and payment in money.

The document points out that the produce required for personal consumption by the cooperative farmers will be increasingly supplied by the common husbandry of the cooperative. Successful cooperative farming in itself will, in time, be a sufficient inducement to the peasants to give up their household plots.

More and more modern homes and services will be built in the villages. As a result, the farmers' way of life and the cultural, medical, educational and other establishments in the countryside will approximate to urban standards. Already now construction of these is under way in the larger villages, which are developing into the economic and cultural centers of their respective areas.

The rate of development depends in large measure on the efficacy of capital construction. The document stresses the importance of the correct distribution of the productive forces among the various regions in accordance with their natural and economic conditions. Thus, the conditions will be created for the establishment of rational economic ties between the regions; manpower and raw materials will be used more effectively, and costs, primarily in transport, will be reduced.

The decisive element is technological progress. Hence the importance of the new advances in the engineering industry. To ac-



celerate technological progress large specialized mass production enterprises will be built. The document also emphasizes the need to reconstruct old plants and to make more effective use of production floor space by introducing the latest in machinery. There should be a systematic increase in the proportion of investments in new machinery, while that channelled to the construction of new production premises should be curtailed.

The general economic plan, as well as the plans of the various enterprises, will be pivoted on research programs and on technological progress. In enhancing the role of science and technology we see the basic avenue for solving our problems and eliminating the difficulties. Extensive use of the diverse sources of power and the creation of new materials designed for particular purposes are envisaged as decisive factors affecting economic development generally.

Of prime importance for overcoming economic snags is improvement of management, in particular centralized guidance, i.e., planning and organizational and control functions on the part of state and economic bodies. The further development of socialist democracy will be linked with strengthening centralized leadership. In the past two years there has been a slackening of responsibility for plan fulfilment on the part of our ministries, and in the lower echelons of leadership there have been instances of parochialism and narrow departmental approach.

Experience shows that overall quantitative indicators, such as, for instance, gross production, reveal only one aspect of plan fulfilment. To improve planning it is essential to take note also of the structure and assortment of output and to be guided by technological and economic indicators as well as the natural indices of growth of output and productivity of labor. Better planning can be achieved by making full use of such levers as wages, prices, profit, credit, etc. This will provide both enterprises and individuals with the incentive to boost production and serve, besides, to control efficiency.

While developing democratic centralism, we want the broader powers of the lower administrative and economic bodies to be exercised in full conformity with the interests of society as a whole.

Charting ways and means of raising the standard of living is closely linked with the basic perspectives of social development. The document points to two main ways of raising the standard of living: increase of consump-

tion funds distributed according to labor, and increase of public consumption funds (through shorter hours, housing construction, education, cultural amenities, medical care and children's institutions). The rise in living standards will be felt first by large families and those in the lower income brackets.

Improvement of living standards will, among other things, facilitate progress in social development and growth of the productive forces. A big role in this will be played by the principle of socialist distribution, according to which earnings should rise in conformity with increasing productivity of labor and output of goods. The document states quite frankly that the problem of raising living standards can be solved chiefly by increasing production and lowering costs, by a more economic and efficient management of the economy. We can dispose only of that which we produce. Some of the measures envisioned will require building up large reserves which will take several years to accumulate.

The Central Committee is submitting for the consideration of the people the following proposal: to concentrate primarily on improving child care, creating better conditions for working women and for large families. For this purpose the network of creches and nursery schools as well as school, factory and public dining rooms will be extended, public services will be extended and improved so as to relieve women of the burden of time-consuming chores. These measures will help to improve domestic life and raise the living standard of large families to that of childless families.

In the sphere of mother and child welfare, maternity leaves will be lengthened. At present the working woman has 18 weeks maternity leave during which she receives 75-90 per cent of her monthly earnings. The proposal now submitted for discussion provides for extending maternity leave up to a period of six months and, subsequently, even more. Mothers of large families will also be given the opportunity to retire on pension at an earlier age.

With the further development of society and the introduction of new techniques, complex mechanization and automation, working conditions will steadily improve. Raising the educational level and the growth of socialist consciousness will furnish greater opportunities for the application of the abilities of each individual in accordance with his personal inclinations and the needs of society. The attitude to labor, too, will change. In



addition to material incentives, the significance and the role of the moral factor will increase, and labor will become a vital necessity for every individual. All citizens who lose their working capacity owing to age or ill health will be fully provided for by benefits from the social funds.

### **The Future of the Socialist Democracy**

Building socialism has brought with it fundamental changes in the structure of the population. The bulk of the working population (96.4 per cent) is employed in the socialist sector. Individual farmers comprise 3.2 per cent of the total population. Moreover, the industrial working class makes up 55 per cent of the labor force. Hence, the main force in Czechoslovak society, both as regards numbers as well as its role as the leading fighter for the classless Communist society, is the working class. It is the class most directly connected with the socialist property of the whole people, it is the protagonist of the most progressive forms of development of the productive forces and labor organization. Its core consists of class-conscious workers who are fighting for the interests of society as a whole. They are the initiators of new and more productive methods of labor, they are members of socialist labor brigades, and it is they who by their labor and their daily lives plant and nurture the seeds of communism. Being the guiding force of society, the working class gives of its best to society.

Those workers who in the course of socialist construction came to the factories from the countryside have now almost merged with the working class proper. Among the workers employed in our factories are also persons who formerly belonged to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois strata and who have not yet acquired all the positive attributes of class-conscious workers. Their ideological re-education has not yet been completed.

As the document stresses, the progress of our socialist society will be based on the development of the two forms of socialist property. With the powerful expansion of the productive forces and the strengthening of socialist production relations the two basic classes of our society — the workers and peasant cooperators — will come closer together as agricultural labor gradually develops into a form of industrial labor and the two forms of socialist ownership approximate to one another.

The main distinctions between manual and mental labor are already being eliminated.

And this process will be accelerated during the period of the all-out construction of communism: arduous and unskilled labor will gradually disappear and the number of highly-skilled workers will substantially increase. The proportion of engineers, technicians and research workers directly engaged in production will grow. At the same time, the number of persons engaged in the non-productive sphere, particularly in education, health care and the catering services, will also be greater.

Socialism in Czechoslovakia was victorious because after the defeat of German fascism our working class built up its state — the dictatorship of the proletariat — in alliance with the masses of the working people. Having laid the foundations of socialism, put an end to the exploitation of man by man and eliminated the exploiting classes, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat began to develop into a state of the whole people. Hence the new, socialist constitution adopted in 1960 describes our state thus: "The Czechoslovak state established as an organization of the working people with the working class at their head, has become a popular organization in the best sense of the word."

The draft document on the development of the social system in Czechoslovakia, however, emphasizes that the state of the whole people has not yet fully taken shape. "Socialist production relations, especially in the countryside, must be developed further and consolidated. It will take some time before the victory of these relations will be complete and before it finds its reflection also in the social-political, ideological and ethical spheres."

The document further notes that we are active participants in a bitter class struggle on the international arena, a struggle between the two world systems — the socialist and the capitalist. This struggle lays its stamp also on human relationships in Czechoslovakia. Under the influence of Western bourgeois culture and ideology a revival of some of the leftovers of the bourgeois mode of life and thinking is to be observed among certain sections of the population. Hence the Communist Party and the public organizations, scientific and cultural institutions guided by it, must wage an irreconcilable struggle against the hangovers of the bourgeois ideology in the minds of some people and endeavor to overcome bourgeois and petty-bourgeois morality.



Our further advance will be marked by the all-round development of socialist democracy, broadening of popular participation in government and in economic and cultural upbuilding, improvement of the work of the state apparatus and strengthening of public control. It is necessary to find such forms of control as can be exercised by the masses of the people. The document stresses that control functions should not be the sole prerogative of the state but should be exercised by the masses of the people as one of the basic forms of their participation in economic management and in state administration.

The Central Committee recommends the establishment of committees of public control consisting of representatives chosen by the people. This will ensure the exercise of control from above and below. With the active participation of the working people, these committees could prevent mistakes from being made, expose them on the spot and help to eliminate them. The Party is justified in expecting these popular elective control bodies to play an outstanding part in the practical training of leading executives and of all working people generally. They should help to heighten the sense of responsibility for the consistent fulfilment of plans, strengthen state discipline, make for greater efficiency and ensure respect for socialist property.

It is proposed to set up people's control committees in the factories, in the towns, districts and regions, to establish a similar committee under the Slovak National Council, and a Central People's Control Commission as a government body. These control bodies will be independent of the national committees, the management of enterprises and offices. In keeping with democratic centralism, they will be accountable to their electors and to a higher committee. In the towns the committees will be elected by direct vote, and in districts and regions, through the election of delegates; the Central Control Commission will be elected by the National Assembly to which it will report at regular intervals.

The preliminary discussion of the draft Congress documents shows that the proposal to set up public control committees has been well received. Moreover, some highly interesting ideas concerning the functions of these committees are being submitted by the public.

On questions of culture, the document stresses that the Party attaches major im-

portance to the further development of general and technical education for all working people. The Party considers the education of all working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism to be a cardinal task. All manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism will be relentlessly combated.

A steadily growing role in cementing the political unity of the people, broadening socialist democracy and in socialist construction is being played by public organizations, especially the trade unions and the Youth League. The draft document notes that the industrial conferences and other forms of work which serve to increase workers' participation in the management of production, technological development and socialist emulation, to raise skills and improve living conditions and safety measures should occupy a prominent place in the activities of the trade unions.

The draft of the new rules, which will also be discussed at the Twelfth Congress, puts forward the principle that the primary Party organizations in the sphere of production, transport and trade should have a say in the appointment of top executives in their particular field and see to it that questions relating to personnel are discussed at trade union meetings. This is a striking example of the practical application of the principle of democracy. The bourgeois propagandists who are forever lauding their brand of democracy, even in countries where that democracy has been replaced by authoritarian regimes, would do better to advise the capitalists to introduce at their own enterprises the principles set forth in the new Czechoslovak document — to consult the trade unions before appointing leading managerial personnel, or set up control committees elected by the people to exercise all-round control over the given enterprise.

Special attention is devoted to work with the youth and to the activity of the Youth League. This is understandable, for our people are determined to do everything in their power to ensure that this generation in our country, as in the USSR, shall live to see communism. It is mainly the youth that will enjoy the fruits of communist society. Hence the young people who will live in that society tomorrow should be the most active builders of communism today.

The youth has already contributed no small share to the building of socialism. Its ranks have produced some splendid workers, talented organizers of production and public life,



some gifted scientists and engineers. Nevertheless one still encounters instances of indifference and irresponsibility on the part of young people to the interests of society and the goals of the working people. Hence the document lays the following tasks before the Youth League: to eliminate formalism in the work of its organizations, to draw more young people into active participation in building the new society, to encourage their thirst for knowledge, their desire to scale the summits of learning. It is the duty of Communists to inspire the youth with the noble ideals of socialism and communism, to instil in them the desire to devote all their energies to the realization of these ideals.

### **Moulding the New Man**

The tasks outlined in the document will demand a considerably higher standard of education and working skills in all fields of endeavor. According to preliminary estimates, by 1980 the proportion of specialists with a higher education engaged in industry is to be increased six and a half times, those with secondary education, fourfold. These are impressive figures bearing in mind the present relatively high level of industry in Czechoslovakia and the substantial number of specialists employed. Five times more specialists with a higher education and six times more with a secondary education will be needed for agriculture. This means that all school and extra-curricular forms of education will be considerably expanded and joined into a single unified system. The education and training of the rising generation must be closely linked with productive labor — this principle now assumes first-rate importance. Adults should combine their work in production with additional study, in keeping with personal inclinations and the needs of society.

An indication of the trend of development is afforded by the tasks which the Party places before the social sciences: to sum up the basic experience of socialist and communist construction; to work on practical questions connected with the building of the material and technological base of the new society; to study the social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution; to further the social division of labor and study the relationship between mental and manual labor. The methods and forms of leadership of society, the vanguard role of the Communist Party, the broadening of socialist democracy, the growth of elements of communist self-government and the fea-

tures of communist morality — will be the subjects of theoretical study.

Deepening the consciousness of the masses is a law of socialist and communist development. The life of our working people is already inseparably linked with socialism. But the new conditions and social relations do not automatically lead to ideological maturity. Hence the document emphasizes the importance of educational and ideological work by the Party and the social and political organizations and bodies guided by it. The need for educational work is substantiated by the following conclusions:

—it is only in the course of the struggle against the survivals of the past and the negative influences of the capitalist world that the masses learn to appreciate the significance of events and to perceive the trend of development, only in struggle against the old does their outlook rise to the level of social development;

—education of the new man goes hand in hand with building the economy and developing economic relations;

—ideological education should permeate all political activity, should be linked with organizational work among the masses.

The purpose of the ideological work conducted by the Party is to bring up the working people to be active builders of the new, communist society. The Party regards a communist attitude to labor to be the principal measure of the effectiveness of ideological work.

One manifestation of this attitude to labor is the higher form of socialist emulation now widespread in Czechoslovakia, namely, the movement of socialist labor teams and foremost workers in production. All educational work should encourage the development of this highly valuable offshoot of communism.

An especially important province of the Party's ideological activity is the economic education of the workers. All workers should be keenly alive to the vital necessity of introducing new techniques and modern principles of organization, planning and remuneration of labor, and methods of management, and should realize the need for strict labor and state discipline.

Another important aspect of ideological work is the education of the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party impresses on all citizens that love for the socialist homeland is inextricably bound up with friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp. A practical manifestation



of proletarian internationalism is the active assistance rendered by our working people to all who are fighting against capitalist exploitation, for democratic rights, for national and social emancipation.

### **A Contribution to the Cause of Peace and Progress**

The last chapter of the document deals with the international position of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, its role in the world struggle waged by the forces of socialism, progress and peace against the forces of imperialism and war. "Shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union, together with all the countries of the camp of socialism and all progressive men and women, together with the Communists of the whole world we are building a barrier to the war-like designs of the imperialists and are furthering the advance of mankind, which has already raised the issue of replacing the capitalist system with the socialist system on a world scale."

One of the urgent tasks of Czechoslovak home and foreign policy is to strengthen and consolidate the socialist camp. In this respect the decisions adopted by the session of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, held recently in Moscow, acquire particular significance. They constitute a step towards pooling the economic efforts of the socialist countries, towards the gradual establishment of a single socialist world economy, the realization of which is linked with the not distant perspective of going over to the building of communism.

In the sphere of international relations the Party consistently adheres to the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence. The struggle for peaceful coexistence in the relations between the capitalist and the socialist systems is the general line of socialist foreign policy during the entire period of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

The living embodiment of Lenin's policy of peace, states the document, is the Soviet Union's attitude to all world problems. The Party, obedient to the wishes of the people, will continue to give every support to this policy and will do all in its power to ensure that the contribution made by socialist Czechoslovakia to the cause of peace fully accords with the place of honor it holds in the front ranks of the forces of peace and progress.

The international Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time. The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU was an event of historic significance for the further development of this movement. The experience of the Soviet Party is of inestimable value for the entire international Communist movement. The Program of building communism adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, in common with the other documents of that Congress, constitutes the sum of experience not only of the CPSU itself, but of the international working-class movement as a whole. Hence the universal validity of the decisions reached by the CPSU. "The new program of the CPSU has become for all Communists the accepted charter which is recognized by our Party as well," states the document. The Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU offers additional proof that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the center of creative Marxist-Leninist thought and the recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia draws its strength from the Leninist line of international communist cooperation. It consistently carries into life the program documents of the world Communist movement and resolutely opposes any violations of the unity of the Communist movement, whether from revisionist or dogmatist-sectarian positions. The Czechoslovak Communist Party "side by side with the CPSU, will continue to spare no effort in contributing its share to strengthening the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist movement, and to the triumph of Leninist ideas in the struggle for peace and communism."

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These, then, are the main ideas contained in the draft document which is now being discussed by the Party together with all the working people of Czechoslovakia. The activity of the Party on the eve of the Congress, the public discussion of the urgent problems connected with the further development of socialism, the socialist emulation movement in honor of the Twelfth Congress—are an earnest that the tasks of the coming period will be successfully carried out. This will enable Socialist Czechoslovakia to rise to a still higher level. And this will be her contribution to the victory of socialism and communism throughout the world.



# The Fight for the Trade Unions in Federal Germany

Josef Ledwohn

THE six million members of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB), certain weaknesses notwithstanding, are the vanguard of West Germany's twenty million wage-earners and exert a decisive influence on the position of the entire working class in the Federal Republic.

The role, functions and tasks of the unions are the subject of heated debates both in the trade unions and among the public in West Germany. The monopolies are trying hard to win trade union support for their imperialist policies, while the Right-wing leaders of the Federation want the unions to support the government. On the other hand, in West Germany, as in other developed capitalist countries, the contradictions between the monopolies and the people are growing sharper. This is keenly felt by the working class. Hence the growing resistance of the workers to the attempts to subordinate the unions to the monopolies. The struggle against monopoly domination, which is a democratic movement involving all sections of the population, merges objectively with the fight of the unions for democratic rights.

## The Monopolies vs the Trade Unions

As the big monopolies established their domination over the economic and public life of the Federal Republic and assumed control of the state apparatus they strove to remove any independent organized force opposing them. The Communist Party of Germany and many other democratic organizations were banned. The parties now represented in the Bundestag were forced into line with monopoly policy. To perfect the forms and instruments of their domination, the monopolies are concentrating on achieving the "coordination" (*Gleichschaltung*)\* of all public organizations.

This fascist tendency, which has been growing steadily since the Communist Party

was banned, is connected with the failure of the positions of strength policy as applied to the socialist camp in general and to the German Democratic Republic in particular, and with the determination, nevertheless, to persist in that policy. On August 13, 1961, when the GDR took steps to safeguard its state frontiers, the new alignment of forces in Germany became clearly delineated. Just as on a worldwide scale the socialist camp determines the main trend of political development, so in Germany the actions of the German working class and its state, the GDR, exert an increasing influence on policy. The monopolies, therefore, are adapting themselves to the new conditions of the class struggle and, through the "coordination" of the social system, are endeavoring to implant in the West German working class and trade unions hostility toward the GDR and thereby weaken the German proletariat.

The *Gleichschaltung* is linked also with the desire of the monopolies, in the light of the growing economic instability, to attack living standards and the social gains of the workers and abolish trade union rights and freedoms—the right to form trade union alliances and the right to strike.

As far back as 1952 the monopoly bourgeoisie, using the law on the status of the workers in the enterprises, abolished some substantial rights formerly enjoyed by the unions and greatly restricted the functions of the industrial councils. This law also provided the legal grounds for anti-union, anti-strike court rulings compelling the unions to make good the losses incurred by the employers as a result of strikes.

In a government pronouncement made last November, Adenauer threatened the unions with the so-called arbitration laws and announced that the functions of the unions would be defined "in principle." This, evidently, implies that commissions of experts will restrict the unions' right to have a say in fixing wage rates, or abolish this right altogether through compulsory arbitration. Moreover, the government is contemplating a

\*This term was widely used at the time of Hitler. At that time it meant unification, adaptation to fascist views and adherence to a standard unified pattern. Today *Gleichschaltung* implies turning all public organizations and institutions into a component of the system of state-monopoly capitalism.



series of "emergency" laws which will enable it temporarily to abolish all the functions of the unions.

The ruling class is working to split the unions; Catholic unions have been set up with the aid of functionaries of the Christian Democratic Union, and through the Christian Social Association factional strife has been started inside the DGB. Added to this is the intimidation of those class conscious trade unionists who join with their class brothers in the GDR in fighting for peace and the worker's rights.

In the present situation, however, the aims of aggressive monopoly capital go far beyond isolated measures against the unions. The monopolies are seeking through "coordination" to divert the attention of unions from their real tasks and harness them to their own, anti-national policy. In other words, the very existence of the unions as independent class organizations of the workers is at stake. The unions, according to the monopolies, must become "a component of the existing order," i.e., of the state-monopoly system. In preparation for aggressive acts, the imperialists cannot but seek to win over at least part of the working class in order to counteract the change in the balance of forces in Germany in favor of peace and socialism.

The monopolies realize that with the existence in Germany of a state of workers and peasants it would be neither expedient nor possible to attempt openly to smash the trade union organizations. Hence the broadly conceived plan of "gradual coordination." It was this that induced Erhard, the Economy Minister, when addressing the Fifth Congress of the DGB in Stuttgart in 1959, to speak of "the community of labor and creative capital" and to demand revision of the program of trade union action. This program, adopted in 1949 at the inaugural Congress of the DGB in Munich, contained elements of a class anti-monopoly policy and was on the whole democratic and anti-fascist in character. Even more outspoken than Erhard was Paulssen, Chairman of the Federal Union of German Industry, who proclaimed "solidarity between the employers and the trade unions." All groups and parties, he declared, "must now keep together. In the face of the grave danger they should forget their petty, selfish squabbles." In other words, the spokesmen of the West German ruling class were demanding that the workers abandon the struggle for their class interests, engage in "social partnership" and

join up with (or rather, submit to) the bourgeoisie on a platform of anti-communism.

In 1933 the workers were herded into Hitler's "labor front" where they were dragooned into submitting to the employers; today the monopoly bourgeoisie want to achieve the same object by new methods: formal preservation of the trade unions as labor organizations, with not only revolutionary but even reformist ideology being substituted by the ideology of imperialism. The monopolists will no longer tolerate any defense of the interests of the workers even within the framework of the capitalist system.

Of course the monopoly bourgeoisie would not dare to think of "coordinating" the trade unions if it did not have its "fifth column" inside the unions.

### **The Right-Wing Leaders of the DGB and the SDPG—the Allies of the Monopolies**

One of the most violent opponents of a class policy for the trade unions is Richter, President of the German T.U. Federation. Other leaders of the so-called Richter group are Ludwig Rosenberg, Bernhard Tacke, the Christian Democratic Party stooge in the DGB Executive, Heinrich Gutermuth and Georg Leber, leaders of industrial trade unions.

The "coordination" scheme is fraught with danger for the unions if only because men of this calibre hold leading positions in the Federation and in several industrial unions. But the danger is all the greater since it is not so much a matter of individuals who have betrayed the working class, or who were never really associated with the labor movement, as of a political trend which emanates from the monopoly bourgeoisie and which has its spokesmen not only in the DGB, but in all the bourgeois parties, in the Church, and in the Social Democratic Party. It is, of course, the Right-wing leaders of the Federation egged on by political adventurers like Brandt and Wehner who are directly responsible for implementing the "coordination" policy.

That men like Brandt and Wehner can be at the head of the trade unions is a travesty of the concept of "labor leader." They share a common nihilistic ideology—anti-communism. Hence their savage hatred of anyone in the unions who has preserved his reason and common sense.

The Richter group in the DGB has sunk so low as to make use of Catholic social dogma to combat communism and to give the cleri-



cals a wide field for their activities. That explains how the trade union schools and the union press have come to be infected with political clericalism and why one finds churchmen lecturing on labor problems in all trade union schools.

The ideological degradation of the Right-wing union leaders and their shift to bourgeois positions is manifested also in their attitude to classical reformism, to the idea of the "third way," etc. In our epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the spokesmen of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the camp of the working class are not permitted even to flirt with socialist ideas and slogans. Even the utopian ideas of "reforming" capitalism and gradually achieving its socialist "transformation" are taboo.

By way of example we can cite from an article in the DGB journal *Solidarität* entitled "The Place of the Trade Unions" (Nos. 1 and 2, 1962).

"It was agreed (at a conference of young researchers working in the unions.—J.L.) that under a democratic system maximum demands cannot be realized without taking other interests into account. It is one of the principal features of democracy that while defending the interests of any one group (meaning the working class—J.L.) these interests cannot simply be equated with those of society as a whole." And so as to leave no doubt as to what is in question: "Another prerequisite for a free and independent trade union striving for broad participation in the economy is the existence of free (i.e. private capitalist — J.L.) enterprise." This article\* proves beyond all doubt that the Right-wing leaders stand for class cooperation and the conception of "free market economy" (in other words, the economic domination of the monopolies) which is the credo of the Christian Democratic leadership. It is not for nothing that the Richter group is echoing the monopoly demand for a revision of the Federation's program of 1949 in the spirit of the Godesberg program of the SDPG, and particularly the deletion of all anti-monopoly formulations.

No less ominous is the full support of the Richter group for the aggressive foreign poli-

cy of the Adenauer government. Richter himself, speaking in Hilden during the election campaign of 1961, declared: "We pledge our loyalty to the West and resent Adenauer's charge that we are unreliable. The Social Democratic Federal government will also recognize and fulfil all its NATO commitments."

The attitude of Richter and his colleagues to the policy of neo-colonialism, referred to for camouflage purposes as "aid to the underdeveloped countries," is likewise characteristic. "We not only want to take the offensive in the contest with communism on the territories of the young African and Asian states, we intend to win that contest," wrote *Quelle*, an organ of the DGB. The employers' press was naturally loud in its praise of the trade union leaders for taking this stand.

One of the urgent problems is the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states and the peaceful settlement of the West Berlin question. But the Right-wing leaders of the T.U. Federation, taking their cue from Brandt and Wehner, fiercely oppose a peace treaty. Moreover, they endeavor to justify their position by referring to what they call "the interests of Germany as a whole," evidently having in mind the interests they share with the Christian Democrats, the Free Democrats, the monopolies and the Bonn militarists.

Unfortunately, Richter's men succeeded at the recent trade union conferences in getting decisions adopted rejecting the idea of a peace treaty. This is additional proof of the danger of "coordination." Some workers have succumbed to the ideological and political barrage and have allowed themselves to be misled by the nationalist propaganda. And the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the T.U. Federation are solely concerned in dragging the working people into the turgid flood of chauvinism that is engulfing the country. They are trying to accustom the workers to the idea of war and prepare them for the counter-revolutionary struggle. The Richter group sends trade unionists to West Berlin to stir up trouble on the GDR frontier. So-called "seminars" on East-West problems are held in trade union schools at which anti-communism is drummed into the workers' heads.

While abuse is poured on the GDR, the union leaders laud the Federal Republic as "a democratic state." In defiance of the 1949 Program and Rules of the Federation which speak of the struggle for democratic rights,

\*The DGB journal actually echoes what the monopoly press says about the trade unions. For example, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, mouthpiece of the big bourgeoisie, in an article headed "The Trade Unions Search for a New Way" published on December 16, 1961, spoke about the birth of "new ideas" which "differ fundamentally from the original mission of leading the working class to victory in its struggle against the capitalist enemy." The article suggests that the concept "class trade union" be replaced by another, the "consolidated trade union," which it is explained, should develop in a social system based on "free enterprise."



trade unionists are now told that their job is to "defend" the Bonn regime.

The Rights in the Social Democratic Party and in the trade unions make it appear as if there were no divergence between governmental power as exercised in Federal Germany and the Constitution (Basic Law). But this is mere sleight of hand. For the principles governing the democratic rights of citizens set forth in the Constitution are sharply at variance with the actual state of affairs in Federal Germany. Yet for men who have betrayed the cause of the working class the question of extending democratic rights simply does not exist. On the contrary, they go so far as to uphold the "emergency" laws which threaten the very existence of the trade unions.

The monopoly state objectively conflicts with the interests of the working class and its trade unions. Only when the political power belongs to the proletariat do the interests of the state and the working class coincide in principle. However, there is much confusion and misunderstanding among the working class and in the trade unions in Federal Germany on this question. For example, the unions in the GDR, it is claimed, are "Government" unions, as distinct from those in West Germany which are supposedly "free." Yet, at a time when it is of crucial importance for the unions in West Germany to remain independent of the imperialist state, the Right-wing leaders are doing everything to abolish the freedom and independence of the unions, to bind them hand and foot to the imperialist chariot.

The Richter group is now demanding "co-ownership" by the workers and state "control" of monopolies. This, however, is a base speculation on the illusions which some sections of the working class still cherish about the government. It indicates that in this respect, too, the Richters are determined to strengthen the domination of the monopolies.

The Rights are carrying out the task assigned them by the monopolies, namely, to make the unions the instruments for the maintenance of order, and their leaders, the political N.C.O.s of the Government in the labor movement.

The policy of "coordination" pursued by the Richter group, then, signifies complete rejection of the defense of working class interests. The Rights want to leave the working class completely at the mercy of the imperialists. They have not only abandoned the socialist principles of the working class movement, but are ignoring the anti-militarist

traditions of the workers as well. These leaders are dealing all working people fighting for democratic demands a treacherous stab in the back. They can be called neither Socialists, nor Democrats nor even reformists, they are simply lackeys of monopoly capital in the ranks of the organized workers. Exposure of the Richter group and of its infamous role is of the utmost importance for the future of the working class movement in West Germany because this would enable the workers to overcome the very strong influence still exerted by these creatures.

### **Trade Union "Coordination" Can Be Frustrated**

The biggest obstacle to the realization of the Richter group's plan is the class relationships in Federal Germany itself. The plain fact that the working class in West Germany is an exploited and oppressed class is being brought home to the workers more and more in a multitude of ways.

There are signs that the long period of high business activity is on the wane. This is manifested in the difficulties experienced by the steel industry in finding markets and in the chronic crisis in the mining industry, which has led to the closure of many mines. The automobile industry, too, has its troubles—suffice it to recall the failure of the Borgward Works. Production in the textile and leather goods industry is subject to violent fluctuations. It is not by chance that Economy Minister Erhard has been shouting so loudly about the danger threatening the economy. This is putting many workers on their guard and shaking their faith in the theory of "eternal prosperity." As the social insecurity becomes increasingly manifest, the workers are beginning more actively to discuss the tasks of the labor movement and the trade unions.

On the other hand, the monopolies are stepping up their offensive against living standards on the grounds that the workers should "maintain a sense of proportion." In the steel industry, for example, wages have been substantially cut at times through abolishing bonuses, reducing diverse payments, through short-time working, redundancy or transfer of skilled workers to lower-paid jobs. The employers have been demanding a wage freeze in the steel industry for one year.

Developments since the beginning of this year indicate that the class struggle is sharpening. The monopolies are steering a course toward the establishment of a dictatorial



emergency regime. But working class resistance is bound to stiffen. The brief strikes of metal workers at the beginning of the year, the stoppages of the miners in the Saar, and similar actions have clearly demonstrated to the working people the fallacy of the "national community" slogans advanced by the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the DGB. The class consciousness displayed by the workers during these strikes came as a surprise to some people in the Federal Republic. There was no talk of fighting the "enemy on the left," the GDR. The workers called their enemy by name—monopoly capital and its government in Bonn. Particularly important was the cooperation of the Communists and Social Democrats both before and during the strikes.

Such developments naturally have their impact on the situation inside the trade unions. It can safely be said that the struggle around the issue of trade union policy has entered a new stage. The Richter group has experienced setbacks in carrying out its "coordination" scheme. The opponents of the group are beginning to act more openly and to consolidate their forces. In the decisions adopted at trade union conferences the basic features of a correct—under the present circumstances—class policy for the unions are beginning to emerge.

An impetus to this development was given in October 1960 by the 6th Congress of the metalworkers union, the biggest union in the Federal Republic, with a membership of nearly two million. The Congress adopted a policy which was on the whole correct from the class standpoint and important for the regrouping of forces in the unions. It resolved that the union should pursue an active policy on the question of wages and against the monopolies. It voiced opposition to the monopoly rule in Federal Germany, reaffirmed its loyalty to the Munich program, which contains the demand for the transfer of the key branches of industry to public ownership, and called upon all workers to fight together against the contemplated "emergency" laws, resorting if need be to political strikes.

Last but not least, the Congress urged the need for a policy of peace and international detente, and condemned nuclear armament and the positions of strength policy. "Militarism in Germany has not yet been overcome," said Brenner, President of the Metalworkers Union. "The recent memorandum issued by the commanding staff of the Bun-

deswehr shows how justified our apprehensions are."

The Congress demanded the removal of former Nazis from public office and the punishment of those who engage in fascist propaganda in the Federal Republic.

The reactionary press turned all its guns on this union, going so far as to accuse its leaders of hostility to the government. The Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party, too, attacked the decisions. Ollenhauer, speaking at the SDPG Congress in Hannover, declared that the ideas advanced by the metalworkers "depart on essential points from the economic and political principles of our Godesberg program. . . . The Godesberg program," he went on, "remains as before the only obligatory basis for party policy, and we expect all members of the party to be guided by that program in their public and political activities."

Kuno Brandel, member of the board of the Metalworkers Union, was asked to get a resolution adopted that would have nullified the decisions of the Congress, containing as it did the demand that the union "stand solidly behind our democratic state and do everything possible to preserve and protect it." But the union board refused to be intimidated and Brandel was excluded from the Executive.

The reactionary leaders, however, have not been idle. They managed to secure the adoption by the conferences of a number of unions—for example, the mining and power industry, trade, banks and insurance workers—of resolutions giving at least partial approval of the policy of the Richter group. They are contemplating a revision of the program and rules of the Federation with a view to depriving the unions of all independence and giving the Executive the sole right to lay down policy. In other words, they want a bureaucratic regime in the unions, to subordinate them completely to the Bonn state. Then anti-communism, which is the official doctrine of the West German state, would be legalized by the trade union constitutions as such.

The projects for a new program and rules have already sparked off a controversy in the unions. One contribution to the discussion was an article by Kurt Brumlop in the February issue of the DGB journal *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte* headed "Are We Threatened with Another 1914?" Here is what he writes: "The labor movement is by its very essence the natural champion of peace. When too great a portion of the social prod-



uct is expended on direct and auxiliary (anti-aircraft defense, etc.) armament measures, nothing remains for raising living standards and social welfare." The fight for peace, the author holds, should be one of the basic tasks of the unions.

Drawing the correct conclusion that the prolonged political tension at home gives the government the excuse for "pulling the reins tighter and restricting democracy," Brumlop urges union members "to defend existing democratic rights against all attacks. If we do this," he declares, "we shall not know the paralyzing effects of civil peace ("civil peace" or class collaboration is the slogan of the DGB leaders—J.L.) and shall be able to concentrate all our efforts on preventing another 1914."

The authors of articles like the foregoing, as well as the initiators of the decisions adopted by the metalworkers union, are for the most part reformists and opponents of the socialist countries. Many of them are still strongly influenced by anti-communism. But what is noteworthy is that the mass of reformist-minded trade union members are beginning to speak up against the treacherous policy of the Richter group. Although we can have no common language with outright enemies of the working class or with the inspirers of anti-communism, "it is quite different, however, with the conscientious advocates of reformism who are sincerely striving for progressive social changes."\* The recent strikes and the attitude of the trade union rank and file to the policy of the Richter group are signs that in this sphere the opportunities exist for united action among Communists, Social Democrats and non-Party people.

The elements of a progressive trade union policy referred to above are by no means fortuitous. This is evidenced by several trade union conferences held in recent months. One of these was a youth conference which took place in April in West Berlin under the auspices of the trade union federation. It had been intended as something of a dress rehearsal for the DGB Congress in October. The Rights wanted to divert the delegates from resistance to militarism and armaments, from their class position and their sceptical attitude to the Bonn state; they wanted to make political adolescents of the young trade unionists and to bind them fast to the Richter line. Hansen, the president of the youth organization, with the obvious approval of

Richter and Wehner, indulged in a violent anti-Communist tirade urging the young union members to be ready to fight Communism, arms in hand, both inside and outside the country. But the conference was a bitter disappointment to its sponsors. Hansen's tirade was given a chilly reception, and the debate which followed it, as well as many of the resolutions adopted, upheld the anti-militarist concept, i.e., the policy line endorsed at the metalworkers' conference.

This policy was unanimously endorsed also by a youth conference of the metalworkers' union held in Munich last May.

The resolutions drafted for the DGB Congress likewise manifest a marked resistance to the Richter group. In Rheinhausen, for example, a draft resolution was adopted demanding that the T.U. Federation change its attitude towards the GDR and seek negotiations between the two German states with the object of normalizing the situation and securing the conclusion of a German peace treaty. The fact that this question is being discussed in the trade unions is in itself a sign of progress, since the need for a policy of peaceful coexistence between the two German states is as yet not fully appreciated in the trade unions. This applies also to the reformist opponents of the Richter group.

This is a situation which demands from the Communists in West Germany a profound understanding of the complicated process of differentiation in the trade unions, the ability to work successfully with the various groupings in order to frustrate the "coordination" process, as well as strict adherence to principle in order not to yield to the anti-communism, the vacillation, half-measures or incorrect orientation on certain questions characteristic of such reformist leaders as Brenner and Kummernuss.

"The working class in Federal Germany," states the resolution adopted by a recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, "bears a great historical responsibility for peace and the future of our nation. Now that the leadership of the Social Democratic Party has gone over to the defense of rearmament, to the position of the militarists and the advocates of nuclear war, the trade unions acquire even greater importance as the champion of the workers' interests. . . . The trade unions are the only organization of the workers where organized working class unity exists. Now everything depends on making this unity effective in the fight for peace, for the democratic and social interests of the working class."

\*Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, p. 460.



The struggle now being waged for influence on the working class and its unions is evidence that the role and significance of the unions are greater than ever. Not only are they the basic organizations of the working class. They are the only legal mass workers' organizations in West Germany at the present time. There is a strong force inside the unions—the Communists, the Social Democrats, and also the non-Party and Christian workers who support the correct, militant decisions of their unions, oppose the *Gleichschaltung* policy and favor a resolute class policy.

The unions are the main arena in which—from time to time and on definite issues—united working class action is being carried out. They can become the source and the base of the popular struggle against monopoly rule and against West German militarism. At present the unions are the principal lever for effecting a turn in Federal Germany's policy and ensuring a policy of peace, democracy and social progress.

As the Statement of the Meeting of the 81 parties (1960) points out, the working class in the developed capitalist countries, "on overcoming the split in its ranks, on achieving unity of action of all its contingents, could deliver a heavy blow to the policy of the ruling circles. . . . It could make them stop preparing a new war, repel the

offensive of monopoly capital, and have its daily vital and democratic demands met."

This applies in full measure to the working class of West Germany and its trade unions. At the same time, imagine the injury that would be caused to the working class of Federal Germany were the monopoly bourgeoisie to succeed, with the help of the Right-wing union leaders, in binding the unions to imperialist policy! The shift of the SDPG leadership to the positions of the Adenauer government was a heavy blow to the working class inasmuch as it sowed confusion in its ranks and hampered many of the actions of the workers and the democratic public in general in favor of a policy of peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence. The policy of the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions not only furthers the aggressive course of NATO, it hinders the process of reassessment, of unifying the democratic forces of the nation. Hence the need to expose the true essence of the *Gleichschaltung* scheme to the workers and to the whole nation.

With the development of the struggle against monopoly capital and as a result of united action of the Communists and the Social Democrats, the Richters can be defeated, the "coordination" of the trade unions averted and the trade unions preserved as militant class organizations independent of the imperialist state.

# A Triumph for the Idea of Peace

*Vadim Zagladin*

*Our Correspondent at the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace*

PEACE is the birthright of all men; it cannot be the monopoly of anyone. Hence the fight for peace is the common concern of all. This was strikingly demonstrated by the range of countries and political views represented at the recent World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow.

The deliberations of the Congress and its committees were a kind of X-ray of the peace movement, registering its successes, of which there are many, and its difficulties which should not be underestimated.

One such difficulty — one, incidentally, that springs from the fact that more and more social and political groups are joining in the fight for peace — is that differences of opi-

nion on one or another question or point of view occur among the peace adherents even though they are committed to a common goal. This is natural, and it would be a mistake to expect ideological uniformity from all those fighting the great fight against the danger of war, for this would only narrow the peace front and divide its forces.

On the other hand, if the fight for peace is to be stepped up some unanimity of views and attitudes must be reached not only on the main point at issue — peace or war — but on many of the more detailed and controversial aspects of the question as well. The only acceptable method of achieving unity is through open discussion, the free exchange of views.



Of course, not all the various shades of opinion, disagreements and disputes in the camp of the peace fighters are equally important. Some are minor, relating, for example, to secondary tactical problems. More dangerous are the shades of opinion that can be utilized by the imperialist propagandists to sabotage the movement.

The discussion at the meetings of the Congress was perfectly free — on this score all, the delegates themselves as well as the capitalist press observers, were unanimous. In the course of the debate erroneous views, attitudes and positions were countered by views and positions which, deriving from the main objective, were more in accord with the urgent need of the moment — to broaden and intensify the fight for peace.

Figuratively speaking, what happened during those six days of joint work and discussion, might be compared to the formation of pure crystals out of a solution made up of a great variety of substances. And now seen through the prism of those crystals, the idea of peace shines forth with a special clarity and coherence.

What were the basic trends of the discussion, how were they argued?

### Is Disarmament Realistic?

A strange question, one might think, to be posed in a report on the Moscow Congress. It would seem that those taking part in its work were by the very fact of their presence reaffirming their belief that disarmament was indeed a realistic proposition. Yet as the Congress got down to work it transpired that not all the delegates shared this conviction.

The question as to whether disarmament was or was not possible, whether it was realistic or non-realistic first arose at a meeting of the committee on disarmament and the national-liberation movement. Mr. Yusuf, the Indonesian delegate, who began by vigorously supporting the idea of general disarmament wound up most unexpectedly by saying that he, nevertheless, felt it would be impossible to achieve general and complete disarmament until imperialism and colonialism had been destroyed.

This pessimistic view was to some extent shared by the Ceylon delegate Gunawardhana who, with a touch of fatalism, observed that the arms race would continue in any case, inasmuch as it was conducted by the governments, and the peoples were powerless to act otherwise.

The same question in a slightly different form was brought up at a meeting of the

committee examining the economic problems of disarmament. Professor Pistolese of Italy voiced the opinion that disarmament could not be achieved until the present economically backward countries had risen to the level of the more developed.

It should be said that these statements, echoes of which were audible also in other speeches, evoked serious objections on the part of most speakers. Quite understandably, for, after all, to question the possibility of achieving general and complete disarmament until imperialism and colonialism are destroyed is to strike disarmament off the agenda. For it is equivalent to declaring: either we must abolish the capitalist system (by force, inasmuch as capitalism will not relinquish its positions without a struggle), or give up the fight for disarmament and await the inevitable . . .

In other words, to take the line that general and complete disarmament is impossible so long as imperialism and colonialism exist is to deprive the peace movement of all hope of success, and doom the peoples to wait in passive resignation for nuclear annihilation to overtake them. But that is not all. The pessimistic concept of disarmament as something unattainable is erroneous in essence, a fact to which the Congress itself bore convincing testimony.

The absolute majority of those who took the floor both at the plenary sessions and in the committees agreed that disarmament is possible. As to how it can be achieved, opinions were divided. For example, the British peace fighters belonging to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament hope to make disarmament possible by appealing to the conscience of the British government and persuading it to give up the arms race. The Japanese Association of Love and Brotherhood, on the other hand, which was also represented at the Congress, believes that success in the fight for disarmament can be achieved by condemning the plans for mutual annihilation on religious and moral grounds.

Most of the delegates, however, adhered to a different view. They cherished no illusions as to the possibility of "persuading" the imperialists to stop being imperialists. They fully realized that imperialism remains an aggressive force, i.e., that it has not changed its nature and is not likely to do so. At the same time they stressed that disarmament is possible because the forces of aggression are today counterposed by mightier forces, the forces of peace to whom the future belongs.



Speakers dwelt on the two great changes that have taken place in the postwar world — they pointed out, firstly, that the forces opposing war are today in possession of tremendous material might, that the socialist camp and the many peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are a reliable barrier to aggression; that, secondly, in our time the peoples have ceased to be the object of history and have become an active, tangible force, that their growing struggle is now a mighty factor of human progress.

The Communists at the Congress were deeply gratified to note that the conclusions reached by the Communist and Workers' parties concerning the possibility of averting war are winning an increasing number of supporters.

During one of the intervals a group of correspondents asked Oginga Odinga, a leading member of the national-liberation movement in Kenya, what he thought about the possibility of disarmament.

"I think there is undoubtedly a possibility of reaching agreement on disarmament," replied this handsome African who had just delivered a brilliant speech against colonialism which he had wound up by singing a national song. "Of course the possibility of breaking off negotiations, violating agreements also exists. Which is the more likely? I believe, the first, because so many millions, even billions of people are striving for it . . ."

Of course, one cannot close one's eyes to the fact that by no means all the peoples have joined in the movement. Not all the reserves of the peace movement have been brought into play. Many people are not yet aware of the peril menacing the world and of the full measure of their responsibility. Is this, however, a sign of weakness? No, but it is a sign that we must redouble our efforts to step up the organized struggle against war, to hasten the establishment of a united anti-war coalition of the peoples.

*Disarmament is possible now, under the present conditions* — this was the conclusion reached by the Congress. There is no need to sit with folded hands and wait until imperialism and colonialism are abolished. The balance of world forces that is taking shape as a result of the peace efforts of the socialist countries and of the vast masses all over the world makes it possible already today to bridle the aggressors. Nor can there be any doubt that with the pincers of disarmament, the peoples will tear out the poisonous sting

of imperialism and thereby hasten its final collapse.

Replying to Professor Pistolese, the Indian delegate Mr. Gupta declared, amid loud applause:

"If I am not mistaken it has been said here that the advancement of underdeveloped countries is a precondition for disarmament. I cannot agree with this . . . I believe that the precondition for the advancement of underdeveloped countries is disarmament, and not vice versa!"

*Disarmament is possible.* This is the conclusion the delegates arrived at not only on the basis of an analysis of the general world situation, but also after examining the concrete situation in different parts of the world.

"On a global plane, disarmament is feasible," Argyropoulos Perikles, former foreign minister of Greece, said to me. "As was pointed out at the meetings of our political committee, the drafts of a disarmament treaty submitted by the Soviet Union and the United States do not differ catastrophically. The viewpoints can be brought closer, and that gives grounds for hope. But that is not the only side of the question. Let us take not the global, but a concrete situation. The Balkans, for example. All the members of the sub-committee on atom-free zones were of the unanimous opinion that an agreement on de-atomizing the Balkans can be reached, in other words, that the Rumanian proposal of 1957 can be realized. I, for my part, can tell you that the situation in Greece makes it possible to hope that a little more pressure on the government will induce it to consent to such an agreement . . . But the representatives of other geographic areas are saying the same thing! So there is nothing unrealistic about these projects at all!"

*Disarmament is possible* — was the conclusion arrived at also by the committee on the economic problems of disarmament which examined one of the favorite arguments of the West, namely, that the closing down of the armaments industry would create serious difficulties for the economy of the developed countries. Leading economists in America, Britain, France, Italy and other countries have made a thorough study of this question and all are of the opinion that general and complete disarmament would create no difficulties whatever for the economy of any country, on the contrary, it would stimulate economic progress. Just one example: if all the funds swallowed up by military expenditure were to be used for peaceful purposes



the world's wealth could be doubled within 20-25 years!

As for that major obstacle to disarmament — the war-industry monopolies which derive vast profits from the arms race — the speakers were agreed on one thing: that popular pressure could force the monopolies to retreat. At the same time it was stressed that the arms manufacturers could re-gear their enterprises to peaceful lines of output, for mankind's needs are unlimited, and there will be plenty of work for everybody . . .

It is impossible to enumerate all the conclusions and findings reached by the delegates. But what must be emphasized is the amazing unanimity (amazing in the light of the extremely heterogeneous social and political composition of the delegates) with which the Moscow peace forum agreed that disarmament is not only imperative but possible under present conditions. And they recorded that conviction in their final message to the peoples of the world. The value of this conclusion as a stimulus in the struggle against war need hardly be stressed.

### **No Unilateral Advantages!**

A goodly part of the voluminous printed matter circulated at the Congress consisted of leaflets issued by pacifist organizations and bodies. We have no doubt that the authors of most of these documents quite sincerely detest war. Their trouble is — and for this they are more to be pitied than blamed — that they seem to be completely detached from reality, to be blissfully unaware of what is actually happening in the world. They preach the abstract ideal of peace, forgetting that peace, like war, is a very concrete category.

The "abstract pacifists" of today argue somewhat along these lines: peace must be preserved at all costs, *at any price*. And for the sake of preserving peace, for the sake of disarmament, every country must be prepared to make every concession.

And as a corollary of these general ideas, the "concrete proposal" was advanced — let the USSR and the socialist countries disarm first, unilaterally, and thus show an example to the other countries . . .

Needless to say, the proponents of this idea did not limit themselves to distributing leaflets. Some delegates from Great Britain, Denmark, Canada and Japan suggested at meetings of the subcommittee on nuclear tests that the Congress recommend to the Great Powers, by way of example, to disarm uni-

laterally or at least to renounce unilaterally perfecting and testing nuclear weapons.

It must be said, however, that these proposals did not win much support. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the imperialist press clearly approved of the suggestion that the socialist countries should "set the example" in unilateral disarmament. Some observers even hinted that an opportunity had now been afforded to put the "good will" of the Soviet government to the test . . .

This is hardly accidental. Leaving aside the question of whether the proponents of "unilateral disarmament" are subjectively sincere or not, the fact remains that realization of their proposal could benefit only the potential aggressor. The aggressor will never agree to disarm unilaterally; on the other hand, the unilateral disarmament of the peace-loving countries would not only fail to halt the race toward war, but would whet the appetites of the aggressive forces and encourage them to blackmail and attack the countries that would be left defenseless.

Of course, the imperialist rulers in the West would like to see the Soviet Union and its allies dismantle their defenses, and lay aside their avenging sword. This would give the enemies of socialism the opportunity to do what they have tried unsuccessfully to accomplish for so many years: to destroy the socialist system. But whose interests, other than those of the enemies of human progress, would such an outcome serve?

This question can be approached from another angle. Would the threat to peace, the danger of a nuclear conflict disappear if socialism ceased to be an active force on the world arena? Of course not. On the contrary, the danger would be multiplied a hundred-fold.

Imperialism from its very inception has always been an aggressive force in history. It was imperialism, its contradictions, the struggle for the partition of the world and spheres of influence that brought about the first and second world wars, the bloodiest in human history. And there is no doubt that the "great" imperialist powers would long since have been locked in global combat were it not for the restraining influence of socialism.

In other words, peace cannot be bought at the price of socialism; the alternative would be neither peace nor socialism. This fact is being grasped by more and more people everywhere. Mr. Singh, the Indian delegate, gave this answer when asked what he thought of the "unilateral initiative":



"If we do not close our eyes to the essence of imperialism, your question should be formulated differently: do we want a capitalist Russia on the map of the world instead of the Soviet Union, and accordingly, other capitalist powers in place of the other socialist countries? Proceeding from our own experience we would say: no, we do not want this, for the very existence of the socialist countries is a factor of peace and progress for all peoples . . ."

Thus the proposal that the socialist countries disarm unilaterally with all the consequences this would entail will not stand criticism. The "well-meaning" proposals advanced by the pacifists for "unilateral initiative" were simply the fruit of self-delusion with regard to the imperialists and their intentions.

That this is indeed the case is demonstrated by the facts. After all, the "unilateral initiative" version has, in a sense, already been put to the test. It is a well-known fact that during the period 1956-1961 the Soviet Union unilaterally reduced its armed forces and military expenditure, closed its bases on foreign territories, and unilaterally relinquished nuclear testing. But what did this achieve? Did the Western powers follow the Soviet example? Nothing of the kind. On the contrary, they proceeded with redoubled energy to pile up armaments. It looked indeed as if they were trying to make use of the situation to gain unilateral military advantages.

The socialist countries can agree neither to disarm unilaterally nor to cease unilaterally to perfect their defense techniques. They are prompted by a deep sense of historical responsibility for the destiny of mankind. They realize that any weakening of socialism in the face of a nuclear-armed imperialism, would merely place the interests of all peoples in jeopardy.

On the other hand, the socialist states do not demand the unilateral disarmament of the imperialist countries. They do not want to gain any unilateral advantages. Nor have they any intention of abolishing the capitalist system by force of arms. They stand for *general and complete* disarmament, and this accords with the most vital interests of all peoples.

The Congress discussions showed that this position is shared by the vast majority of peace champions. The committee on political and technical problems of disarmament went on record that "the program of general and complete disarmament must be balanced in such a way as to give neither side any uni-

lateral advantage." This conclusion was endorsed at the full session of the Congress.

### Discussion of Responsibility

The liveliest debates were those that took place in the sub-committees on nuclear tests and on problems of law, culture, morality, etc. It is interesting to note that there was scarcely any difference of opinion in either committee on the basic issues: all were agreed that nuclear testing should cease as soon as possible, and that war is unacceptable as a means of settling disputes, a violation — especially in the case of nuclear war — of all legal norms. The disagreements began when the question of the responsibility for the arms race and for poisoning the atmosphere with radioactive fallout came up.

At first glance it might appear that the question of responsibility is purely academic. Actually, however, it is a political issue, and an extremely controversial one at that. For knowing who is to blame, it is possible to determine where the war danger comes from and where to direct the main blow.

Five members of the sub-committee on nuclear tests — Carl Scharnberg of Denmark, Philip Seed of Great Britain (member of the Committee of 100 led by Bertrand Russell), Olive Johnson of Canada (Vice-President of the Movement for Nuclear Disarmament), G. Dwerkin of the United States (from the "Root and Branch" society), and Claude Bourdet, of France — submitted a joint statement which says in part: ". . . Nuclear tests are a crime against humanity no matter who conducts them . . . We appeal to all the peoples of the world not to support under any circumstances either political or ideological justification for nuclear testing."

Similar views were expressed in the committee on culture, law and morality, chiefly by the representatives of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament headed by Canon Collins. The gist of their arguments boils down to this: both sides are equally to blame for what is happening, hence both sides must accept equal responsibility.

On the face of it the pacifist idea of equal responsibility and equal culpability appeared to many to be harmless enough and even to some extent logical. However, a serious analysis of the substance of the matter soon dispelled that impression.

"There can be no question of an equal, identical approach to the actions of the United States and the USSR," Antoine Tabet, delegate from the Lebanon, declared in a press interview. "On the eve of the Congress, as



you know, Professor Bernal invited the heads of government of 18-member-countries of the Geneva Disarmament Conference to state their position with regard to universal and complete disarmament. Khrushchov, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, deemed it necessary to come to the Congress in person and outline in detail the viewpoint of the Soviet government which is shared by many. But what did President Kennedy do? We presume that he decided to ignore this truly international assembly. Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, extended a hospitable invitation to the Disarmament Congress and has received it in the best possible way. I believe that the attitude of the United States to the idea of disarmament was expressed by the explosion of the American bomb in the stratosphere on the day of the opening of our Congress."

The idea of equal responsibility is of course dear to the hearts of the imperialist propagandists. They would doubtless have liked nothing better than to get the Congress to condemn the Soviet Union's policy. As a matter of fact, many bourgeois newspapers actually advocated this course. But it was not difficult for the Congress delegates to see that any such condemnation, besides being unjust, would be detrimental to the cause of peace. For it is very hard to wage an active struggle for peace if the significance of the leading force, the main bulwark in that struggle, is wrongly assessed.

Symptomatic in this connection was the failure of the demonstration which a group of delegates from Britain, Canada, Denmark and several other countries attempted in Moscow after the pattern of the anti-nuclear protest demonstrations in London and other Western capitals. At first it had been assumed that a large number of delegates would take part. However, after a lively debate, many of those who had been absolutely convinced of the correctness of the conception of equal responsibility, changed their minds. The number of would-be demonstrators melted swiftly, and in the end only fourteen came out onto the street.

Katrin Schultz, a Swedish astronomer, put it this way in an interview with a correspondent of the Soviet News Agency:

"It is a great pity, of course, that the USSR is forced to test nuclear weapons, but the first bombs were American and this is the decisive factor in the whole business. The chain reaction which followed shows that we must work for the conclusion of a treaty at all costs . . ."

Those who opposed the arguments advanced by the proponents of equal responsibility countered them with weighty and well-founded objections. Could the Soviet Union cease to improve its defenses, they pointed out, without betraying the cause of peace, without failing in its duty to mankind, not to speak of the simple consideration of self-preservation? Yes, all bombs are "amoral." They are injurious to the health of human beings and their testing should be banned. The Soviet Union is prepared to stop testing and destroy its stocks of nuclear weapons. But until an appropriate agreement to this effect is reached, it is obliged, conscious as it is of all the negative aspects of the case, to carry on with the tests, to consolidate its strength as a deterrent to any potential aggressor.

Many of the delegates who addressed the Congress spoke of the debt of gratitude which their peoples owe to the Soviet Union for the help it has rendered them in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The United Arab Republic delegate recalled the support the Soviet Union had given his country during the Suez aggression. The peoples of Syria and Iraq, Lebanon and Cuba, India and Indonesia remember the innumerable instances when the Soviet Union threw all its weight into the balance to safeguard their security and independence. And one was sorely tempted to say to those who argued that the USSR and the USA were equally responsible, equally to blame: suppose the Soviet government had done as you propose and refrained from building up its might several years ago, what would have happened in Egypt, Lebanon, Cuba? Could the peoples of these countries have succeeded alone in repulsing the aggression of the imperialist enemy?

The debate on responsibility yielded valuable results, as did all the other debates. The ranks of the advocates of the "equal responsibility" theory noticeably thinned out, while on the other hand, the ranks of those who believe that the fight for peace is a fight against those who are preparing war, and not against those who are opposed to it, were substantially augmented.

### Disarmament and Freedom

This was another issue around which there was a great deal of passionate controversy. The debate began with the posing of the question: is general and complete disarmament the *most urgent* task of our time? Most of those who spoke at the full session of the Congress and in the committees affirmed



that it was. There were, however, a few dissenting voices. Some delegates asserted that there are other tasks of far greater urgency today than disarmament—at any rate for some nations, for some groups of states—namely, the abolition of colonial oppression, the national emancipation of peoples still under the imperialist yoke.

"There is a certain contradiction between disarmament and the national-liberation movement," said the Indian delegate, Professor D. D. Kosambi, at a meeting of the Disarmament and National Independence Committee. "After all, the countries which recently won their independence must have the arms with which to defend it. And the peoples fighting for independence need weapons to win it."

In other words, the Congress revealed that the relation between the fight for disarmament and the fight for national liberation is by no means clear to everyone.

Yet progressive thought has long since elaborated a clearcut position on this question and one, as the speeches at the Congress showed, that is shared by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The essence of that position is briefly the following:

The emancipation of countries which are today ground down by colonialism is, unquestionably, one of the great tasks of our time. All organizations fighting for peace, all progressive forces unconditionally support the just struggle of the peoples against colonialism. General and complete disarmament, however, is the primary and most pressing task today for all the peoples on our planet, including the peoples fighting for independence. And participation in the struggle for disarmament in no way conflicts with the fight for national freedom; on the contrary, it fully accords with the interests of that struggle.

Why? Firstly, because in our time war with all its tragic consequences threatens all people in equal measure. Were war to break out today, it is not the future of individual countries that would be imperilled but *the very existence of a large part of the human race*. Hence it should be clear that to eliminate the danger of war is the *paramount* task of all nations, of every man and woman.

There are, besides, a number of specific reasons why the nations which are fighting for independence have a vital stake in disarmament.

*First*, general and complete disarmament means above all abolishing weapons of wholesale destruction—nuclear, missile, chemical,

etc. Do the oppressed nations possess these weapons? No! They are in the hands of the colonialists. That is precisely why, as Khrushchov said in his speech to the Congress, "disarmament means disarming the war forces, abolishing militarism, ruling out armed interference in the internal affairs of any country, and doing away once and for all with all forms of colonialism."

"Khrushchov is unquestionably right," Colonel Suhario, member of the Indonesian Peace Committee, told newspapermen. "Disarmament would tear the fangs out of the jaws of the colonial beasts of prey!"

The same idea was expressed from the platform of the committee on Disarmament and National Independence by the Ghanaian delegate N. Welback.

"The questions of independence and disarmament are closely interlinked. If the colonial powers did not have the weapons they could not have enslaved us. Hence we say: we must demand general and complete disarmament, we must knock the weapons out of the hands of the colonialists."

*Second*. Everyone knows that throughout the seventeen years since the Second World War there has not been a single year of total peace in the world: colonial wars have been constantly flaring up, now in one now in another part of the globe. At this very moment bombs are exploding, fires are raging and people are being killed in South Vietnam, in Angola, in South Korea and in Western Irian.

"Disarmament," declared Berta M. Braganza, representative of the recently-liberated former Portuguese colony of Goa, "is one of the most important factors in the emancipation of the colonial peoples. It would create the conditions for winning independence through negotiations and not through armed struggle. . . ."

*Third*. General and complete disarmament will lead to the removal of all military bases, to the withdrawal of all troops from foreign territories. In this way one of the principal weapons of modern colonialism will be destroyed. Nguyen Van Hieu, delegate from the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, told your correspondent that in his opinion the withdrawal of foreign troops would be decisive for the future of his long-suffering country. As matters now stand, he said, the peoples of South Vietnam, Taiwan and several other countries are being prevented from winning independence solely because of the presence on their territories of American troops who are being used to



stamp out the liberation movement with savage brutality.

Much interest was aroused by the speech of Mohammed Nasser Mohammed, the representative of Aden, who also spoke on behalf of the peoples of Southern Arabia, Bahrein, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia. The military bases in Aden, Bahrein, Salala and Dhahran, he said, were built by the colonialists both to protect the British oil interests and to suppress the national movement of the Arab peoples. The removal of these bases would hasten the liberation of the Arab peoples from the colonial yoke.

A special sub-committee set up to study the problems of military bases on foreign territories came to the conclusion that the closing of these bases would simultaneously be a valuable contribution to world peace and a substantial help to the peoples fighting for their freedom.

*Fourth.* Disarmament, emphasized the Indian delegate Rameshwari Nehru, who was the first to speak in the debate, will help to find the way to rapid economic development for the underdeveloped countries. For us, she added, disarmament is directly bound up with the urgent problem of improving the living standard of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries.

Like Mme. Nehru, nearly all the delegates from the Asian, African and Latin American countries stressed this aspect of the question. Mr. Khaled Mohei El-Din, representative of the United Arab Republic, called disarmament "the basic prerequisite" for the economic development of the Arab countries. This opinion was warmly supported by the representative of Tanganyika, Mr. Rolland Mvanzizi, who said that peace and disarmament were essential for the future progress of his country. . . .

These views were substantiated by facts and figures. According to data cited at the Congress, the economically underdeveloped countries today spend on armaments a total of between 5,000-6,000 million dollars a year, i.e., one-third more than the total aid they receive from all the other states. It is not hard to imagine what rapid progress the newly-independent countries of Asia, for example, could make if they could use the money now spent on armaments for productive purposes.

But that is not all. At present the world spends a total of up to 120,000 million dollars a year on armaments. With general disarmament, a substantial portion of this sum could be channeled to the underdeveloped countries. If even a part of these funds were to be

assigned to them, they could overcome their economic backwardness within the space of 20-25 years.

In the light of these facts is it not clear that general and complete disarmament is indeed the *paramount* task for the countries fighting for national liberation?

Of course, in taking this view one must avoid going to extremes. One of the Indian delegates made an impassioned plea for disarmament as the principal condition for the success of the struggle for independence. But as he elaborated his arguments, it turned out that his ardent support of disarmament sprang from the conviction that the only correct way to liberation is the non-violent way!

Indeed, it would be a splendid thing if the peoples could achieve liberation by peaceful means, through negotiations. But until disarmament is effected, and so long as colonialism is fully armed, the peaceful path is not always possible. Experience shows that the imperialists seek to crush any attempt by the peoples to free themselves from colonial oppression. What are the latter to do? Adopt a position of non-resistance to evil and wait patiently until they are annihilated? Certainly not!

When forced by the colonialists to take up arms, the peoples arm themselves, and this is their inalienable right. The socialist countries are always the first to come to the defense of the countries fighting for liberation. In this they are prompted by the conviction that every nation has the right to order its own destiny. And no one has the right to prevent it from doing so.

National-liberation wars which the peoples are forced to wage today are a big contribution to the general movement against imperialism and colonialism, for peace, for general and complete disarmament. For such are the dialectics of modern history.

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When the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace was in its preparatory stage, many ill-wishers predicted that it would be another Tower of Babel; there would be far too many different shades of opinion, they averred, and, most important, so many of those attending would be people who frankly rejected Communism. But faced with the reality, these sceptics could only shrug their shoulders and blame the unity reached by the Congress on some freak of chance.

But chance has nothing to do with it. The men and women who met in Moscow did



indeed represent a wide variety of political ideas and social views. The debates sometimes reached white heat, but they ended "without casualties." Perhaps these were the only battles ever fought in which there were neither victors nor vanquished. To be sure, there was one victor: the idea of lasting peace and disarmament. And its victory was in the common interest.

***In the Communist  
and Workers' Parties***

## New Program of the Algerian Communist Party

ON JULY 1, Algerian patriots expressed themselves in favor of independence with a unanimity that astounded the world: out of the 5,992,115 who took part in the referendum 5,975,581 voted for the regeneration of Algeria. This ended the colonial yoke that had lasted 132 years.

Today the flag of Algeria officially takes its place among the flags of the other nations. But the Algerian revolution, far from being consummated, is forging ahead. This was made clear by the Algerian Communist Party and the National Liberation Front. Solution of the tasks facing the country is being complicated by the threat of civil war and imperialist intervention, and also by the differences that have arisen in the government and among the leaders of the Front. The Communist Party has warned that the French imperialists would like to turn the country into another Congo, and that despite the disagreements between the different classes and groups, the people should be united. Conscious of its duty to the country, the Party is preparing itself to meet in a fitting manner any difficulties that may arise during the regeneration. It has put before the people a program of struggle "for complete independence, for land and bread, for work and education, for peace and genuine democracy, for opening the road to socialism."

The program says: "The Evian agreements which ended the war are an important victory for our people. Their effective implementation will open the way to peace, to the defeat of the OAS and above all to independence, the ideal for which many of our heroes fought and died on the battlefield.

"The Evian agreements, however, have not resulted, nor could they have resulted immediately, in the satisfaction of all the national

Out of the debates there emerged a common platform for future action. The debates helped to clarify views on many important issues of the fight for peace, thereby demonstrating once again that ideological differences are not an insuperable obstacle to cooperation, especially in a matter of such vital concern to all men as the defense of human life.

demands. Vigilant and united, our people will continue the struggle in the new conditions and in new forms, proceeding from the new positions won by them as a result of the signing of the Evian agreements, in order to put an end to the economic and military domination of the neo-colonialists. . . .

"In order to make the independence complete, the colonial institutions should be replaced by a genuinely democratic state that will make it possible for each citizen to take an active part in effecting national sovereignty and to help in turning Algeria from a backward country into a modern and prosperous state."

Stressing the useful lessons to be drawn from the experience of the struggle of the newly-liberated peoples, the program goes on: "Looking ahead to the new stage that will follow the winning of self-determination the Communist Party submits its program to all social sections of our people: to the working class, the poor peasants, handicraftsmen and traders, intellectuals, women and youth. It is quite clear that the task of the moment is to defeat the OAS, to secure peace and respect for rights, and to prepare for the transformation of colonial Algeria into an independent Algeria.

"This is a program of national liberation, of genuine democracy, of economic and social progress. It is also a program for building the Algerian state of national democracy which should pave the way to a socialist Algeria."

### **WHAT SHOULD THE ALGERIAN REPUBLIC BE**

#### **I. An Independent, Sovereign, United and Indivisible Republic**

A large part of the liberation movement favored a republican form of government long



before 1954, while our Party expressed itself for this form way back in July 1946. The Provisional Government chose the republican form in 1959. This republic must be proclaimed by the Constituent Assembly which will be elected after the referendum on self-determination.

A republic signifies the abolition of all the privileges resulting from the colonial regime, although this does not preclude guarantees for the lawful non-colonialist interests of the Algerian minority of European and Jewish descent, its equitable representation in the elective bodies and the exercise of its linguistic, cultural and religious and other features within the framework of Algerian laws.

## II. A Genuinely Democratic Republic

Genuine democracy is the burning need in framing the state structure. It is needed in order to rally the masses and to quicken their enthusiasm in building their future, for consolidating the independence. It presupposes repudiation of the authoritarian and compulsory methods of rule. It presupposes also full faith in the creative ability and initiative of the people and the working class, faith in a constructive conflict of opinions for the sake of attaining common goals. The democratic freedoms should be extended to all the national and anti-imperialist forces of the country, should contribute to their free development and preclude any discrimination whatsoever with regard to any of these forces. . . . Restriction and coercion should be applied only to the counter-revolutionary and reactionary forces in the service of the imperialist enemy.

The masses, the far-sighted patriots and their organizations should, above all, themselves safeguard and extend democratic methods of government and introduce them into the life of the country.

Genuine democracy should be embodied also in the state institutions to be established by the National Constituent Assembly. This body should provide the country with a written constitution as soon as possible.

## III. The Social Republic

Political independence in itself does not change in any big way the position of the masses; to do this it must be supplemented by genuine economic independence and by radical social changes. Economic independence and social progress in their turn reinforce political independence.

The economic and financial section of the Evian agreements is an important step forward compared with the colonial regime. It recognizes the principle of economic and financial

sovereignty for Algeria. At the same time it restricts this sovereignty in different spheres, particularly in the spheres of agrarian reform and nationalization of our enormous national resources. In this way the colonialists hope to retard the independent growth of the Algerian economy. For it is the economic domination of the "ultras" and the neo-colonialists that is to blame for the poverty and appalling ignorance of the backward, so-called "traditional" (Algerian) sector which provides a livelihood for three-quarters of our people, while the "modern" sector, consisting mostly of Europeans, is developing as an alien body in our country, appropriating as it does all the wealth which is either pumped out of the country or used inside it as a source of parasitic and useless activity.

## THE ACP PROGRAM AIMS AT:

1. Completely breaking the ties of economic and financial dependence that bind the country to French imperialism, abolishing the domination of the French and international monopolies and all the privileges of the colonialists and the feudal lords.

2. Quickly ending the poverty by developing the national economy primarily in the interests of the poorest social sections, and by preparing the ground for an accelerated and more substantial growth.

3. Radically modifying the economic, financial and social structure which has led to the impoverishment of the "traditional" sector by enriching the "modern" sector.

4. Drawing up a plan for the economic development of Algeria as a whole with a view to fusing the national economy, abolishing its monoculture character, and achieving a more equitable distribution of incomes and a higher standard of living for the people. This plan should be based on:

- an agrarian reform which will fundamentally change the distribution of the land and farm incomes;

- nationwide mobilization of savings with a view to increasing the capital investments, above all in heavy industry;

- providing work for all citizens by utilizing on a mass scale the presently redundant labor force on projects of national significance.

The program discusses in detail the substance of the agrarian reform and the industrialization of the country.

## HOW IS THE PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT?

The ACP program is not a magic ring from the *Arabian Nights* which only has to be turned for one's wish to come true.



It is a revolutionary program. As distinct from reformist programs it puts forward bold tasks and maps out clear perspectives. In contrast to the demagogic programs which ignore the actual conditions and difficulties, it draws attention to the difficulties and shows how they can be overcome.

The program takes cognizance also of the favorable opportunities for the people—they are masters of the natural resources of their country and draw strength from their militancy and the experience of the struggle against the imperialists and from the experience of the struggle of the other peoples of the world; it takes cognizance of the ardent desire of the people for progress and of the favorable world balance of forces arising from the growing superiority of the USSR and the socialist camp as a whole over the imperialist camp.

That is why the implementation of the program will not require the efforts of several generations; it can be realized much faster, in keeping with the aspirations of the masses. The program can be carried out through stubborn struggle given certain conditions which should be brought to the knowledge of our people.

### WHAT ARE THE MAIN OBSTACLES?

*French imperialism.* (The neo-colonialists who can make use of their economic and military domination in our country to retard its development, and the ultra-colonialists who will try to use the European population in order to sabotage the building of an independent Algeria.)

*Allies of the French neo-colonialists* the most dangerous of whom are the United States and West Germany; after aiding France throughout the entire period of the war in Algeria they will try to find new forms of maintaining the country in the imperialist orbit.

*The conservative forces among our own people and among the peoples of the African and Arab countries* who, scared by the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, are trying to prevent the coming together of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

### CONDITIONS FOR ACHIEVING RAPID SUCCESS

#### 1. Correct Orientation in Choosing Ways of Development for Our Country

The problem of achieving rapid social and economic progress is not simply a technical problem. Its solution depends on the political orientation. The economy can be developed rapidly only in the event of our people choos-

ing the non-capitalist way of development for the key branches right from the start.

The non-capitalist way is possible only if there are growing relations of mutual aid and cooperation, above all with the socialist camp. Only the effective and disinterested aid of the socialist camp will enable Algeria simultaneously to build both a heavy industry—the basis for economic independence—and a light industry. Since Algeria's finances are poor the building of a national industry without this aid would take much time and sacrifice, and the country would still be dependent on the imperialist monopolies.

### 2. Rallying the People

a) An indispensable condition for this is the conscious and resolute unity of all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces of the nation. A united front, built around a common program and embracing the national organizations and all patriots, should be based on autonomy of the separate organizations and a common discipline.

Many patriots and leaders of the National Liberation Front believe that this unification should take the shape of a single party.

The Communist Party is opposed to the formation of a single party based on bourgeois-nationalist ideology. Even in the event of its members being drawn from the people and its leaders from the working class and the poor peasantry, this party sooner or later will inevitably degenerate into an instrument of bourgeois domination over the masses despite the fact that today the Algerian bourgeoisie does not have a solid economic base in the country. This party will not remove the differences and contradictions between the various social classes, nor will it make for the political and moral unity of the nation.

Given certain political and social conditions the Communist Party will insist on the formation of a united party based on working-class ideology; it will act as an ardent champion of such a party since the Communists see their aim in abolishing classes and in abolishing the exploitation of man by man—the source of class antagonisms and of the disunity of the nation. This party, following the example of the United Revolutionary Organizations of Cuba, would unite all the progressive forces of Algeria on the basis of Marxism-Leninism—the ideology of the working class which, upon winning emancipation and coming to power, would emancipate all the people and would use coercion only against the agents of counter-revolution and the exploiters.



But inasmuch as the socio-political conditions for a party of this kind are not yet ripe, the ACP does not support the dissolution of the parties standing for anti-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party is prepared to enter into a discussion concerning the forming of a united party. It will take part in this discussion motivated by the desire to bring clarity into the issue and to contribute to strengthening the moral and political unity of our people. The discussion, however, should not divert the people from the work to cement independence.

In view of the present political and social situation in the country and the conditions of the struggle against neo-colonialism, the unification of the national forces, the union of the nationalists and the Communists should take place within the National Liberation Front which is not a political party but a mass organization and in which the ACP should preserve its independence. The independence and consolidation of the Communist Party which have had a beneficial effect upon the struggle and on the unification of the progressive forces during the war, will also be highly important in peace time. . . . The patriots should get rid of the discrimination and sectarianism so injurious to the people. They should combat the anti-communism which is used by the enemy for purposes of disruption and subversion and which is the principal obstacle in the way of realizing the democratic and social aims of the revolution.

b) The program proposed by the ACP can be carried out only if there is united and ceaseless activity by the masses.

c) Successful mobilization of the masses and work to ensure genuine national discipline make it imperative to encourage fraternal and democratic emulation. For this reason authoritarian and anti-democratic methods of leadership cannot be tolerated, and bureaucratic methods used to put through one or another measure must be avoided. . . .

d) Educating the people in the spirit of progress and raising their cultural standards will facilitate the mobilization of the masses.

### 3. A Foreign Policy Corresponding to the National Interests

The country's foreign policy should correspond to its domestic policy. Our country should pursue an active policy of peace. We shall best be able to carry through our program of national and democratic regeneration and to uphold our sovereignty in conditions of universal peace. The program calls for friendship and cooperation with all countries without

exception, and in particular with the socialist countries. The strengthening of the international camp of peace and the consolidation of the socialist camp make the international conditions favorable for Algeria. That is why our government should constantly support the efforts of the Soviet Union aimed at maintaining peace and achieving general and complete disarmament which will facilitate our struggle for closure of the French military bases and for the creation of large international funds which will make it possible to end forever our economic backwardness.

### ALONG THE ROAD OF BUILDING SOCIALISM

Agrarian reform and nationalization are not enough to ensure the building of socialism. However, implementation of this democratic national program will create the economic, social and political prerequisites for the transition to a genuinely socialist system.

Building socialism, as can be seen from the inspiring examples of the Democratic Republics of Vietnam and Cuba, will require the application of the general laws of socialism to the conditions obtaining in Algeria, i.e., public ownership of the basic means of production; gradual cooperation of agriculture; a united front of the working class, the poor peasantry and all the national and progressive forces under working-class leadership; the existence of a strong Marxist-Leninist party.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that socialism can be built only if its general laws are combined with the specific conditions in each country. On the other hand, the experience of the international working-class movement has shown that socialism cannot triumph in any country without the application of its general laws which are valid for all the countries. Those bourgeois leaders of the African and Arab states who, under pressure of the masses, give lip service to socialism, use the national peculiarities of their countries as a pretext for building not genuine socialism but regimes which do not abolish the exploitation of the working masses and do not remove the influence of the imperialists.

*Today conditions are favorable for the young Algerian republic to take the socialist road.*

1. Our working class, young though it is, has an excellent record of national and social struggle, and is distinguished for its class consciousness. Despite all the efforts of the conciliatory trade union leaders to distort its national spirit and class awareness, it has a politically and ideologically strong Communist



Party which, throughout the 25 years of its existence and struggle on behalf of the people, has acted as the leader of the working class, guiding it along the way of surmounting the many difficulties and obstacles.

2. Large numbers of progressives are active in the national-liberation movement. The public awareness of the masses is growing with the deepening of national consciousness. The masses realize that neo-colonialism, relying on its economic and military might, is the principal obstacle to the realization of their social aims even after gaining independence. Many patriots feel that socialism can ensure the moral and political unity of Algeria. And growing numbers of revolutionary patriots from among the petty bourgeoisie are drawing closer to Marxism.

3. The economic positions of the Algerian bourgeoisie are relatively weak. The experience of all the newly-emergent countries has also confirmed that the bourgeoisie is not the class most suited to carry out—in keeping with the demands of our time—the grand tasks of national regeneration. On the other hand, the socialist prospect will hardly scare away the patriots among the bourgeoisie who have made sacrifices for their country and, in particular, rendered financial aid to the liberation struggle.

In China there are not a few people of bourgeois descent who, having relinquished their class privileges, placed their professional know-how at the service of people and now occupy leading posts in the various branches of the economy.

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We are still going through the stage of struggle for national liberation, i.e., the struggle to complete the independence, for genuine democracy, for economic and social progress.

The transition to socialism will depend on the realization of this program and on the role played by the working class, the poor peasantry, the forward-looking intelligentsia and their party — the Algerian Communist Party.

In order to take our people towards this goal in alliance with all the patriotic and progressive forces of Algeria, our Party, conscious of its leading role, has drawn up this program and submits it to all Algerians, for this year must witness the beginning of the struggle for genuine independence, for land and bread, for work and education, for real democracy and unrestricted progress for our nation.

## The Work of Communist Councillors in France

**T**HERE are in France 38,000 communes and 478,000 municipal councillors (four-fifths of them in rural areas). Some 1,300 mayors of towns and villages and about 25,000 councillors are Communists.

The Communist Party pays close attention to the work of its members in the municipal councils. It points out that it would be wrong to think that the advance to socialism can be made by the gradual winning over of the municipalities. In the councils the struggle goes on around the immediate demands of the working people. At the same time mass actions in the municipalities and in other spheres help to further the struggle for the ultimate aim of the working class.

The work of the Communist councillors contributes to the political awakening of the masses. It makes it possible for the working class to take part in local government, and at the same time helps the workers to realize the limited powers of the municipality and to understand the reasons for this limitation. Communist councillors seize upon every occasion to reveal the class reasons that prevent the adoption of decisions that would benefit

the working people, to dispel the many and persistent illusions that still exist. Moreover, the communal administration is a school that helps mould the Communist cadres, a kind of special training course.

Work in the mayor's office offers good opportunities for making contacts. The mayor and the councillors are always in touch with the local population, particularly with people who, as a rule, are not in touch with the Party. This work helps to educate the masses, and rallies them particularly at times of reactionary offensives. Provided the Communists work correctly in the municipalities the latter can become strongholds of the working-class movement.

### The Things That Are To Be Done

The job of the Communist councillor is to act on behalf of the workers and peasants.

We should distinguish the municipalities in which the Communists have a majority from those in which they are a minority. Consequently there should be a different approach to the work in these municipalities.



Wherever the Communists are the majority in the council they, naturally, achieve better results.

In all the communist-controlled municipalities there are communal and inter-communal hospitals, clinics, consultation centers for expectant mothers, and mother and child welfare centers. Children are provided with medical care. Those who are in particular need are sent to forest schools and clinics.

Although schools should be fully maintained by the state, the municipalities are compelled to spend hundreds of millions of francs every year for school building and repairs. From 20 to 30 per cent of the budget is spent on nursery schools, creches, summer camps, canteens and winter classes. The people pay for these amenities, depending on the family income.

Municipal libraries, readers' conferences, amateur art performances, aid to literary and musical societies — all cater to the cultural needs of the population.

Housing is a particularly important matter. The housing crisis in France is most acute. But despite the difficulties caused by the government's refusal to grant credits and the sabotage of the various bodies, Communist municipalities have managed to build many blocks of flats at "moderate" rents.

Communist municipalities give every support to the struggle of the workers. They help the working people at the labor exchanges, vote for subsidies to the trade unions, provide material and moral support to strikers, the unemployed and their families, and help Algerians working in France.

Sports grounds, stadiums, swimming pools and recreation rooms are provided for the youth. The municipalities deal with such matters as the vocational training of young people, supervise the functioning of the trade schools and encourage the opening of youth clubs in towns and villages.

Postcards are sent to conscripts and young soldiers on the occasion of New Year, the 14th of July, Liberation Day, etc.

Communist councillors insist that the central government should be responsible for such measures as water supply (13 million people in rural areas are still without running water), sanitation (only four per cent of the houses in some towns have sewage facilities), etc. They also handle such matters as road repairs, free legal advice centers, etc. They help the aged (whose conditions are often tragic), providing food at low prices, supplying winter clothing, allocating premises for recreation

purposes and for old-age homes, arranging social gatherings, and so on.

Experience has shown that at times we lose votes in the working-class areas precisely because we fail to pay adequate attention to these "trifling" matters and leave unanswered the local demands on the pretext of going in for "general issues."

There are specific problems in the countryside. The Communists there pay particular attention to road repairs, laying water mains, electrification of remote farms, organize open-air laundries, build halls and public baths in the villages, install telephone lines, fire-fighting facilities, etc.

The Communist municipalities have a splendid record of struggle in which they are supported by the population (sending petitions, deputations and councillors to the authorities).

In the Communist municipalities the communal budget is drawn up in a way that enables them to fulfil their electoral program. The working out of the budget—a highly important matter—is done as a rule in consultation with the local Party organizations. For instance, in assessing communal taxes the Communists study all aspects of the measure to make sure that the rich pay to the full extent envisaged in bourgeois legislation.

Communist municipalities can be proud of the work they do on behalf of the working people. Their prestige is growing. There are today 30 Communist municipalities in the Seine department, compared with seven 25 years ago. Their number is steadily growing in the rural areas. Although the Communist mayors in one or another Department may be few in number, they set the tune there so that often other mayors consult with them and value their advice. Mayors belonging to other political parties are often compelled to follow the example set by Communist mayors. In the last local elections our councillors were everywhere re-elected and increased their vote. As is always the case, the number of votes cast for Communist candidates in the local elections is higher than in the parliamentary or cantonal elections.

What happens when the Communist councillors are a minority in the municipal chamber?

In this case they not only put forward their views on the issues of the day. The Party expects from them constructive and well-thought-out proposals bearing on the well-being of the population just as is done in the councils where the Communists have a majority.

The councillors suggest what they themselves would do were they in the majority, and prove



to their colleagues that their proposals are realistic and fully realizable.

They adduce well-founded arguments against proposals which if adopted, would injure the interests of the working people, and explain through the local press and bulletins the reasons why they voted against the particular motions. They advance their own proposals and organize mass actions in support of them.

### **Political Problems Are Inseparable**

Communist municipal councillors acquaint the public with the political significance of their actions, actions which are an inalienable part of the working-class struggle.

Some people hold that municipal councils should confine themselves to purely "technical" matters. Reactionaries and many Social Democrats advocate "no politics in the municipal councils!" In advancing this argument they want to make sure that the councils strictly follow in the wake of the government's policy.

All the issues handled by the municipality have a bearing on politics, and in particular on such a vital issue as war or peace. Is it not the interminable colonial wars waged by the French imperialists that explain, basically, the reason for the lack of credits, a matter lamented by all municipal councillors regardless of political views? And if the councils have to expend so much effort in helping families in distress, in combating the consequences of unemployment, in clearing slums, tackling the housing crisis and so on, does not the responsibility for this devolve on the government and on the ruling class? The measures carried out by the municipality cannot be severed from the life of the country. Endless examples could be cited showing how many times in the past the municipalities, in most instances on the initiative of the Communist members, urged the government to negotiate peace in Algeria, to refrain from supporting the West German militarists, to join the fight for genuine disarmament and to curb the fascist groups now raising their heads in the country.

The central authorities, which represent the interests of one class—the monopoly bourgeoisie—are trying to restrict municipal autonomy in every way. The relative autonomy enjoyed by the municipal councils is an obstacle in the way of the ambitions of one-man rule, an obstacle in the way of monopolies who use the dictatorship in order to multiply their profits. The unjust electoral system, the practice of voluntary, unpaid municipal councillors (which makes it impossible for them fully to devote their time to their duties), and the pressure exerted on the municipalities through

the system of state subsidies—all this is no longer enough for the bourgeoisie. It would like to annul all communal rights. This was the aim of a recent decree providing for the merger of the smaller communes, not to mention the bills envisaging the abolition of some of the Departments. The Gaullist government makes no secret of its intention to transfer the functions of the municipalities to the prefects.

Our Party is vigorously combating this offensive, insisting on the need for decentralization. In our country where communes are so varied, decentralization would result in a better distribution of functions between the Government and the communes. It would give the people more of a say in public life. The Party, therefore, has submitted proposals envisaging the abolition of the posts of prefects and the transfer of their functions to the chairmen and bureaus of the general councils, the introduction of proportional representation in municipal and cantonal elections, the extension of municipal rights as provided for in the Constitution, and a democratic reform of local finance.

The fight for municipal rights cannot be separated from the general struggle for democracy. The maintenance of the municipalities, the extension of their work, of their rights and their finances, are important elements of preserving and extending democracy.

### **Permanent Contact with the Party — the Earnest of Success**

For the Communist councils and councillors to do their work properly the Party insists that they be guided by an important condition: as is the case with all elective bodies, their work should be guided by the Party and its organizations.

Unfortunately, there are instances when Communist councillors are left to themselves.

Sometimes the federation, section and branch leaders have but a vague understanding of the municipal work. In such cases the whole burden is loaded onto the Communist councillors who are regarded as "experts." Those Party functionaries who work in this way ignore the fact that the municipalities offer big opportunities for extending our contacts with all social strata.

The Party insists that all its organizations (branches, sections and federations) should work with the Communists elected to the municipal councils, should find the best ways of solving important issues, develop mass actions in support of the Communist council-



lors in their fight against proposals which run counter to the interests of the local residents.

The job of the Party organizations and their representatives in the municipalities is to elucidate municipal affairs in the press and in the special bulletins issued in the sections and branches; the councillors must be available to the electors, and should report about their work.

The Communist councillor should be active in his Party organization, and improve his political knowledge.

The local Party organization helps the Communist councillor to master the intricacies of administrative functions in his municipal work, to act boldly and concretely, and to see to it that he does not give promises which he will not be able to honor.

On the other hand, the Party organization helps the councillor to avoid getting bogged down in technical and administrative affairs. When listening to what the municipal officials have to say, he must be critical in his approach, be well versed in municipal law, and be guided by political considerations.

The Communist councillors are subjected to pressures by the class enemy, to administrative intimidation on the part of officialdom, to the "counsel" of the mayor's secretary, by the local chief of police and slick working "experts" who have a stake in measures which benefit primarily employers of labor and capitalist companies. To succumb to this pressure would signify abandoning a class, political position, forgetting that only the combined efforts of the Party, the mass organizations and the municipality can overcome the resis-

tance of the central authorities and get things done for the working people. Only by maintaining close contact with the public, by combining the work of the councillors with the popular struggle, is it possible to achieve tangible results.

In guiding the work of its municipal councillors the Party maintains a vigilant watch against likely manifestations of opportunism and sectarianism alike.

Sectarianism is expressed in underestimating the work in the municipalities, in leftist denigration of the local issues, in a high-handed dismissal of the many "trivial things" in municipal work.

Equally bad, on the other hand, is the contention that all the issues can be resolved by the municipalities alone, without enlisting the aid of the public. These views still persist, and there are people who imagine that the moment we win a majority in some of the communes a "particle of socialism" can be achieved.

\* \* \*

Our Party which has registered not a few successes in municipal work, knows that these are but steps in the struggle we shall be waging tomorrow. As was pointed out at our Fourteenth Congress, "the work of the municipalities and of the Communist councillors, the servants of the working people—work which is closely linked with the general activity of the Party—is paving the way to a new advance in the fight for social progress, for peace and for the grandeur of the nation. It will be instrumental in opening the road to socialism."

Waldeck L'HUILLIER

## In the Fight for Unity

(*Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Uruguay*)

ONE could see on the billboards, in the shop windows and elsewhere in Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, toward the end of June thousands of Communist Party posters and the Party emblem — the result of the selfless labor of Party members, particularly young worker-members and students. The display was such that only very few people in the city could be unaware that the Communist Party Congress was scheduled to open on June 29.

The 42 years of struggle waged by the Party on behalf of the working people and for the national interests have yielded fruit. The prestige of the Party and its growing membership

are the unmistakable signs of its close contact with the people.

The two previous congresses put forward the task of uniting the working-class movement as the condition for an advance along the road to national liberation. This task has now been resolved in many respects. A United Center of the Working People which has been set up is the main trade union body in the country, and is cooperating with the other trade union organizations. There is growing cooperation also between the Communists and the Socialists.

The Central Committee's report to the Congress, the speeches made by the worker and



peasant delegates, by the Party functionaries and intellectuals, and by veteran members and younger comrades made it clear that the situation in the country is favorable for broad unity of all the Left forces on the basis of a democratic, anti-imperialist program. The policy of the present government, representative mainly of the latifundists, the big bourgeoisie and finance capital, has tightened the grip of U.S. imperialism on our foreign policy and has facilitated intervention in the economy and in home affairs.

A fairly rapid capitalist development is taking place in Uruguay, embracing practically the entire economy. But this development takes place in the conditions of dependence on imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, in the conditions of big landed property. And these conditions have engendered the crisis which the country is now experiencing.

This crisis, which has brought the country to the verge of catastrophe, is felt not only by the working class, the peasantry and the office employees but also by a substantial part of the urban small bourgeoisie; the position of some sections even of the national bourgeoisie is gravely affected by it. The working class has responded to the crisis by stepping up its struggle for economic and political demands, the political awareness of the peasantry is growing, the forward-looking intellectuals are closing their ranks, and there is a growing revolutionary sentiment among the students.

"This state of affairs," says the C.C. report, "imperatively calls for making the first step towards building an anti-imperialist and democratic front. . . ." The question of unity is paramount since the conditions are ripe for the unity of the Communist and Socialist parties, of all elements active in the working-class and popular movements, students, individuals and groupings, particularly those to whom the example of Cuba has given new hope.

The Congress was attended by representatives of the peasants and plantation laborers, who voiced the needs of the exploited people of the Uruguayan countryside.

The poorest and most exploited section of the population is engaged in agriculture—the principal branch of the economy. Chronic malnutrition, disease and lack of education are their lot. Even in the areas best suited for farming the peasants are being driven from the land, being ruined by the banks and landlords, by the middlemen and profiteers, and by the foreign companies. The Congress issued an appeal to these sections in which it named those responsible for the plight of the peasants and outlined measures for ending the poverty.

"This fraternal call of the Communists to the exploited and oppressed of the village," reads this document, "is addressed also to the organized workers throughout the Republic. We have said and we repeat: the main enemies of the working class are to blame also for the plight of the peasants. In order to defeat them, to carry forward the emancipation process, there is no other road but the alliance of workers and peasants—the basic core of our future Democratic Front of National Liberation."

The urge for unity was revealed with striking force at the demonstration with which the Congress ended. All the speakers, and among them non-members of the Party, called for unity to resist the reactionary offensive. A leader of the Left-wing October 26 group said: "We have started to advance along the road to unity which, in the final analysis, is the sole road to victory. . . ."

The Congress showed how to achieve the electoral unity of the Left forces with the perspective of its growing over into a broad anti-imperialist, democratic movement. Unity of the Left could lead to the formation of a national democratic government capable of securing the economic and political emancipation of the country.

The Cuba solidarity movement, the Congress pointed out, has struck deep roots among the people, with all sections of the population taking an active part in it. It is one of the biggest mass movements in the country at present.

The Communists, said R. Arismendi, First Secretary of the Party, in his report at the Congress, regard solidarity with Cuba as an international and national duty. The experience of Cuba which has taken the road to socialism, has revealed the basic mistake of the "third force" theory supporters who claim that the national-democratic revolution in Latin America will have nothing to do with the international socialist revolution. The international role of U.S. imperialism—and this imperialism is the main colonialist force on our continent—stamps its impress on the character of the Latin American revolution, thereby making the need for mutual support in the struggle all the greater. Defense of the Cuban revolution is simultaneously defense of the freedom of the Latin American peoples, a contribution to maintaining world peace.

A special report analyzed organizational matters and Party building. The membership has grown fourfold since 1955. About three thousand new members joined in the weeks that preceded the Congress. For the first time



a Party Congress was attended by delegates from all parts of the country.

The Party draws its strength mainly from the working class. In recent times (and this is significant) its ranks have been joined by people from the middle sections, and by forward-looking intellectuals. The names of sculptor Armando Gonzalez and the writer Alfredo Gravina, who were delegates, are widely known beyond the country's frontiers. Left intellectuals are grouping around people like these.

The Congress resolution says now that the popular movement has made such headway, the Party should draw on not only the tried and tested cadres but should open its ranks to thousands of active and sincere members of the working-class and popular movements in order to train them politically and make them conscious revolutionary fighters.

To ensure the further consolidation of the Party it is necessary to resolve the ideological and political tasks, and in particular to explain to the masses the role and character of the Party. Growth of the Party means, in addition to a bigger membership, all-round improvement of Party work.

For this we need above all more Party branches in the factories and in the villages. The Congress pointed to the need to have

Party branches in all rural areas of more than 2,000 inhabitants.

The resolution notes that the Party should not only have a strong branch in each enterprise but should also see to it that this branch through its fight on behalf of the workers, through its educational work and by popularizing the ideas of the Party, should be able to overcome the influence of bourgeois ideology among the workers and develop their political consciousness to the level of the militant vanguard of the proletariat.

In view of the rapid growth of the Party the question of cadres is particularly acute. To resolve this problem means to work out a correct policy of advancing people, to see to it that each member gains the widest possible experience of Party work. The job of the branch committees is to look after their cadres and help their development. The departments and groups of active members should be enlarged, drawing into them not only experienced committee members but also hundreds of the rank and file who can be trained to become future leaders.

The Congress also stressed the need to promote and train women cadres, to train cadres in the countryside .

M.C.

## Founding Congress of the Communist Party of Lesotho (Basutoland)

**T**HE founding Congress of the Communist Party of Lesotho (the name used by the indigenous population of Basutoland) was held last May.

The Congress called for a united front of all patriotic political parties in order to achieve complete independence and national liberation. This front could emerge only on the basis of a progressive policy and in cooperation with the Communist Party. The attempt to build a united front of political parties on the basis of anti-communism was sterile and doomed to failure. Fundamental to a national-liberation front was the existence of a strong Communist Party.

The Congress decided to establish offices in various parts of Lesotho, including Maseru, and also to take steps to launch a Party bulletin.

A Program was adopted, which points out to be called *Mosebetsi* (The Worker).

that the prolonged rule of British imperialism has had grave effects on the economy of the

country. The land and natural resources are hardly developed at all. There is no industry. Agriculture is primitive. The only natural resource which the people have managed by means of struggle to preserve is the land. Yet because only a small percentage of the land is cultivable, 14 per cent of the households are completely landless while the majority of the families have only small plots. Of the population of over 800,000, the majority are so poverty-stricken that more than half the adult males are forced to leave home and sell their labor power at wretched rates of pay in South African mines, farms and factories. 83,000 males of working age—43 per cent of the adult male population—were away from home in 1959.

In its Program the Party calls for saving the country from the disastrous policy of British imperialism and its ally—the South African racists—who have turned Lesotho into a reservoir of cheap labor.



Basutoland, the Program notes, has felt the effects of the developments on the world scene. British imperialism is forced to make substantial concessions, and the country stands on the verge of independence.

But it would be a mistake to underestimate the difficulties and complexity of the struggle that still lies ahead. Politically our country is still dominated by British imperialism, while the mine-owners, industrialists and farmers of the Republic of South Africa exploit the Lesotho workers.

Revolutionary changes are needed in the economy and policy of Basutoland so as to provide employment at home and enable the menfolk to return to the homeland.

While the progressive parties and organizations have in the past done valuable work for the country, they have proved inadequate to meet the complex and difficult tasks posed by the new situation. They have lacked a clear ideology and understanding of the modern world. Hence they often compromised with British imperialism; neglected the interests of the Basotho workers both in this country and in the Republic; failed to adopt suitable programs for industry and agriculture, and looked for advancement or enrichment of a few rather than the uplifting of the poorest section of the people.

The ultimate aim of the Communist Party is to establish socialism. But in view of the conditions prevailing in the country today this aim belongs to the future. The Party therefore advances the following immediate aims which are in accord with the necessities of the struggle today: the achievement of immediate inde-

pendence for Lesotho and the creation of a democratic state with all local and national representatives in legislative bodies subject both to election and to recall by universal, equal, direct, secret, adult suffrage without regard to race, sex, color, creed, educational or other qualification whatever.

The Party demands the ending of all vestiges of colonialism and, specifically, control by a democratic National Council of the civil service, defense, foreign policy, internal security, post and telegraphs, internal and external communications, airways, currency and all other powers of a sovereign legislature.

It stands for adherence of an independent Lesotho to the United Nations and the establishment of friendly diplomatic relations with all countries, including Britain, but especially with the independent African states.

The Party stands for an agrarian reform that would take cognizance of the traditional attitude of the people to the land whereby it is regarded as belonging to all the people. The state should take immediate steps to mechanize farming operations, conserve water supplies and combat soil erosion. It should encourage scientific livestock breeding and diversification of crops.

The Program voices the firm belief that in the new conditions in the country and in face of the rapid changes taking place in the world arena the Communist Party will be able to unite the people in the struggle for economic development, for independence, and to avert the danger of the country's enslavement by the racists in the Republic of South Africa.

## Italy: Results of the Municipal Elections and the Struggle for a Real Opening to the Left

SOME three million voters took part in the local elections in Italy held early in June in a number of municipalities including Rome, Naples, Pisa, Bari and Foggia. The elections assumed the character of a major political battle fought on a national plane. The reason for this is that these were the first elections since the Center-Left government was formed as a result of a powerful mass pressure which compelled the Christian Democrats to renounce their alliance with the extreme Right and to seek union with the Socialist Party and the Left. The new government had to pledge to solve a number of vitally important issues

(the creation of regional administrations with extensive democratic powers in the political and economic spheres, nationalization of the electric power industry, higher pensions, etc.).

But right from the start the government began to maneuver and to seek a compromise with the Right. An example of this was the presidential election in April when the Christian Democrats angled for the support of the Liberals, Monarchists and fascists. The nationalization of the electric power industry was postponed until after the election. A few days before the voting a group of policemen were decorated for shooting workers in Reggio Emilia during the anti-fascist struggles in July



1960. On the eve of the election the police opened fire on strikers in Latium Region.

Hence during the election campaign the mass movement which insisted on the government honoring its pledges, assumed a still wider character.

The reactionaries combined against the Communist Party, the inspirer of the mass action for a real opening to the Left. The fascists raised their heads and, with the connivance of the authorities and the support of part of the clerical apparatus, indulged in a smear campaign. Most of the other parties joined in this campaign with a view to isolating the Communists.

The election results, however, have reaffirmed that the Communist Party remains the strongest party among the Left and that in the main it has maintained its positions in the country. More people voted for the Communists, although relatively they got 0.67 per cent less votes than in the previous elections. The Party won a particularly outstanding success in the North and in the Central areas. In the capital, for example, it increased its vote by almost 18,000, polling a total of over 287,000, while the Christian Democratic Party lost more than 30,000. In Pisa the Communist Party emerged as the first party, winning 31.2 per cent of the votes and pushing the Christian Democrats into second place (29.7 per cent).

The situation is different in the South where the Party's contact with the new social strata emerging as a result of the economic development taking place there, is still weak and inadequate and its organizations are not as strong as they are in the industrial North. Stressing that the election results were on the whole favorable, the Party leadership stated that "in some of the big cities of the South the results should be assessed as being unsatisfactory," and that this should be done "with a self-critical frankness typical of a strong party conscious of possibilities of the development and the struggle now unfolding before it." In an article in *Rinascita*, Palmiro Togliatti added that a certain regress again poses the question of how best to carry through the political line of the Party, to ensure that each member takes part in its realization and conducts work among all sections of the population.

The election results have been widely discussed in the Party press and at Party meetings. The questions reviewed are: to what extent the organizational and propaganda work of the Party corresponded in its forms and scale to the socio-economic changes taking place in the different parts of the country,

and whether we managed to establish contact with the broad masses of voters, particularly in newly-built urban areas.

The results make it clear that a serious blow was delivered to the Christian Democratic Party which lost about 12,000 votes compared with 1960, as a result of the vagueness and duality of its policy. The parties of the extreme Right—Monarchist and neo-fascist—also sustained a serious defeat, losing about 25,000 votes. The Liberals doubled their vote at the expense of part of the conservative groups which previously supported the Christian Democrats.

The Social Democrats considerably increased their votes (approximately 45,000 increase). This was due to a certain relaxation of their anti-communist propaganda and subservience to the Christian Democrats. Moreover, they gained more of the votes of the democratic middle sections previously attracted to the Christian Democrats. There was hardly any change in the position of the Republican Party.

In assessing the election results the Communist Party noted: "What is good is the fact that a blow has been struck at the parties of the extreme Right—Monarchists and fascists—and that the Christian Democrats have been forced to retreat. . . . The shift favored the Liberals and the Social Democrats, which means that the voters gave their preference to those who adopt a moderately Right and moderately Left attitude, and no general advance was registered for the working-class parties. Hence the successes won by the Communists in many cities, just as the small advances made by the Socialists, should be regarded from the standpoint of the general picture which does not yet reflect the necessary shift to the Left." Hence the Communist Party and all the democratic forces are faced with the task of further developing the struggle of the masses, encouraging their political initiative, and winning over those workers and representatives of the middle sections who will still cling to moderate positions.

The election campaign demonstrated the pernicious effects of the disunity of the Left. Therefore to achieve an opening to the Left requires that these forces be brought together as early as possible. This turn cannot be effected without the Communist Party, hence its further growth is of decisive significance.

The Communist Party sees its line in developing, on the basis of broad unity, a powerful democratic mass struggle with a view to defeating the attempts of the reactionaries to emasculate the progressive content of the movement for a turn to the Left. The job now is



to impose a democratic solution of the main problems which, in essence, can be described as follows: the fight for peace and disarmament, for a new line in foreign policy; for a substantial increase in the share of the working class in the national income and an active voice for it in the economic and political affairs of the country; a comprehensive agrarian reform providing for the abolition of share-cropping and an early distribution of the land; election of regional councils vested with broad democratic powers; participation of the working people in economic planning; regeneration of the South by way of urgent industrialization and reconstructed agrarian relations; a democratic school reform; struggle against violations of the law and for freedom in the field of arts and culture, etc.

### Short Notices

*Federal Germany.* Writing in the newspaper *Freies Volk* Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Germany, says that the Party is growing despite the ban imposed nearly six years ago. The growth is accompanied by a resurgence of ideological, political and organizational work. Thanks to the influx of large numbers of young people the Party is now much stronger.

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*Spain.* A statement issued by the Communist Party concerning the changes in the Franco government points out that these were made inevitable by the strikes fought in April and May, the Munich meeting and the complete failure of the Franco solidarity campaign, but by no means do they signify a beginning of "liberalization" of the regime. The changes clearly show that the basis of the Franco regime is shrinking. Not even the extreme Right and collaboration groups of the Catholic Action have been included in the present government. The new government is yet another step in the direction of weakening, isolation and disintegration of the dictatorship.

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*Mexico.* A Party conference held in June discussed the status of women in the country and the tasks of the Party in the struggle for their emancipation. The conference endorsed the "Theses on the Work of the Communist Party among Women" and decided to hold a nationwide women's conference with a view to forming a united national women's organization. Women's unity committees will be established in the towns and villages throughout the country.

By their united action the Left can win these demands. Thanks to the efforts of the democratic forces the government's draft law on nationalization of the electric power industry has been submitted to Parliament, and its adoption, provided the struggle is kept up, can effectively curb the power of the monopolies. The large-scale united actions that have taken place in recent years for social security have compelled the government to raise pensions. Today the struggle is being waged for a rapid and far-reaching reorganization of the entire social security system.

Recent developments, particularly the impressive strikes, such as the recent walk-out of the iron and steel workers, testify that a genuine opening to the left is possible.

Elena SANNA

*France.* At the end of May there were in the country 106 federal (regional) Party schools with an enrolment of 1,455, including 495 women. Of these schools 83 are permanent (23 of which have a 12-day curriculum) and 23 temporary. There are five one-week schools, especially for members engaged in agriculture, and three permanent schools for women.

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*Chile.* The leadership of the Communist Party has addressed a letter to the members concerning the responsibility of each branch and each member for the growth of the Communist Youth League. The letter points out, in particular, that many children of Party members are not League members, and argues against the theory that the children of Party members should choose their politics without guidance on the part of their parents. The aim is to increase the membership of the youth organization by 10,000.

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*Japan.* In a statement commenting on the results of the election for the Upper Chamber of Parliament, the Communist Party stresses that a feature of the elections was the loss by the Liberal Democratic Party of its absolute majority (47.1 per cent of the vote compared with 52 in the previous election). Of all the parties and groupings, with the exception of the Soka gakkai, the Communist Party alone increased its vote. Compared with the previous election the Party gained 80 per cent more votes in local constituencies alone, i.e., nearly 1,800,000. The Party secured three seats, a gain of one.



**Exchange of Views**

# Anti-Communism—the Enemy of Mankind

*Peter Kerrigan (Britain):*

## A COLD WAR WEAPON

SINCE shortly after the Great October Revolution anti-Soviet activity both on the part of the capitalist government and the Right-wing Labor leaders has been linked with anti-communism. Since the commencement of the cold war the attacks on Communists in the trade union and labor movement have deepened and widened to a very marked degree. One of the features which makes this plain is the number of agencies waging the cold war against the Communists and the socialist countries.

The Labor Party leadership issues every year a list of organizations which members of the Labor Party may not join or be associated with. The penalty for disregarding any of these bans is forfeiture of Labor Party membership. At present there are 44 organizations on the list, ranging from the World Peace Council to the World Federation of Trade Unions, including all Friendship Organizations with socialist countries, and the Communist Party. The Labor leadership never loses an opportunity to attack or misrepresent the Communist Party.

The Trade Union Congress leaders have for a number of years attacked Communists and the Communist Party through pamphlets, speeches and lists of proscribed organizations. At the very beginning of the cold war the General Council of the TUC issued two statements under the title "Defend Democracy" attacking the Communist Party. Later, the General Council decided that members of the Communist Party should be ineligible to serve on Trades Councils Joint Consultative Committees or be delegates to the annual conference of Trades Councils. This ban in a similar or modified form operates in a number of unions. For example, a trade union which bans Communists is the National Union of Boot and

Shoe Operatives. It is worth reproducing a copy of the declaration that must be signed by every member who is nominated for any position.

### NATIONAL UNION OF BOOT AND SHOE OPERATIVES "THE GRANGE," EARLS BARTON, NORTHAMPTON

#### D E C L A R A T I O N

*To the General Secretary,*

*I, the undersigned, having been nominated to serve as .....  
declare that I am not a member of the Communist Party or of any of the subsidiary Bodies connected with the Communist Party. I am opposed to the principles of communism and agree that my appointment is made on this understanding.*

*Signed .....*

*Countersigned ..... Branch Secretary*

*' ..... Branch*

*Reg. No .....*

*Branch No. ....*

In some unions discrimination against Communists and other progressives takes the form that while there is no formal rule debarring Communists from office all candidates are vetted by the Executive Committee or certain national officers. As a result Communists rarely or never get appointed where there are no elections.

While only a handful of British trade unions operate bans, the bans, nevertheless, are in accord with the line of the Right-wing leadership. In the British trade union movement and in the cooperatives there are Right-wing bodies whose principal plank is anti-communism. They meet, select candidates, and in the



cooperative movement issue material and canvass support for their nominees on a purely anti-communist appeal. This was the case, in particular, in the elections for the President and members of the Board of Management of London Cooperative Society at the beginning of last May.

The Industrial Research and Information Services Ltd., otherwise known as Iris, was formed as a company in 1956. It endeavors to tell union members if there is a Communist candidate running for election, and indicates who shall receive votes in order to defeat the Communist. It now classifies people to be opposed because they "could draw Communist support" or even because they have followed a "unilateralist line."

The anti-communist activities of the ICFTU are well known. Considerable material is circulated to the Union executives in Britain, not only from the ICFTU but also from the Labor Attache's Department of the U.S. Embassy. This includes printed papers of the so-called Free Trade Unions in exile.

There are other anti-communist organizations. For example, an organization called Common Cause came into being early in the cold war. One of its aims is: "... to expose the Communist Party of Great Britain as a treacherous conspiracy serving a foreign totalitarian dictatorship whose global imperialism threatens freedom everywhere."

An older anti-communist organization is the Economic League, which came into existence in 1920. It is obsessed by "subversive forces," "reds," and is bitterly anti-Soviet, constantly attacking the Soviet trade unions.

One other organization worth briefly mentioning is Moral Re-Armament. In 1960 alone it distributed 15 million pamphlets in Britain. Its strategy is shifting more and more to an open crusade against communism.

Over recent years the press, radio and television have carried out anti-communist propaganda more openly and actively. This propaganda is based on lies and misrepresentation about the socialist countries, on the groundless assertions of "foreign control" of the British Communist Party, etc. There is a continuous flow of books (many written by Americans) attacking Marxist theory. In particular, the theory of value is attacked, especially in relation to the value of labor power, the Lassalleian "iron law of wages" being constantly attributed to Marx. The Marxist theory of economic crisis is attacked on the basis of the absence of mass unemployment in Britain since the Second World War; it is argued that

in any case it is possible now to avoid crises by the use of the doctrines of Keynes.

State planning of the economy is now the central theme of Right-wing Labor policy; it is presented as the cure for all the evils of capitalism, the big monopolies (described as in general "serving the nation well") being alleged to be no longer concerned with profit, but willing to cooperate with the government and the trade unions in the national interest. These arguments are accompanied by the distortion of the meaning of socialism, and the presentation of the so-called "mixed economy" as the goal of the Labor movement.

These distortions are linked together to "prove" that capitalism is no longer capitalism, that the Communists are completely mistaken in their reliance on "outdated" Marxism, particularly in their advocacy of class struggle instead of collaboration with the capitalists as the way forward. Thus the propaganda against Communist policy and Communist leadership in the trade unions is given a "theoretical" justification.

The main ideological point peddled in the press, on television and in pamphlets, as well as from the platform, is "defense of democracy," "defense of the rights of the individual," "defense of democratic socialism." Included in the anti-communist propaganda are attacks on dialectical and historical materialism, distorting the real content of Marxist philosophy and advancing idealism.

Naturally, the Communist Party is in the forefront of the fight back. It is the consistent opponent of this whole reactionary policy of the capitalists and their supporters.

The most effective way to answer is to clearly and consistently explain the policy of the Communist Party based on the Party Program, *The British Road to Socialism*. This is done in meetings, articles, leaflets and literature. In addition, in education classes and schools the work is carried on. We endeavor systematically to explain the philosophical basis of our program and outlook. Attention is paid to this not only by producing books and pamphlets, but also in our weekly journal *World News* and in our monthly theoretical organ *Marxism Today*.

Naturally this involves explaining the role of the Soviet Union, now building communism, and the other socialist countries. This can best be done by giving facts about the peace policy of these countries and the conditions of their people, striving all the time for a better understanding and closer personal contact. In this latter respect we have ample



evidence that exchange of cultural, sport, trade union, scientific, youth and other delegations is of great value. Of course, the socialist countries are able to answer effectively for themselves, and our Party shows quite clearly that we are a completely independent and British organization linked in international brotherhood not only with the socialist countries but with the workers in other capitalist countries as well as the colonial countries by our common Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

In this struggle, of course, the Communists do not fight in isolation. There are a number of organizations and many people outside and inside the trade union and Labor movement

who actively fight in defense of democratic rights and against witch-hunting everywhere.

It is interesting to note that just as the big wave of opposition to the Tory government is growing more powerful, while the industrial struggle gets sharper, and the Communist Party makes some modest, but significant increases in membership, and the *Daily Worker* circulation goes up, the government steps up its anti-communist measures, using the state apparatus and mobilizing the support of other organs of capitalist society. More thought requires to be given to how the fight back can be speedily strengthened and improved.

*Itaru Yonehara (Japan):*

## IN THE BACKWASH OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

PRIOR to the Second World War the main political and ideological bulwark of anti-communism in Japan was the absolutist imperial military and police regime. Basing itself on the capitalists and landlords while at the same time remaining relatively independent of these classes, the regime engaged in savage repressions against the working people and their vanguard—the Communist Party. Anti-communism in prewar Japan, which had concluded the “anti-Comintern pact” with the German and Italian fascists, was basically a fanatical Tennoist-militarist ideology. This anti-communism deified the emperor, stifled all progressive ideas, subjected Communists, Left Social Democrats and Liberals to unbridled terror, waged an offensive against all democratic and even against some religious organizations—Christian and others—for the slightest criticism of the aggressive wars and the despotism. Present-day anti-communism in Japan is distinguished from the prewar variety by its pro-Americanism.

As the statement of the 1960 conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers’ parties noted, “U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, the enemy of the peoples of the whole world,” the ringleader of the international anti-communist conspiracy. U.S. imperialism, which has made Japanese monopoly capital its junior partner and covered the territory of our country with a network of military bases, hopes to use the people of Japan as cannon fodder in war against the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, as well as against other Asian peo-

ples. The San Francisco “peace treaty” system, jointly created by U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, is clearly an anti-Soviet and anti-Chinese set-up.

Anti-communism in Japan is manifested primarily in reactionary political movements and conspiratorial terrorist activity.

In 1954 the U.S. imperialists set up the Asian Peoples’ Anti-Communist League, in which Japanese monopoly capital and its government are not only openly participating but seeking to play the leading role. The ultra-Right American John Birch Society has established a branch in Japan. The “Sammu case” in December 1961, connected with U.S. intelligence as well as the Japanese “Self-Defense Corps,” revealed the existence of a group of hard-core military extremists, who conspired to engineer a military coup. The murder of Inejiro Asanuma, Chairman of the Socialist Party, by a member of the Aikokuto, one of Japan’s ultra-right organizations, is common knowledge, as is the fact that this organization is plotting the assassination of the leaders of our Party and the trade unions. The ultra-right organizations are openly threatening progressive cultural workers and publishers. All this shows that aggressive anti-communism is, in the final analysis, a negation of democracy, that it is based on violence and terror.

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and Psychological Warfare Department work in conjunction with the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo as well as with the U.S. Army and intelligence in Japan. They operate through commercial firms, advertising agencies, the Public Security Department, the government Bureau of Inves-



tigation, the police "public order" department, the Prosecutor's office, etc. Government officials in these departments spread insinuations and engage in intrigues against our Party, the Democratic Youth League, the trade unions and other democratic organizations and their leaders, as well as against repatriates from the USSR and China, sending their spies into these organizations. The U.S.-Japanese intelligence agencies, in an effort to split the working class and the democratic organizations and to destroy the Communist Party, are rendering financial and other assistance to the Trotskyite and revisionist anti-Party groups, using them as their tools. There is also a Japanese Committee of the Fourth International through which the U.S. imperialists are trying to unite the scattered forces of the Trotskyites.

The monopoly capitalists, resorting to bribery to enlist the services of the Right-wing leaders of the Democratic Socialist Party, the Socialist Party and such trade union centers as the General Council of Trade Unions and the All-Japan Trade Union Council, are working persistently to enmesh the masses in the sinister web of anti-communism, to undermine joint action and the united front, and to isolate the Communist Party. Subversive activity of this order was particularly intensified during the struggle against the new Japano-American "security treaty."

U.S. imperialists and the Japanese monopoly capitalists own the press, radio, television, cinema and theatre. They have at their disposal the funds of universities, research institutes and scientific organizations, and have the decisive say in choosing the personnel and defining the themes for research. Having concentrated these numerous propaganda channels in their hands, they have geared them to anti-communism.

Anti-communist propaganda is spread by organizations like the Society for Promoting International Culture, which is headed by ex-premier Nobusuke Kishi, the International Cultural Exchange Society and the Literary and Art Society of Japanese Employers.

A central place in this propaganda is occupied by slander of the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic and the other socialist countries, misrepresentation of the international Communist movement and of our Party, and distortion of Marxism-Leninism.

The anti-communist propagandists are doing their utmost to spread cosmopolitanism, the purpose of which is to counteract popular in-

dignation over the domination of U.S. imperialism, to paralyze the spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. High-pressure salesmanship of the "American way of life" is employed to induce people to renounce the national culture and to stifle national consciousness. The rapid revival of Japanese monopoly capitalism in recent years and the resurgence of militarism and imperialism are represented as evidence of the "wisdom of the financial circles," as "magnificent progress," "modern life on a level with Europe" and a "good-living boom." In combating anti-communism it is important for our Party, first, to bring home to the masses the true meaning of U.S. imperialist domination in Japan and rally them to defend our national independence, the best traditions of the nation and its cultural heritage; second, to intensify the struggle against the Right-wing Social Democrats, revisionists and Trotskyites; third, to combine struggle against the feudal survivals with the struggle for democracy; fourth, to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement.

It should be borne in mind that the object of the struggle against anti-communism at the present time is not to win all people at once over to the ideas of communism, of Marxism-Leninism. Our aim should be to win the support of the entire people, irrespective of social status, Party affiliation or outlook, for the idea of cooperation with the working class and the Communist Party, the idea of joint action and the united front.

The working class is coming to see, on the basis of its experience, the reactionary essence of anti-communism. The organizations affiliated to the All-Japan Trade Union Council, which is under the control of the Right-wing Social Democrats who have rallied to the banner of anti-communism, are numerically small. And in the General Council of Trade Unions, the biggest labor federation, the Right-wing Social Democrats are finding it difficult openly to advocate anti-communism as such; because of this they have put forward the vague slogan of "non-alignment." In the course of the struggle for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and a higher living standard, the people are being freed from the corrupting influence of anti-communism. There is no doubt that the anti-communist ideology and terror will be defeated once and for all by the united actions of the people headed by the Communist Party and the working class.



## *Ulises Rivera Urbina (Mexico):*

### HOW ANTI-COMMUNISM OPERATES

**I**N Mexico anti-communism is the rallying point for all the reactionary and pro-imperialist forces. Even the slightest action running counter to the interests of the imperialists is declared a "Communist" move, viciously assailed and condemned by all the propaganda media at the disposal of the bourgeoisie. At times persecution and even crude force are resorted to. For example, when some land-hungry peasants were driven by desperation to seize unused land belonging to the landlords, the press described these actions as "communist raids" and the army and the police were sent to drive the peasants off the land.

Although President Lopez Mateos himself takes no open and direct part in the anti-communist campaign, his government facilitates it in the most diverse ways. To this end it has invoked a section of the criminal code which, in violation of the constitution, infringes the right of association and organization, free expression of opinion, the right to demonstrate in protest against government actions, etc., and is directed against the democratic and progressive forces. All the political prisoners thrown into jail by the government have been charged with violating public order, with the facts so twisted as to invoke the unconstitutional sections of the law. Ever since the victory of the Cuban revolution the government has been raising all kinds of obstacles to people travelling to the socialist countries or returning from there. Moreover, some time ago the authorities banned the import of Marxist literature from the socialist countries. At the same time, however, they are helping to flood the country with U.S. publications conducting open anti-communist propaganda.

One of the forms of government participation in the anti-communist campaign is subordination to U.S. foreign policy. The Mexican delegates to international organizations (the United Nations and the Organization of American States) have almost invariably voted as counselled by the U.S. delegation. This was glaringly evident at the last Punta del Este conference. In violation of the traditional Mexican policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and respect for the sovereignty and right of self-determination for other peoples, the Mexican delegate declared that Marxism-Leninism was incompatible with "representative democracy." Finally, the perse-

cution of the Mexican Communist Party (though it has not been officially proscribed) is also a form of government participation in the anti-communist campaign.

Apart from the government, the Catholic Church is one of the principal centers of anti-communism—and perhaps the most dangerous. All the reactionary forces are rallying around the higher clergy who are past masters at political intrigue. The anti-communist activities of the Catholic Church are conducted mainly along two channels: (a) through sermons, pastoral letters and printed matter compiled and circulated by the clergy, and (b) through the use of secular organizations controlled by the church—the Catholic Action, Knights of Columbus, National Parents' Association, the Teachers' League, the National Association of Journalists, Writers and Publishers, etc.

Of the main reactionary political parties two are under the ideological leadership of the clergy—the Union Nacional Sinarquista and the National Action. These parties likewise carry on anti-communist activities. The National Action unites the forces of the reactionary bourgeoisie, while the Union Nacional Sinarquista claims to represent the people, particularly the peasants.

Recently new parties which also pursue a pro-imperialist policy have been established. These are the Nationalist Party and Civic Front for Consolidating the Revolutionary Gains. Openly anti-communist is also the Federation of the People's Parties. The youngest of the anti-communist organizations is the Regional Anti-Communist Front in Monterrey. It is not excluded that new regional groups conducting anti-communist activities will spring up in other states.

Then there is the open anti-communism of such trade union centers as the Confederation of Mexican Workers, the Regional Workers' Confederation, General Confederation of Labor and also the Workers' Unity Bloc in which the Confederation of Mexican Workers and some trade unions take part. Without going into an analysis of the processes under way in the trade union movement, it should be pointed out that the anti-communist orientation of the above-mentioned trade union centers is directly connected with their subordination to the government, with corruption, the growth of company unions and the flouting of trade union democracy. In the guise of anti-com-



munism the government is forcing on these unions servile leaders who enable it to exercise control over the labor movement. In other trade union centers, such as the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Federation, no anti-communist activities are conducted openly, although their leaders, as well as the workers under their influence, are definitely prejudiced against communism and the Communists.

Lastly, mention should be made of the Anti-Communist People's Front, led by Prieto Laurens, and Mario Guerra Leal's Anti-Communist National Party. Both of these leaders have been exposed as adventurers acting as tools of the U.S. Embassy.

The U.S. Embassy plays a big part in the anti-communist campaign. It maintains close

contact with the clergy and with the press, which, with the exception of two or three publications, is completely at the service of U.S. imperialism and the big bourgeoisie.

The true meaning of the anti-communist campaign, however, is becoming increasingly clear to the people as time goes on. The workers and peasants and other sections are beginning to realize that anti-communism has nothing in common with their interests, that it does not help to solve their pressing problems, but, on the contrary, aggravates these problems. The people of Mexico are more and more resolutely taking the path of revolutionary struggle, and their confidence that the program for this struggle offered by the Communists is the right program is steadily growing.

### Joaquin Moreno Diaz (Colombia):

## THE EVIL HAND OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

**A**LTHOUGH the anti-communist campaign in Colombia has its own specific features, it pursues the same aims as in the other Latin American countries—to undermine the unity of the peoples in their struggle against imperialism and to conceal from them the truth about the socialist countries.

The organizers of the campaign are the big bankers, industrialists, merchants and the higher clergy, all of whom are egged on by the U.S. State Department. But neither does the government stand aloof from this drive; on the contrary, it takes an active part in the offensive against progressive and democratic elements.

Diverse methods are employed in anti-communist propaganda but they all follow a pattern set by U.S. advertising and propaganda experts. Most of the propaganda material is printed abroad. Every conceivable means, from handbills, flashy posters of all sizes, pamphlets and books, to newspapers and the radio are employed to slander the independent trade union movement, the Communist Party and other progressive organizations.

The conservative newspapers *La Republica*, *El Siglo* and *El Tiempo* carry full-page advertisements paid for by an anti-communist organization known as the Black Hand. Though operating in secrecy, its existence is nevertheless well known. As a matter of fact, it is the nerve center of Colombian reaction, directing the struggle against the forces of democracy and progress.

The radio and TV are monopolized by the bankers, industrialists, merchants, the Church

and the government. Only the government and the reactionary politicians have access to the three major radio networks. Particularly vicious are the slander campaigns against the Soviet Union and the Communist and democratic movement conducted by the Radio Cadena Nacional network comprising more than 30 broadcasting stations. It is also the mouthpiece of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries.

Under the slogan of anti-communism repressive measures are taken against progressives and the working-class and trade union movement generally. For instance, when fires broke out last year at a number of sugar plantations and a confectionery factory was burnt down, the reactionaries raised a hue and cry over the radio, in the press and through the churches alleging that the fires were started by the Communists working according to "plans drawn up in Moscow and Havana." Several trade union leaders were arrested. Soon afterwards a government commission established that the fires were caused by faulty wiring but the slander campaign had had its effect and the trade union had been subjected to repressions.

One of the tasks of the anti-communists is to split the working-class movement. At the present time both trade union centers—the Confederation of Workers and the Workers' Union—are in the hands of corrupt leaders subservient to the reactionary government and the U.S. monopolies. The conservative elements in the Workers' Union, for instance, have been insisting on recognition of the need to fight communism as a condition for the amalgama-



tion of the two trade union centers which the liberals in the Confederation have been advocating. The venal leaders of the Confederation have accepted this condition. This, however, does not signify that reaction and anti-communism reign supreme in Colombia. The fact that the anti-communist campaign is so violent is a sign that there is a struggle going on, and a very bitter one at that. The democratic forces are fighting back to uphold the interests of the nation, for a free and happy future.

The Communist Party, which is the most effective opposition to the two-party government of the national oligarchy, is waging a steadfast struggle against the state system under which the head of the state enjoys practically unlimited power. The presidential system of government protects big business and enables it to plunder the people, handing over our national wealth to the U.S. monopolists. The Party is working to build a broad people's democratic front which would be an insuperable obstacle to the reactionaries. This aim is gradually being achieved as the Communists, Liberals and the more progressive

Conservatives join forces against the reactionaries in the government.

Many progressive political leaders have learned from their own experience that anti-communism means splitting the popular movement, persecution, and suppression of democratic organizations. Because of this, some of the Left Liberal, Socialist and Conservative leaders are renouncing anti-communism as a form of political struggle.

Despite the anti-communist drive, the Communist Party is growing stronger. That its policy of building broad alliances is correct has been proved in practice. In the recent period thousands of new members have joined the ranks of this "party of national hope," as the people call it.

The democratic forces headed by the Party have no big newspapers, radio stations or airplanes to spread their message. But they have on their side such a decisive factor as the sympathy and support of the masses and they wield such a powerful weapon as the truth which is bound to prevail over the anti-communist slander.

*Ardeshir Avanesyan (Iran):*

## BEHIND THE SMOKESCREEN OF "POSITIVE NATIONALISM"

FOR more than eight years now Iran has been under the heel of the darkest reaction which has made anti-communism its platform. As regards its class essence, the present regime is a landlord-compradore regime. One thousand big landlord and compradore families order the destinies of the nation. The hub of the reactionary forces is the court of the Shah, who calls himself a proponent of "positive nationalism" which he counterposes to those forces in the Middle East, and in particular in Iran, that are fighting against imperialism and upholding the national interests of their countries. Time and again he has accused the People's (Tudeh) Party and the followers of Mossadeq of pursuing a "negative policy." Actually, however, the so-called "negative policy" of Mossadeq (for instance, on the oil issue) which the Tudeh Party actively supported was negative only in relation to the imperialists and positive from the standpoint of the national interests. The "positive nationalism" of the Shah is positive for the imperialists and negative in relation to the national interests. The Shah and his coterie have bartered away the sovereignty of the country and, contrary to the wishes and interests of the people, have made it a party to the CENTO

military bloc. The Shah has built up a huge army, the maintenance of which swallows up more than half of the state budget. Membership in CENTO costs the people 80 million dollars annually. The policy of anti-communism has led to the suppression of all democratic, progressive parties, organizations and their press.

Anti-communism is also propagated by a group of renegades headed by Khalil Malaki, who poses as a national reformer and even proclaims his intention to build in Iran a special kind of "socialist society" in which, as distinct from the "totalitarian" socialist countries, the "freedom of the individual" would allegedly be respected. Actually, however, as can be judged by the Malaki group's program statement, *Society of Socialists*, the self-styled "reformers" call for "law and order," practically echoing the Shah.

Another apostle of anti-Communism is Dr. Baghai. In the late forties his "Party of Iranian Working People" aligned itself with the so-called National Front and later helped the Shah and General Zahedi to engineer the counter-revolutionary coup of 1953. Baghai cynically declared at the time that he preferred



the "regime of the Shah to strengthening the working class and its party."

The anti-communism of the Shah and his clique is primarily directed against the national-liberation movement in Iran. Under the banner of anti-communism, and with the assistance of the U.S. and British imperialists, the Shah removed the national government of Dr. Mossadeq. He nullified the law nationalizing the oil industry and handed over the country's oil resources to the monopolists. The anti-communism of the Shah and his associates is also directed against the socialist countries and above all against the USSR. In the press, over the radio and in his memoirs the Shah assails "red imperialism." In an interview with an American journalist on November 6, 1961, he urged cooperation with the USA in order to make Iran the "model" state in the non-communist world. Calling the Program of the CPSU a challenge to the world, he said: "Even if this plan is only 50 per cent fulfilled, the world will be faced with a new communist society. If we waste our time in countries like mine, time is not going to be on our side."

The Iranian anti-communists are extremely active and spend large sums on propaganda. Their basic method is to frighten the people with the bogey of communism which, they allege, threatens the independence, sovereignty and religion of the people.

The fight against anti-communism is a complex struggle which requires a concrete approach and effective methods. It is complicated by the fact that reactionary ideology still wields much influence in our country. But the most advanced forces of Iranian society—workers, handicraftsmen, students, intellectuals, and a considerable part of the national bourgeoisie—are resisting the reactionaries, as can be seen from the powerful popular movement of 1961-1962. Many of the participants in this movement do not sympathize with socialism, but for all that they are combating the anti-national, pro-imperialist policy of the Iranian rulers. The day is not far off when our people with their ancient culture and rich revolutionary traditions will take their place among the free nations of the world.

### *Abdelkader el Ouahrani (Algeria):*

#### IN THE GUISE OF ARAB NATIONALISM

THE more Communist ideas spread throughout the world, the greater the effort exerted by the bourgeoisie to prevent their dissemination. Anti-communism takes different forms in different countries. The French or American variety differs from the anti-communism of the bourgeoisie of the Arab countries. The latter prefer to conceal it behind a mask of nationalism. This form of anti-communism is a definite danger inasmuch as it plays on the trust and patriotic feelings of millions of nationalists.

The participation of the Arab Communists in the struggle for national liberation and the assistance rendered to the national-liberation movement by the socialist camp as well as by the international Communist and workers' movement has imposed certain limitations on the anti-communist machinations of the Arab bourgeoisie. It therefore resorts to its own methods in combatting Communism.

For instance, in order to ban the Moroccan Communist Party, the courts, speculating on the popularity of King Mohamed V and the religious sentiment of the population, alleged that communism was a threat to the monarchy, and that it ran counter to Islam. To discredit the Syrian, Egyptian and Iraqi Com-

munists, who quite rightly have exposed the false conceptions of the unity of the "Arab world" and "Arab democracy," Nasser accused them of being agents of Zionism and imperialism. And to smash the Algerian Communist Party, some leaders of the National Liberation Front sought to brand it as a counter-revolutionary party inasmuch as it decided to retain its organizational independence and advocated an alliance between the French and Algerian peoples against colonialism in spite of the state of war existing between France and Algeria at the time.

In this way the bourgeoisie is trying to counterpose to the Communist parties the nationalist movement which it heads. This maneuver is designed to isolate the Communists from the masses so as to cut them off from their source of strength. In this respect the example of Tunisia is symptomatic. In words President Bourguiba allows the Communist Party to exist legally. Actually, however, the legality of the Party is purely formal. Our Tunisian comrades are subjected to extreme pressures. During the last elections, the Communist Party, the only force in opposition to the party of Bourguiba, was not allowed freely to conduct its election campaign. So as not to



foster any illusions as to the liberalism of Bourguiba and the Tunisian bourgeoisie, it withdrew its candidates.

As elsewhere in the world, the ideas of scientific socialism are spreading among the masses in the Arab countries and inspiring them. The bourgeoisie knows that the achievements of the socialist countries are finding a deep response among the people, who are coming to realize more and more that in the final analysis they can achieve complete liberation only under socialism. Unable to stem this movement toward socialism, the bourgeoisie is trying to direct it into false channels, offering endless variants of fictitious "socialism" as a substitute for scientific socialism. The bourgeoisie is out to smash the Marxist-Leninist parties, claiming that they are unable to adapt socialist principles and the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin to the conditions in their respective countries. The most flagrant manifestations of this form of anti-communism may be found in countries such as Iraq, where the bourgeoisie inspires and supports what are called "national" Communist parties—splinter groups that have placed themselves in the service of the bourgeoisie.

The question arises: why is anti-communism in the guise of nationalism able to win some support among the masses? The point is that in countries fighting for national independence the bourgeoisie plays for the time being a progressive role and has a mass following. Lenin said on this score: "The bourgeois nationalism of every oppressed nation has a general democratic content which is directed against oppression, and it is this content that we support *unconditionally* . . ." This applies to most Arab countries. The national bourgeoisie takes part in the struggle against imperialism and external reactionary forces. Within the country, under pressure from the masses which no longer are isolated as before from world developments, it is forced to implement progressive measures in the economic sphere: partial nationalization, land reforms, as well as reforms in other areas. But the bourgeoisie seizes upon every opportunity in this period of change to further its own ends, never losing sight of its own class interests and waging an ideological struggle against what it calls the "communist danger," i.e., against the growing pressure on the part of the workers, poor peasants and progressive intellectuals to direct the country to the least painful path of development—the non-capitalist path.

But although the anti-communism propagated by the bourgeoisie of the Arab countries is capable of deceiving the masses in the course

of the struggle for and immediately after the winning of independence, its effectiveness declines as the masses learn by their own experience what the leadership of the bourgeoisie brings in its train. While never losing sight of the vanguard role of their parties, the Arab Communists should distinguish between the positive and negative aspects of the activities of the bourgeoisie. Hence, on the one hand, in the course of the fight against imperialism they seek an alliance with the bourgeoisie even when the latter pursues an anti-communist policy. On the other hand, they do not forget that, as Lenin pointed out, aggressive bourgeois nationalism confuses, stupefies and disunites the workers in order to bind them to the bourgeoisie.

The correctness of this line is evident from its results. Anti-communism is encountering growing resistance on the part of the masses, even those who, for various reasons, remain under nationalist influence. We can already speak of a certain retreat on the part of the anti-communists, a retreat which no doubt will gain momentum with the growth of the democratic and, in particular, the Communist movement in the Arab countries. The masses are believing less and less in the need for anti-communism. "The anti-communists are those who are against the Arabs," Ferhat Abbas, former head of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, correctly observed before the beginning of the Algerian revolution. It is becoming increasingly clear that struggle against anti-communism is in the interests of the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals.

But it is not always easy to combat anti-communism in countries where nationalism is strong, as, for instance, in the Arab countries. The Communists should work cautiously and with patience, since there are many nationalists who are not supporters of imperialism even though they adhere to anti-communist positions. Part of the bourgeoisie, especially the reactionary big bourgeoisie, unquestionably pursues anti-communist policies in order to serve the ends of imperialism to which it is bound by class interest. But it is essential to bear in mind that not all sections of the anti-communist bourgeoisie in the Arab countries are necessarily pro-imperialist. It should also be borne in mind that there is anti-communist sentiment even among the dispossessed sections of the population influenced by bourgeois ideology. The Communists, and together with them all true progressives, know that all forms of anti-communism serve the purposes of imperialism, and therefore they consider it their



duty to help all those whose vital interests are jeopardized by anti-communism to orientate correctly. In this connection one can cite the splendid example set by the socialist countries in their relations with the Arab states. Notwithstanding the anti-communism of the ruling Arab bourgeoisie, the socialist countries have never refused to render aid to the Arab peoples fighting against imperialism and seeking a way out of the state of backwardness in which the colonialists kept them.

Exposing anti-communism, we should work steadfastly to open the eyes of the masses to the correct solutions of national and international problems and to bring about a situation when they themselves will reject anti-communism and condemn its protagonists. The

crucial thing in the struggle against anti-communism is not whether Communist activity frightens the bourgeoisie or not; what is important above all is for the Communists to be able to convince the masses infected with anti-communism that they have other goals to fight for, that it is not in their interests to combat the ideology which enabled the peoples of China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Mongolia and Cuba to take their destinies into their own hands and step out along the high-road of progress and freedom. Most important and most promising is that it is not only the Communists who are combating anti-communism. There are many patriots who, though not Communists, reject anti-communism and condemn those who propagate it.

## Reviews

# Capitalist "Integration" and Its Ideologists

IT HAS become fashionable nowadays for bourgeois economists and political writers to write about "integration." And there is hardly a single leading Western politician who has not aired his views on this question in one way or another. Economists and sociologists have been working to lay the theoretical groundwork for the pronouncements of political leaders. Indeed, "integration" is one of the most pressing issues of the class struggle in the capitalist countries.

It is this struggle which is reflected in the efforts of the ideologists. However, a clear distinction should be drawn between "integration" as a tangible process in the economy and the inter-governmental relations of capitalist Europe, on the one hand, and the ideological trappings in which it is dressed, the phraseology used to camouflage and defend it and to serve it up to the public, on the other. Many of the essential aspects are glossed over or distorted by the apologists of capitalism. Here we shall dwell on only a few of the basic ideas propounded in current bourgeois writing on this subject.

\* \* \*

Most of it is a frank eulogy of the idea of "integration." If everything said on this score were to be taken at its face value, it might seem that here we have a cure-all for the contradictions and difficulties of capitalism, that it denotes the emergence of a new, com-

pletely metamorphosed capitalism. The Dutch economist Tinbergen\* holds that it makes possible planned regulation, Herczeg\*\* says that it "ensures the creation of a unified economy," the French publicist Allais\*\*\* assures us that it solves the "problem of improving the living standard of the working people," and so on.

All the capitalist ideologists, however, skillfully avoid touching upon the contradictions inherent in "integration" as such. They do not reveal its *socio-economic essence*.

The bourgeois definition of "integration" has a purely practical origin. Above all it is pragmatic. Paul Hoffman, one-time Marshall Plan administrator, spokesman of U.S. big business and one of the first protagonists of monopoly "integration," defined the concept as the establishment of a European common market within the bounds of which quantitative restrictions of the movement of goods, currency barriers obstructing the flow of payments and all customs tariffs would be abolished.\*\*\*\* Haberler defines integration as regional free trade.† More detailed is the definition given by Professor Emile Benoit of Columbia University:

\*J. Tinbergen. *International Economic Integration*. Amsterdam-Brussels, 1954, p. 20.

\*\*K. L. Herczeg. *Zukunft der Weltwirtschaft*. Duesseldorf, 1958, p. 41.

\*\*\*M. Allais. *L'Europe Unie, route de la prosperite*. Paris, 1960, p. 20.

\*\*\*\*W. Rappard. *L'integration economique de l'Europe et la Suisse*. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift fuer Volkswirtschaft und Statistik*, August 1952, pp. 303-304, Note 1.

†G. Haberler. *Die Wirtschaftliche Integration Europas*, in: *Wirtschaftsfragen der freien Welt*. Frankfurt am Main, 1957, p. 522.



"'Integration' may be understood as involving economic unification by the removal of barriers to trade, investment, and migration, the harmonization of economic policies and standards, the increase of economic interdependency, and the reduction of inequalities and differences among the parts being integrated — with the proximate objective of preparing the way for some type of political unification."\*

The different formulations notwithstanding, these definitions are essentially identical: they deliberately avoid any analysis of *monopoly* as intrinsic in modern capitalism. Hence the revival of "free trade," a concept applicable to the 19th century but certainly not to the monopoly stage of capitalism. The overall picture of the process as a whole is overshadowed by description of the purely external, practical aspect. If one focusses attention on only one aspect of "integration," the abolition of customs barriers (i.e., on market relations), one can of course, as the bourgeois theoreticians do, qualify the changes in these relations as indicating a profound transformation of capitalism, of a change in its essence. In which case the connection between the apparent "liberalization" of trade and the interests of the European monopoly set-ups, which, by virtue of the very essence of monopoly, are inimical to "free trade" or free competition, would be lost sight of. What is actually in question is freedom of expansion for the big monopolies without the encumbrance of national frontiers, and not "free trade." Only by taking due account of the concentration of production and capital, and of the expansionist aspirations of the big European trusts and the conditions they dictate, is it possible correctly to assess the "integration" measures effected by the European capitalist states, in particular in the sphere of trade.

It is precisely in appraising the socio-economic aspects of "integration" that it becomes perfectly clear that the apologists of capitalism isolate it from the general processes taking place in capitalism, examining it outside the context of the general crisis of capitalism and concealing its social, class roots. Tinbergen describes "integration" as the creation of the most expedient international economic structure, elimination of artificial obstacles to optimal functioning, and conscious introduction of all the desired elements of coordination or association.\*\* Herczeg lauds the "rise of a unified economy, i.e., development of the productive forces with a view to optimal distribu-

tion over a large territory."\* A number of writings advocating "integration" argue for it only from the standpoint of technological development, which requires pooling of capital by several countries for joint undertakings. Examples are cited showing that capital operating basically within the bounds of separate countries is unable to make full use of the latest technological advances. No West European continental country is in a position to manufacture large transport planes alone. The same applies to harnessing nuclear energy: the expenditures on nuclear projects in the various European countries are far less than in the USA, owing to which the results too are proportionately less and the relative cost of research much higher; in other words, the returns are not adequate.

But these authors ignore the most important point—the social conditions in which these developments are taking place. The essence of the apology for "integration" consists in discarding its *strictly class content* (in both the economic and political respects) and depicting it simply as a rational economic process originating in the growth of the volume of production, universalization of technology and the productive forces, the social character of modern production which requires large investments as well as large markets for the products, etc. Actually it is a process torn by the contradiction between the trend toward internationalization of the economy, on the one hand, and the interstate-monopoly form of its realization, on the other. Since it does not basically change capitalist property relations or distribution, "integration" makes for the further concentration of private property in the hands of a steadily shrinking number of big international trusts. Consequently, European "integration" serves only the interests of the biggest monopolies. As Mendes-France admitted, "the most prosperous states (which at the same time are the least burdened with foreign commitments) and the best organized groups of employers will always lay down the law."\*\*

The ideologists of "integration" extol the benefits which, they claim, it will bring to society. Sannwald and Stohler, who, like Tinbergen, regard "integration" as part of the search for the "best possible economic policy," aver that it will ensure the full employment of all productive forces, harnessed wherever they yield the biggest return, etc.\*\*\* A press release put out by the European Coal and

\*K. L. Herczeg. *Zukunft der Weltwirtschaft*. Dusseldorf, 1958, p. 41.

\*\**Express*, June 7, 1962.

\*\*\*See R. Sannwald J. Stohler. *Wirtschaftliche Integration*. Basel-Tuebingen, 1961, p. 39.

\**Current History*, March 1962, p. 172.

\*\*J. Tinbergen. *International Economic Integration*. Amsterdam-Brussels, 1954, p. 20.



Steel Community states that in the final analysis "integration" will stimulate more effective utilization of natural resources, more rational organization of production and marketing, and the fullest development of the economy, the ultimate aim being a substantial rise in the standard of living.\*

The fact is, however, that there is no direct and automatic link between the integration and the expansion of the productive forces. The relationship between the two is conditioned by the anarchic nature of capitalism as a system based on exploitation, and the class interests of the cartels. Whatever impetus "integration" may give to growth of the productive forces, the results will be appropriated by a steadily narrowing segment of the monopoly capitalists. Consequently, rationalization in some branches and economic areas will be carried out at the expense of others, accompanied by the wholesale ruination of the small producers who will be crushed under the heel of the monopolies. This is a far cry from "harmonious" development of the economy as a whole. "Integration" carried out by the monopoly capitalists can only accelerate class differentiation and accentuate class antagonisms. And yet the capitalist spokesmen, ignoring the real contradictions which are the driving force of the capitalist world paint a glowing picture of "integration" as a condition for the "prosperity" of society as a whole and claim that it will raise the living standard of the working class and other sections of the working people. The champions of "integration" have elevated this to a dogma.\*\* The idea is spread by the press agents of the EEC, for instance, through pamphlets, posters, films, etc. Official EEC documents declare that the overall trend in the Community is "to provide wage earners with more stable employment and incomes" through fixing a minimum wage, higher unemployment benefits and stabilizing the purchasing power of the working people.\*\*\* The social welfare illusion is also spread by the reformists and the Right-wing union leaders. It is not by chance that the report on social conditions in the EEC quoted above notes with satisfaction that the latter gentlemen have "demonstrated" their agreement with the "principles of the Community."\*\*\*\* The concessions which the working class has won from the capitalists through bitter class struggle are described as the "beneficial" results of "integration" so as to conceal its basic class consequence — the

growth of the power of the monopolies (and, hence, the sharpening of class contradictions).

Despite the fine words about "European unity" and similar blather, and despite the efforts made to depict "integration" as a smooth process, it in no way irons out or "harmonizes" the inter-imperialist contradictions. On the contrary, each imperialist group sees in it a means to achieve its own specific ends at the expense of the interests of others. Concerned with preserving the dominant position of the USA in the anti-Soviet camp, American bourgeois theoreticians define the object of "integration" as the creation of a capacious "Atlantic market" within the framework of the Atlantic Community. The West German imperialist spokesmen, who for their part see in the present forms of the "integration" a vehicle for the old theories of German imperialism concerning economic lebensraum, are insisting on the complete political unification of Europe.\* On the other hand, de Gaulle's "Europe of the fatherlands" reflects the striving to retain and consolidate the economic positions of the French monopolies in the Common Market.

The monopoly "integration" of Western Europe also deepens the cleavage of the world into the two diametrically opposed systems — the socialist and the capitalist—and imparts to this cleavage a distorted form. Accordingly, the ideological efforts to justify "integration" are linked with the modern military-strategic concepts of imperialism, with the plotting and fanning of imperialist military-political alliances.\*\* Referring to the anti-communist aims of the West European capitalist powers, Sannwald and Stohler declare: "The states concerned should be prepared to relinquish part of their sovereignty to a supranational body."\*\*\*

Confronted with the realities of economic competition, with the rapid rate of economic growth and expansion of trade in the socialist countries, the capitalist ideologists regard this as a threat to their world and are, therefore, inclined to impart a military character to the economic competition. Allais holds that the struggle between Western Europe and the East is bound to extend also to the sphere of "spending on armaments."\*\*\*\* The same idea runs

\*See *Auf dem Wege der europaischen Integration*. Erste Ergebnisse fuer Kohle und Stahl. Luxemburg, 1956, p. 9.

\*\*See K. L. Herczeg. *Zukunft der Weltwirtschaft*. Duesseldorf, 1958, p. 41.

\*\*\**Expose sur l'evolution de la situation sociale dans la Communaute en 1959*. June 1960, pp. 50-51.

\*\*\*\**Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

\*See A. Predoehl, *Weltwirtschaft und europaische Integration*. Muenster, 1960, p. 5; *Der wissenschaftliche Beirat beim Bundeswirtschaftsministerium*. Vol. 3, *Gutachten vom Dezember 1952 bis November 1954*. Goettingen, 1955, p. 24.

\*\*The following are a few of many writings in this spirit: F. Perroux. *L'Europe sans rivages*. Paris, 1954; R. Racine. *Vers une Europe Nouvelle par le Plan Schuman*. Paris, 1954; A. Philip. *L'Europe Unie*. Paris, 1953; M. F. Sennholtz. *How Can Europe Survive*. New York, 1956; M. Florinsky. *Integrated Europe?* New York, 1955.

\*\*\*R. Sannwald, J. Stohler. *Wirtschaftliche Integration*. Basel-Tuebingen, 1961, p. 39. Also H. Fischer. *Der Weg nach Europa*. Muenchen, 1953, p. 54.

\*\*\*\*M. Allais. *L'Europe Unie, route de la prosperite*. Paris, 1960, p. 160.



through the writings of the sociologist Sternberg.\*

Thus the consequences of "integration," which deepens the division of the world into two systems, contain a threat to peace and to progressive and national-liberation movements. It is only natural that the ideology of "integration" should be bound up with the military-strategic plans of the imperialists.

\*F. Sternberg. *The Military and Industrial Revolution of Our Time*. London, 1959.

Such, then, in rough outline, are the basic features of some of the bourgeois writings on West European "integration." The apologists of capitalism are seeking to conceal the contradictory nature and the consequences of the integration processes in the economy of the capitalist countries, thereby doing yeoman service in the sphere of ideology to the big European monopolies. They are also contributing their share to whipping up anti-communist hysteria.

Vladislav PAVLAT

## A New Marxist Journal

**T**HE *Marxist Quarterly*\* is the name of a new Canadian journal the first number of which has come off the press. In the last few years, in the process of working out the program of the Communist Party, "The Road to Socialism in Canada," the Canadian Marxists have done much fruitful research, one of the results of which has been the issuance of a quarterly theoretical journal.

The articles featured in the first number analyze some of the main economic, political, social and cultural problems of the country. The journal concentrates on a subject of vital importance to the people—the struggle for Canadian independence. It is under the flag of anti-communism that U.S. imperialism establishes its domination over other countries. The journal therefore explains the dangers that anti-communism spells for Canada. F. W. Park in a review of W. Gordon's book "Troubled Canada," writes: "Anti-communism, putting the demands of U.S. government policy first, means large sums for war preparations, and dribbles (in relation to the need) for education, health, etc. Anti-communism means more U.S. domination, more distortion of the economy, more profits drained out, continued failure to develop, a growing threat to independence."

But the Canadian people, whose interests have nothing in common with this, possess forces strong enough to resist the unwanted benefactors. And the world situation today is not what it was when the imperialists could do what they liked with impunity. Monopoly capitalism, we read in the journal, is no longer the only powerful force controlling world destinies . . . Socialism has emerged as a powerful world system with a highly-developed economy, a system that exerts a growing and immensely attractive influence on the underdeveloped nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are engaged in the struggle to free themselves

of the economic and political chains of imperialism.

The journal acquaints the reader with the plans of the Marxist Study Center which coordinates the research work of Canadian Marxists and promotes contact with similar Marxist centers in other countries. The reader learns, for example, that the Center has started to gather and carefully catalogue historical materials of value to the working-class movement, as an indispensable precondition for the writing of an adequate history of the Labor and Communist movement in Canada. We find, in the issue, an autobiographical sketch by E. R. Fay, a veteran member of the revolutionary working-class movement, which shows that the Communist movement of Canada, closely linked by bonds of international solidarity with the labor movements of other countries, particularly Britain, has emerged and developed on the basis of the working-class movement in Canada and, historically, is deeply rooted in the national soil.

Stanley Ryerson in an article entitled "Conflicting Approaches in the Social Sciences" and the accompanying article on "Early Canadian Philosophers" (an excerpt translated from a chapter on philosophy in the "History of Philosophy" published in the USSR) refute the view, current in the United States, which denies the existence of a "Canadian national philosophy." At the same time Ryerson explains that Marxism alone will promote the development in Canada of social sciences which are called upon to provide correct answers to the vital issues of the day.

While analyzing the national problems of Canada, the journal invariably stresses that they cannot be solved within narrow national limits. Only by taking an active part in the worldwide struggle for peace and progress will Canada be able to uphold her independence, defend herself from exploitation by the United

\*The *Marxist Quarterly*, Toronto, 1962, No. 1; published by Progress Books; Editor, Stanley Ryerson.



States, and win real perspectives of freedom and prosperity.

The publication of the new journal is the result of the evolution of Marxist thought in Canada, of the unprecedentedly enhanced interest evinced by the public in Marxist-Leninist theory, in the opinions of the Communists on the outstanding national and international issues. "It is a sign of the times," we read in the editorial, "that the positions of Marxism are being argued over, discussed and debated, much more widely in this country: in the universities, the churches, the labor movement, and both in learned journals and popular periodicals. And increasingly, people are asking that—as against the peculiar but frequent form of 'debate' in which only anti-communists are

given the floor — the Communists themselves be heard in a presentation of their own views."

These words are true not only for Canada but for all other countries of the capitalist world. The appearance of every new Marxist publication broadens the international front of Marxist-Leninist propaganda; creates new opportunities of developing the Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the national experience of each country and wins over to Marxism-Leninism new masses of people eager to learn the truth. *The Marxist Quarterly* has made its first step, but it has already made a worthy contribution to this noble cause. We salute the new journal and wish it every success.

Norman FREED

## Voice of the Mexican Communists

THE so-called Big Press in Mexico is filled with lies, daily and systematically — this outspoken statement was made not by a Communist but by the correspondent of a capitalist newspaper in London who visited the country. The democratic forces have not a single daily paper at their disposal. Their spokesmen can express their views only in a few journals and bulletins working to uphold Mexican sovereignty. That is why the appearance of the journal *Nueva Epoca*\* (New Epoch), organ of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, is an important contribution to the political awakening of the people, to the nationwide struggle against the monopoly of the lie.

"The Mexican Communist Party," we read in the editorial in the first number, "initiates the publication of a new political and cultural journal with the object of helping the people, and particularly the working class, correctly to orientate themselves in their revolutionary struggle."

This accent on vital national problems, the combination of theory with the practice of everyday life, are indicative of the maturity of the Party. *Nueva Epoca* represents a step forward compared with its predecessors, the journals *Teoria* (Theory) and *Liberacion* (Liberation).

The journal gives pride of place to problems of building a democratic national-liberation front in Mexico. G. Unzueta, writing in No. 1, shows how the new upsurge of the workers' and peasants' struggle for their economic demands and for democracy in the trade unions

led to the formation, in August 1961, of the National-Liberation Movement (MLN). While criticizing some weaknesses which prevent this movement from developing into a broad front of the working class, peasants and all democratic sections of the population, the Communist Party supports every step aimed at consolidating the Movement and urges the setting up of action committees everywhere.

Carrying further the criticism of the view that the present Mexican government personifies the revolution and should be the rallying center of the united front (this criticism was first made by the newspaper *La Voz de Mexico*), the journal expresses its disagreement with the tactic of "supporting the positive steps of the government and criticizing its negative steps," a tactic which dooms the masses to passivity and, in the guise of building the united front, hinders the struggle of the working class for its demands and brings it under the sway of the bourgeoisie.

The journal also shows up the inconsistency of the sectarian tactics pursued by a group of former members of the Party committee in the Federal district who argue that the Lopez Mateos government is the main enemy. Although it is true that this government pursues a reactionary policy favoring the big bourgeoisie, its composition is not homogeneous — representatives of the national bourgeoisie also take part in it. Hence, said E. Maldonado in a report relivered at a meeting of the Party's Central Committee, an excerpt from which is printed in the April number, "the Party aims at rallying the broadest sections of the people in order to build a democratic front of national liberation, following the line of open and vigor-

\**Nueva Epoca*. Revista mensual de politica, economia, artes e informacion. Organo del Comité Central del Partido Comunista Mexicano. Año I. NN. 1-2. Director Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo.



ous struggle against the policy of the government, with a view to isolating the ruling big bourgeoisie, but at the same time dealing the main blow at the main enemy—U.S. imperialism and its stooges, the line of fostering hatred of it among the people as a whole. . . .

"The revolutionary is not he who blindly adheres to ostensibly revolutionary positions, rather it is he who carries out a revolutionary policy based on the facts of life, for only in this way will it be possible to bring the masses to victory, and to achieve far-reaching political, economic and social changes."

Maldonado criticizes "the totally false idea that the Party should win its leading role in the democratic movement by way of imposing our points of view and not by persuasion and correct action on the part of the Communists."

The journal educates the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, de-

voting much space to the achievements of the socialist world system, to information about the world Communist movement and the struggle of the working people everywhere for social and national emancipation. The first number features in full the resolution adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. It acquaints the reader with the struggle of the peoples of Guatemala and Costa Rica. The number contains the speech delivered by President Osvaldo Dorticos of Cuba at the Punta del Este conference.

*Nueva Epoca* is attractively got up, features political cartoons, revolutionary verse and stories written in simple language — all this clearly demonstrates the desire of its editors to make their journal worthy of the noble mission of a fighter for the spread of revolutionary awareness among the people of Mexico.

Baudelio SANCHEZ

### Communications and Comment

## Smoke the Calumet Together

THE crisis in the life of mankind which led to the recent summoning to Moscow of delegates from every nation of the earth had its origin in the hatching in November, 1917, of what — to recall Hans Andersen — may be termed the Ugly Duckling of the First World War: the Soviet state. Yet though the "duckling" soon revealed itself a swan, hostility toward it by the West was all but continuously maintained, to assume at last so overt a nature as to be termed the "Cold War." It is with the present state of the cold war that, in writing of the Moscow Peace Congress, we are concerned, and it is therefore proper that we review it briefly from its open declaration in 1945 to now.

In August 1945, the Red Army, faithful to the Soviet promise given at Yalta, entered the war against Japan. Although Japan was virtually upon its knees, now was the time to demonstrate to all the world the awesome power over all mankind that American science had developed. By the wanton A-bomb murder of the countless thousands of men, women and children of peaceful Hiroshima and Nagasaki what was to be known as the Cold War against our ally was begun.

By the notorious address of Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, applauded by the President of the United States, the cold war was given purpose and direction. Accepted as a policy of state it has been ever-increasingly implemented by succeeding American Administrations and, by that adherence, given a position in national policy comparable in some degree to the time-honored, self-serving Monroe Doctrine. It is a truism that it takes two to make a fight — or, in other words, an aggressor and a victim. And recognizing — as I believe we must — that by its inception of the cold war the United States became the aggressor, it is assuredly not to be wondered at that its victim, a populous and powerful nation, should have taken measures adequately to protect itself — even to developing in its own defense the very weapon by which it was originally threatened.

The potential danger to all mankind of the new weapon and even of the tests that were essential to its development were soon and widely recognized; and as early as 1949 delegates from many nations met in Paris to devise plans for rousing the world's peoples to the realization of their danger, and by widespread popular action, to bring such pressure upon



governments as might outlaw nuclear war. The following year delegations of the peace supporters were granted hearings by several European governments to plead the outlawing of atomic weapons. In Moscow the Supreme Soviet met in full to hear the plea and to approve it. The USA, unhappily, refused even to receive a delegation.

It was in that year, 1950, that the World Council of Peace convened at Stockholm and drafted the now famous Stockholm Appeal which, signed by countless millions over most of the world, was promptly denounced by the United States Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, while the leader of the group that circulated it, the aged and venerated Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, was prosecuted. (It is, incidentally, significant of some progress on the road toward peace that the U.S.-Soviet Agreement drawn up at the UN last fall parallels in all essentials the Stockholm Appeal of twelve years ago.)

Meanwhile, however, the arms race — forced, it must in all fairness be admitted, upon the Soviet Union — has led to an international stockpiling of the implements of death that had reached terrifying proportions and, through alliances — again begun, as NATO, in the West — resulted in such an all but complete encirclement of the socialist states by “defense” positions and rocket launching sites as to be quite properly of deep concern to the encircled powers.

Meanwhile, it was inevitable to raise and spend increasing tens of billions of dollars for the implements and munitions of war. And although there are signs of a growing awareness of the basic impermanence of a war economy and that it courts a final, irretrievable disaster, large and important elements of the American electorate, for immediate profit or imagined security of livelihood, support the cold war's continuance and cultivate the myth of present danger of attack. It is of these “interests” that the American government of today is, unhappily, largely representative.

In all but continuous conference with these representatives of Western interests are the spokesmen for the interests of the socialist states. Yet in those halls not peace but war is smouldering. In the face of the threatening worldwide conflagration one thing and only one comes first: Stamp out that smouldering fire. In terms of actuality: disarm. Disarm! Destroy the bombs, the planes, the tanks, the cannon. Wipe out the instruments of death. Free all the world from fear; and then, relieved of fear, and trust restored, shake hands, sit down like friends; in mutual trust start building everlasting worldwide peace.

Nations of the world, *disarm!* It was, in the words of Professor Bernal, to discuss the ways and means of mobilizing public opinion everywhere to urge that a disarmament agreement be signed and implemented with the least delay, that the World Congress for Disarmament and Peace was summoned to be held in Moscow.

For six days the Congress — its plenary sessions, speakers from the many delegations there assembled and speakers from many of the nations represented at the Geneva Conference — poured out in impassioned eloquence their people's agonizing fear of war as a means of settling the world's problems, their longings for a peaceful world and their deeply heartfelt belief in the illimitable prospects of happiness that final, worldwide lasting peace would offer them. Lacking confidence, it was made clear, in the good intentions of some of those who held decisive power at Geneva, the speakers called upon the peoples of the world to unite and force their governments to be responsive to their will for peace. That governments of right should be, as Lincoln said, of, by and for the people was implicit in their plea that people, in this crisis, take control. It was significant that it was the Premier of the Soviet people who, in his long address, epitomized the purpose of the Congress — peace — and denounced the forces that were obstructing it.

Closely related to the problem of peace was, concededly and first of all, the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to membership in the United Nations. Disarmament agreement without the participation of a nation of six hundred and fifty million is unthinkable. All but equally related to the maintenance of peace, it was made manifest, are the problems of West Berlin; the right of oppressed colonial peoples everywhere to freedom from foreign intervention and control; the termination of the injustices and even outrages practised by colonial powers; the right of the people of Cuba to enjoy their chosen way of life, and of the peoples of Africa and of Latin America to make that choice.

But, as the proclaimed intention of the great Congress was to advance disarmament and peace, so it was clearly the judgment of the delegates that negotiations, however sincere in their intentions, were not to be conducted, as it were, at gunpoint. Above all problems that beset mankind today is world disarmament, not nine or ten years hence but *now*, and with the utmost speed.

So glaringly apparent are the respective differences toward world disarmament and peace of the opposing sides at the Geneva conference that those Western speakers at the Moscow



Congress who equated them must stand convicted either of shameful insincerity—and none, I think, would make that charge—or of incomprehension of historic facts and density of reason. But such speakers from the American delegation were happily representative of but a small minority of the delegation as a whole.

It is the political illiteracy of the American people which constitutes the most serious single obstacle to the peaceful settlement of the world's problems. Far more difficult than the admittedly involved problem of conversion to a peace economy is the conversion of Western labor to espouse it and, in conjunction with the already active Western peace forces, to move to end control of government by the "military-industrial complex."

That is the major job that now confronts the peoples of the West and, indirectly, the governments of the "neutral" powers, whose peoples' delegates at the Moscow Congress so undividedly demanded peace. It was to the demand of the neutral and the socialist powers for disarmament that the Congress gave unequivocal expression. The demonstration of that unity of purpose, impressive as it must have been to all the delegates from all the world assembled there, is perhaps to be regarded as the main achievement of the Congress. Unquestionably, by its assurance of worldwide mass

support, it will have proved profoundly heartening to the scattered, often isolated and harassed peace forces of much of the West, and both an inspiration and a guide to them for peace activities at home.

Yet the "Cold War" goes on. Undoubtedly the most authoritative expression of the West's attitude toward disarmament is to be sought—and, it so happens, found—in the words of the American President. Speaking on July the Fourth, a few days before the opening of the Peace Congress, he called for a strengthening of the "Atlantic partnership," adding that "we can mount a deterrent powerful enough to deter any aggression."

Just six days later, Premier Khrushchov, speaking at length at the World Congress for Disarmament and Peace, and pleading for "general and complete disarmament," concluded by quoting from Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*:

"Bury your war-clubs and your weapons...  
Smoke the calumet together."

\* \* \*

Two choices are before the world: The arms race with its growing threat of war, or prompt, worldwide disarmament and lasting peace. Well, people of the world's six continents, make up your minds! And quickly, for the time is short.

Rockwell KENT

## Greece Gives Rebuff to Fascists

NINE months after the sham elections of October 1961, the unlawful government of Karamanlis has taken another step on the road to fascism. On July 28, after Parliament had risen for the summer recess, it submitted to the Bills committee a draft law "on the regulation of questions of national security." In order to throw dust into the eyes of the people, the government tried to present the bill as a step toward abolishing the emergency laws introduced during the civil war period (1946-49) and restoring normal democratic life.

In reality, however, all the reactionary laws adopted by preceding governments and directed against the progressive forces remain in force.

The bill does not do away with the mediaeval system of exile without trial or the laws under which 60,000 political emigres are prevented from returning to their native land. Nor does the bill ease the position of the 1,500 National Resistance Fighters or the champions of democracy who have been languishing in prisons on trumped-up charges for more than 17 years.

The Karamanlis government has gone farther still along the road to fascism. Under Article 7 of the new law anyone who "by word of mouth or by distributing printed matter, illustrations or slogans, or by distributing leaflets or any other means, seeks the recognition or the restoration . . . of banned parties and organizations, or who assists in these aims or facilitates the circulation and implementation of their decisions" is liable to prosecution. This amounts to legalizing a situation in which the government will be able to suppress not only actions against its policy, but even opposing opinions. This law makes it a crime not only to support the demand for the legalization of the Communist Party of Greece and recognition of the National Resistance, but also to fight for peace, for democracy, for the economic demands of the workers, etc., which may be interpreted as circulating Communist Party slogans.

This article of the bill is directed against any opposition, any democratic movement of any kind. All freedoms, including freedom of



thought, freedom of the press, literature, the arts, etc., are being abolished by crude fascist methods.

It is noteworthy that the Union of the Center, the Opposition Party of the bourgeoisie, has announced that Article 7 of the bill is another, and worse, edition of the law which Hitler introduced in 1933 against the parties he singled out for suppression.

Article 9 of the new bill introduces changes in the existing law on the state of siege, enabling the government to suspend the basic articles of the Constitution arbitrarily, without the approval of Parliament, on the pretext not only of danger from without but of "internal danger" as well. And inasmuch as strikes, meetings and other actions organized by the opposition can be classified as creating an "internal danger" to the anti-popular Karamanlis regime, the government can make them an excuse for proclaiming a state of emergency and establishing an open dictatorship.

It is thus clear that the new bill, far from abolishing the emergency legislation of the civil war period, which has been condemned by the people and by world public opinion, actually re-enforces and "modernizes" the laws enacted in those days and, for the first time in Greek history, legalizes the persecution of thought.

Why is the Karamanlis government openly steering a course toward a fascist-type public life in Greece?

The answer is to be found in the resolution of the meeting of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party in May this year which stated that "as a result of the sham elections of October 29, 1961, the Karamanlis government has not only failed to ensure the stability it promised, but its position has become even more shaky."

Since the election farce, the Karamanlis government has been even more zealously pursuing the policy of granting military bases to the aggressive NATO bloc; it undertook a number of new commitments at the NATO session held in Athens in May, it has subordinated the country's economy to the Common Market and has stepped up anti-democratic repressions.

Anti-communist hysteria is being whipped up. But the Karamanlis government and other enemies of the Greek people have failed to isolate and neutralize the Left, the most consistent and resolute force of the democratic movement. The reactionary policy has evoked strong resistance on the part of the people and the opposition parties, whose chief purpose at the present time is to fight to annul the sham elections and to restore democracy. Even government spokesmen have had to admit that the

influence of the Left is spreading. The mass meetings organized by the opposition in Athens, Saloniki, Patri and in Crete, the demonstrations of the student youth and the numerous peasant actions have shown that the public at large condemns the policy of the government and its regime.

There is a growing tendency toward unity on the part of the patriotic forces. A significant factor in this respect was the action taken by the Communist Party in May 1962 when it addressed an open letter to the opposition parties offering to join in the fight for the annulment of the electoral swindle and the restoration of democracy. The letter evoked a lively response among the people and progressive political leaders.

It was in the endeavor to sidetrack the rising wave of popular wrath, suppress the mass struggle and preserve its power that the Karamanlis government resorted to the new fascist-type "security measures."

By demagogic assurances that the new bill signifies abolition of the emergency laws and is "solely and exclusively an anti-communist measure," the government is seeking to delude the masses and the bourgeois opposition parties and to prevent united action by the democratic forces.

However these calculations, too, have miscarried. From the very outset the new bill was rejected by the opposition parties which represent the vast majority of the people. The Communist Party issued a statement denouncing the bill as anti-democratic and demanding its withdrawal. The executive committee of the EDA party, in a statement on June 30, 1962, described the bill as an attempt to ban any action and any ideas not to the liking of the government clique or to its foreign patrons. The Executive Committee urged the people and the opposition parties to take joint action to prevent the adoption of the bill. A similar stand was taken by the National Peasant Party.

During the debate on the bill in the Legislative Committee the opposition parties who spoke against it were united on basic issues. Mr. Likurezos, president of the Progressivist Party, declared that the bill was "the beginning of a great misfortune for Greek citizens." Mr. Mavros, speaking on behalf of the Union of the Center, said that Greece has become a "parody of democracy" and that through the medium of fascist measures even the formal democracy that existed was being abolished. Today, he said, when "Communism is an international phenomenon and when a large part of our planet lives under a Communist regime," Communism cannot be destroyed by means of war; and he added, "the time will come when we



shall arrive at the coexistence of the two systems." Mr. Papandreou, the chairman of the Union of the Center, addressing a mass rally in Argostolion, denounced the present rulers of Greece as usurpers and hypocrites, who "pretend to abolish the emergency laws while in reality perpetuating the suppression of freedom." The firm stand taken by the opposition parties against the fascist bill reflects the growing resistance of the democratic forces to the government repressions. The working class is in the forefront of the struggle against fascism. The Central Committee of the democratic trade union movement, 25 of the biggest unions in Athens, the federations of electrical, and municipal workers, builders and printshop workers, and many other unions in various towns have held meetings condemning the latest fascist measures. On July 13 a big meeting of factory and office workers was held in the Samardji theatre in Athens, after which a demonstration took place on Omonia Square and the main streets of the capital.

The youth is taking an active part in the struggle. On July 6 thousands of young people attended a protest meeting called by the Democratic Youth League with the support of the "Democratic Student Resistance movement-114," the lawyers' Movement for the Restoration of Democratic Institutions and the Athens Committee of Human Rights. The youth declared their resolve to take united action in defense of democracy. The meeting addressed an impassioned appeal to the nation, and especially to the youth of Greece. At another mass meeting in Athens on July 16, called by the youth of the Center and the EDA parties, thousands of young people, with clenched fists, vowed to bar the road to fascism. With the watchwords "Fascism shall not pass!" "Long live democracy!" the young people filled the streets of Athens and rebuffed the attacks of the police and special units sent to disperse them. The streets were stained with the blood of young men and women. Seventy were arrested, dozens were wounded.

Lawyers have been active in the movement against the bill from the very beginning. Noteworthy was the resolution adopted by the Union of Athens Lawyers condemning the bill and exposing its fascist, anti-constitutional essence. The resolution noted that the bill is a grave threat to the liberty of the people and runs counter to democracy.

Political prisoners declared a 28-hour hunger strike in protest against the bill. The committee for recognition of the National Resistance issued a statement urging the mobilization of the people and the Resistance fighters. Similar statements and resolutions were adopted by

many democratic organizations, political leaders, town and community councils. These actions show that the people are keenly aware of the danger threatening them and are determined to fight for their rights and liberties.

In a statement issued on July 13, the Communist Party pointed to the need for coordinated action by all democratic forces in the face of the fascist threat. It is becoming increasingly clear that only through united action will it be possible to bar the road to fascism, frustrate the criminal plans of the government, abolish the emergency measures and laws and win a general amnesty, secure legal status for the Communist Party and the restoration of democracy.

Notwithstanding the universal indignation and condemnation by Greek and international public opinion, the Karamanlis government, taking advantage of the parliamentary majority which it obtained by the election swindles of October 29, 1961, succeeded in enacting the new fascist law. However the matter is by no means closed. On the contrary, the opposition parties, lawyers, many public and trade unions, youth and student organizations are carrying on the fight with renewed vigor. Expressing the general sentiments of all patriots, they are demonstrating their firm resolve not to submit to fascism but to fight until the government repeals the law. Symbolic of the determination of the Greek democratic and patriotic forces is the heroic action of the youths who followed the example of Manolis Glezos and hoisted a banner on the Acropolis with the figure "114" inscribed on it. This is the number of the Article in the Greek Constitution which sets forth that it is the duty of every citizen to protect the country's laws against any anti-democratic encroachments. "Fascism shall not Pass!" "Democracy will triumph!" — these are the most popular slogans in Greece today.

The reactionaries are resorting to all possible means to combat the democratic forces. Nikos Zahariadis, one-time general secretary of the Communist Party, and Markos Vafiadis, former member of the Political Bureau, both of whom were long since expelled from the Party for factional anti-Party activity, have chosen this time to emerge from political obscurity in order to attack the policy and the leadership of the Communist Party and to engage in provocative actions against the Party and the democratic movement generally.

Zahariadis went so far as to make a personal call on the ambassador of the Karamanlis government in Moscow to discuss his return to Greece with the obvious intention of engineering further and still more unsavory provoca-



tions against the Communist Party and the fraternal Communist and workers' parties. His letter to the State Prosecutor in Greece, which he handed to the Greek Ambassador in Moscow and in which he insists on being allowed to return to Greece, was kept secret for a long time and released to the press at the very moment when the crisis of the present regime, owing to popular dissatisfaction, was at its height.

The publication of this letter by the government press was made the occasion for a violent campaign against the Communist Party and the democratic forces of the Left. Some newspapers which are financed by secret government organs and the Central Information Service (KIP) demanded that Zahariadis be allowed to return. Metaxas Maniadakis, a prominent member of KIP and deputy minister of the Asfalia (secret police) under the fascist dictatorship, let the cat out of the bag by stating that "Zahariadis should be allowed to return, formally tried and given his freedom so as to create a heretical Communist Party in Greece which would split the Lefts." That is the role the Greek reaction has allotted Zahariadis. And this is the path which Vafiadis has taken in exile.

The method used by the reactionaries in their efforts to utilize the hostile actions of Zaharia-

dis and Vafiadis clearly reveals their true aims. But the attitude of the activists and members of the Communist Party of Greece and of all consistent democrats to the actions of Zahariadis and Vafiadis indicates that the hopes which the reactionaries had reposed in these two renegades are doomed to be disappointed. The Communist Party is today more united than ever and, despite the arduous conditions of the struggle, is consolidating its contact with the masses.

\* \* \*

The people of Greece are living today under great stress. The NATO imperialists and the Bonn revanchists who control the life of the country are bent on stifling every voice of freedom, democracy and peace and are leading the country to nuclear catastrophe. But the Greek people, who have suffered so much at the hands of the fascists and who shed so much blood in the struggle to end fascism, are rallying their forces and stiffening their resistance in order to avert the new danger. At this stage of the struggle it relies, as it always has, on the powerful support of the freedom-loving people the world over. This knowledge multiplies its strength and fortifies its faith in the victory of the cause of democracy and peace in Greece.

T. NIKOLAIDIS

## Meeting of the Fraternal Parties of France and Senegal

**L'**HUMANITE has published a communique issued by a meeting of representatives of the African Party of Independence and the French Communist Party. Both delegations expressed their complete accord with the Statement of the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties. They welcomed the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the contribution which the CPSU is making to Marxist-Leninist theory.

The delegations noted with satisfaction the steady growth of the national-liberation movement and at the same time emphasized the grave danger neo-colonialism represents for this movement.

The African Party of Independence, a Marxist-Leninist party, recently held its first Congress at which it was decided to reorganize it into a Senegalese party. The Congress addressed an appeal to the people of Senegal to join in a broad patriotic front, to fight for the realization of their national and democratic aspirations, for an independent state of national democracy.

The French Communist Party expressed its complete solidarity with the African Party of Independence. The meeting showed that the relations between the two parties are relations of brotherhood, equality and solidarity in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.



# Against the Persecution of Democrats

## CRIMES OF THE VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT

**T**HE Betancourt-Copei-Brincano Linares dictatorship has perpetrated monstrous crimes in Venezuela, outstanding among which has been the wholesale murder of working people. At the time of the June uprising, the town of Puerto Cabello was bombed, with the result that 1,147 people were killed and more than 1,500 wounded. A slaughter on this scale has not been known in Venezuela since the time of the war against the Spanish colonialists.

The police and the so-called Information Service of the Armed Forces are subjecting people to torture in prisons all over the country. One of the victims, José Gregorio Rodríguez, a Communist leader, died under torture and his body was thrown from a window on the fourth floor to simulate suicide. Medical examination, however, left no doubt that he had been murdered.

German Lairer, student leader, is one of the hundreds of other political prisoners subjected to torture.

The dictatorship is savagely persecuting workers, students and intellectuals. The well-known

poet Carlos Augusto Leon was informed by the police that although there were no charges against him, he would be arrested because of his "communist ideas."

The government is encouraging McCarthyism in schools and universities. Democratic teachers and professors are persecuted, victimized and replaced by the ex-Batista men who have found sanctuary in Venezuela. Progressive newspapers, magazines and radio broadcasts are suppressed.

These actions have aroused the wrath of the people. In July a nationwide campaign was organized to secure the release of the 2,700 political prisoners. The movement for the restoration of Constitutional law has become so widespread that the government has been forced to negotiate with the opposition forces on the raising of the martial law. International democratic organizations, too, have voiced support for the Venezuelan people, demanding that the government should order an end to the tortures and release the political prisoners.

S. REGALADO

## A VALIANT SON OF ANGOLA FREE AGAIN

**W**ITH profound satisfaction people throughout the world learned that Dr. Agostinho Neto, one of the leaders of the liberation struggle of the people of Angola, aided by friends secretly left Portugal together with his family and is now free again.

Neto, who will celebrate his fortieth birthday in September, has spent most of his life in the struggle to liberate his long-suffering country from colonial oppression.

Agostinho Neto is the author of poetry which, like a tocsin, calls upon the people of Angola and all Africa to rise in struggle against colonialism. He was elected Chairman Emeritus of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the party which heads the national-liberation struggle against the Portuguese colonialists.

In 1960 when the fascists carried out wholesale arrests, Agostinho Neto was among the imprisoned. The colonialists brutally suppressed the residents of his own and neighboring vil-

lages who protested against his arrest. Thirty people were killed and two hundred wounded in this punitive action, while the villages were looted and set on fire.

Angolese patriots and world public opinion spared no efforts to secure the release of Agostinho Neto, and under this pressure the Salazar authorities were forced to release him, but were keeping him in Portugal, under strict police surveillance. Neto, however, has friends everywhere, and they helped him to escape.

The fact that Agostinho Neto has regained his freedom will no doubt be of significance for the unity of all the national forces of Angola fighting against the colonialists. "This event," says a communiqué issued by the Permanent Secretariat of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies, "fills with joy not only the people of Angola, but also the people of all the Portuguese colonies, as well as the people of Africa and the rest of the world."

J. MEDEIROS



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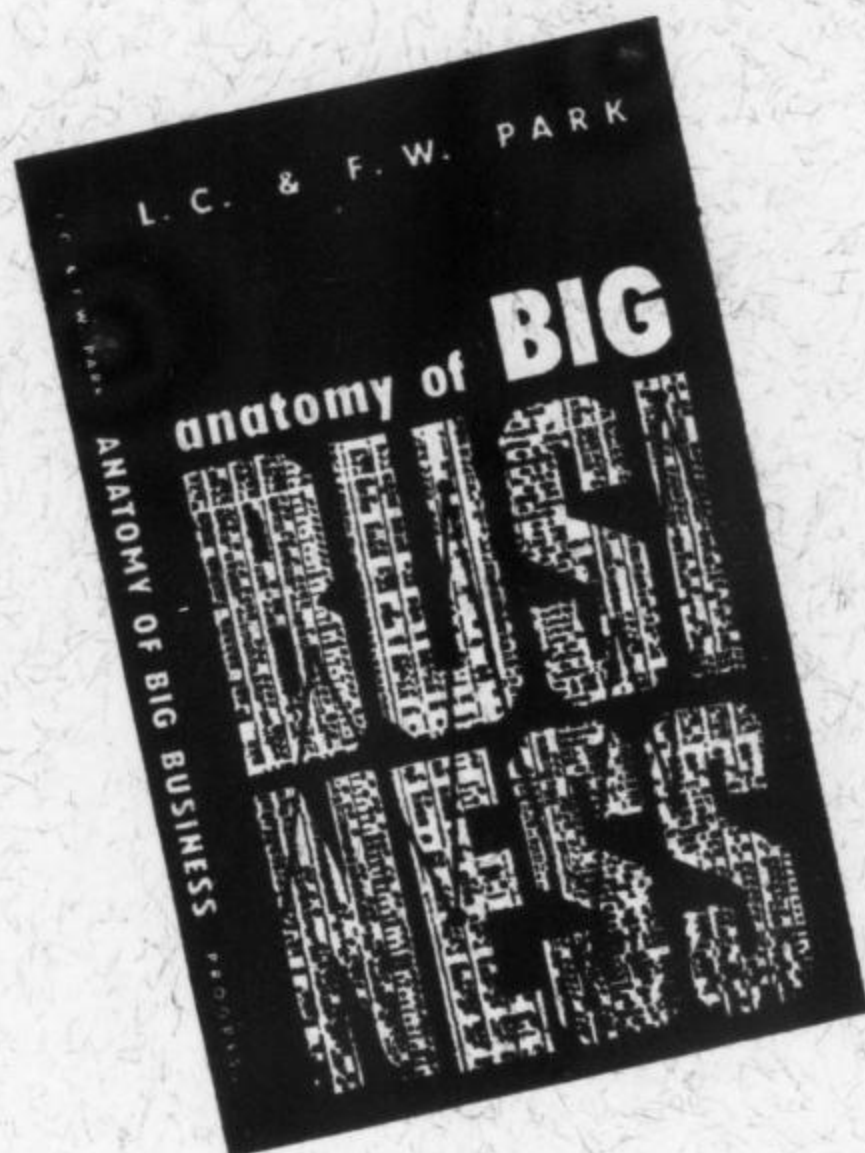




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