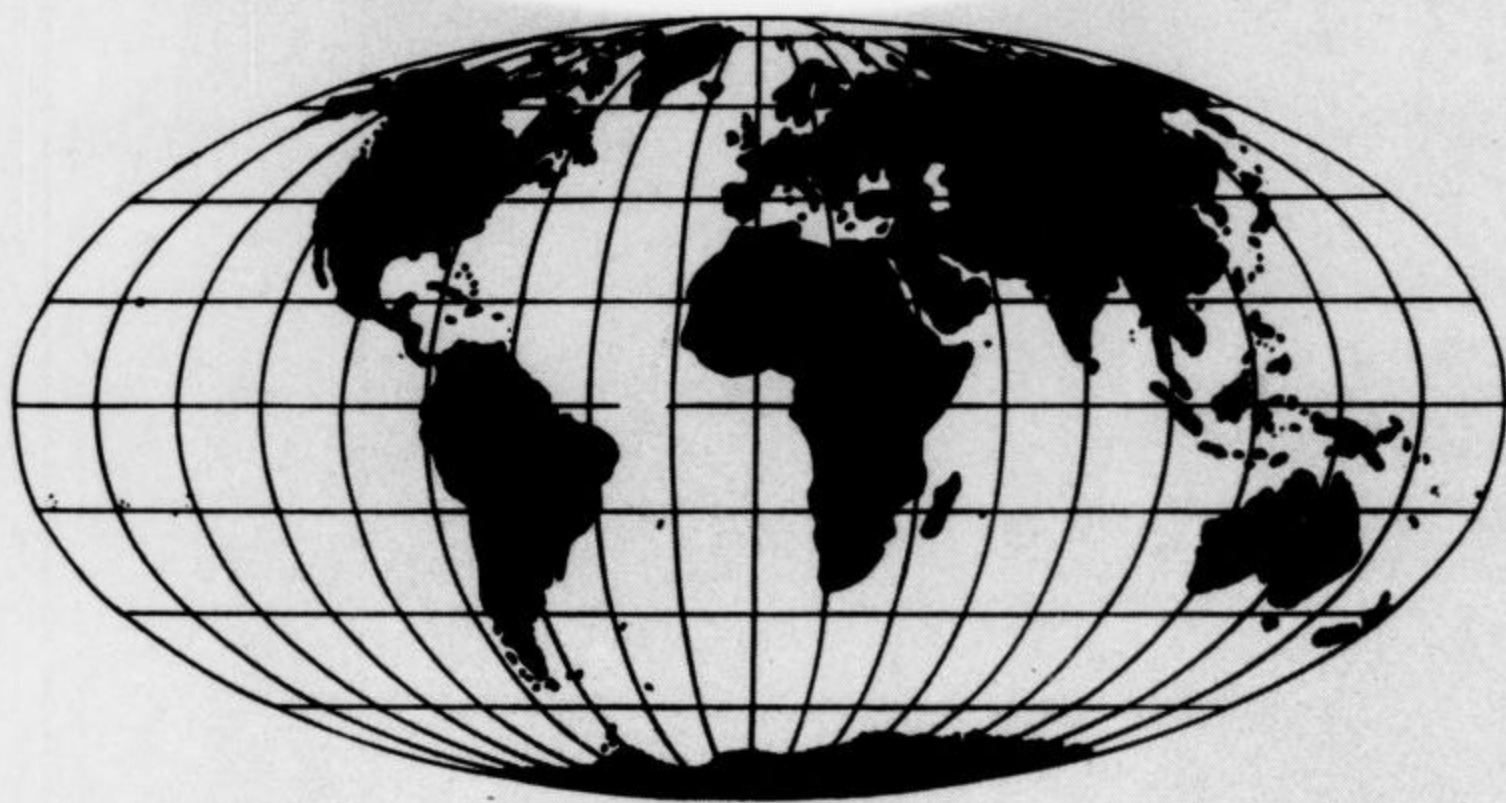


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

**The Democratic Uprising of the
American Negroes**

•
**The Great Force of Proletarian
Internationalism**



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

VOLUME 6

SEPTEMBER 1963

NUMBER 9

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Published by

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

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



WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal Problems of Peace and Socialism published in Prague. The North American edition is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$3.50 a year. Single copies 35 cents. Bundle of five or more, 25 cents per copy. Outside Canada, add 15 cents exchange.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in French, Russian, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Polish, Rumanian, Spanish, Swedish and Vietnamese. Subscriptions to these may be obtained through Progress Books, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto, at \$3.50 a year.

The Great Force of Proletarian Internationalism

THE world revolutionary process is developing today in conditions of the most complex interplay of different forces — the nascent and the moribund, the new and the old, the progressive and the reactionary. The nature and the content of this process are determined by the merging into one powerful current of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement. The world revolutionary process is accompanied by a bitter economic, political and ideological struggle against imperialism, and first and foremost against U.S. imperialism, the bulwark of world reaction.

I

The central factors of our era — the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism — are the international working class and its offspring, the socialist world system. The powerful weapon of the working class is proletarian internationalism which is drawing together the revolutionary and progressive forces of our time in the fight against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism.

Ever since the dawn of the working-class movement unity has been its keynote. The strong urge towards international cooperation followed logically from the economic position of the working class, from its place in the system of production, from the community of its class interests, from the trend towards internationalization of production, made possible by the expansion of the productive forces of society.

After the victory of the October Revolution, and later with the rise of the community of the socialist countries of Europe, Asia and America, unity of the international working class acquired a still greater significance. The Communist and workers' movement is advancing today under the banner of internationalism and in revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The world revolutionary process is accom-

panied by the drawing together of all the progressive forces of our time who are uniting to secure the triumph of man's lofty ideals. The role of the world peace movement, of the trade unions, and of the democratic movement of women and the youth is growing all the time.

With the steady internationalization of the class struggle, with the revolutionary and progressive forces of our time merging into a mighty stream, the unity of the working people on an international scale is imperative. This heightens the responsibility of the Marxist-Leninist parties. All of them, whether big or small, whether at the helm of state or not, are responsible to the working people of their countries, to the international and Communist movement, for the unity of all Communists. "The supreme international duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party," states the 1960 Statement, "is to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement."

The policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties is elaborated in keeping with the conditions in their respective countries, in keeping with the international tasks of the working people. The parties see their duty in mutual support for one another. There are no "higher" and no "subordinate" parties among them. All are independent and equal; all bear the same responsibility for the destiny of the Communist movement, for its successes and for its reverses.

Today, with the peoples rising more resolutely in the fight against imperialism, when any event in any part of the globe has its repercussions all over the world, the responsibility devolving on the Communist parties in the capitalist countries is all the greater. The documents of the fraternal parties speak of the need to use every opportunity to weaken the positions of imperialism, to intensify the class struggle of the workers, peasants and middle urban sections against monopoly capital for fundamental social reforms, and for peace and socialism.

A very grave responsibility for the destiny of the revolutionary movement devolves on the Communist parties in the socialist coun-

tries. The international duty of these parties is to strengthen the community of the socialist countries, to enhance the might of the socialist system and, by its policy and its success in building socialism and communism, continuously to expose anti-communism and weaken the positions of capitalism.

The peoples of the socialist countries, creating powerful productive forces, are working to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and of internal resources in order to accomplish, by joint efforts and as speedily as possible, the task of outstripping economically the world capitalist system. Steadily gaining strength, they are in a position to curb the imperialist aggressors and to uphold the gains of socialism, to foil any attempts to export counter-revolution and crush the revolutionary and national-liberation movement.

Under the leadership of the Communist parties the people have established firm bonds of friendship. This friendship, which is playing a revolutionary role, can be regarded as the prototype of the future fraternity of nations.

The genuinely human ideology of friendship among the nations is carving its way in struggle against the bourgeois concept of relations among the nations. Nationalism, a complex and contradictory trend, is one of the variants of this bourgeois concept. Nationalism assumes different forms depending on the level of production relations, on the correlation and political orientation of class forces at a given time in one or another country.

Basing themselves on Lenin's view on this question, the Marxist-Leninist parties distinguish between the nationalism of oppressed nations and the nationalism of the oppressor nations, between the progressive and the reactionary features of national movements. In many countries the liberation movement of the awakening peoples is taking place under the flag of nationalism. In the conditions of today the national bourgeoisie in the colonial and dependent countries, like the national bourgeoisie in the new sovereign states, are not basically dependent on the imperialists, and are, therefore, objectively interested in carrying out an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, have not exhausted their progressive role and consequently can still participate in fighting for national issues. Their nationalism, being of a democratic nature, is supported by the Communists.

But as social contradictions grow, the national bourgeoisie as a class, or as part of a class, tend to compromise with the home reactionaries and with imperialism, with the result that their nationalism begins to play a reactionary role.

The nationalism which reflects the expansionist designs of monopoly capital, and which in its extreme reactionary form turns into great-power chauvinism, into racism, is a grave danger to modern society, to the fight for peace and the well-being of the peoples.

Imperialist reaction uses chauvinism and racism to stir up nationalist and racial strife, to set nations and races against one another, to obscure the class consciousness of the working people, to sidetrack the workers and their allies from the class struggle. Racism underlies the denial by the U.S. ruling circles of elementary human rights to Negroes and Indians, the terror of the Portuguese and other colonialists, the apartheid of the Verwoerd government in South Africa. Chauvinism is rampant today in Iraq where fascists are murdering Communists and other democrats and taking savage reprisals against the Kurds.

II

One of the achievements of the world socialist system is that it has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist proposition that with the decline of class antagonisms national antagonisms, too, decline, racial barriers fall, and discord and enmity between nations is replaced by genuine fraternal friendship. By its very nature the socialist system rules out objective causes for contradictions and conflicts among its member-nations and states. Based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, its growth is accompanied by the nations drawing closer together, by the consolidation of all forms of cooperation, by mutual economic aid and the broadest exchange of spiritual values.

The overthrow of capitalism is the beginning of the epoch of the triumph of internationalism which develops in close unity with true patriotism, and becomes steeled and tempered in implacable struggle against nationalism. Internationalism is today the prevailing concept in the relations between the socialist nations.

For a number of historical, economic and socio-political reasons nationalism persists even after the overthrow of capitalism. It is one of the most enduring of the legacies of the old system, of the die-hard elements in society and obstructs social progress. "Mani-

festations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness," notes the 1960 Statement, "do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system."

Controversies around socio-economic, political or ideological issues invariably reveal elements of internationalism and nationalism. This is particularly the case today when the leaders of a big socialist country — the Chinese People's Republic — are departing from the principles of internationalism.

The international duty of the Communist and Workers' parties today is to adhere to the principles and tasks defined in the 1957 and 1960 jointly-elaborated documents of the international Communist movement. It is understandable therefore that Communists all over the world should be deeply disturbed by the growing differences between the Communist Party of China and the other fraternal parties, by the attitude of the Chinese leaders which is at variance with the Declaration and the Statement of the fraternal parties.

The facts show that for some time now the Chinese leaders have been pursuing a course different from the one jointly mapped out for the world Communist movement.

What are the facts?

In April 1960 articles appeared in the Chinese press, expounding ideas that run counter to the 1957 Declaration. In particular, their characterization of the era, which boiled down to an overestimation of the forces of imperialism and an underestimation of the forces of peace and socialism, served as the basis for denying the policy of peaceful coexistence and the possibility of averting world war. These views were summarized in the book *Long Live Leninism!*

The Chinese leaders endeavored to get their views accepted at the 1960 Moscow meeting of the representatives of the fraternal parties. When they realized there was a danger that they might find themselves isolated, they put their signature under the Statement, but even then they continued to propagate their viewpoint.

They are now pursuing a policy aimed at splitting the international democratic organizations.

In June 1960, when the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions met in Peking, the Chinese comrades, without the knowledge of the leadership of the fraternal parties, held a conference of the representatives of the parties in Peking at the time; at this conference they openly criticized the position of the other Marxist-Leninist parties

and the 1957 Declaration, and made known their differences with the fraternal parties.

In December 1961, at the Stockholm session of the World Peace Council the Chinese delegation opposed the convening of the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace. Contrary to the facts, the Chinese representatives alleged that the struggle for peace and disarmament undermines the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, that it is detrimental to the national-liberation movement. Under pressure of public opinion, however, which censured their position, the Chinese representatives agreed to participate in this congress which, as we know, was highly successful. But immediately after the congress they started a campaign with the object of discrediting it. They claimed among other things, for example, that the only ones who were really pleased with the congress were the agents of U.S. imperialism.

It is a matter for regret that the Chinese comrades, by their actions, are creating difficulties for the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Students' Union, the International Organization of Journalists, not to mention other international bodies. For example, at the recent World Congress of Women held in Moscow representatives from China set themselves in opposition to the overwhelming majority at the congress. Together with the Albanian delegation, they voted against the Appeal to the Women of All Continents, adopted by representatives from over a hundred countries. The failure of the Chinese representatives to get their views accepted by these international organizations proves how unpopular these views are.

Facts also show that the Chinese leaders are violating the standards of behavior between the fraternal parties, that they are pursuing a course that can but divide the international Communist movement. They are interfering in the inner life of fraternal parties, backing splitters and renegades who have been expelled from the parties and who have no support whatever among the masses; they reprint, circulate and broadcast materials directed against the fraternal parties. For example, they have lent support to disruptive elements in Belgium, the United States, Italy, Brazil and Australia.

In a recent decision censuring this action,

the Communists of Brazil stated with good reason that an attitude of this kind "negates the tradition of friendly relations between us and the Chinese comrades."

Also indicative of the stand taken by the Chinese leaders is their attitude to the international journal of the Communist and Workers' parties, *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, one of the forms of cooperation between the fraternal parties. The journal which enters upon its sixth year with the current issue, appears in 25 languages and has a circulation in 139 countries.

The Parties have stressed the role played by the journal in developing Marxism-Leninism, in the fight to consolidate the ranks of the Communist movement. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, for instance, said this about the journal: "The journal is making an important contribution to the education of our functionaries. It is a valuable textbook in elaborating the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement, and an effective weapon in combating manifestations of bourgeois ideology, and also dogmatism and sectarianism." The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia noted in its resolution that the journal has consistently "upheld the principles of Leninism which have been further developed in our time in the 1957 and 1960 documents drawn up by the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties." The resolution of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Finland stated that the materials published in the journal have helped the Finnish comrades to get a better grasp of international and domestic issues.

The fraternal parties were surprised when they learned that the Chinese comrades had withdrawn from the journal and had stopped printing it. One can only regret that the Chinese leaders have deprived the Communists of their country of an objective source of information about the international Communist movement, about the life of the fraternal parties.

III

Unfortunately, the Chinese leaders are, increasingly, expressing disagreement with the world Communist movement on many issues of policy, strategy and tactics.

To begin with, they deny the pressing need for a jointly-elaborated policy of peaceful coexistence, although the Statement of the fraternal parties stressed this with the utmost clarity: "In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of

international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the CPSU, and in the documents of the other Communist and Workers' parties."

The Chinese leaders interpret the Declaration and Statement of the fraternal parties in their own way. They ignore what the experience of struggle of hundreds of millions of people has shown, namely, that the policy of peaceful coexistence and economic competition is vital to the peoples of all countries. Peaceful coexistence of the two systems provides favorable opportunities for the class struggle in the capitalist countries, for the national-liberation and democratic movements of the peoples. The postwar years, as we know, have witnessed a tremendous upsurge of the national-liberation movement, years that have seen the advance of the crisis of the colonial system into the disintegration of this system, years that have seen some 50 new states make their appearance in Asia and Africa in the course of diverse forms of struggle, that have seen the triumph of the socialist revolution in Cuba. It is also a fact that the biggest strikes in the history of capitalism have been fought in the post-war years.

The course of developments has borne out the soundness of the assessment of the international situation and the prospects of peaceful development given in the Declaration and the Statement; they have demonstrated that peaceful coexistence corresponds with the basic interests of all, that it is a new and effective form of class struggle on the international arena.

The avowed purpose of peaceful coexistence is to prevent a global nuclear war. Unfortunately, on this question, too, the leaders of the Communist Party of China diverge from the international Communist movement.

In words, the Chinese leaders are against a nuclear war, in practice they maintain that only through the military destruction of imperialism can peace be guaranteed; their argument, as stated in the articles in *Long Live Leninism!*, is that "the victorious peoples will quickly build on the ruins of the overthrown imperialism a civilization that will be a thousand times superior to the civilization of capitalism, will build a truly beautiful future." In other words, the Chinese

theorists are evidently not at all worried that in the event of a nuclear holocaust hundreds of millions will be wiped out.

The threat of a thermonuclear war is viewed with apprehension by the peoples of the world. They are disturbed also by the nuclear testing because of its dangers. This explains why they have received with profound satisfaction the news of the Moscow Treaty banning tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. They see in this treaty, the result of a hard-fought battle waged by the peoples, a wise approach to the solution of one of the crucial issues of the day, a real possibility of lessening the tensions, of halting the arms race. They see the treaty as a first step towards other, more significant, victories in the fight to avert war.

In the light of this world public opinion is mystified at the negative attitude taken by the Chinese Government towards the treaty. By opposing the treaty, and by accusing the Soviet Government of having betrayed the peoples and deceived them, the Chinese leaders have shown that their attitude on an issue vital to all peoples, is out of joint with the general line of the socialist countries on the international arena, is not in harmony with the basic principles of the world Communist movement. In their violent denunciation of the Test Ban Treaty the Chinese leaders are not far behind the ultra-right imperialist circles. Only three countries—China, Albania and France — have rejected the Treaty, whereas the number of countries putting their signatures to it is growing daily.

IV

The Chinese leaders ignore the interests of the anti-imperialist class solidarity of the working people, minimize the significance of the revolutionary struggle waged by the working class in the capitalist countries under the leadership of their internationalist parties, minimize the significance of these powerful forces of our time, for they see the "main zone of the whirlwind of world revolution in the area of Asia, Africa and Latin America." They thereby depart from the generally recognized thesis of the Marxist-Leninist parties, that the basic contradiction of our time is the contradiction between the two world systems—the socialist and the capitalist systems.

There is no gainsaying that the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is one of the greatest revolutionary forces of our time. But

it cannot be regarded as the main force, thus overshadowing the struggle of the peoples who are building socialism and communism, and the international revolutionary working-class movement — the two other great revolutionary forces. Not to see that each of these forces is a powerful factor, not to see their interconnection and unity, and on the contrary, to try to separate them, is indeed to be out of touch with reality.

The Chinese leaders are assiduous in propagating their erroneous views on this issue. They are trying to disunite the democratic organizations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to set up separate organizations and to oppose them to the international unions of the working people. This is exactly what was behind the Chinese delegation's objections to representatives of the European socialist countries being allowed to attend the Third Solidarity Conference of Asian and African Peoples in Moshi. The representatives of the African countries were astonished when the Chinese delegates told them that it was impossible to reach agreement with the whites on the question of fighting imperialism.

The fact that the Chinese leaders saw fit to publish in their newspapers, without comment, the openly racist statement made by Kendzo Matsumura, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, is surprising to say the least. Summing up the results of his visit to China, Matsumura said: "This visit will help gradually to bring the relations between our two countries up to the level at which these relations should be between peoples whose skin is of the same color and who have the same system of written language." "The Asians," he went on, "must change world history, we must unite, must strengthen the bonds between our peoples whose skin is of the same color and who have the same system of written language."

The Chinese leaders would have all parties accept their ideas which they present as the acme of theoretical thought. But the very idea of some parties being superior to others, of imposing one's doctrines on other parties, is alien to the Marxist-Leninist parties. The parties reject, as being contrary to proletarian internationalism, the attempts of the leaders of the Communist Party of China to represent themselves as the only true interpreters of Marxism-Leninism, as the sole guardians of "truth," while the other fraternal parties, with their services to the international proletariat and with their rich revolutionary experience, are accused of

having departed from this "truth" and their views are disregarded.

V

In the course of the battle between labor and capital internationalism fuses with patriotism accordingly as the international and national interests of the working class merge into one whole. True patriotism, deeply international, is a feeling of deep class and ideological affinity with the countries of socialism, with the forces of world progress.

With the rise of the socialist world system patriotism has acquired a new content. The peoples of the socialist countries take pride not only in their own country but in the entire socialist community of nations. The Marxist-Leninist parties are working to strengthen internationalism and patriotism.

"The common interests of the peoples of the socialist countries," states the 1960 Declaration, "and the interests of peace and socialism demand the proper combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and patriotism in politics."

National narrow-mindedness and mistrust are alien to the nations of the socialist community. The people of the socialist countries, Communists all over the world regardless of the present differences with the Chinese leaders, are proud of the great Chinese people, of their valiant Communist Party, and are working to reinforce their friendship with them. They highly appreciate the services of the Chinese people who have made an immense contribution to world civilization. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Chinese people carried out their revolution which dealt a shattering blow to imperialism in Asia and helped change the balance of forces in the world in favor of socialism. Communists throughout the world sincerely wish the Chinese people, the Chinese Communists every success in their endeavor to transform their country into a mighty socialist power with a highly-developed industry, science and agriculture.

The principles of internationalism and patriotism are features of the Marxist-Leninist parties. As the advanced, internationalist contingents of the working class they are the most consistent champions of the national interests of their people who have travelled a long road to unite the fraternal countries in friendship. The relations between the peoples of the socialist countries are relations of genuine equality, cooperation and mutual aid. One can, therefore, understand the con-

cern felt by the Marxist-Leninist parties, by all progressives, and first of all, by the people of the socialist countries in view of the attitude of the Chinese leaders, an attitude which threatens to weaken these relations. The Chinese leaders, aggravating the ideological differences with the fraternal parties, are extending them to state relations, are weakening the economic and cultural bonds with the other socialist states. Surely this cannot be in the national interest of the Chinese people who could advance much more rapidly by being with the people of the socialist community of nations.

The leadership of the Communist Party of China has coined the slogan "rely on your own forces." To build socialism by relying essentially on your own forces, by making the best use of your own resources is, without question, the right way to go about laying the material and technological foundations of socialism. But the Chinese leaders interpret their theory differently. Their formulation "build socialism chiefly with your own forces" camouflages their concept of creating self-contained national economies, a concept used to justify their negative approach to many important forms of economic cooperation between the socialist states.

The work of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid disproves this theory of the Chinese Party leadership who are giving a false picture of this truly internationalist body, alleging that it has taken for its model the economic integration and Common Market created by the monopoly associations, that the international division of labor and specialization "infringe the independence and sovereignty of the other fraternal countries, the interests of their peoples."

The recent meeting of the 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, once again demonstrated the truly socialist nature of the economic cooperation between the socialist states, which is developing on a basis of equality, strict observance of sovereignty, comradely mutual aid and mutual benefit. The participants recognized that it was their international duty by making the utmost use of internal resources and the possibilities of each of their countries to do all in their power to extend economic relations and to reinforce and consolidate the unity of the socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism. The meeting, which revealed a complete unanimity of views on the

questions discussed, stressed that the further promotion of the international socialist division of labor, specialization and coordination in industry, trade, scientific and technological cooperation are vital for every socialist country and for the socialist community as a whole.

VI

The triumph of internationalism, which accelerates man's progress, over reactionary nationalism which obstructs progress is inevitable. This victory will make for communism on a world scale. But victory will not come of itself. Here the role of the international working-class and its Marxist-Leninist parties will be decisive.

Given the existence of the socialist world system, the intensification of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, and the growth of the national liberation movement, the tasks of the fraternal parties — and especially the parties in the socialist countries — in the matter of educating the working people in the spirit of internationalism and patriotism, acquires a special significance. A number of difficulties arise, engendered by the tenaciousness of nationalism.

Dogmatism and sectarianism, which rob the revolutionary parties of the ability to carry forward Marxism-Leninism on the basis of scientific analysis and to apply it creatively according to the specific conditions, and with due regard for the experience of the world Communist movement as a whole, go hand in hand with national narrow-mindedness. This applies in like measure to revisionism. Concessions to nationalism, disregard of one's international duty to suit nationalism — these are what make dog-

matism and revisionism kindred. Nationalism feeds all kinds of opportunism, both Right and Left, in the Communist movement.

Fulfilling their international and patriotic duty the Communists are waging a resolute struggle against all opportunist trends — dogmatism, sectarianism, revisionism which inevitably acquire nationalistic traits.

The imperialists, the enemies of Communism, are using every means to divide the international Communist movement, to set the socialist countries against each other.

The Communists, however, are steadfastly upholding their international unity. The Communist parties on all continents are doing everything to overcome the differences with the fraternal Communist Party of China; in their documents they stress that the Communists in all lands are united by the struggle against a common enemy, imperialism, and in fighting for victory they share the same aims, same aspirations and same hopes. In the polemic which the Chinese leaders have imposed on the international Communist movement, the fraternal parties are displaying the utmost tact and consideration; they are working to reach mutual understanding on the issues of the day.

All Communists are confident that sooner or later the Chinese comrades will take the way of overcoming the differences and help consolidate the unity of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The unity and consolidation of the Communist and Workers' parties, their fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, is the earnest of new victories by the world revolutionary movement, the source of new successes by the peoples in the fight for peace, for man's future.

Vanguard of Mankind

Jacques Duclos

THE course of history shows that the Soviet Union is the vanguard of mankind, blazing new trails in all spheres of human endeavor. This conclusion holds true for the conquest of outer space and the hopes it holds in store; it holds true for the Soviet economic and social system which has done away with the exploitation of man by man, which has made possible the building of communism, and which is realizing the principle, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

These aspects of Soviet life exert a powerful force of attraction for that part of mankind which recognizes the need for changes in keeping with the times; they are also a powerful force of attraction for the exploited in different parts of the world who see from the example of the Soviet Union that the new society to which they aspire can be built. As to the Soviet Union's role in upholding peace, it is appreciated by all men and women of good will, and their number is legion.

If the eyes of the world are turned to the Soviet Union the reason is that this socialist country is the determining factor in the developments now decisively influencing man's future. The October Revolution, a turning point in man's history, ushered in the sweeping changes that have taken place in the world since.

I. Cradle of the New World

A new era opened in history when on November 7 (October 25), 1917, the thunder of the socialist revolution reverberated throughout the country, bringing victory to the Bolshevik Party. This era was marked by the downfall of the old system of capitalism and the building on its ruins of the new society. The October Revolution demonstrated that the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, can overthrow the imperialist bourgeoisie and establish a new power—the power of the workers and peasants. It demonstrated that this new power can, by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, overcome the resistance of the propertied classes defeated in the revolution, that it can give

the working people the benefits of genuine democracy and pave the way to the building of socialism.

The victory of October came when the world was still in the throes of the imperialist war, and this victory evoked a still stronger desire for peace among the peoples who since 1914 had endured the brunt of the war. Describing the mood of the workers of France and other capitalist countries at the time, Maurice Thorez wrote: "Even the most backward realized in a vague way that it was *their* republic that was being built in Russia, that the cause for which the Russian workers were so gallantly fighting and dying, was their cause, the common cause of the working people of all countries."

Under the impact of October a revolutionary movement swept Europe. But it was not destined to be victorious. The workers' revolution in Finland in January 1918 did not achieve success. The revolution in Germany in November 1918 confined itself to abolishing the imperial regime. The assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in January 1919 was a victory for the reactionaries, a victory made possible with the connivance of the Social Democrats. The Soviet Republic established in Hungary in March 1919 lasted only 133 days. The Soviet Republic proclaimed in Bavaria in April 1919 was of even shorter duration. In Europe the Communist parties, which had only just come into existence, were still weak; and not in all countries were there Communist parties. France, for example, had no Party at the time.

Battling against heavy odds the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shouldered the responsibility of organizing and heading the struggle of the revolutionary forces of the Russian people. And in doing so it overcame obstacles unprecedented in history.

It is obvious that had the socialist revolution triumphed in such countries as Germany and France, it would have been much easier to build socialism in Russia. But because of the hostility displayed by the German Social Democratic leaders for the socialist revolution in Russia, the Soviet people were com-

pelled single-handed to wage a heroic struggle in order to uphold and complete the socialist revolution.

It is equally obvious that had the Socialist Revolutionaries accepted Lenin's proposal to participate in good faith in the workers' and peasants' government, instead of siding with the enemies of Soviet power, the solving of many of the internal problems that the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia had to grapple with would have been less agonizing.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that despite the capitalist encirclement, despite Russia's backward and shattered economy, the young Socialist Republic, thanks to the leadership of its Communist Party, to the sacrifice made by the peoples of Russia, embarked on a completely uncharted path. Russia thus proved to the world that the working class could take over the leadership of the country and build the new socialist society in which the exploitation of man by man, racial prejudice and other survivals of capitalism have been abolished for all time.

The rise in nearly all the countries of the world of a new kind of revolutionary party—the Communist Party—was the natural sequence of the October Revolution and subsequent socialist and communist construction. The same is true of the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. The peoples of these countries were inspired by the example of the Soviet Union which showed “. . . that independent historical creative endeavor is not the prerogative of only ‘chosen’ nations, that it is within the reach of all peoples, irrespective of color of skin, or of national or racial distinction.” (From the thesis “Fortieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.”)

As far as more recent events are concerned, it is obvious that the defeat of Hitler and of Japanese militarism, and the victory of the national democratic forces in a number of countries in Europe and Asia would not have been possible, and would not have led to the results they did, without the USSR, without its sacrifice in the war, and without the decisive role it played in the victory won in World War II. In other words, *for the fact that our era is the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, that socialism has become a world system, we are indebted to the October Socialist Revolution, to the USSR.*

It is true that never in history has the birth of a new political system been accom-

panied by so much suffering, hardship and heroism as that seen in the Soviet Union. But it is equally true that history knows of no other revolution which aimed not at replacing one system of exploitation by another, but at ending all exploitation and all social and national oppression.

The USSR is now the second industrial power in the world. Its challenge to the capitalist world in peaceful competition and its achievements are a source of inspiration to the peoples fighting for a better life in a world of peace and freedom.

II. Its Success Makes History

Industrial output in the USSR, which ten years ago was 33 per cent of U.S. production, rose to 63 per cent in 1962. Annual growth of output in the capitalist countries in 1950-61 was running at five per cent, that of Soviet industry at 10.7 per cent. At this rate Soviet production will in 20 years' time be double that of the present output of the entire non-socialist world.

Completion of the program of communist construction, elaborated by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, will enable the USSR not only to catch up with the United States in per capita production, but also to outstrip it and the other capitalist powers.

This will be a victory of worldwide significance. By then capitalism will have been vanquished in all decisive spheres of human activity. The superiority of socialism over capitalism will have been established in all spheres. It was not by chance that the first atom-powered ship and the first atomic power station were built in the USSR; it was not fortuitous that the first man in outer space was a Soviet citizen, that the first woman to repeat his exploit was, likewise, a Soviet citizen. The superiority of the system in which there is no exploitation of man by man is apparent in all spheres. The rapid advance of the Soviet economy is accompanied by a steady rise in the well-being of the people.

From 1955 to 1960 real income of Soviet factory and office workers rose by 22 per cent, that of collective farmers by 33 per cent. Big gains have been registered also in education. The Soviet people are the most educated people in the world. In the Soviet Union there is being realized the lofty idea, “everything for man, for his good,” which runs through the entire program of communist construction.

Soviet achievements are so striking that even imperialist statesmen can no longer be

silent about them. Kennedy admitted as much in a speech on June 10th. The economic advance has enabled the USSR, which trains three times as many engineers as the United States does, not only to raise the standard of living of the Soviet people but also to render appreciable aid to the other countries of the socialist world system.

Thanks to the Soviet Union's policy of mutual aid, based on proletarian internationalism, the socialist world system has been able to forge ahead. As Comrade Khrushchov put it: "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."

That is how the USSR and the other countries of the socialist world system are paving the way to the triumph of socialism in the peaceful competition between the two world systems.

Some people who call themselves Marxists try to denigrate the value of this competition. Like the leaders of the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor, they argue that peaceful competition relegates the political struggle against capitalism to the background.

This virtually negates Lenin's thesis about the necessity of economic competition between the two systems. It questions the significance of the example of socialism whose value Lenin specially emphasized when he said, as Comrade Khrushchov has reminded us, that socialism possesses the force of example and that we must show in practice, by example, what communism means.

Peaceful economic competition between socialism and capitalism does not signify the disappearance or the weakening of the political and ideological struggle against capitalism. On the contrary, it facilitates the struggle which the working class has to wage in the capitalist countries, and the ultimate aim of which is socialism.

Marxist-Leninists are not frightened by the fact that the socialist and the capitalist system are waging a peaceful economic struggle and are competing with each other to secure better conditions for their people. Marxists are convinced that socialism will

win this competition. Every success it wins is of invaluable help in the struggle now being waged in every capitalist country to put an end there to the system of exploitation and to replace it with socialism.

The experience gained in all countries without exception clearly shows that *every success won by the Soviet Union, yesterday in building socialism, today in building communism, greatly increases the power of attraction exerted by socialism.* Each success contributes to the development of the Communist and workers' movement. In this sense the existence of the Soviet Union is material aid of the utmost significance for the international working-class movement and for the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples.

But the successes of the Soviet Union mean more than this. The economic progress made by the USSR enables it to render extensive and varied assistance to other countries, and especially to the countries that have recently won national independence. Thanks to this aid, and to the existence of the socialist world system, these countries can now more effectively counter the threats and attacks of the imperialists. Even more. They can take the way of non-capitalist development of their economy in more favorable conditions.

This kind of aid has been extended to India, Indonesia, Burma, Egypt and Cuba, in general to all countries that have overthrown the colonial yoke. The recent offer of the Soviet government to pay more for Cuban sugar purchased by the Soviet Union is an illustration of the aid given to Cuba. Fidel Castro stressed this when he said: "Who was it that displayed initiative in the matter of paying more for the sugar? It was Soviet government which took into account the needs of our economy, the interests of Cuba, and which approached the matter from the standpoint of principle, demonstrating thereby the character of the economic relations between the USSR and Cuba."

The might of the USSR also enables it to give effective support and aid to the peoples battling against imperialism. It renders the most diverse aid to the colonial peoples in their struggle for national liberation. Such was the case in particular with the people of Vietnam and with the liberation struggle of the Algerian people. We have not forgotten that it was the resolute stand taken by the Soviet Union that compelled the imperialists and their accomplices to call off their aggression against Egypt in 1956.

It was the wise and firm policy of the

Soviet Union that prevented the invasion of Cuba by the armed forces of American imperialism and thereby saved the world from a thermonuclear war. The demagoguery of the Chinese leaders would have been powerless to get Kennedy to pledge not to invade Cuba. The Soviet Union, however, obtained this promise on the basis of a reasonable compromise which, in Khrushchov's words, "signified the collapse of the plans of the U.S. military clique." The revolutionary gains of the Cuban people were thus saved.

During his Soviet tour Fidel Castro, referring to the Caribbean crisis which had brought the world to the brink of nuclear war, said: "Time has thrown light on the events. The imperialist plans to invade Cuba failed. The danger of war was averted. There remained the danger however that the imperialists would not correctly assess the events. But the timely and vigorous warning given by the Soviet Union last March cooled the hotheads . . . There will forever shine the full grandeur of a country which, in defense of a small people many thousands of miles away from it, placed on the scales of nuclear war the well-being forged in 45 years of constructive labor and at the price of heavy sacrifice. The Soviet Union which lost more lives than the entire population of Cuba in the Great Patriotic War against fascism did not hesitate to risk a terrible war in defense of our small country. History knows of no similar example of solidarity."

These words are an emphatic answer to the attacks made by the Chinese leaders on the CPSU and on other fraternal parties, including the French Party whose solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America the Chinese leaders see fit to question.

The Soviet Union upholds the right of the peoples to fight against the imperialist plans of domination; for its part it does not seek any domination or hegemony.

III. The Recognized Vanguard of Progress

The Soviet Union is able to influence world developments for a number of reasons. 1. It is the most powerful of the socialist countries, and is now building communism. 2. It was the first country in the world to pioneer a new path in human development, the path of socialism. 3. It bears a heavy responsibility for the destiny of humanity by reason of its past, its might and the perspective it opens before peoples.

Conscious of the responsibility placed upon

it by history, the Soviet Union does not lose sight of the fact that, with the present state of armaments, a nuclear war would take a toll of human lives and cause fearful devastation. If this terrible weapon were the monopoly of the imperialists, we would have to fear the worst: a war of wholesale annihilation against the socialist countries which would destroy the gains of socialism and put reaction in the saddle. Fortunately, the Soviet Union possesses nuclear weapons and the imperialists, consequently, are forced to display caution.

Still, in view of the danger to mankind, disarmament is the best guarantee of peace. The Soviet Union is persistently fighting for this, and its peace efforts have won it the gratitude of the peoples. The leaders of the Communist Party of China and of the Albanian Party of Labor, however, see fit to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union's efforts to safeguard peace. This gives rise to the question: what would have happened to China and Albania if the USSR had not been, by reason of its might, the determining factor in safeguarding the peace, in support of which partisans of peace initiated the powerful peace movement which the Chinese comrades not only did not support but virtually sabotaged?

Facts are facts, and slander, no matter what its source, is powerless to discredit the might, prestige and growing influence of the Soviet Union.

Since October 1917, and even more so since the end of World War II, the imperialist powers have had to reckon with the existence of the Soviet Union in shaping their foreign policy. As to the working people of the world the Soviet Union is an inspiration in their struggle for a better life, for freedom and peace. There is hardly a forward-looking man anywhere, even one who disagrees with communism, who is not studying with interest and curiosity the experience and the success of socialism in the USSR.

The USSR is more and more becoming the decisive force in human progress. Its growing role in the world is connected also with the fact that the world itself has entered upon a new phase. As the 1960 Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties emphasized, *"the feature of our time is that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society."*

It goes without saying that the USSR, the most powerful country in the socialist system, which has set about the task of creating

the material and technical basis of communism and which, drawing on its own experience and on the experience of the entire working-class movement, has made the biggest contribution to enriching Marxism-Leninism, cannot but be in the van of the socialist world system and mankind. This is the logical consequence of the October Revolution and of the victory of socialism in the USSR.

The success achieved by the Soviet Union would have been greater still were it not for the obstacles in the way. It is now clear, for example, that the Stalin personality cult hampered the country's progress and froze initiative; the cult reduced the human potential taking part in the building of socialism.

The Stalin cult and the crimes and blunders engendered by it were boldly denounced by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By calling in question the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the CPSU, the basic ideas of which inspired the work of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, and the decisions of the CPSU Twenty-Second Congress the Chinese leaders are setting themselves against any exposure of the Stalin cult.

But this exposure was absolutely necessary. In the final analysis, it served to strengthen the people's belief in true communism. As to the stand taken by the Chinese leaders on this issue it is indicative of rather strange ideas about the work and life of the Party, ideas which are at variance with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

The fact that the Stalin cult was powerless to undermine the socialist content of Soviet society, although it certainly retarded the political, economic and ideological progress of the country, speaks of the strength and stability of the socialist system which is more and more proving its superiority over the capitalist system; it also shows that the USSR is the decisive force in human development.

The service of the CPSU is great indeed. And while all the Communist and Workers' parties are equal, and there are no dominant and subordinate parties, it is equally true as the Statement of the 1960 Moscow meeting points out: *"that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steeled contingent of the international Communist movement."* The expe-

rience accumulated by the CPSU, the Statement points out, is of fundamental significance for the world Communist movement. Its example and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the parties in their fight for peace and socialism; in these we see the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice. The decisions of the Twentieth Congress, it adds, were important not only for the CPSU, they marked a new stage in the world Communist movement, and promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

By virtue of this the Soviet Union and its Communist Party are the recognized vanguard of all progressive forces. It is therefore difficult to understand, let alone agree with, the charges made by the Chinese leaders against this glorious Party and against the other fraternal parties, our Party included. By reason of its role of vanguard, pioneer and builder of communist society, the Soviet Union is entitled to the fraternal solidarity of all forces of the working-class and democratic movement, and the CPSU — to the respect and trust of the world Communist and workers' movement.

And when the Chinese leaders say that the Communist parties in supporting the just policy of the CPSU are "acting on orders," they are simply repeating the slanders of the reactionaries. And they would do well to reflect on this.

In its statement issued on July 19, the French Communist Party reaffirmed that it is waging an implacable ideological and practical struggle on two fronts: against revisionism and opportunism, and against dogmatism and sectarianism, which are now the main danger in the international Communist movement. It is combating, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, pernicious nationalistic, chauvinist and racist attitudes.

"In working for the unity of the international Communist movement," the Statement says, "the French Party stands shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal parties who are true to Marxism-Leninism. It will spare no effort to extend and consolidate this unity, just as it will spare no effort to bring about the triumph of peace, democracy, social progress and socialism."

The Chinese leaders adopted a hostile attitude to the signing of the test-ban treaty in Moscow, an attitude which, needless to say, is censured by all peace supporters.

True, the aims of the Moscow treaty are limited, but it is a step in the direction of

resolving the still outstanding international issues; it bears out the correctness of the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union in the spirit of the documents adopted by the fraternal parties in 1957 and 1960.

It is deplorable, to say the least, that after such a victory for peace as the signing of the Moscow Treaty, the Chinese leaders see fit to accuse the Soviet government of having capitulated to U.S. imperialism. The truth is that it was because of the new balance on the world arena and the Soviet Union's nuclear power that the U.S. government agreed to sign the treaty which retards the nuclear armaments race, and restricts the highly dangerous proliferation of nuclear weapons. It thereby safeguards mankind against the dangerous consequences of radioactive contamination of the atmosphere.

The Chinese leaders claim that the Moscow Treaty says nothing about banning all types of nuclear weapons, about destroying the stockpiles and ceasing the further production of these weapons. Their attitude can be summed up in the words "all or nothing," an attitude which, incidentally, contradicts their own earlier statements in which they stressed the need for a "gradual" approach to banning the Bomb altogether. Their attitude also shows that the Chinese leaders are persisting in their slander against the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. They are deliberately deceiving their own people regarding the nature and importance of the Moscow Treaty.

The Chinese leaders are carrying on this kind of propaganda everywhere, using renegades of all kinds for their purpose, thereby encouraging factionalism in the fraternal parties. They claim that as a result of the Test Ban Treaty U.S. imperialism will gain military superiority, while China and other countries will be deprived of the possibility of strengthening their defense capacity. This line completely ignores the defensive means at the Soviet Union's disposal to protect the socialist countries.

De Gaulle's arguments against the Moscow Treaty dovetail with those of the Chinese leaders. In this connection it is worth noting that Chinese propaganda, beginning with Radio Peking, presents de Gaulle's policy in a favorable light. De Gaulle's line is that there is no need for a pact of any kind for France to declare that she will never be the first to attack. "France declares through the President of the Republic," he said, "that there will never be aggression on her part.

Hence, her participation in a non-aggression pact is absolutely unnecessary."

In their attitude to the Moscow Treaty the Chinese leaders virtually align themselves with the cold-war men—with the "lunatic fringe" in the United States, the revenge-seekers in West Germany and the reactionary de Gaulle clique in France. When the Chinese leaders, in an attempt to justify their hostility to the Moscow Treaty, advance a program of universal nuclear disarmament which, as most people realize, is at present not feasible, they are acting in the same way as de Gaulle; he refuses to join this Treaty because he intends in due time, as he has intimated, to advance his own plan for nuclear disarmament.

In reality this is a move to justify a policy that runs counter to the interests of the people, to the cause of peace.

The opponents of the Moscow Treaty also know that this treaty clears the way for further negotiations on peace issues such as, for example, the question of a non-aggression pact between the NATO member-countries and the member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty. De Gaulle is against a pact of this kind, and he said so at his press conference on July 29.

Such is the attitude of one of those who, together with the Chinese comrades, oppose the Moscow Treaty. Let us hope that the Chinese comrades will reflect on this paradoxical coincidence, when fidelity to the principles laid down in the 1957 and 1960 Statements should determine the policy of Communists. And that is exactly what the CPSU, the glorious party of Lenin fully conscious of its responsibility, is doing in conformity with the clearly-worded propositions of the 1960 Statement: "The democratic and peace forces today have no task more pressing than that of safeguarding humanity against a global thermonuclear disaster. The unprecedented destructive power of modern means of warfare demands that the main actions of the anti-war and peace-loving forces be directed towards preventing war. The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it."

That is why the Communist and Workers' parties approve the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; the attacks by the Chinese leaders against this glorious Party can only further strengthen the ties of friend-

ship and solidarity that bind it with all the parties that are true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the spirit of this tried and tested theory.

* * *

Nobody can compel us to forget that by their struggle, their sacrifice and past victories, by their efforts and successes of today and tomorrow the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and its people are opening wide the doors to a new civilization, a civilization from which poverty and war will be banished for all time, a civilization which will transform man's cherished dreams into a triumphant reality. And we can only fully

support what Comrade Khrushchov said at the Soviet-Cuban friendship meeting on May 23, 1963: "We are advancing together with you, with all the countries of socialism towards the communist future under the banners of Marx, Engels, Lenin, under the militant banner of the Paris Commune and the October Revolution. More and more people throughout the world are rallying under this revolutionary banner, and that wonderful day is not far distant when all people will discard the bonds of the old world and enter the age of their real history, the age of communism. There is no more supreme happiness than to be a champion of this future, a builder of the Communist society!"

The Communist Party of Germany in the Fight for Democracy

Max Reimann

THE EFFORTS of the German imperialists to get their hands on the atom bomb, the intensified revanchist propaganda and accompanying drive to curtail what remains of bourgeois-democratic rights, are viewed with alarm by public opinion at home and abroad.

A feature of the present situation in the Federal Republic is the sharpening contradictions between monopoly capital, bent on unleashing a revanchist nuclear war and on installing a naked military dictatorship, and the popular forces who are working for a detente and preservation of democratic rights. Political developments in the Federal Republic have brought us to a new stage in the struggle for peace and democracy. Just as preparations for an imperialist war are invariably accompanied by curtailing democratic rights, so the struggle for the preservation of peace is invariably linked with defense and expansion of democratic rights. It is from this standpoint that the fight for peace must be waged.

In the program-statement adopted at its recent Congress, the Communist Party of Germany points out that the task today is

to save the peace by pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence and by working for mutual understanding in Germany, to uphold the fundamental democratic rights recorded in the Constitution. Realization of this task is the precondition for the new, more far-reaching democratic and socialist goals envisaged in our program.

In our struggle in defense of democracy we are guided by the precepts of Marx, Engels and Lenin that the working class and its vanguard must always be the most resolute champions of democratic rights and liberties. At the same time we take into account the historical lessons of the German working-class movement.

In the twenties the German Communists at first opposed the Weimar republic as the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie. But when fascism reared its head, thereby creating a still greater threat to bourgeois-democratic rights, we intensified our efforts in defense of the rights granted by the Weimar constitution. The mistake of our Party at the time was that only belatedly did it rally the working class and the other sections in defense of these rights.

In 1949 the West German Communists refused to approve the new Constitution, although in the parliamentary council they supported the formulation of basic democratic rights. We voted against the Constitution because it signified the dismemberment of Germany and facilitated the restoration of the old forces of monopoly capital and militarism. But we warned at the time that the day would come when the Constitution makers would themselves take action against the bourgeois-democratic rights inscribed in it, and that the Communists would resolutely champion these rights. And we were right: on the agenda of struggle today in the Federal Republic is the fight to save peace and the Constitution which has become an obstacle in the way of the aggressive forces.

1.

The struggle for bourgeois-democratic liberties in Germany has always been waged in extremely complex and conflicting conditions and, specifically now in West Germany. The reason is that the working class and the democratic forces have always had to deal with a particularly aggressive imperialism and militarism. Twice in the course of half a century did German imperialism and militarism start world wars and cause the peoples untold suffering. And each time the aggression against other peoples was preceded by suppression of their own people, and the abolition of elementary rights. Now that resurgent German imperialism is trying to revise the results of the Second World War through a revanchist nuclear war, we see the same thing taking place.

German history, and also the postwar development of West Germany, bear out Lenin's thesis that reaction rampant all along the line is a feature of imperialism. State-monopoly capitalism and militarism are incompatible with the preservation of rights and liberties. Postwar developments in West Germany show, however, that the changed balance of forces in the world and in Germany, the existence of the German Democratic Republic, and the mass struggle are stumbling blocks in the way of the German imperialists and militarists carrying out their designs for revenge and consolidating their dictatorship.

The Bonn state was formed fourteen years ago under pressure of monopoly capital and with the support of the imperialist occupation powers. This was the final step towards preventing demilitarization and democracy in

the western part of Germany as provided for by the Potsdam agreement, and towards restoring the economic and political power of German monopoly capital. The imperialist forces of the United States, Britain and France aided and abetted in this in order to use West Germany as an aggressive striking force against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. They sought at the time securely to attach the Federal Republic to themselves by making it economically and politically dependent, and by modelling it on the pattern of their own regimes. They share the responsibility for the revenge-seeking aims of Bonn's policy, a policy now directed not only against the socialist countries, but against the peoples of the West as well. The Western powers share the responsibility for the present state of affairs when the anti-democratic forces are aiming their blow not only against Communists and Socialists, but also against the supporters of bourgeois-democratic liberties in West Germany and in other capitalist countries.

The Bonn Constitution was drafted by the parliamentary council on the orders of the imperialist occupation powers and under their direct control. This Constitution put the seal on the dismemberment of Germany and made possible the restoration of monopoly capital, whereas now the basic rights provided by this law have become an obstacle in the way of the arms drive and the revanchist policy.

Despite the reactionary designs which accompanied the drafting of the Constitution, democratic rights could not but be reflected in it. For this there were several reasons: the changed balance of forces as a result of the defeat of fascism, the impact of the Potsdam agreement then being implemented in the Soviet occupation zone, the effect of the nationwide discussions—held on the initiative of the Socialist Unity Party—on the question of a single German constitution, and, finally, the sentiment expressed by the West German working class and other sections of the people. By opposing Adenauer and other spokesmen of monopoly capital the representatives of the Party in the parliamentary council, jointly with the Social Democrats and Free Democrats, compelled the circles concerned to take into account the democratic sentiment of the workers and the entire people.

The fundamental rights proclaimed by the Constitution include the obligation of the State and its bodies to safeguard the basic rights as the "foundation of peace" and to

build the Federal Republic as a "democratic state founded on law (*"sozialen und demokratischen Rechtsstaat"*)". The right to life and personal freedom, freedom of the right to have an opinion and political views of one's own, the right to free expression of views, especially as regards the press, assembly and organization, are considered as inviolable basic rights.

The Constitution states: "Actions which can upset the peaceful coexistence of nations and which are undertaken with that end in view and, in particular, in preparation for aggressive war, are un-Constitutional. They shall be punished by law." This constitutional principle, framed in conformity with the will for peace expressed by the German and other peoples, is not to the liking of the Adenauer government which is thinking in terms of an aggressive war. This policy of the Bonn Government is as unconstitutional as are the rallies of the revenge seekers in Cologne and Duesseldorf, the rallies of the members of the former fascist naval forces held in Wilhelmshaven, etc. At the rally of the so-called Silesian Fellowship the return of the territories on the other side of the Oder-Neisse was again advocated to the applause of Adenauer, and in the presence of the Social Democrat Willi Brandt, burgo-master in West Berlin. But Neven Du Mont, journalist and TV editor, was nearly lynched because he dared to give an objective picture of life in Wroclaw (formerly Breslau). Here was revealed once again the crying discrepancy between the constitutional commitment to punish by law all incitement to aggressive war, and the revenge-seeking policy pursued by Bonn.

Seeing that these and other constitutional principles and rights hindered the monopolies from consolidating their omnipotence and stood in the way of their war policy, the ruling circles in Federal Germany from the very beginning sought to emasculate fundamental democratic rights, while formally retaining the rights formulated in the Constitution, and the semblance of a parliamentary and so-called "legal state system."

For many years the rulers cloaked their unconstitutional policy and anti-democratic legislation, and their attacks on the progressive sections of the population with demagoguery and anti-Communist propaganda. They succeeded in hoodwinking big sections of the working population by spreading the lie that the Communists threaten the constitutional system and constitutional rights. The reactionaries and their government directed the

main blow against the Communist Party and against all the forces opposed to the remilitarization. It is worth noting that since the amended criminal law has been in effect, 200,000 persons have been tried since August 1951 for Communist convictions or for resisting remilitarization.

As the Party had predicted, the ruling circles and their government are now directing their main blow not only against the Communists but against the entire working class, their trade unions and against all those who, basing themselves on the Constitution, are working to change the dangerous policy of the Bonn government. Legal proceedings have been instituted against some 80,000 persons from all walks of life—men and women who want a policy of peaceful coexistence, democracy and social security.

The banning of the Communist Party was the signal for banning other democratic and peace organizations; on the other hand, organizations and committees used solely against the democratic and progressive movements are in high favor. The number of these organizations has risen from 293 in 1960 to 361 in 1963; furthermore, nearly all of them receive financial aid from the government.

The banning of the Communist press and other publications of the democratic forces was followed by the frame-up against *Der Spiegel*, and the arrest of its publisher Augstein. Its editors, in line with their duty to safeguard peace, as proclaimed in the Constitution, exposed the "new atomic strategy." The police operation, justly described by the West German public as a "Gestapo action," was supervised by the SS butcher Saevecke, notorious as the murderer of hundreds of people.

The arrest of Karl Schabrod, former Communist deputy in the Landtag, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment under Hitler, and of the Hamburg journalist Franz Ahrens, was followed by the persecution of Paczensky, television editor who criticized the anti-democratic state of affairs in the Federal Republic. The campaign against Paczensky, who is anything but pro-Communist, was whipped up by ex-fascist journalists of the Goebbels' press department; it is being conducted with the blessing of the government.

The numerous trials of trade union functionaries and members of production councils and the victimization of militants were followed in April by the lock-out of 400,000 metalworkers who, in accordance with the Constitution and with their right to strike, fought for wage increases.

The banning of the Association of Persons Persecuted by the Nazi Regime was followed by the trial of Lorenz Knorr, a prominent figure in the German Peace Union, because he told the truth about the war crimes of the Hitler generals who are now Bundeswehr generals. But the authorities are doing their utmost to delay the 500 scheduled trials of Nazi war criminals, or, failing that, to secure acquittals or minor sentences.

The boycott declared by the Adenauer government against the plays by Brecht is accompanied by legal proceedings against the more prominent writers of the "literary opposition" who are united in the "Group of 47."

The expulsion of Communist deputies from the Bundestag, and the refusal to allow the candidates nominated by the progressive forces to contest the parliamentary elections have further weakened the Bundestag. The Christian Democrats, fearing defeat on the issue of the big inch pipe embargo,* simply deprived the Bundestag of the possibility of reaching a decision by instructing its deputies not to vote.

These and many other facts concerning arbitrary encroachments on the rights and liberties of the population have opened the eyes of many in the Federal Republic to the gulf between constitutional rights and the authoritarian methods of government. They now see that the Bonn rulers who had been parading as guardians of the Constitution are, in reality, violating the Constitution.

2.

The German imperialists and militarists see in the rushing of emergency legislation through the Bundestag a way of abolishing constitutional rights. By means of laws providing for emergency powers they want to smash the popular resistance to their policy, to prepare the way for a military dictatorship.

Their emergency legislation is a complex of laws by means of which, as was the case with Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, the rights of the people can be abolished. What is more, this legislation is designed to sanction the militarization of all political and economic life. In the event of an "external or internal state of emergency" being declared, parliament can be replaced by a special committee. The government will be empowered to issue emergency decisions; the Laender and the local councils will be de-

prived of their rights. Although the Constitution clearly states that in no circumstances can the basic democratic rights and liberties be infringed by any law, they will be curtailed nonetheless, or even completely nullified.

There are objective and subjective reasons for the haste with which this emergency legislation is being drafted.

Concentration of economic power in the hands of a small group of monopolies has in recent years considerably surpassed the level reached under Hitler. And the concentration is proceeding apace. The amalgamation recently of the "August Thyssen Huetten" and "Phoenix-Rheinrohr" steel concerns is particularly significant. The enterprises of this concern, now the biggest in West Germany, produced 7.07 million tons of steel last year, 21.7 per cent of the total production, or 9.8 per cent of the steel output of the EEC countries. This concern, jointly with a number of others, exerts a powerful influence on the government and its legislation through their direct and indirect representatives in parliament and in the government. It is said that about 500 official and unofficial lobbyists, representing industrial and banking concerns and various manufacturers' associations, actually decide Bonn's legislation. Before a bill is brought before parliament it is discussed with the lobbyists. Thus, of the 1,505 laws adopted by the Bundestag at its first three legislative sessions, 1,126 were submitted by the government only after preliminary discussions with representatives of the monopolies; as to the deputies and their groups, they displayed legislative initiative only in 357 instances.

Not content with the far-reaching powers invested in them under the Constitution the government and the state apparatus have in recent years taken to themselves powers which overstep all constitutional limits. Bureaucratic centralized power, the hasty bundling together of the Bundestag, Laender and municipal bodies—these are the features of the Bonn state today. The administration has swollen to vast proportions, especially the military and coercive bodies. The personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has grown from 9,958 in 1951 to 22,347 in 1962; the Defense Ministry, from 124 persons in 1954 to 22,405 in 1962.

Accordingly, as democratic rights are curtailed the trend towards fascism is intensified. Characteristic in this respect is the inclusion not only of ex-Nazi judges and officials of the Gestapo in the police apparatus.

*Last spring the Federal government prohibited the delivery of steel pipes to the Soviet Union.—Ed.

Aspects of neo-fascism are reflected to a still greater extent in the militarization of all spheres of public life, in the authoritarian methods of government, in the strident anti-communism and in the suppression of opposition trends, in the reprisals against all who do not conform, in the attempt to unify the entire political life of the Federal Republic along the lines of official government policy.

Faced with the censure of democratic public opinion at home and abroad, the Adenauer government is trying to deny or to minimize the danger of neo-fascism. According to an official government statement issued in March there were 112 Right-wing radical, i.e., neo-fascist, organizations in the country in 1962; in 1961, there were 86. These organizations, the statement says, should not be taken seriously, for their membership has decreased. To quote the Minister of Internal Affairs, Hoecherl: "Right-wing radicalism is of no significance in the present political situation in the Federal Republic, and there are no signs of it being otherwise."

But neither the official government statement, nor the Minister of Internal Affairs say a word about the actual situation or about the situation foreshadowed by the state-of-emergency laws. And understandably so, for neo-fascism in the Federal Republic is given the green light by the ruling Christian Democrats and Christian Socialists, to say nothing of government policy. This policy is responsible for the inclusion of former leading Nazis in the administration and in the supreme command of the Bundeswehr, for the encouragement accorded neo-fascism in official organs, educational institutions and text books, for the disregard of democratic rights and intolerance towards people who hold different views.

The real reason why the Adenauer government wants extraordinary powers is the crisis in its policy, a crisis which the ruling circles would like to resolve by stepping up their aggressive policy and abolishing democratic rights.

In view of this, the spokesmen of the monopoly bourgeoisie declare that the political and state leadership of the Federal Republic must be "reinforced"; that measures must be taken to protect the "state." This was bluntly stated by Burghardt, President of the Coal Owners' Association, on April 22: "They," he said, meaning the monopolies, "are not in a position to shoulder the responsibility placed on them by the Constitution."

This was an outright call to annul the Constitution and the rights recorded in it.

This open assault against basic constitutional rights has become possible because Right-wing Social Democrats like Wehner, Erler and Brandt have openly aligned themselves with German imperialism and militarism. Having given their approval to Adenauer's foreign policy, they have now consented, in principle, to emergency legislation. These gentlemen are doing their utmost to paralyze the popular movement against this legislation, and through trade union officials like Leber they are trying to swing the unions behind official government policy, to transform them from militant organizations of the working class into "factors of law and order in the state," into tools of imperialist policy.

An aggressive foreign policy and suppression of the democratic forces had always been part of the drive of the German imperialists to crush the democratic movement in other countries and to instal reactionary regimes there. Take the history of German imperialism's annexationist policy, or the political developments in the Federal Republic today. Of all the capitalist countries of Europe the Bonn rulers are extending the greatest economic, political and now, military, support to the fascist regimes of Franco and Salazar, not to mention reactionary regimes elsewhere. Every reactionary putsch, no matter in what part of the world it takes place, meets with the wholehearted approval of the reactionary groups of West German finance capital. Their hopes in connection with the Adenauer-DeGaulle pact were clearly expressed by Defense Minister von Hassel: "The Federal Republic," he said, "must help to safeguard law and order also in France."

The German imperialists and militarists have always acted as "guardians of law and order" for other countries. Hence their insistence on the Bundeswehr being allowed to train in other countries; hence the "military assistance and aid to ensure security" they have been rendering for some time now to a number of African countries, and which they intend to extend to the South American continent. The policy of German imperialism and militarism is, therefore, a direct threat not only to peace among the nations, but also to the democratic gains and democratic movements in their countries.

Our Party's policy is to bar the way to the

imperialists and militarists, to save the freedom and the life of the people in the Federal Republic. This is our responsibility. Hence we call upon the working class and all other democratic forces to stand by the Constitution and the rights proclaimed in it. Acting in this way we are proving that the forms of rule under capitalism have never been a matter of indifference to us Communists. By aligning ourselves with those who are fighting against violation of the Constitution and for broader democratic rights, we are showing the working class and all other sections that for us defense of basic constitutional rights is not only a matter of conviction, but an immediate task, the realization of which is of decisive significance for preserving peace and social security.

3.

Political developments in the Federal Republic show that the revenge-seeking and reactionary policy of the militarists was bound to come up against the resistance of the working class and the people. The movement against militarization and a nuclear holocaust, against restricting democracy, and against reducing expenditure for social needs, put a brake on the plans of the ruling circles and retarded their implementation. But it lacked the necessary scope to halt the drive against democratic rights.

For this there were several reasons. Realizing only too well that the situation today is not what it was in 1933, the Bonn rulers took good care to disguise their anti-democratic designs and measures. As a result, a large part of the working class and population generally fell for their anti-Communist propaganda. The deception was facilitated by the fact that the generation which grew up under Hitler, or immediately after the war, had little experience of struggle. The impact of "affluence" on the thinking of the working class and the people generally, the attitude of the Right-wing Social Democrats and union leaders, for a long time helped the rulers to keep the people in a state of political passivity.

But such is not the case today. The fact that not a single one of the recent arbitrary acts of the Bonn politicians went unanswered is proof of the growing determination of the West German working class and population to uphold their rights. Many workers, many from other sections of the population, including even bourgeois circles, are beginning to realize that an end must be put to

the fatal restriction of rights and liberties, that constitutional rights must be defended through concerted action by all the people. It is interesting to note that this year the May Day demonstrators carried streamers with inscriptions "Beware loss of freedom, not the bogey of Communism!" This watchword reflects the growing realization that the restriction of democratic rights and liberties and the anti-Communist propaganda are directed against all democrats. This development, regarding which the capitalist press commented, "a democratic wave has swept the population," is something new in the life of the Federal Republic.

The main responsibility in the struggle to ensure peace and for democratic rights devolves on the working class which, together with their trade unions, see in the emergency legislation a danger to democracy, to their rights. They have protested against these laws in numerous resolutions in the union branches. During the strike of the metalworkers at Baden-Wuerttemberg they realized that "those who dismiss you can imprison you," and that the enemies were monopolists such as Flick. This strike turned into a struggle against restricting trade union rights and, consequently, against the anti-trade union emergency laws.

For the first time in the modern history of capitalist Germany the peasantry have been involved in a movement in which the issue is not only one of fighting against the encroachments on their existence by the European Economic Community and against Bonn's anti-peasant policy, but of preserving their rights in the face of the monopoly *diktat*. The small, middle and even the big peasants are sick and tired of the policy of empty promises. Following the example of the French and Belgian peasants, they have begun to fight for their right to existence and freedom, demonstrating on tractors, and holding meetings and other extra-parliamentary actions.

Intellectuals, too, are joining in the fight for democratic rights. Writers, professors and teachers are raising their voices against the encroachments on freedom of conscience, against the slanders and the character assassination, against hamstringing freedom in art, science and teaching. Here mention should be made of the courageous stand taken by the Wuerzburg physician, Dr. Heterich, who started a one-man campaign against ex-Nazis in high government and judicial posts, demanding that they be tried.

Some of the urban middle sections are voicing dissatisfaction with the increasing dictatorship of the monopolists, and particularly with those clauses in the emergency legislation which will provide for their enterprises being used to serve the interests of total militarization. They are opposing the restrictions on free trade with the socialist countries. Actions against the dictatorship of the monopolies, readiness to defend constitutional rights against the emergency legislation which imperils these rights—these are the common features of the various movements and manifestations among the different classes and sections of the population. The recent congress of the Communist Party placed before the Communists and all progressives in the Federal Republic the task of carrying forward this democratic movement, of uniting it and thereby ensuring its success.

The program-statement adopted by the congress, "the way to safeguard peace, democratic rights and social security," offers the people a truly peaceful and democratic alternative to the hopeless "positions of strength" policy, and puts forward its minimum demands as a platform for uniting all the democratic forces. Here are the immediate and primary tasks of the democratic struggle:

- no emergency legislation of any kind, defense of the tariff autonomy,* the right to organize and the right to strike, freedom of speech and of the press;
- removal from government and public office of persons responsible for the crimes of the Nazi dictatorship;
- guarantees against police and juridical duress, an amnesty for the victims of political justice sentenced for their convictions, freedom of activity for all democratic organizations.

The more resolutely the united democratic forces of the people fight for these demands in the course of extra-parliamentary mass actions and, consequently, in defense of the Constitution, the more effective will be their influence on parliament and its deputies. Jointly with all other democratic forces, we stand for restoring the full rights of the parliaments at all levels (the Bundestag and the Landtags), for the rights of the Laender and the local councils.

United working-class action is decisive for any popular movement in defense of demo-

cratic rights. We see the pivot of this unity in joint actions by Communists and Social Democrats, in the firm and steady cooperation of their organizations at all levels. In face of the danger threatening peace and democracy, we have made new proposals from the platform of our congress for cooperation with the members and organizations of the Social Democratic Party. In seeking to cooperate not only with the Left, but also with the entire Social Democratic membership, we proceed from our immediate common interests. Monopoly capital is our common enemy; we are both interested in maintaining and promoting peace, in safeguarding our rights and the Constitution, in restoring the rights of parliament, in developing democratic forms of life, in the right to take part in managing the enterprises, and in the working class and its trade unions exerting a decisive influence in all spheres of public life.

The more vigorously we Communists come forward as consistent champions of peace, of rights and liberties, the more we will win the confidence of the working class and other sections of the people; this will enable more and more people to realize that the interests of the peaceful and democratic development of the Federal Republic necessitate restoring to the Communist Party its legal status, and the people will campaign for this.

In their struggle in defense of democratic rights the working class and the other sections of the people have a firm support in the German Democratic Republic and in the other socialist countries. The rulers of West Germany are still compelled to allow the working class and the people some democratic rights, to make some concessions in the social sphere. For these we are largely indebted to the German Democratic Republic, to the fact that the principle practised there, "take part in the management, in planning, in work," is having its impact. The fact that a number of Nazi judges have been removed from the judiciary, as well as several top government officials from the administration, including men like Oberlaender, is primarily because of the exposures made by the GDR.

As a result of the growing successes of the Soviet Union, and of the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries, as a result of their achievements in science, technology and culture, as a result of the high level reached by socialist democracy, more and more people in the Federal Republic are beginning to realize that

*The exclusive right of trade unions to conclude wage agreements with the employers.—Ed.

socialism and communism are not only synonymous with peace, but also with genuine freedom. The German imperialists fear this, for they realize that their anti-Communist propaganda becomes less effective when people begin to see that in the countries of socialism the working people enjoy real freedom.

In our program-statement we express the conviction that the popular movement to save the peace and in defense of constitutional rights will, considering its experience and militancy, set itself more far-reaching democratic goals.

In the course of the struggle it will become increasingly clear to the working class and

other sections that militarism and monopoly rule are the main obstacles to democracy and social progress. The popular movement will then become a movement to deprive militarism and monopoly capital of their power, a movement for a peace-loving and democratic system supported by the people. And we are confident that the working class and the bulk of the population, relying on the experience and results of their struggle, and inspired by the example of the socialist GDR, will then opt for socialism.

And so our struggle shows that peace and extension of democracy are essential to social progress, are essential components of the movement for socialism.

The Communist Party of Norway on the Paths to Peace and Socialism

Hans Kleven

Norway Today

THE program "For Peace, National Independence, Democracy and Socialism," adopted by the Communist Party of Norway at its conference in April 1963, sets forth the Party's standpoint on the major political issues and tasks of the day and points the way to socialism in Norway.

Norway, being a small country, is very much dependent on the big capitalist powers in the economic, political and military spheres. Considerable industrialization has taken place in the current century. Less than one-fifth of the population is now engaged in agriculture and fishing, and more than one-third in industry.

Monopoly capital, which dominates the economy, has extended its grip since the end of the Second World War. More than 60 per cent of the industrial capital is concentrated in four per cent of the enterprises. Three big banks control over 60 per cent of the capital in the industrial banks. Concentration of capital can be observed also in shipping and in forestry. Twelve shipping companies own one-fifth of the merchant fleet, aggregating 13,000,000 tons (approximately one-tenth of

world tonnage). "Concentration of capital is growing rapidly in all branches of the economy," states the program, "companies are amalgamating, the big enterprises are swallowing up the smaller ones, the big manufacturers are, increasingly, entering into agreements to regulate the market and production." Norway, it can be said, is ruled by a financial oligarchy of 90 families.

The picture would be incomplete if we made no mention of the penetration of foreign capital, a penetration which is undermining the independence of the country. Creeping into the economy in the shape of loans and direct investments in industry, it exerts a very big influence. Some 16 per cent of all joint stock capital in industry and mining is held by foreign agencies.

Much of this capital is controlled by American and British monopolies, but the West German monopolists, too, are well to the fore. The result is that foreign capital is extending its grip on the economy, and not without government connivance.

Numerous threads — economic, political, military and ideological — link Norwegian capital with foreign imperialism. The union, however, is not without its contradictions.

Norwegian monopoly capital is weaker than its counterpart in the leading capitalist states. It hasn't the same powerful means of production and finance, nor has it the same political facilities for influencing society; it has no colonies. It has, however, a big merchant fleet and it participates in big international concerns, so that part of the profits pocketed by international imperialism comes its way.

"Like the monopoly capitalists of other countries," states the program, "the Norwegian capitalists also rake in big profits from militarization. Hence they view with disfavor and uneasiness all peoples fighting for their national and social emancipation. The big capitalists, naturally, want to preserve the imperialist system, and this impels them to involve Norway more completely in the military and economic blocs of the imperialists, which threaten the peace, democracy and the national independence of the smaller countries. Foreign monopoly capital hopes to gain a freer hand in our country as a result. The interests of the monopoly capitalists, clearly, run counter to the national interests. They are ever ready to betray the national interests, so long as there is a chance of gaining from this. *Monopoly capital* is, therefore, *anti-national*."

About 60 per cent of the population is made up of factory and office workers; capitalists account for a mere one per cent. The remainder are small producers—in industry, handicrafts, agriculture and fisheries.

There is not much capitalist farming; Norway has very few big estates. The farms are mainly small holdings, and their number is steadily decreasing. Practically all the smallholders are dependent on government aid in one form or another, and the representatives of big capital are demanding that the smaller farms be abolished.

A very important branch is fishing. Export of fish and fish products accounts for a sizeable part of the total exports. Fishing, still largely a small-scale industry, is gradually being equipped with modern fishing vessels. Capitalist relations exist here, and in the more important branches of the industry monopoly capital is beginning to entrench itself. Bent on gaining control of the fishing industry, big capital aims at changing the labor protection laws and other gains won by the fishermen.

The economic and political interests of monopoly capital are colliding more and more with the interest of the overwhelming majority of the people. "Monopoly capital,"

states the program, "is the common enemy of the Norwegian people, its biggest enemy." It is opposed by nearly one million factory and office workers, by more than 400,000 peasants, by 50,000 fishermen and by over 100,000 handicraftsmen and other small producers.

Stressing that the demarcation line in Norwegian society runs between monopoly capital and the bulk of the people, the program gives a clear answer to the basic questions of political strategy and tactics, shows how and against whom the main blow should be struck. "The principal political and economic contradiction in Norway is the contradiction between the people, on the one hand, and monopoly capital and foreign imperialism, on the other. This contradiction will grow still sharper as monopoly capital demands Norway's complete subordination to foreign imperialism.

"If the people are to be masters in their own house the threads tying Norway to foreign imperialism must be broken."

One of the points discussed when the program was being drawn up was that of *monopoly capital and the state, and specifically state-monopoly capitalism in Norway*. A thorough study has yet to be made of the state-monopoly trend in Norway. Its features are, perhaps, not as prominent as they are in the big imperialist countries like the USA and West Germany; still the fact is that state-monopoly capital is growing in Norway, and particularly so in recent years.

Monopoly capital is more and more using the machinery of state to fortify its domination. The fact that Social Democratic governments have been in office since 1935, and that for more than 15 years the Social Democrats have had a majority in Parliament has not been an obstacle, although this circumstance has to some extent caused some aspects of this development to be less pronounced and of a specific nature. But big capital is exerting pressure on the government for freedom of action. The government, however, has also to reckon with the pressure of the electorate—the working people and their trade unions. This is an important political feature of the struggle. But despite laws and government measures to check the growth of monopoly capital, the accelerated growth of monopoly and the tendency of some links of the state apparatus to interlock with monopoly capital have not been halted.

Another disturbing aspect is that, by taking part in the various imperialist alliances which

restrict the country's freedom of action, there is the growing danger of the basic links of the machinery of state becoming protective agencies for the foreign monopolies and the reactionary forces. This became particularly apparent at the time of the movement against Norway joining the Common Market, and especially after an article in the Constitution had been amended last year, in a way that gave formal sanction for some functions of the state being handed over to agencies outside the country.

An important link in the growth of state-monopoly in Norway is the number of corporations which now have a bigger say in government decisions. "Many official and semi-official councils and committees," states the program, "bodies for economic cooperation, industrial committees, etc., occupy an important place in the machinery of state today. The representatives of monopoly capital have a big influence in these bodies and use them to further their profit interests. The Banking Association, the Manufacturers' Association, the Union of Wholesale Merchants, the Shipowners' Society and the Association of Employers are playing a bigger role in affairs of state. The government helps private enterprises to get loans, and it guarantees loans, helps the enterprises to get considerable privileges through turnover tax and depreciation exemptions."

The men who set the tone in the Manufacturers' Association are pressing the government to use the machinery of state more and more against the workers, and to restrict their right to strike.

How far monopoly capital will be able to extend its power depends upon the balance of strength between it and the people, upon how vigorously the working people will fight for their interests. In certain circumstances the people stand to gain from some of the state measures by its participation in economic life. The program, therefore, says that the political and trade union movement should urge state and municipal bodies to extend their activities on behalf of the people, and prevent these bodies from being used on behalf of big capital. "The issue in Norway today is whose interests will the public institutions, the state measures and state interference serve. The Communist Party calls on the working people to fight for government measures that will enhance the influence of the working class and the people in society."

The circumstance that the state is now

playing a bigger role in the economy and that monopoly capital is directly making greater use of the state to further its own ends, does not rule out the fact that the question of state interference will become a pivotal one in the struggle of the working class. The class struggle can determine the trend and social content of the state's economic policy. This policy at present reflects the predominant influence of big capital. It is a paramount task of the working people to fight to reverse this balance, to compel the state bodies to take measures against monopoly capital and thus clear the way for the new democracy.

For National Sovereignty and Democratic Renovation

The Communist Party holds that the struggle for national sovereignty is a basic task and, in pursuance of this, is doing everything to develop a popular movement for an independent national policy. "An independent Norway," says the program, "means a Norway capable of making its contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament. An independent Norway will mean the defense of democratic rights; it will be a guarantee of the movement toward genuine popular sovereignty."

The question of national sovereignty has always been one of exceptional importance for Norway. It was the crucial issue in the movement against Norway joining the Common Market, which included people from all walks of life, and of different religious and political views. The freedom-loving tradition of the people was an important element in this struggle. It is clear that the national movement will be one of the principal forms of the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle in Norway.

The first condition for absolute independence is withdrawal from NATO. In place of NATO the Communist Party proposes a policy of neutrality for Norway, guaranteed by the Great Powers; in the matter of defense it favors an independent, democratic and national policy fitted to the natural conditions of the country.

The program outlines the following course in national policy: the right of the people to conduct their affairs without interference by any external authority; to conclude only those international agreements that are based on equality and respect for the right to self-determination; a foreign policy that does not commit the country to any military, economic or political blocs in which other coun-

tries can compel Norway to follow a policy at variance with national principles and interests.

In the past 150 years democracy in Norway has been extended to many spheres. The working class, peasants, fishermen and other groups of the population have won many social and political rights and have formed their own organizations. The Communist Party calls for defense of these rights, to fight all attempts to restrict them; it stresses that so long as monopoly capital holds sway in the country, that so long as Norway is dependent on foreign imperialism, these rights will not be guaranteed. Proof of this is that as soon as Norway joined NATO the so-called Emergency Law was introduced which gives the authorities emergency powers which can be used against the progressive forces.

In its program the Party calls for the *renovation and extension of democracy*, for curbs on the power of monopoly capital. The essential steps in this direction are: nationalization of the big private banks, insurance companies and the principal monopoly enterprises and big shipping companies which hold the key positions in the economy; democratic control in the basic branches of the economy, the right of factory and office workers and other groups of the working population to have a say in the management of big public and private enterprises, banks and insurance companies; better working conditions and a higher standard of living; democracy in all political, administrative and cultural bodies; a government policy directed against monopoly capital.

Democratic measures alone cannot abolish exploitation, cannot do away with monopoly, they can only restrict its power and influence. "Reforms alone, even the most democratic," the program reads, "cannot change the character of the state as it is today, and will not lead to the abolition of big capital as an economic and political force; but they can restrict its power and influence. In order to do away with the power of capital *all* big enterprises and *all* big banks must be nationalized and the people given a decisive say in the political and economic life of the country."

The renovation and extension of democracy can be achieved only if the working class, the entire people, unite. The Party advances as one of the main tasks the achievement of united action in industry and in the trade unions. Differences of opinion

on various issues must not be an obstacle to joint action to accomplish the current tasks facing all workers and democrats: action to ensure peace, defense of national independence, better working conditions, defense and extension of democracy. "The movement of the entire people—in the enterprises and in the trade unions, in the rural areas and in the fisheries, among intellectuals and small businessmen—should be strong enough to compel the government to introduce democratic measures of a more widespread character than those won by the people up to now. This movement must change the balance between monopoly capital and the people in favor of the people. Monopoly capital must be forced to relinquish its influence in the basic spheres of public life."

The people are well organized. They have a number of democratic organizations, among them the Amalgamated Trade Unions, the Cooperative Union, the Union of Small Farmers and the Fishermen's Union. Every encouragement must be given to these organizations so that they become bodies of effective democracy.

Program of Peaceful Transition to Socialism

The Party program proceeds from the possibility of the peaceful transition to socialism, through democratic development without having recourse to violence. It notes that Norway's advance toward socialism will be one of many transitional stages. "Before the actual socialist reorganization of Norwegian society begins there will be a transitional period of great class battles in the course of which state power will pass into the hands of the people and monopoly domination will be destroyed. The present monopoly relations, the contradictions between the people and monopoly capital are creating the conditions for this democratic transition which will lay the foundation of revolutionary change and development."

When monopoly capital will have been abolished, the governmental power will be different from that of the previous bourgeois and Social Democratic governments. The new government will consist of representatives of the working people and of the middle, non-monopoly sections of the population. It will rely on the active movement of the people and on a majority in the Storting. "The democratic reconstruction of society will be effected under the leadership of this government."

As early as 1953 the Party in its program indicated the peaceful way to socialism. In its new program this proposition is more distinctly formulated. The program lists the following important factors that make this transition possible.

1. The present international situation is a much more favorable one for the working-class movement in the capitalist countries. Formerly "the bourgeoisie received considerable help from the outside every time the working class rose in defense of its rights. But this is not so easy now when the socialist world is stronger than the imperialist world. The imperialists therefore give considered thought before undertaking any military intervention to suppress actions by the people." The program then stresses that the peaceful way is bound up with the policy of peaceful coexistence, with a detente and general disarmament and that peaceful coexistence "heightens the possibility of the peaceful transition to socialism."

2. The *working class* constitutes the majority of the population and its numbers are growing. "This means that that section of the people which, by virtue of its position in society, is the most revolutionary, will increasingly become the decisive group of the population."

3. *When tackling the basic and immediate tasks*, those of safeguarding the national independence and extending and revitalizing democracy, relations in the country will be so changed as to further the transition to socialism. The forces of the people will outweigh the forces of monopoly capital and reaction, and will be able as a result to prevent the class enemy from resorting to arms and violence against the popular movement.

4. The peaceful transition to socialism will correspond to the *historical traditions* of the people and of the working-class movement. Bourgeois-democratic development and the national-liberation movement in Norway were not accompanied by bloody clashes. With the exception of the period of Hitler occupation (1940-45), Norway never had a naked bourgeois dictatorship and terror, although democratic liberties were severely curtailed.

The program also points to the possibility of the class enemies resorting to armed force during the transition to socialism, that is, to the possibility of a non-peaceful transition to socialism. "The historical development and experience of all countries shows the Norwegian working class that the enemies of democracy and socialism will stop

at nothing to prevent the will of the people from being carried out, that they will resort to violence to deprive the people of their gains. The people, therefore, should be on guard and be ready to defend their gains."

The program speaks of the *parliamentary* way to socialism. "The Communist Party regards a parliamentary socialist republic as an historically natural form of government for our country." This is in keeping with the country's long parliamentary tradition. For many years the Storting was the national and democratic center of the country's political life. It was an important instrument of the national-liberation movement and the struggle for democracy during the period of the union with Sweden (1814-1902); it played a significant role also in the development of the working-class movement.

The parliamentary way to socialism has nothing in common with the reformist concept and practice of parliamentarism. This is not a bourgeois or reformist parliamentarism but a new, revolutionary parliamentarism. Because of the reformism of the Social Democrats, the Labor Party which has had a majority in the Storting throughout the post-war has not taken advantage of its majority to introduce democratic structural changes. The end result is that monopoly capitalism has not been dislodged. The program, therefore, emphasizes the need to *renovate* parliament as a condition for the parliamentary way to socialism. "The working people must exercise their majority in Parliament. This will enable them to get the necessary laws passed making all the basic means of production public property; it will enable them to safeguard socialist property." An effective political weapon in the struggle for socialism, irrespective of how it is conducted, is the struggle of the working class and the entire people outside the legislative chambers, the extra-parliamentary mass struggle.

The program also raises the question of our attitude to the *other parties*. The multi-party system is a feature of Norway's political life. It will be a natural element in the development of the popular movement for peace, national independence, for the extension of democracy and socialism. Building socialism is the affair not only of one party or of one class; all the people, headed by the working class, and as many organizations as possible should actively participate in this.

As the country advances to socialism and during the period of socialist construction another basic task will be to abide by law

and to carry forward the democratic legal traditions of the people and the principles guaranteeing the rights of the people set forth in the Constitution. "The working-class movement," states the program, "will always defend freedom of organization, assembly, the press, speech and religious liberty, as well as freedom to criticize the state administration and the authorities; it will let all who recognize the right of the majority contend the right to decide the destiny of the country."

The program treats at length the question of the *machinery of state* in the period of democratic development and socialist changes. This concerns such important aspects of the problem as the reorganization of the old state machine and the remoulding of the class character of state power in the period of socialist construction. In this connection the program stresses the need for creative application of the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism concerning the state, and to draw on the experience of the working-class movement.

Every program of peaceful transition to socialism is bound to take into account, with due regard to specific features, the well-known Marxist-Leninist precept that the working class cannot simply take over the old machinery of state, that it will have to smash it. The basic thesis on this question is formulated as follows: "Democratic development and socialist reconstruction require the reorganization of the old machinery of state. To ensure the transition to socialism, when the majority of the people will decide on this, the decisive sectors of the administration, the armed forces, the police, judicial departments and foreign policy bodies must be staffed with men and women who solidly support socialism, thus replacing the reactionary elements who would want to use their position to combat socialism."

Naturally, many of the non-coercive institutions of the state, those which arose in the course of the economic and historical development of the country, will not be abolished. It will be possible to take over many ready-made forms, but their content will be changed. Everything reactionary will be removed, and the respective agencies turned into people's bodies.

The program stresses the need for the working class to take over state administration during the building of socialism and to effect this administration in alliance with the peasantry, the fishermen and other sections of the working people, that is, it

stresses the need for proletarian dictatorship. In this connection the program notes that in many countries where the working class has won power, the dictatorship of the working class assumed sharp forms owing to the specific conditions and the international situation, and that the conditions for working-class rule in Norway will be more favorable. Production in an industrially developed country like Norway, where productivity of labor in all important branches of the economy is relatively high, can develop more quickly and socialism can be built in a shorter space of time and without many of the sacrifices and deprivations entailed in other countries. The period of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Norway will, evidently, also be a shorter one than in the countries where socialism has already been built.

The last section of the program "The Working Class and the Communist Party," discusses critically the reformist ideology which has deep roots in the Norwegian working-class movement. The Social Democratic leaders who are on the extreme Right on all basic issues have virtually aligned themselves with monopoly capital and imperialism. "However," states the program, "the overwhelming majority of the members of the Norwegian Labor Party stand for socialism. The policy of the Right-wing leaders is encountering growing resistance in the working-class movement. The forces supporting united action in the fight for peace, national independence and democracy are gaining in strength."

To accomplish the tasks and aims of the program, it is imperative to scotch the influence of reformism in the working class and the policy of class collaboration, and effectively to combat anti-communism.

Describing the Communist Party as a democratic and independent party, the program stresses the international character of the Party and explains what is meant by socialist internationalism. There are no contradictions between the national interests of Norway and the interests of the international working class. The stronger the positions of the working class the more successful will be its struggle. "To strengthen socialist internationalism means to act in accordance with the national interests of the people," states the program in conclusion.

The new program of the Communist Party of Norway is a landmark in the life of the Party. It rallies the Party politically and organizationally on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and equips it with a clear and comprehensive platform in the struggle for working-class unity and concerted action of the people.

The Democratic Uprising of the American Negroes

James E. Jackson

IN A RECENT statement, Gus Hall, chief spokesman of the Communist Party of the USA, said: "The most dramatic and far-reaching of current developments in the United States is the heroic struggle of our Negro citizens for equality and justice now taking place in the South." And he continued: "This revolutionary eruption will change everything for the better in our nation." Gus Hall remarked that it is "of the utmost urgency that the world, the nation, and especially white Americans grasp the full meaning of this struggle."

It is not fortuitous that the Negro people in the United States have mounted their magnificent struggle at precisely this time.

First of all, the new world relation of forces, which characterizes our epoch, provides a favorable and sympathetic international climate. Furthermore, the great advances made by the people of Africa, of Asia, of valiant Cuba in throwing off the chains of colonial bondage and striding along the path of free and independent development, have acted as a powerful stimulus to the Negro people in the U.S. Then there is the growing awareness that there exists in the world a great country — the Soviet Union — whose success in securing to its many diverse ethnic and national peoples conditions of full equality and a truly open society in which all enjoy the right to complete integration in the political, economic and social life of the whole country, is a progressive and challenging alternative to the prevailing racist patterns in the U.S.

1. A NEW STAGE

The struggle of Negro Americans to secure equal rights attained a nationwide crest in May this year after the well-known events in Birmingham, that most powerful center of resistance to the efforts toward loosening the chains of segregation.

The Events in Birmingham

Birmingham is a major industrial complex of the Deep South. The numerous coal fields

in its environs feed the furnaces which smelt its iron ore and manufacture its steel. It also has a booming textile industry. Traditionally it has drawn its manpower from the rural areas where the capitalist mechanization of agriculture has greatly depopulated the countryside. The nature of its extractive-type industry puts a premium upon brawn and endurance and the ruling clique has always sought to keep investments in education and culture to a bare minimum; its interest was always in a numerous working force, not in a technically skilled labor force. Birmingham became the classic example of a southern industrial city which took over intact, and enforced with merciless police thoroughness, all the social patterns of the plantation: feudal-like relations between employee and employer; slavery-like customs and laws to govern relations between Negro and white people of all classes. For decades, Birmingham has been the scene of innumerable battles on the part of the Negroes to secure relief from the all-sided yoke of racist oppression; but in the month of May, this old struggle took on a mass revolutionary character.

A united leadership of the Negro community (the Negro population being some 40 per cent of the total of the city) was consummated under the leadership of the Rev. Martin Luther King, and a program was adopted which called for the immediate substantial desegregation of a number of places of public accommodation, the right to register to vote, and a fair share of jobs in the semi-skilled and skilled classifications. To secure these modest demands all parties agreed upon rallying the entire Negro community to employ the tactic of massive non-compliance with the unjust segregation laws, and for mass marches upon the city hall, and mass picketing before the offending business establishments and public places.

All strata of the city's Negro population found a relationship to this campaign. Students abandoned their schools for the duration of the struggle and became the front

rank fighters in the wave of demonstrations. Clergymen converted their churches into staging areas for the freedom fighters and did missionary work among their white fellow clergymen. Negro trade unionists persuaded their fellow white workers of the justness of their demands. Negro businessmen gave money and placed their cars and enterprises at the service of the movement.

During the month of mass demonstrations in Birmingham, over 40,000 Negro men, women and youth participated directly in the actions. This was about 45 per cent of the total Negro population, while 98 per cent supported fully the economic boycott and made contributions to the fighting fund.

The city officials reacted to the demonstrations with a savagery and violence seldom witnessed in the country. An army of police, state troopers, sheriffs and irregular "deputies" was assembled and armed and sent forth against the peaceful demonstrators. Squads of police on motorcycles were ordered to ride into the crowds. Police dogs, trained to attack "colored" people only, were used to bite children and aged people. Fire engines, pumping powerful jet streams of water through hoses equipped with special "Monitor" nozzles such as are used in hydraulic mining, were used against the demonstrators, cutting their skin and breaking their ribs.

Hundreds of Negroes suffered painful injuries, and over 8,000 were jailed, many of them children, some only seven and eight years old. The television cameras and the news photographers brought the story of the Negro demonstrators' valor and the police brutality before the eyes of the nation and the world. The Birmingham Story seared the conscience of the nation and evoked sympathy demonstrations, and indignant demands upon the Administration to intervene. The crime of racism and segregation in the U.S. received its ultimate exposure in the Battle of Birmingham, and millions moved to enroll actively in the struggle to end it.

Nationwide Scope

Since Birmingham the struggle to secure the rights of the Negro people, to dismantle the racist segregation and discrimination system, has dominated the political and social scene in the United States. It has become the issue upon which the lever for all social progress rests in our country. The Negro people are on the offensive. The outcome of this great social struggle for a quantitative enlargement of democracy which has been mounted by the 20 million Negro Americans

will have its direct consequences on the domestic and foreign policies of the country.

Since Birmingham the movement has gained momentum and militancy. Not only has every southern city become a battlefield, but in every state and city of the country, the Negro people are waging a determined fight against all manner of discriminatory patterns in the economic, political and social life of the nation. Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Oakland, and scores of other cities and towns have become scenes of militant mass actions in which the Negro communities are engaging the ruling powers in struggles for job rights and an end to all discrimination barriers, as well as expressing their solidarity with the freedom struggles in the south. The magnitude of the struggle is reflected in the size of such demonstrations as the June 23rd Freedom March in Detroit which brought 250,000 people into the streets, including several thousand white trade unionists; in the 10,000-strong demonstration in Boston; in the rally of 15,000 in Cleveland; the 11,000-strong work stoppage meeting in New York's fur market; the 70,000 who paraded in Los Angeles and San Francisco; the 50,000 who marched at the call of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Chicago on July 4th, etc.

In such southern cities as Nashville (Tennessee), Greensboro (North Carolina), Atlanta (Georgia) and Richmond (Virginia), major victories have been won against the segregationists. Many of the schools have been desegregated; theaters, bus terminals, restaurants and hotels have been compelled to open their accommodations to Negroes, and some gains have been made in the employment of Negroes in the city public service jobs and in heretofore restricted job classifications in private businesses and industries.

Other southern towns and cities, defying the orders of the Supreme Court, the urgings of Federal Government spokesmen and the will of the nation, are striving to stave off the irresistible thrust of the Negro movement with jailings and police brutalities. This is the situation in Jackson (Mississippi) where the Fair Grounds have been converted into a concentration camp in which over a thousand Negro youth demonstrators are held on a starvation diet. This is the stand of Gadsden, Alabama, and Danville, Virginia. This is what still happens in Albany, Georgia, and in Cambridge, Maryland (just 40 miles from Washington, D.C., the capital of the country).

Between May Day and Independence Day (July 4) this year, Negro freedom fighters suffered nearly 10,000 arrests and over 2,000 hospitalized casualties.

First Results

Indeed, though significant actions have been won, victory has not yet been attained. In the war of the Negro people against segregation and racism, Birmingham can be likened to the great battle on the Volga in the war against fascism; it must be added that it was a long and bloody way from there to Berlin, and so is the way from Birmingham to victory in the struggle of the Negro people against segregation in America. Yet the outcome of the struggle at Birmingham foreshadows the inevitability of victory for the Negro people.

The sweep of the Negro movement for "Freedom Now" has brought into the arena of social and political action the organizations of the major religious denominations. The National Council of Churches of Christ in America, representing 30,000,000 believers, has joined in the crusade against segregation and for the full integration of Negroes in the national community. The United Presbyterian Church, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the National Catholic Welfare Council, the Rabbinical Council of America, and other denominations have made participation in the struggle to wipe out racial discrimination an article of faith for their churchmen.

The impact of the Negro people's struggle on the social conscience of the young generation of white Americans is great indeed. White high school and college students throughout the country have rallied to the struggle of the Negro people. Among the numerous martyrs of the present upsurge of the Negro people are Medgar Evers, the young Negro leader in Mississippi who was shot in the back by an assassin, and William Moore, the young white freedom crusader who was murdered in Alabama.

The entire trade union movement in our country has been stirred to its depths by the example and the challenge of the Negro people. There is already a substantial beginning toward wiping out the remaining color bars and discriminatory practices in the unions, and major components of the trade union movement are giving valuable support to the Negro movement.

As a consequence of the mass actions of the Negro people and their white supporters the Federal Government has been compelled

to exercise its Constitutional obligation to uphold the rights of its Negro citizens.

Since 1954 the judicial branch of the Federal government has upheld the Constitutional rights of Negro Americans in a series of Supreme Court decisions, but the Executive branch — the President and the Attorney General in particular — has done little to enforce or secure these rights. But under the impact of the current struggle, President Kennedy on June 12 addressed to the nation over radio and television a declaration of support to the just and urgent demands of the Negro people for full integration in the economic, political and social life of the nation.

In a subsequent message to the Congress, the President called for the enactment of a Civil Rights Act of 1963 which would have the effect of nullifying the bulk of the state Jimcrow, anti-Negro laws, and generally outlaw the practices of racial segregation and exclusion in places of public accommodation, in voting and voter-registration, in employment practices, and in schools. He characterized the upsurge of the Negro people for justice as a "peaceful revolution" for those measures of democratic rights which white Americans have long since enjoyed. He warned that if the Congress would not act promptly to secure those rights to the Negro citizens there could be no assurance that the Negroes would abandon their struggles in the streets for them, but on the contrary, he foresaw and feared a growth in civil strife.

While expressing appreciation for the President's stand, the Negro leaders rejected his plea that they "abandon the arena of the streets" in their struggle. They replied to the President in the words of Reverend Martin Luther King: "We have learned over the years that the only meaningful gains have come from creative pressure." And they promptly issued a call for a massive mobilization and a 300,000-strong march on Washington to demand instant compliance with the President's request to Congress for a Civil Rights Act, and to reply to the threat of a filibuster by the Southern Dixiecrat-ultra Right Republican bloc of racist and reactionary Congressmen.

Gus Hall said recently that the relationship of forces within the nation and within the South, as well as within the Federal government itself, are such that with determined, sustained struggle, and further involvement of the trade unions and the masses, victory can be won — "a death blow can be dealt to the whole system of segregation

everywhere." This is a time and a cause when a century of history is packed into days, he said.

2. THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THEIR PLACE IN THE LIFE OF THE AMERICAN NATION

To appreciate fully the major political consequences which can flow from the American Negro's present revolutionary upsurge, it is necessary to have a full view of the place this people occupies in the nation in general, and in the working class of the United States in particular.

Social Aspects to the Negro Question

The nation, like the human body, does not permit of the prolonged abuse of one of its parts without the whole suffering serious consequences. When one member of the body is subjected to injury, the bleeding and pain may be endemic or local, but the effect is systemic or general, and the curative process requires that all the healthy forces of the whole system be brought into play. So too with a nation, its integrity and its viability as a political entity require conditions which ensure the fullest development and integration of its several ethnic and national components into one nation of equal peoples, communities, and citizens.

As the social and political circumstances and consequences of the oppression of the twenty millions of Negro Americans are not endemic, neither can the solution of the problem be arrived at in isolation from the forces at play in the total economic, political and social milieu of the nation as a whole. There are particular social and class forces within the American nation which benefit in certain ways from depriving Negro people of their equal civil and political rights and which gain from their economic exploitation. There are other social forces in our class-stratified society who, objectively, suffer a depression of their own status, and a diminishing of their own rights, as a consequence of the abuses to which the Negro Americans are subjected. The essential strategy for victory for the Negro people's movement for freedom lies in establishing maximum bonds of unity with the comparably deprived forces of the latter, in united struggle to defeat and break the power of the common exploiter.

There are more factors in the equation than the two principals—i.e., the Negro people as a whole versus the white ruling class as a whole—and these other factors will have

their decisive bearing upon the solution of the problem. First of all, the solution of the Negro question in the United States cannot be abstracted from the relationships which it bears to the general dynamic of the contradictions besetting the capitalist social system of the United States, that is, from the historically determined and restricted societal framework in which the particular struggle for Negro freedom is being fought out. Secondly, the impact of world developments on the country also influences the struggle for Negro rights.

Progress in the socio-economic and political spheres in the nation as a whole and in the world at large, which enlarges human liberty and diminishes exploitation, which strengthens peace and abolishes colonialism, such general developments favor and facilitate the advancement of the Negro freedom cause. Therefore, the program and leadership of the Negro people's movement must fully take into account the developments in the national and international arena of social struggle, and its leaders should be aware of the relationship between the progressive forces in struggle on these respective levels and the success of the unfolding struggle of the Negro people for equality and freedom.

The Negroes and the United States Nation

The Negro is the Cinderella in this family of man that makes up the United States nation. Though put upon, deprived, denied, and victimized by every outrage and indignity by others of the national household, he is no less a true-born member of the family than they. Black men were brought to America as slaves in 1619 from Africa to Jamestown colony which had only been established as a permanent settlement in 1607. Africans were subsequently brought to America in great numbers as slaves, until the end of the African slave trade in the mid-1850's.

Both in numbers to the total population and in work performed in building his country, that part of the American people which stemmed from Africa was ever an important presence in the making of this great North American nation. Indeed no national stream can have greater claim to first membership in this family-nation, compounded of so many national and ethnic streams, than that which flows from Africa. It was the unrequited toil of the African bondsmen that provided no small measure of the capital for the nation's tempestuous economic growth and accumulation of wealth. First the colonizers, and then the new nation of the United States,

reaped a golden harvest from the slave chains that bound their black brothers. Through this "primitive accumulation" of human labor power immense values were wrested from the bountifully endowed virgin lands which was the territory of the United States of America.

The "Negro question" has been the question with which the politics of the nation has been occupied again and again. The main content of the political history of three quarters of the last century was taken up with the question of the struggle against slavery and the problems that followed the necessary surgical operation of the Civil War. In our decade, the failure of the bourgeois democracy to secure the Negro's equal status in the nation constitutes an important article in its indictment by history and has become one of the major factors in its deepening general crisis.

As the Negro's role in the history of the nation's economy is of undeniable importance, and the political history of the nation is writ large in its own blood around the question of his status and presence, so it is with the spiritual-cultural history of this nation. Abraham Lincoln and the former slave Frederick Douglass made enduring contributions to American political thought through their responses to the challenge of the Negro question; so it has been and continues to be unto the present, that in the field of letters, the most outstanding works in literature and poetry have found inspiration in the epic cause of the Negro people's striving toward liberation. The noble theme of the life and struggle of the most brutally oppressed sister and brother in the nation's house (which they did so much to build and defend) has been one of the richest skeins in American literature.

And in the field of music and the dance, it has been in great measure the Negroes' contributions which have given works in these cultural areas their national distinctiveness.

As the mental and manual contributions of the Negro have flowed into the making of the nation — economically, politically and culturally — so have the major currents of the mainstream of the nation swirled about him, becoming the major determinant of his values, standards, goals. True, there has never been a time when the Negro received anything like a just measure in return for that which he has given, or which has been robbed from him, (indeed, that is the sum of his problem), nevertheless he has been shaped and fashioned by the general social milieu

in which he has always been segregated and subjected to discrimination.

As the Americans whose forbears came from Africa were contributing to the making of the nation, they were in turn being moulded and modified by that experience.

The name of this American-derived "new" people who have grown up with and as a part of the nation is — *Negro or American Negro*.^{*} This, then is the rightful name of a people who have a proud history and a rich future as a specially identifiable member of the family of the nation.

Having established the fact that the American Negro belongs to the American nation that inhabits these United States, it becomes readily apparent that he suffers oppression in exact measure as he is deprived of his equal status with all others within the nation. At the same time the goal of his struggle is revealed as that of securing all the rights and opportunities which are common to the people of the nation.

The freedom struggle of the Negro Americans, therefore, unfolds as a *struggle for a full and equal measure of the economic and political means for the satisfaction of their material, social and spiritual needs — needs which are the common norms of the society as a whole.*

The Negro Question—Past and Present

The failure of the Federal government to secure the full citizenship rights of the Negro people, to provide them with the opportunity to a just place in the developing economy of the South as farmers, workers, businessmen and professionals, was in itself a motivating factor in the great population movements of the American Negroes.

As a consequence of the Civil War, Negroes were freed from slavery but a feudal pattern replaced slavery as a system in the South's agricultural economy. The former slaves were rebound to the plantations as sharecroppers and tenants with no more "free men's" rights than European serfs. As the 20th century opened, 90 per cent of the six million Negroes then in the U.S. still lived in the South, and fully 70 per cent of these as peasants in the same countryside where their fathers had toiled as slaves. The inhuman relations which the plantation owner established to insure

^{*}The origin and history of the use of the term Negro when referring to this part of the American people is complex in its evolution. Some argue extravagantly that it was given by the white oppressor to demean the Negro. But the main point about its present-day usage is that the struggle of the Negro people of the United States for freedom from all manner of injustice and oppression has endowed this name with a dignity and honor which gives pride to those who bear it and commands the respect of those who employ it.

his exploitation of his tenant "serfs" and sharecroppers moulded the pattern by which the white-supremacy elite of exploiters rules the South. The iron law of the prison-like plantation economy became the Jimcrow law by which the whole South deprived the Negro people of their rightful opportunity to share in the economic development of the region, and which effectively nullified their Constitutional rights as free and equal citizens.

Negroes began to leave the plantations in ever larger numbers as job markets opened in the cities as a consequence of the gains in industrialization of the South. But life in the southern cities for Negroes was in many respects little better than in the countryside. The trek was extended to the North and Midwest where there were more and better jobs, some schooling, some dignity. Negroes, who at the beginning of the present century lived in the South mainly as a "peasantry" on the plantations, are now to be found as a part of the population of every large city in the country.

Denied the status of equal citizens and the opportunity for a fair stake in the economic life of the South, Negroes migrated in waves to the North and West in search of a livelihood and some liberty. The Negro question was not solved by this, it was merely distributed throughout the country. This movement of the Negro people from the old plantation areas of the South to the industrial and commercial cities of the country, brought about important changes in the character of the Negro question. From sharecroppers, tenant farmers and toilers on the plantations, Negroes became engaged in urban occupations — as workers in industry and in the service trades. Their class composition, and, correspondingly, the primary form of their oppression and exploitation changed from that of rural peasant to that of urban worker. The now urban Negroes developed in some measure the class stratification characteristic of the population in the over-all capitalist society.

The population movements of the Negroes furthered the process of the integration of the Negro question into the general social problem inherent in capitalism. Likewise, the needs and aspirations of the Negroes became at one with the great mass of all other Americans, as variegated and as complex as theirs. If at the beginning of the reconstruction of the old slave states of the South following the Civil War, the demand raised in the Congress by Thaddeus Stevens that the ex-slaves be granted "40 acres and a mule" of their

former masters' properties had been granted, along with the full complement of civil and political rights of equal citizenship, the Negroes would have been provided with an economic base for the solution of the problem of their oppression. If "40 acres and a mule" was the bargain basement price the ruling class *could* have paid to solve this Negro question a hundred years ago, the price which must be paid to solve the Negro question is infinitely higher today. For the Negro is no longer a peasant hungering for a strip of land — he is a worker, in union with his fellows, in struggle for a full social share in the mighty industrial plant of this whole country in which he toils: he wants it in terms of full employment at the highest wages paid at his maximum skill; he wants it in a comfortable dwelling furnished with the appurtenances of modern living; he wants it in unfettered access to all outlets for cultural enjoyment. And, more than this, he wants full voice and his rightful share in the exercise of political power.

Indeed, the Negro question has become a part of every social problem of the nation. The nation's problems cannot be solved without solving the Negro question and the Negro question cannot be solved without profoundly affecting the nation's social system.

3. THE NEGROES AND LABOR

As their existence inside the family of the nation determines their goals and defines the objectives of their freedom struggle, so it is that the distribution of the Negro people within the social class structure of the society as a whole determines the pattern of the struggle to attain those goals.

Social Changes in the Negro Population

Analyzing the social composition of the Negro people is of the greatest importance for an understanding of the Negro question.

With a working class composition of some 70 per cent, Negroes are the most proletarian of all the large nationality-ethnic groups who make up the American nation. There is still a numerous stratum of Negroes on the farms of the South, but they own little land and are mainly farm laborers. The Negro people's urban middle class accounts for less than five per cent of the total Negro population. Negroes have few representatives in the capitalist class and these are in the category of small capitalists.

Whereas Negroes are about 10 per cent of the total population, they make up approxi-

mately 20 per cent of the working force. The proportion of Negroes in the labor force of a number of key industries is still greater than their ratio in the working force nationally. For example, Negro workers account for 40 per cent of the mining, lumber and meat-packing workers; 30 per cent of the long-shore and auto workers; 20 per cent of the steel, garment, building trades and transport workers.

So we see that whereas Negro Americans are a relatively minor part of the total population (10 per cent) they are a *major force* (20 to 30 per cent) in the industrial working class.

Most heavily represented in the working class base of the class stratified pyramid of U.S. capitalist society, with a small percentage in the middle-class brackets, and a numerically sparse representation in the strata of small and marginal capitalists, the struggles of Negro Americans to level all barriers to an attainment of a status and condition of equality with their fellow Americans, introduce a *special social dimension* into the *common class struggle*. The question of Negro oppression manifests itself as a particularly rapacious *form of class oppression* and is being fought out on a national scale, particularly in the cities of maximum working class strength.

Part of the Workers' Struggle

The fact that the Negro people are primarily of the working class is at once a characteristic feature of their oppression, and a determining factor of the greatest strategic significance in the solution of the problem of their oppression. It means that in a qualitatively new way the struggle for Negro freedom cannot be in conflict with, but conforms to, the interest of the working class as a whole. Indeed, *the freedom struggle of the Negro people is a specialized part of the general struggle of the working class against deprivation and class exploitation and oppression.*

Therefore, such programs as meet the needs of the working people, and conform to the interest of the working class, correspondingly serve the cause of Negro freedom.

From a recognition of his basic working class identity in the class structure of the society, the Negro American can readily locate the class source of his oppression. As he occupies a status at the base of the class stratified pyramid of the society, his enemy is that class which occupies the apex of the

society's pyramid; for that is where the exploiters' power resides.

The struggle of the Negro people for freedom from oppression is not a horizontal struggle but a vertical struggle. It is not directed against more or less better-advantaged white working people in the exploited class strata but against the common exploiter class at the top of the pyramid.

Therefore, the freedom struggle of the Negro people reinforces the struggle against the exploiting class of the white capitalists and of all those strata of the population upon whom the privileged apex weighs so heavily.

Furthermore, the very patterns of discrimination against the Negro worker in industry which have largely segregated him into the hardest, heaviest and hottest jobs, have produced a situation in which Negro workers are the dominant majority at the primary stages of the whole production process. On the other hand, the traditional economic deprivation of the Negro masses has become unbearable now, as a consequence of the displacement of Negroes *en masse* from their jobs as automation is extended. All this, added to the weight of his numbers in the working class, is the objective basis of the strategic importance of the Negro worker to the working class as a whole.

But there is another factor which endows the Negro worker with a special quality of premium value to the working class as a whole: the Negro workers are doubly motivated as fighters in the struggle of their class, for they are not only exploited as workers but are workers who are additionally victimized by racist proscription and discrimination. The struggle to reduce the degree of their economic exploitation results in a measure of relief from racial oppression, and the breaking down of racial proscriptions in turn facilitates their struggle for economic advancement.

Indeed, the presence of so large a proportion of Negroes, so especially motivated to militancy, in the American working-class can be likened to the addition of manganese to iron ore; when the two elements are united and fused in the furnace of class struggle, the metal of the American working class acquires a new quality, a quality vastly superior to either of its components — the quality of pure steel.

Elimination of the racial barriers between Negro and white Americans will greatly enhance the unity of the anti-monopoly front of struggle for general social progress, democracy and peace. Above all, the levelling

of the color bar in industry and political life will make it possible for our working class to achieve a new quality of class unity wherein Negro worker will stand to white worker as brother to brother, and the class will be enabled to give its undivided attention to its true class enemy, the monopolists.

With the right to a political life secured to the Negro masses of the South, the popular base of the electorate will be strengthened by an influx of three to five million Negro working men and women. These new voters who will have won their right to vote in long, fierce battles against the Dixiecrats, these veterans of the Civil Rights Revolution, will be fighting partisans of social progress all down the line. They may well contribute to a basic transformation in the relation of forces within the Democratic Party, and they constitute the requisite force for the ouster of the Dixiecrats from Congress and for breaking the stranglehold of reaction over the South.

The Communists' Approach

From its earliest days the Communist Party of the U.S. has given major attention to the struggle for the economic, political and social equality of the Negro people. It has done so not only because the racist oppression of the Negro people in the United States was itself a shameful violation of the dignity of human beings, but also because the racist proscription of the Negro people stood athwart the path of social progress of the class and the nation.

At its Sixteenth Convention in 1957, the Communist Party clearly pointed out that the main line of march of the Negro people's movement was that of opposition to all forms of separatist "solutions" to the question of their oppression and toward full and complete integration in the life of the nation. It estimated the significance of the Negro question then as being "the crucial domestic issue of the day" (*Political Affairs*, March 1957, pp. 31-42), the struggle for the solution of which would accelerate social progress along the whole anti-monopoly front.

Events have fully confirmed the major theoretical and programmatic resolution on the Negro question which our Party adopted at its Seventeenth Convention in December, 1959. In this resolution we stated:

"... The main unrealized task of bourgeois (capitalist) democracy in the United States is revealed in the special oppression of the Negro people. The bonds of Negro oppression can and must be shattered. All signs point to an early and triumphant resolu-

tion of the century-old battle of the Negro people for full and equal citizenship. . . . Victory on this sector would open the way to rapid developments along the whole front for radical social advancement of the entire nation."

In the current stage of the massive advance of the Negro freedom movement our Party has given full support to the broadly based united front of the Negro people's organizations which gives leadership to the direct actions of the Negro people's rising against segregation and for full equality. Our Party fosters the widest unity of action of the broad political spectrum of participating organizations and leaders which make up the Negro freedom front. Our Party promotes in every way the involvement of white masses—labor, the youth, peace forces and religious people—in the struggle for the rights of the Negro people. At the same time, our Party exposes the diversionists, adventurists, provocateurs, and opponents of Negro-white unity who seek to poach upon and disrupt the Negro people's freedom movement.

Through the victorious development of the Negro people's freedom struggle the Party perceives the reinvigoration of the whole front of social action and struggle for new levels of social progress in our country. As Gus Hall put it:

"The removal of the cesspool of racism with its practices of discrimination in the South will also eliminate one of the main sources of ideological contamination of our people. Racism and white chauvinism have stunted the growth of class consciousness and working class ideology in general. They remain among the most effective weapons in the hands of the employers for diverting the rise of class unity, class consciousness and militancy. . . . Victory in the South will enable the healthy ideology of the working class to take its rightful place in our midst. . . .

And he added:

"The struggles (of the Negro people) in the South to rid our land of the shackles on freedom are giving an injection of new strength to all our democratic institutions. They are broadening the popular base of democracy in our land. They are cleansing the political and social atmosphere of our country."

The Negro people in the United States are today in all-out battle to secure victory for themselves, for the working class, and for the nation. This great democratic struggle will remove the main roadblock to the renewal of the advance of the working class along the road of social progress in our nation.

Current Problems of the Trade Union Movement in the Common Market Countries

Umberto Scalia

PROMINENT AMONG the new features underlying the process of monopoly development in the countries of "mature" capitalism is the trend towards exclusive economic groupings minus customs barriers and based on an integrated market. In this way the problem of capturing markets is elevated to a higher level, placed within a wider economic framework thus lending specific features to the imperialist competition.

This process has found a special form of expression in the Common Market, a form in which the collaboration between the West European monopolies has acquired a still more organic nature. In other words, the Common Market is not merely a subdivision of the market in a specific area of production, it is something that pursues more far-reaching economic and political aims, underlying which is the urgent need to have a solid economic base for the joint struggle waged by the monopolies and governments of the Six against the socialist countries. It is not only the well-known political considerations that lie at the bedrock of this struggle. The West European monopolies are doing their utmost to prevent a situation in which the socialist countries could become a rival force, especially in view of the fact that in recent years these countries have become a serious threat to them on the world market.

These new trends, however, are not without deep-going internal contradictions. Indeed, the trend to "liberalize" trade comes up against its opposite—protection; the efforts aimed at imparting to the "integrated" Western Europe a definite political unity under the aegis of the French-West German bloc are countered by the trend in favor of opening the Common Market to Britain and the EFTA countries; the desire to build an economically strong and politically united Western Europe vis-à-vis the socialist coun-

tries is countered by the apprehensions of other monopoly and imperialist groups that this might bring into being a powerful rival in the political and economic spheres.

Monopoly Offensive . . .

The *raison d'être* of the Common Market lies in the growing expansion of state-monopoly capitalism, with the state intervening more and more in the economic life. This enables the monopolies to make the most of the economic resources of the country and of the machinery of state, with which their own power is linked more closely. The growing monopoly concentration and the technological advance impel the monopolies to meddle more vigorously in state matters in the endeavor to achieve a more rigid regulation of all aspects of labor relations (wages, productivity rates, working hours, skill grading, etc.) and to establish greater control over production. The monopolies in the Common Market countries are seizing on every opportunity to bring the working people fully under their control since this is essential if profits are to be maintained and increased. Indeed, the policy of the monopolies is motivated by the imperative demand to appear on the market *with lower production costs*. Hence the urge towards undivided rule over the decisive factors of socio-economic life, to subordinate to their control the working-class movement both in the enterprises and outside them, to abolish all the autonomous functions and initiative of the trade unions.

Faced with antagonisms and differences, the West European governments and monopolies are mounting an offensive aimed above all at emasculating political democracy and depriving the trade unions of any possibility for independent action. The Paris-Bonn axis plays the leading role in this respect.

. . . And the Counter-Offensive of the Working People

That is why importance is attached to the growing mass pressure of the working people, to extending and invigorating the trade union struggle in practically all the Common Market countries, to participation by the unions—as the indispensable and leading bodies—in discussing the further direction of the economic, social and political development in Western Europe. Against this background the recent mass struggles in the countries of the so-called “economic miracle” and “affluent society” take on a definite meaning: proceeding from their demands for higher wages, shorter hours, social insurance safeguards and improvements, etc., the working people are insisting on their right to have a say in shaping socio-economic life and in charting the perspectives of social development.

This demand, which also presupposes the extension of trade union rights, is also conditioned by the changes in the mechanism of monopoly exploitation, arising from the new methods of intensifying labor, on the one hand, and the rising cost of living, on the other. Prices are rising faster than wages. Consequently, at the present stage of technological advance in the conditions of developed capitalism, a rise in wages is not always a guarantee of the improvements won by the masses in the course of their struggle. A growing importance, therefore, is attached to the extent to which the trade unions can influence the mechanism of monopoly exploitation, curbing the power of the monopolies and winning the right to have a say in labor relations directly in the enterprise.

The struggle for higher wages and better conditions is in one way or another aimed ultimately at winning freedom of action for the trade unions. This is the case, in particular, in such countries as France, Italy, Britain, West Germany and Belgium. The trend towards independence for the trade unions is counterposed to the designs of the employers who are going all out to bring the unions under their sway, to bring them into the system of monopoly domination.

This struggle is waged as an offensive, for the issue is the right of the workers to have a bigger share of the higher labor productivity, on the one hand, and an offensive against the more obvious and direct manifestations of monopoly policy, on the other. In some cases the struggle for immediate demands, developing at times into big mass movements, also affects the more general

aspects of monopoly policy—including the fight for democracy and peace.

Lessons of the Mass Struggle in Italy

A few examples to prove the point. One is the glorious struggle of 1,300,000 Italian metalworkers which ended in victory after a 9-month battle. “Most of the demands advanced jointly by the various trade union centers have a new content inasmuch as the point at issue is the right to discuss all aspects of labor relations and, consequently, all aspects of remuneration for labor. Having won recognition of these demands or even of only a part of them, the trade union acquires, both in the factory and directly in regard to the employers, a new function developing in the direction of control and power.”*

Indeed, the victory won by the metalworkers not only gave them a number of concrete and direct advantages such as the 32 per cent increase in the minimum wage, shorter hours, equal pay for women workers, etc.; for the first time it affirmed in principle the right to discuss the basic aspects of labor relations in the factory and, consequently, the right of the trade union to take part in determining the additional components from which wages are compiled in the particular enterprise, as well as conditions of work. The defeat suffered by the employers was a particularly heavy one because after rejecting the demands of the workers, the idea was to launch an all-out political offensive against the right to strike and to reverse the political situation in the country. That is why the struggle of the trade unions for wider powers in collective bargaining has, in effect, become one of the main trends of the wider movement for a democratic regeneration in Italy.

The success of the Left in the recent general election, and especially the outstanding victory won by the Communist Party, stress the class content and the political significance of the struggle waged by the Italian workers in recent years. In this we have a clear demonstration of the link between the strike movement and the general political struggle.

Certainly the opening to the Left and especially the heavy vote polled by the Communists cannot be regarded in isolation from the fact that in most cases the economic struggle against the monopolies directly af-

*P. Toqliatti. *The Experience of the Metalworkers*. Rinascita, 1963, No. 8.

fects the very policy of the class enemy and as often as not went beyond the boundaries of a purely strike struggle. The scale of this struggle and especially its political content served to deepen the political consciousness of the working people, making it possible thereby to win new positions.

A Blow Against the Policy of Gaullism

No less significant was the valiant struggle fought by the French miners. The Gaullist regime maintained that by resorting to civil mobilization it would have no difficulty in breaking the resistance of the miners. The idea was to use this struggle as a pretext to intensify the offensive against the democratic institutions in the country. In order to be in a position to play the role to which they aspire in Western Europe, the monopolies of the Fifth Republic wanted to put a brake on the movement for higher wages and to prevent any increase in the purchasing power of the masses. Hence their insistence on the trade unions being fully subordinated to the regime. But the workers retaliated with a counter-offensive. All sections of the working class and all shades of public opinion sided with the miners. For the first time engineers and technicians expressed complete solidarity with the miners. The result was an extra blow against the narrowing mass base on which de Gaulle's policy had relied in recent years. It is highly significant that in this struggle the fight for wages was closely bound up with the fight for trade union rights, with the demand for a radical solution of the problems facing the coal industry.

That is why in this case, too, the victory won by the miners was something more than a success in the struggle for economic demands, acquiring as it did an unequivocally political significance. The working people struck another blow at the Gaullist policy, thus demonstrating that it is they who are the real champions of democracy and of a new way of economic development. The resolute stand against the government's anti-strike legislation was further proof of this.

New Trends in the Working-Class Movement in Federal Germany

An exceedingly interesting situation has developed also in West Germany. The monopolies, believing that the time had come to counter the demands advanced by the workers, proposed to the government that a "committee of experts" should make a preliminary examination of the demands for higher

wages an obligatory practice and thus prevent the spread of the strike struggle. The workers, however, rejected the policy of the monopolies which called on them to "practise restraint," nor did they yield to the government claim that the Federal Republic could not afford the "luxury of higher wages" (according to Dr. Erhard). Unfortunately, however, the Right-wing trade union leaders are opposed to an independent class policy, to taking an uncompromising stand against the policy of the employers and the government. But the working people are becoming more and more aware of the need to overcome this attitude of subordination and reconciliation. The recent struggles of the metalworkers in Baden-Wuerttemberg confirm their resolve. These struggles forced the government to intervene, to adopt an attitude of arbitration and compromise, in order to try to prevent any extension of the conflict.

Consequently, in West Germany, too, the working people are by no means "playing into the hand" of the monopolies. The mass actions are making things difficult for the Right-wing leaders. New trends are taking shape in the depths of the West German trade union movement, impeding its complete inclusion into the system of monopoly domination. At last year's trade union congress the leaders had to oppose the "extraordinary" laws and nuclear armament.

Trade Union Rights — the Main Line of the Counter-Offensive

The struggle of the Belgian workers, who advanced the demand for a democratic alternative to the Loi Unique (austerity law) and also the movement of the British workers who upset the government's "wage pause" clearly demonstrated that the policy of the monopolies in addition to encountering resistance also gives rise to counter-offensives which as often as not end in victory.

The impressive struggle which followed these offensives in the West European countries, as well as its aims and content, its clearly defined unitarian character and its results signify that what we have is not just an outburst of sporadic indignation but a *counter-offensive* which, emanating from the immediate economic demands, everywhere advances the demand for more trade union rights at all levels and, increasing the social tension, makes the trade unions one of the principal motive forces of present-day social development. The trade union struggle

is striking hard at the designs of the monopolies.

In effect the mass struggles in Western Europe are growing into a powerful all-embracing movement, countering the line of the monopolies to maintain and increase their profits at the expense of the working people.

For a certain time the monopolies succeeded—at least on the propaganda plane—in persuading big sections of the working people that the Common Market was the panacea for all the ills. They believed that by taking advantage of the favorable economic situation they would be in a position to bring under their control the working-class movement and the trade unions and to subordinate them to the monopoly system. But the bursting out of the antagonisms inherent in the system was not long in coming. The accumulation of difficulties, inflation, the slowing-down of the rate of growth, the obvious unbalance between certain sectors and areas, on the one hand, and the growing pressure of the workers and their unions, on the other—all laid bare the stark reality of the inexorable narrowing down of the opportunities for realizing the new plans of the monopolies.

The desire to overcome this state of affairs prompted the monopolies to resort to a new policy which provides, in particular, for new instruments and new methods to enable the state to undertake programming, control and orientation in the economic sphere. In the long run, however, the trade union movement, even though it started from partial aims, upset the designs of the monopolies and precipitated a crisis in their social and union policy.

Need for United Action on an International Scale

It should be said, however, that so far the struggle has been limited in nature. Though its content, its basic aims and its unity were common to all movements in the different countries, in the main this struggle has not yet broken out of its national boundaries; waged by the working people on a national scale, it was not able to strike the decisive blow against the monopolies on an international scale.

Yet the struggle of the French miners, which sparked off a powerful movement of international solidarity, provided further proof that the desire for unity has ripened also internationally.

At the present stage of high monopoly concentration, with an international alliance of the monopolies the order of the day, *the struggle waged by the working people at national levels in the different sectors of the economy cannot produce the desired effect unless it is elevated on to the international plane.*

The question arises: is the trade union movement still unable—despite repeated attempts—to build an international front of working people vis-à-vis the international alliance of the monopolies? It would be oversimplification if one were to continue to discuss the responsibility for the split. The split at both national and international levels has given rise to an irreversible situation. On the national scale, in France and Italy for example, the bias which a priori precluded any possibility of unity has in fact been overcome in the course of the struggle. This result cannot be explained by either subjective reasons or by the contention that the views of one side have prevailed over the views of the other. It is the product of a long process of development, of objective reality which demonstrated that the recent examples of unity were made possible by the special features of the current political and economic situation, and that they in turn hold out the possibility of a new trade union unity. Certainly the urge towards unity, which can be observed more and more widely among the rank-and-file trade unionists as well as among some of the leaders, affects, as stated above, not only the secondary but also the more general tasks of trade union policy.

With the onset of the new situation a crisis has gripped the entire policy of reformist syndicalism. The crisis of collective bargaining is a consequence of the intention of the monopolists to make wages dependent on the rate of growth of the national product. They make no secret of their desire to emasculate the traditional democratic ideals of society and to subordinate its structure wholly to their own interests and the interests of monopoly expansion. This policy of the monopolists is generating a crisis of the "democratic" concepts and theories of reformist trade unionism. All this compels those trade unions which are not guided by class concepts to reassess their ideological and practical orientation in order to prevent the rapid progress of the ideological and organizational crisis.

New Possibilities for Unity

If we proceed from the elements characteristic of the present position of the trade unions in the West European countries, it will be seen that the class unions undoubtedly can make a contribution—in a new form—to the unity now being engendered and accelerated by the objective facts of life.

In particular, I believe that the World Federation of Trade Unions, precisely because it is an international organization standing for unity can, by means of vigorous and extensive discussion, help the leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, who often stand apart from the united actions by the national organizations, to emerge from their seclusion and sectarian apathy.

The urge to unity observed in the press of the organizations belonging to the ICFTU is proof of the possibilities in that direction. But this calls not so much for demonstrative or propaganda actions at all levels, but rather for a more skillful study of the problems, more resolute initiative and action which would show the working people the concrete aims of their struggle, aims corresponding to the more general tasks of democratic and social advance. In this way the trade unions would be better able to act their role as autonomous organizations.

In the world of today, which demands the highest qualifications in every field of human endeavor, the international organizations are reaffirming their viability and their militancy by using new and specific methods which enable them to adapt their activity to the real situation, to reveal the objective trends of development, to influence the discussions, the study of reality, the elaboration of a line of action and to solve the problems that arise.

This calls for contacts of a new type between the various sections of the trade union movement, contacts that should enable us not only to express solidarity with them or advance slogans, but also to acquaint them with new ideas, to help them in studying, comparing and choosing problems on the international scale, encourage the search for real grounds for getting together, for parallel actions to win similar demands and also for united actions on the international arena.

The need for more vigorous action at this level derives from the present balance of forces in the international trade union movement—both in the advanced capitalist countries and in the underdeveloped countries—

and corresponds to the new unity trend. Such vigorous action would help to inflict an ideological and practical defeat on the rigid ideological anachronism which still divides the international trade union movement.

Coordination of the anti-monopoly struggle at international level is an aim that can be realized. I believe, therefore, that although the conditions for joint action by the national and international trade union organizations are not yet ripe, united action can be developed at lower levels between the various sections, groups and categories of workers, and this would pave the way for action on a bigger scale. In view of the real growth of unity, inexorably rising from below and affecting even the top echelons, there should be a corresponding flexibility and courage in tackling the problems. The examples of the broad unity in France and Italy show that united action can be successful provided discrimination, prejudice and narrow-mindedness are cast aside. The unity which we have in mind today is a new form of unity, developing on a different plane than before, since the situation has changed in recent years, all the more so that today nobody demands, at any rate literally, a return to the organic unity which was reached immediately after the Second World War.

At its meeting in January this year the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions reviewed the current problems of unity of the international trade union movement. In addition to the proposal to set up an international consultative committee for united action and to hold a meeting of representatives of all the trade union bodies in Europe, in particular of the trade union centers of the five principal countries of Western Europe—Britain, France, Italy, Federal Germany and Belgium—the Executive discussed the work of the international sections of the WFTU unions. The meeting also stressed the need for a policy of unity which would give the sections broader opportunities for waging a class struggle for new positions, that would bring the working people into a more direct clash with the structure of the system, with the centers of public leadership and power.

All the conditions exist for coordinating the struggle of the working people on an international scale, and to achieve results capable of breaking the international front of the monopolies.

Such, in my view, is the paramount task

of the European trade union movement. That is why it is necessary vigorously to combat narrow-mindedness and sectarianism and at the same time to find new forms of contact and united action corresponding to the new demands advanced by reality. Success in this remarkable and growing struggle for trade union rights and economic demands will depend on the extent to which the working class enhances its militancy, extends its sphere of action and wins more allies. At the same time success depends on the ability of the movement to build a broad united front of struggle on the international scale.

The Communist parties of the Common Market countries deem it necessary to intensify this process of unification and to make it more consistent. In a joint declaration adopted at a meeting in Brussels on March 6, 1963, the representatives of these parties stated:

"... Joint action by all workers and demo-

crats is essential.... Reinforcing and extending the Communist-Socialist joint action acquire a decisive significance. United, the Communists and Socialists can head big sections of the working class. New opportunities are opening up also for unity of the people, for contacts and agreements with the Catholic forces. Significant success has already been achieved in the matter of organizing united action by the big trade unions. The Communists, welcoming the growing alliance which they see as basic to the advance of the democratic forces, pledge themselves to do all in their power to strengthen and extend this alliance. The Communist parties of the Six Common Market countries will work patiently and perseveringly, display initiative, and utilize the most diverse means—contacts, discussions, joint actions—in order to develop broad unity of action by all workers and democrats in Western Europe."

Poet of the Revolution and of Our Times

On the 70th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Mayakovsky

L. Pazhitnov and B. Shragin

Mayakovsky is the poet of the future we are building, the future we are working for. . . . Every time I open any one of his books at any page, life streams forth and washes me in its stormy torrent. A dazzling light merciless to the lovers of darkness emanates from it as from a powerful spotlight.

A. V. LUNACHARSKY

A POET of rare daring, capable of destroying and of creating with the vigor, impetuosity and wholeheartedness of a youth not yet encumbered with prejudice and the cautious wisdom of experience, Vladimir Mayakovsky detested official anniversary celebrations. Ceremonious recognition of accomplishments, especially past accomplishments, nauseated him, as did all signs of smugness, of palsied thought. To introduce dogmatism and veneration for rank into the workshop of art, to turn the heritage of art into a lifeless icon were in his eyes an abomination. By his life and his work he won the right to meet his 70th birthday without ceremony.

The paths he blazed in art are still being followed, not without difficulty, by progressive poets all over the world.

Once, introducing a reading of his "Mystery-Bouffe," he said: "The play is presented as it was; as new circumstances arise and multiply it will be redone. When I die it will be redone by others and perhaps become all the better for that." His work and his life, he felt, were closely involved in building the new communist culture. And to this day his poetry exemplifies a true communist attitude to life, to the social and ideological battles of the time, to the masses who are in the process of consummating the laws of history.

His tradition lives on in the revolutionary art of our time. His work is being continued and "redone" by others. The drama of his labors continues. Having absorbed the intellectual experience of the greatest revolution of the 20th century, his poetry enables us to get a better understanding of the complex problems of present-day art.

1. ON THE ROAD TO A NEW ART

Some proponents of modernist aesthetics maintain that Mayakovsky's desire to devote his talent to the revolution, to link art with the life of the people was an aberration, that it was unnatural and artificial. His best work, they feel, was done before the revolution, and its value lies in the hyperbolic images of his early poems, in their feeling of "aloneness," in his posturing as a poet in rebellion, as instanced in his tragedy "Vladimir Mayakovsky."

Dogmatic critics, on the contrary, anathematized his early work, dating his emergence as a proletarian poet from the moment he broke with what they considered as his toying with "decadence." In their eyes Mayakovsky was at his "best" in his propaganda verses of the 'twenties. All the rest, they infer, was poor stuff.

These two views have at least one thing in common: they rend the poet's life and work in two and oppose one fragment to the other. They cannot take in Mayakovsky's development as a whole. Not only do they fail to grasp its results, even if interpreted only one-sidedly, they fail to perceive the contradictory nature of the efforts that led to them. Neither point of view shows an understanding of the true role of Mayakovsky's work as a reflection of the contradictions and the trends which to this day are shaping the progressive development of art.

The history of art often veils the motley sequences of names and events, leaving to the view of posterity only the peaks. So it is with world poetry: only the main links in the chain impress themselves. The detailed literary landscape amidst which Mayakovsky started out—Balmont and Severyanin, Bely and Sollogub—today really interests only the expert. Yet one has only to recall it to see that Mayakovsky had from the first to overcome the fruits of the decadence of world poetry, not its great realistic tradition. Before he could win through to real, socially effective art, he had to cast aside the feeble, anemic fruits of symbolism.

This, apparently, was the function performed by Mayakovsky's futurism, which blinds

the eyes of many students of his work. Hatred for the ivory tower, for the traditional conventionalities of an exhausted poetic speech bred a spirit of rebellion in the young poet, led him to be deliberately uncouth, to jeer at and violate bourgeois respectability and decorum. But latent in Mayakovsky, the futurist, was a genuine continuer of the classic tradition in poetry. His rebelliousness, a natural reaction, was, in effect, a means of renewing the classic tradition.

Decadent individualism — that, primarily, was what the young Mayakovsky wanted to debunk. This was the main burden of his early work. The decadents chose to ignore this, while the dogmatists proved incapable of perceiving its relationship to his subsequent development. Long before the revolution Mayakovsky recognized the need for democracy in art, for a union of the arts with broad social aims. "Since the division of labor has engendered an exclusive group of workers in beauty," he said, "then the artist, say, who stops painting 'the charms of drunken lady-loves' and turns to broad democratic art, must inform society under what conditions his labor ceases to be an individual necessity and becomes socially useful." No hint of decadence in this.

History is made differently from what is generally pictured in schoolbooks. "Futurism" was not a superficial thing to Mayakovsky. On his lips it was a battle-cry, a call to shatter the mildewed boundaries of bourgeois—and more particularly, decadent—art, and to build the art culture of the future. "Galling as it may be to the icon worshippers," says Louis Aragon, "Mayakovsky was not simply a futurist, he was the founder of Russian futurism. . . . Mayakovsky sets himself in opposition to the literature of the ruling classes but as yet finds no better means of expressing his opposition than to develop to the extreme the destructive turbulence of the poetry that preceded him. Like Elouard, who came to grips with words mysteriously forbidden later than Mayakovsky, the young poet unquestionably thereby steels his weapon — the poetic idiom — but still lacks the dialectical clarity of thought he will need in the future."

Because of his forward-looking nature Mayakovsky continued to call himself a "futurist" long after the revolution. It would be naive to imagine that someone deliberately led him astray with evil intent, to exploit the genius of the proletarian poet for his own ends. Mayakovsky had need of the future as a concrete art image represent-

ing the perspective of the development then in progress, as an irrefutable argument in his hard-fought battle with philistinism and bureaucracy, with the Prisipkins and the Pobedonosikovs.*

For all the complexities and contradictions which marked Mayakovsky's development and which are inevitable in any process of historical significance, his work reflects with crystal clarity the general tendency of development of progressive art in the 20th century — towards socialist revolution, towards socialist art, towards communism.

Mayakovsky gave practical embodiment to this tendency, advancing it as far forward as the historical conditions of the 'twenties allowed. In his poetry the principles of a new aesthetic consciousness emerged and entered into the fabric of his poetic images. Mayakovsky was the first to fuse into one whole a deep Marxist understanding of reality and the new Communist vision of it. Not only did he formulate the task clearly — "to create a socialist art," he made that task a part of himself, a part of his own personality.

2. REVOLUTION AND THE POET'S PERSONALITY

The Epos and Humanism

Many were and still are troubled by the poet's seeming egoism. All his life — both before October and after — he wrote about himself. His early poems "A Cloud in Trousers" and "Flute of Spine" are intensely personal. The poem bearing the proud title "Man," is again about himself. Its chapter headings are: "The Birth of Mayakovsky," "The Life of Mayakovsky," "Mayakovsky to the Centuries," and so on. Nor does he forget his own person in his post-October masterpieces — "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" and "Good." His attitude to Lenin is personal. He weaves his own biography into the history of the revolution. In his introduction to his last, unfinished poem "At the Top of My Voice," he declares proudly:

I'll myself relate
about the times
about myself.

"How immodest!" the philistines cry. But is it?

The personal quality of the poet's position cannot, of course, be measured by the philistine's rule. It might be fitting here to recall Marx's words: "... the modesty of genius

does not consist of the same thing as the language of erudition, which lacks accent and dialect, but on the contrary, of speaking in the language of the object itself, of expressing its unique essence. It consists of bringing out the object, forgetting about modesty and immodesty. The universal modesty of the spirit is wisdom, that universal independence of thought that regards *each thing* as necessarily the essence of the thing itself."* Mayakovsky's seeming immodesty is exactly of that nature: it helps to reveal the essence of the communist individual and that individual's attitude towards society, towards life and the world. In that sense it is akin to the "immodesty" of Byron and Heine, of Robert Burns and Walt Whitman — of all the great poets whose works carry the breath of epochs.

Mayakovsky's personality as a poet took final shape in the years of the October Revolution. His voice echoed the voice of millions, rang with the released turbulent energy of the mass emotions and passions. The search for new poetic forms capable of withstanding the pressure of this energy gave rise to monumental images of epic breadth and depth.

In one of his poems Mayakovsky pictures himself conversing with the sun. He does this without resorting to the exaggerations which helped the heroes of fairy tale and legend to tear trees out by their roots and to pick up and hurl rocks. No, he, a man, feels himself a cosmic magnitude in his own right, and in all the details of living. He and the sun have tea together. He and the sun have similar problems and cares.

The epic element in Mayakovsky's poetry is a vivid expression of the humanism of the socialist revolution which creates the requisites for the flowering of the individual, which is capable of turning a man into a giant not in fancy but in actual fact. And then even the prosaic trifle can be seen as an expression of world-historic matters.

It was with good reason that Marx was sceptical of the possibility of the epic element being broadly developed in the art culture of bourgeois society. The hostility of the bourgeois order to the free development of the individual does indeed hamper the fruitful development of the epic perception of life.

The socialist revolution created in the 20th century the requisites for the revival of the epos which had taken into itself the fullness of life in all its many facets, which made

*Allegorical characters from, respectively, "The Bedbug" and "Bathhouse."

*Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 7, Russ. ed.

poetry of what for centuries had been regarded as the exclusive property of prose.

Mayakovsky's poetry is a splendid embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the Party-spirit in art, based on the free fusion of the artist's personal position with the interests of the people, the Party, the revolution.

Poetry's grade I gauge
by the commune,

Mayakovsky asserted. Party-spirit was never a problem to him; he had no hesitations or doubts about it. The social message of his poetry was perfectly clear. Party-spirit was the highest expression of his sincerity as a man and a poet. And he fought for it with all the passion of a proletarian poet. But he was also well aware that unless the poet had assimilated the idea he wrote of and made it part of himself, Party-spirit would be a sham. Lack of respect for the artist's personal position he regarded as the murder of art;

When will they get it
that poetry's
work,
needs space
and time.
"Face the countryside" —
the task is assigned
to your lutes
fellow-poets!
Get it straight —
I have only one
face —
it's a face,
not a weathercock.

The natural fusion of the personal and the social is the principle of modern communist poetry for all the variety of creative styles and individualities of its best representatives. That Mayakovsky's defense of this position was met with consternation at the time and is still regarded by some as an impermissible instance of poetic license that confuses the "small" with the "big" is a sign of the vagueness of the views on man and, especially, on the artist cultivated by the whole system of bourgeois relations.

The Tragedy of Art in Bourgeois Society

The last decades of our century have deepened the contradictions in the art of bourgeois society. Bourgeois reality has dispelled many illusions on this score. The disproportion between the wealth of object-forms of mater-

ial culture and the poverty of creative expression of the individual, deformed in the production of those forms, is becoming ever more glaring. And so too is the poverty of bourgeois social relationships which doom people to loneliness and disunion, under which in the pursuit of the phantoms of wealth and success a man sees in the person of another only the boundaries of his own freedom.

"I seek unity but cannot deny the fact that the society I live in is splintered. . . . Man is split and this split state hinders us from drawing as Raphael drew," says the Italian Communist artist Renato Guttuso. In these conditions art is not in harmony with life. In its efforts to create an integral art culture it comes up against a world that has no room for this culture, where the free development of man's powers and abilities is called in question, where the realization of this freedom is the exception rather than the rule. The keen eye of the artist traces in the countenance of bourgeois society the features of an ugly monster that will drink nectar only from a skull.

It would be nearsighted to see in the trends towards "de-dramatization" and reproduction of the "stream of consciousness" in art only formal innovations designed to appeal to the sated taste of the snob. These trends go deep in literature, drama and the cinema and, in the final analysis, they reflect the tragic feeling of modern culture in the capitalist countries, the serious thought it is giving to man's place and destiny in the bourgeois world.

"The right to the undisturbed enjoyment, upon certain conditions, of fortuity and chance" (Marx) — that is what bourgeois freedom of the individual really comes to. It involves for man loss of rational control over the conditions of his life and his relations with society. Art reveals the emptiness and joylessness of this "freedom" with truly documentary explicitness.

From books, from the stage, from the screen there pours forth a curious "stream of life" that carries us, as it were, into a tortured, upside down world of nightmare. Living and suffering in it are people who have lost each other, who are unable to enter into any lasting relations and contacts, who have not the power to love and hate—not people but almost disembodied ghosts. Bereft of ties with the world of social interests and passions, they are frustrated people whose human values are almost obscured. The dramas of history unfold some place behind their backs, affecting them only by their destructive re-

sults. It is hard to believe at first that this is not the fruit of a morbid imagination, not the whim of a tortuous fancy, but a true picture, well grasped by the artist, of the disintegration of the human personality in modern bourgeois society, masked on the surface by the prosaic details of the daily struggle for survival.

"It is the *slavery of civic society* that appears to be the greatest *freedom* because it seems a consummate form of *independence* of the individual, who takes the unbridled movement, a movement no longer bound either by common bonds or by man, of the alienated elements of his life, as property, industry, religion, etc., as his own freedom, whereas this, on the contrary represents his complete slavery and the exact opposite of humanity,"* wrote Karl Marx.

The disintegration of the personality, destruction of the individual's social ties with reality corrode the enfeebled organism of the modern capitalist world like a cancerous growth. It is a disease accurately and honestly diagnosed by art. "I wanted to make a film that inspires courage, and that is possible only when people dare to look truth in the eyes, leaving themselves no illusions," Federico Fellini has said of his film "La Dolce Vita." The ability to see the naked truth is always proof of the artist's inner strength. The courage to tell the truth about modern life saves art from flabbiness and hopelessness, gives it the strength to confront disintegration of the personality squarely, without either stooping to apology for it, or crossing the dividing line between real art and decadence. That courage helps artists to dispel the illusions of the bourgeois world; it helps them to stand firm.

Sober artistic analysis of the times brings the progressive artist in bourgeois countries to the conclusion that the philosophy of individualism has spent itself. It prompts him to seek a way out of the impasse of the bourgeois views on the problem of the individual, to seek a new type of social relationship among people. The moulding of a genuinely free man who has full command of the wealth of socially developed relationships with reality is possible in our time only in struggle to change the world. This conclusion emerges naturally from the profoundly anti-bourgeois spirit pervading the work of progressive artists.

With art in the bourgeois world torn by contradictions, Mayakovsky's poetry contin-

ues to offer an example of the wholeness and harmony achieved by an artist in living contact with a people engaged in forging new relations conducive to the development of the individual. The interesting thing is that the same motif is to be found in the work of the progressive poets of capitalist countries who, carrying on their own national traditions, are developing the traditions of Mayakovsky, as witness the poems of the late Nazim Hikmet, and of Pablo Neruda and Raphael Alberti.

Struggle for the democratic and socialist traditions in culture, for humanism, is very much in order today. Peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems does not imply acceptance of bourgeois ideology. Reactionary bourgeois ideology is incompatible with humanism. It paralyzes man's social activity, makes him doubtful of his powers, nurtures the baser instincts of human nature. Struggle against this ideology is a battle for the mind of man, for his moral culture and human dignity, for his support of the forces of reason and progress, in whose vanguard march the Communist parties. In this struggle the Communists stand with all sincere people, with the progressive intelligentsia of the world.

Communism and Freedom of the Individual

Exploiting the distortions of the personality cult period, bourgeois ideologists argue that communism is incompatible with individual freedom, that it denies the independence and sovereignty of the individual, sacrifices man to political interests, looking upon him as the *means* to this or that social end rather than the *end* itself.

The things that took place during the cult were indeed inimical to the freedom and creative independence of the individual. They threatened the artist, the poet, with loss of his creative individuality, his individual perception of the world, with severance of his ties with the people. But those things had nothing in common with communism, with the relations of the artist with the masses inherent in it.

Genuine communism predicates the artist as taking immediate part in and expressing the intellectual growth of the people. It holds no brief for the idea that man is merely a "cog" in the complicated social mechanism. On the contrary, it predicates a free, creatively thinking and feeling individual having the knowledge and culture to solve any of life's problems, an individual hostile to all forms of sychophancy, who bases his rela-

*Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 129-130, Russ. ed.

tionship to life and to other people on a lofty sense of moral dignity and justice. Only such an individual can build communism and live in a reconstructed world. This man is an individual whose powers and abilities are developed in close contact with the other people building the new society. In the final analysis the harmonious, all-round development of the individual, the measure of his freedom, depend on this. Only in the course of this process can the individual acquire true independence and sovereignty. Personal interest in everything taking place in the world, a sense of his own future being closely associated with the future of his people and of all mankind determine his standards of behavior and thinking, which, in principle, are incompatible with the standards of bourgeois individualism.

Mayakovsky's poetry is the expression of the inmost being of this new individual. And it is utterly incompatible with cult thinking, what is more, it is utterly hostile to it. Little wonder then that his dramatic masterpieces, "The Bedbug" and "Bathhouse," could reappear on the stage after a long interval only in the cleansing atmosphere that accompanied the denunciation of the personality cult.

No poet has ever written of Lenin better, more exactly and with more feeling than did Mayakovsky. To this day his lines are reprinted in the newspapers or simply come to mind whenever we want to define what Lenin means to us. There is not the slightest hint in them of self-depreciation, not the faintest note of servility. Here is no "little" man fawning upon a leader. Quite the contrary.

Surely,
 Lenin won't be mobbed:
 "Leader
 by the Grace of God?"
 If he
 had been
 royal and divine,
 I wouldn't
 have spared myself
 out of rage.
 I'd have
 pit myself
 against that procession
 line . . .

Mayakovsky and his poetry were dead set against all slavishness and dogmatism. One cannot imagine him a songster of the personality cult.

The years of the personality cult cast a

tragic shadow on Mayakovsky's memory. He was declared "the best and most talented" poet at the very time when ways and standards alien to the spirit of his poetry began to be imposed. A poet who was of and with the people in the highest sense of the term, who from first line to last passionately opposed all stagnation, meanness and bureaucracy, who always drew his inspiration from the best forces in the Party—such a poet they sought to use to glorify the arbitrary practices that stifled those forces.

Those years have gone forever. The idea of "canonizing" Mayakovsky never worked out. He could not be fitted into the Procrustean bed of a cult poet who sang not so much of the new world as of the graciousness and wisdom of its supreme tutor. His poetry was always the spiritual weapon of the advanced tendencies in the Party, which resisted the implantation of anti-Leninist norms in the life of the country and which in the end helped overcome and discard them.

Even today Mayakovsky is an unfailing participant in the struggle for man's intellectual growth and moral health. His image as a poet and citizen has lost not a particle of its infectious charm over the years. And now, after the Twentieth and Twenty-Second CPSU congresses, it is especially important for our artists to recapture Mayakovsky's ability to see life from the height of a big poetic "self," to be possessed by lofty ideas, to rejoice and be angry with all their being, not half-heartedly, to perceive all that is healthy and vibrant among the masses, never squandering their talent on cheap popularity, always preserving their independence and judgment.

3. ART STEMMING FROM THE MASSES AND FOR THE MASSES

Democracy in Art

Mayakovsky has gone down in the history of the 20th century as one of the few artists who was able to advance world poetry far along the path of linking itself with the revolutionary struggle of the working people.

How should an artist respond to the life of the masses, to their cultural needs? How ensure to art the maximum impact on the masses? These are problems that trouble artists to this day. They are problems that troubled Mayakovsky.

From the very first he was all for a democratic art. In 1916 Alexander Blok saw in the democratic spirit of Mayakovsky's poetry one of its merits. After the October Revolution the "magnetic field" of his poetry

steadily broadened, embracing more and more strata of the life and struggle of the masses. Synthesis of the epos and the lyric, fusion of the artist's personality with the people revolutionized the content of art.

But that was not enough. New content engendered a need for art to escape from its customary, long-established boundaries. It prompted an energetic search for new forms of contact with the masses, with their life and struggle, with their thinking. The epic quality of art had now to embrace the fullness of real life, it had to embrace history and practical everyday affairs and the political slogans that succeeded each other in the course of the revolution and concentrated the will of the masses on the solution of specific tasks.

"The path of mass work involves a change of all our methods of poetic work," said Mayakovsky. In this he went further, perhaps than all the other leading lights of 20th century revolutionary art. His innovations were so radical and his actions so resolute that they encountered misunderstanding and protests on all sides. To this day many of his discoveries await further development and realization.

In bourgeoisie society the removal of the creative element from the labor of the worker tends to dissociate art from the masses and gives rise to an art "elite." Today the educated intellectuals, the college and university graduates, require intellectual nourishment different from that of the masses. But so-called "elite" art has no grounds for complacency. By leaving it to a "second grade" art, a primitive and empty art that corrupts their taste, to influence the masses, it loses a wide audience for itself. And divorcement from the people impairs its vitality. While attaining to a high degree of craftsmanship, "elite" art shrinks into itself, developing its own closed circle of interests, its own content and idiom, in which contrivance is piled on contrivance and artistic taste is rarified to the nth degree. In his time Romain Rolland described this art as "bloodless." It lacks the free air of social life and struggle which alone provides the resonance necessary to the artist, imparting universal value to his work.

Non-acceptance of bourgeois reality that does not rest on the progressive social forces capable of creative action fosters the tragic feeling that the contradictions of existence cannot be resolved. The artist's protest is feeble, for in reality he has given up the attempt to change life beforehand, without battle.

Mayakovsky knew the symptoms of this malady of the spirit well. It was a malady alien to him as an artist and as a person. For him democracy in art signified restoring art culture, mutilated by capitalism, to health, signified converting it into an effective, transforming force for social progress. To him this was not a question of mechanically broadening the reading public, and for that sake accepting concessions and sacrifices, but of an inner need for the development of art culture.

Mayakovsky's understanding of the pathways linking art with the masses is clearly revealed in his brilliant "Seven-Day Review of French Painting." After seeing works by painters whom he knew and liked before the revolution, Mayakovsky came to the conclusion that they were in danger of finding themselves floundering in purely formal searchings. For painting to begin to cultivate form, color or line as self-sufficient values signified loss of perspective on its further development.

Mayakovsky shows in his concise pen-portraits of Picasso, Delaunay, Braque and Leger at that period that they were beginning to feel cramped within the bounds of traditional academic art. Picasso's restless switching over at this period from one style to another, from one aesthetic concept to another, were signs, he said, of the artist's discontent: he had achieved supreme formal perfection but did not know what to apply his skill to. Of Delaunay Mayakovsky wrote that he "listens with envy to the stories of our holidays, of how the artist is given a house, and an artistic trend is given a city block, and the artist can exercise his fantasy on them as he likes. It is an idea that appeals to him. Even in his studio his paintings look not like canvases but walls, so large are they."

By winning through to monumental forms, by abandoning exhibitions and museums in order to find a place for itself in the thick of life, art can emerge onto the broad democratic highway—that is the conclusion Mayakovsky drew. "No, it was not just to make pictures," he wrote, "that the world's best people learned the methods of coloring, illuminating life. It is not to the salons that we must apply our discoveries but to life, to industry, to mass work, which adorns the life of the millions." Only struggle for the transformation of society can lead art onto this highway; therefore the artist can escape from the slough of academic art only by linking his life with that struggle.

The development of art since then shows that Mayakovsky was largely correct in his

judgment. Has this not been borne out by Picasso's later work, by his "Guernica" and other monumental canvases, by the work of artists like Rivera and Siqueiros, Leger, Deineka and Mukhina, who, though they followed different roads, have all come to monumental art? And has not this art in each case been bound up with their revolutionary sentiment?

Struggle for Popular, Mass Art

Mayakovsky's own work is proof of the soundness of his aesthetic views. "The poet Vladimir Mayakovsky taught me that we must address ourselves to the millions, to those who want to change this world," says Louis Aragon. As a master of the word well armed with the achievements of world poetry, Mayakovsky began, after the revolution, to elaborate the traditional folk genres, which the art élite had until then shunned. In 1917 he set himself to master the Russian folk art form known as the *lubok* — pictures with captions — and soon after used it for his famous "ROSTA Window" posters. Later in the New Economic Policy period and the first years of industrialization, he adopted more "European mass forms, chiefly, the commercial advertisement, which he called "economic agitational pieces."

He tried by every possible means to broaden the sphere of his art, to bring it nearer to the people. He recited his poems to audiences of the most varied composition — the living voice reached the masses better; he wrote film-scripts and acted on the screen in the belief that the cinema, the most popular of the arts, opened up new possibilities to the socialist artist. His plays are all fantasies into which he introduced circus elements; he thought the circus a more popular medium than the theater.

To Mayakovsky the boundaries of poetry as established in bourgeois times seemed to be far too circumscribed. The poet, he felt, was wanted wherever there was need for exact, arresting, non-standardized expression of an idea of importance to the people. Coin a slogan, write an editorial, address a meeting, he urged poets. "Only then will we believe that your exercises in the field of poetry have any real meaning, that our lofty work can be used to improve people's lives." He tried to bring the work of the artist and the poet as close as possible to the constructive labor of the millions.

My work
is kin
to any work,

he proudly declared. And he demanded of himself and others high quality and craftsmanship. In his view a democratic art signified not the casting aside of the achievements of art, not the imitation of popular genres but the fusion or synthesis of the one and the other, i.e., the solution of tasks of the most popular, mass order by the most consummate artistic means.

But along this road there lay in wait for the poet contradictions and difficulties that could be overcome only by mature skill and persistent effort. The cultural revolution of whose need Lenin spoke was then only beginning in Russia. From capitalism and autocracy the young Soviet Republic had inherited vast numbers of illiterate people who could not easily rise to the poetic heights to which Mayakovsky summoned them. And so Mayakovsky had to fight hard for the poet's right to introduce innovations, to raise the intellectual standard of the masses without descending to their level. When he met with refusal to stage his "Mystery-Bouffe" because, it was said, its meaning was obscure, he proceeded to read it to worker audiences in Petrograd and Moscow. He wanted to convince himself and others that there was nothing in it that was really "incomprehensible" to the workers. He wanted the workers themselves to decide its fate by vote. The same disputes, the same readings to worker audiences, the same meetings and voting accompanied the staging of "The Bedbug" and "Bathhouse."

"The first thing I point out to comrades is their peculiar 'don't understand' slogan," Mayakovsky said at one such meeting. "Let them try to raise this slogan in any other field. The only answer that can be made to them is: 'Learn'." He was certain that what was comprehensible to the few must in time become comprehensible to all, that educational work could develop the taste of the workers and peasants to the level of the most educated intellectual. His stand on this was close to that expressed by Lenin when he told Clara Zetkin: "Really, our workers and peasants deserve something better than spectacles. They have won the right to truly great art. That is why our first consideration is the broadest possible public education."*

Mayakovsky's firm and uncompromising stand on the "comprehensibility" of his works was by no means merely a matter of aesthetic purism and respect for impeccable form. It stemmed not only from his deep respect for art but above all from his respect for the

*V. I. Lenin, *On Literature and Art*, Moscow, 1957, p. 585, Russ. ed.

masses, who were carrying out a revolution unparalleled in history. An art that really wants to serve the masses cannot restrict itself to platitudes. It must work to broaden the horizons of the people, to bring to them appreciation of the cultural treasures wrought by mankind. Art cannot be reduced to propaganda alone. Its basic social function is to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the people and to raise those needs to the level of modern development. Only in this way will its contact with a mass audience be effective, be of benefit to the masses. Only in this way can it engender new discoveries in art itself.

In Mayakovsky's struggle for a democratic art, and in the struggle in our day by progressive artists throughout the world, it is not the backwardness and uneducated condition of the masses that is the difficulty but the philistine attitude cultivated by some "artists." At a performance of "Bathhouse" Mayakovsky hung out this placard:

Some say:
 "It's a fine play,
 but beyond
 the understanding
 of the masses."
 To your snooty ways
 quick say adieu,
 the masses
 are every bit
 as bright as you.

Mayakovsky made no concessions to the backwardness of the masses. When he met with lack of comprehension, he worked to be understood. Never did he elevate absence of contact with the masses to a measure of poetic mastery. The very idea would have struck him as absurd. The work of this great proletarian poet shows that communism can create a high order of art that is also a truly mass art.

* * *

Seventy years have passed since the birth of Vladimir Mayakovsky. It is a figure that does not fit in with our image of the man and the poet.

In 1940 Hemingway expressed the view that maybe Mayakovsky was being canonized because he was so well and truly dead. No one will deny a distinguished author the right to be mistaken. History corrects their mis-

takes. And when that happens, the truth stands out all the more clearly.

It is not "in mounds of books" that art lives. Its native element is the life of the human spirit, that spirit which informs man's affairs and thought. The work of a great poet is always a conspicuous social pointer that helps people to link the present day with the morrow, the present with eternity, that underlines the succession of the generations amid the tangled path of history. It cannot be expunged from life painlessly, without the times becoming "out of joint."

The decades of class battles, of fascist governments, of wars and crises that have passed since Mayakovsky's tragic death have left a deep impress on the intellectual climate of the world. They have given rise to the need for a more thoughtful analytical appraisal of reality, relying not so much on a correct slogan and the emotional reaction to it as on the ability to think for oneself, and accenting the rational-critical elements of human thinking. Against this background Mayakovsky's work is being re-appraised. Its deeper strata, hitherto ignored, are now being explored. The frankly agitational structure of his poetry is coming to be seen as an intellectual epos of the Brecht order, that is, as belonging to the trend that is advancing to the lead of contemporary art culture.

"The bigger a thing or an event is, the greater the distance from which it has to be viewed," Mayakovsky wrote in his article "How Are Poems Made?". "The weak mark time and wait for the event to pass over in order to reflect on it, the strong run so far ahead of it as to drag the comprehended period of time with them." It may well be that in regard to some things time has overtaken Mayakovsky. Literary scholars will establish the facts. But in the main thing, in his creative attitude, in the quality of his poetic discoveries, in his struggle for a mass art breathing of historic optimism, Mayakovsky is still very much our contemporary.

As is the case with all really great art, Mayakovsky's poetry experiences a rebirth at every turning point in our intellectual history. It does not lend itself to canonization. At every new stage it enters into new relations. Mayakovsky's work and Mayakovsky's personality as poet and citizen mature with the world as it advances toward communism, with the revolutionary art of our times, which is developing his tradition. Time has no power over them.

Aspects of the Conditions of the British Working Class

VI. CLASS CHARACTER OF EDUCATION

Two School Systems

DESPITE the many reforms which have been introduced into the British educational system, it is still based on class, so that in Britain today there is not one overall educational system but two — the Private School system, and the State School system.

Some time ago, Dr. King, a Labor member of Parliament, summed up the British educational system in this way: "The weakest feature of our educational system, admirable though it is in many ways, is the class division which still exists. We divide our children at birth and send 250,000 of them up the educational ladder one way and the rest of them up it the other way . . . Parents who can afford to do so can buy their children out of the inadequate provision which is made for other classes in the State system of education."

The Private School system, with its expensive preparatory schools, where the classes are about twelve children to a teacher, and its so-called "public schools," with its ratio of less than 12 pupils to one teacher, is for the children of the rich. They buy the best education for their children, who study in the best conditions, nor is it denied that this system of education is organized for the deliberate perpetuation of a class division in education.

The "Public Schools"

The reason for this rigid class education, for this early segregation of the children of the governing class away from the "common herd," is that it is the "public school" which provides the ruling class with its most reliable cadre force. It is from the ranks of the "public schools" that the Foreign Office, the Diplomatic Service, the higher ranks of industry, the upper ranks of the Civil Service, the judiciary and the armed forces draw their

top cadres. They fill most of the higher posts in the State apparatus. Almost two out of every three of those occupying high positions in the State apparatus were educated at "public schools." A study has shown that 95 per cent of Foreign Office personnel earning over £2,000 a year, 88 per cent of Ambassadors, 87 per cent of Lieutenant-Generals and above, 85 per cent of Supreme Court and Appeals Court judges, and 88 per cent of bishops attended private schools.

The "Selective System" in Operation. The Eleven-Plus Examinations

The class character of education in Britain finds its expression not only in the existence of a small number of privileged (public) schools but also in the "selective system," i.e., the system of selection for different types of secondary school.

In fact, selection begins in the junior school and sometimes even in the infants' school! Pupils may be divided into "streams" depending often on utterly unscientific "tests" of their capabilities. Those who seem to be the "most advanced" are picked out as future grammar school entrants, and put together in what is usually known as the "A" stream. Those less "advanced" are put in the "B" stream, whilst the third group are lumped together in the "C" stream, and so on down the scale. Thus the future of a man or woman may in many respects be determined when the child is six or seven, for it is the stream in which the child is placed on which depends, to a very large extent, its chance in the eleven-plus examinations and tests.

Children take these examinations between the ages of ten and eleven. Then, depending on the results, they go either to (a) the Grammar School (on average approximately 20 per cent of the pupils go there), which provides an academic type of education, opening the door to the universities and to the professions; (b) the Technical School* (approxim-

Concluded. For beginning see our previous number. This material has been prepared by a number of Marxists in Great Britain and by members of the staff of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, including Comrades K. Andrews, A. Brown, J. R. Campbell, H. Fagan, D. Sharp, Y. Arbatov and A. Romyantsev.

*The "selective" tests for these schools sometimes take place at the age of 13 plus.

ately five per cent of the pupils go there), which has a technical bias to the instruction; and (c) the Secondary Modern School, where a full secondary education can seldom be given, and from which an advance to higher education is extremely difficult. Official figures show that about 70 per cent of the children go to secondary modern schools, or other similar schools.

Because of this, the selective method of education has undergone much justified criticism, especially from teachers and parents. It is said, and not without reason, that it is almost impossible to determine a child's abilities between the ages of six to eleven. Many children are "late starters."

The system of selection, however, continues to exist (except under some progressive Education Authorities) accentuating the class division of society. From the age of eleven onwards, the potential university student, professional and clerical worker, the potential skilled worker, and the potential unskilled laborer are educated in distinct institutions. What is more, these distinctions are becoming more and more emphasized as the fight for school places intensifies. Even when the children of workers do enter the Grammar School they often find themselves in a strange environment, for these schools, not only in their composition but in their spirit as well, are typical products of the middle class. Small wonder, therefore, that so many of them leave without completing their course.

Problems of education affect the vital interests of millions of working-class families, and that is why so much attention was paid to them by the Trade Union Congresses and the Labor Party Conferences.

The working class supports the demands made by these two annual conferences and by the Communist Party for the abolition of the eleven-plus examination system, and for the allocation of large sums to expand the educational services, and to build more schools and colleges, and *develop a secondary education system which would give all children equal opportunities.*

Shortage of Funds

The selective system has particularly grave effects for the working people since the pro-

portion of the national resources devoted to education is not in keeping with the real needs. This provides a fertile soil for private schools, many of the other schools being in extremely bad condition.

It is common knowledge that two-thirds of the school children are being educated in buildings which fall below the best modern standards. Lack of adequate sanitation and overcrowded classes are all too common. The National Union of Teachers carried out an investigation in which it stated that "conditions are tolerated year after year in our schools which would not be tolerated for a moment in our factories."

The shortage of teachers is still the scourge of British education. It is due not only to the inadequate number of teachers trained in colleges but also to the low salaries they get. At present the government has decided to increase the basic salary of non-graduate male teachers to £630 a year, rejecting the Union's demand for £700. The basic rate for a teacher with a university degree is £680 a year. For women teachers (non-graduate) the basic rate is £560 a year.

The shortage of finances has a bad effect on higher education too. Only six per cent of young people of corresponding age groups can enjoy the benefits of higher education (several times less than in Canada and the USA, not to mention the Soviet Union).

If the system of education generally is not in keeping with modern needs, neither is the vocational training of the youth entering upon life. An investigation carried out in 1960 showed that out of a total of 547,800 young people aged between 15 and 17 who left school, about two-thirds obtained unskilled jobs with no future perspective. The position of the girls was particularly bad — only nine per cent managed to become apprenticed or got jobs with a possibility of acquiring better skills. Today the situation is becoming still more difficult, inasmuch as the new generations of the "postwar bulge" are leaving school (in 1961 some 110,000 more children finished school compared with the previous year, and in 1962 there were an additional 60,000). More and more young people are going straight from school to the Labor Exchange, for they have no jobs.

VII. WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS

Growing Numbers

The concept "white-collar worker" is somewhat indefinite since it includes social groups belonging to different classes. Still, it indi-

cates that these groups are either becoming part of the working class* or, while remaining

*For details see discussion of the structure of the working class in issues Nos. 5, 9 and 12 for 1960 and Nos. 4 and 5 for 1961.

intermediary (so-called "middle") strata, are coming closer to it.

The term is applied to clerical workers in industry, finance and trade, professional workers, technicians, intermediate and lower civil servants and often to shop assistants, commercial travellers, insurance agents, etc. In Britain, as in other capitalist countries, these are a large and rapidly growing part of the labor force. In 1963 it was estimated that 46 out of every 100 workers were in non-manual grades.

The percentage of administrative, technical and office personnel in manufacturing industry rose, for instance, from 13.1 in 1935 to 21.3 in 1959. The proportion of this category is biggest in the newer industries (in synthetic fabrics it is 27.0 per cent, in the radio and electrical equipment industry 32.6, in the chemical industry 33.5 per cent, in aircraft manufacture 36.5 and in the power industry 40.5). The number of professional workers is likewise growing rapidly. In England and Wales the rise was 84 per cent between 1921 and 1951, while the increase for the total labor force was 19 per cent. At the time of the last census (1951) the number of professional workers stood at 1,267,000, and there has been a substantial growth since then.

Clearly, the status, interests and political outlook of the white-collar workers are of no little importance for the entire labor movement.

Changes in the Position

The main change in the conditions of white-collar workers is the *gradual loss of the status which formerly gave them an advantage over the manual workers*. For many this is a loss in the absolute sense (such as losing long-term engagements, having greater security and pension rights, etc.) and for others only relatively (owing to the fact that manual workers, being better organized and more militant, have gained far more through union action). This, unquestionably, applies to the category of white-collar workers as a whole.

For instance, the earnings of the most numerous group of white-collar workers — office employees — have evened up with those of the manual workers since the war. In October 1962 the earnings of male non-manual workers in manufacturing industry averaged about £16 a week. As for women, who account for 60 per cent of all office workers, women non-manual workers in manufacturing industry earned about £8 a week, or much the same. The difference between office and manual workers as regards working hours, paid holi-

days and pensions have greatly diminished and in some cases completely vanished. Whereas office workers formerly enjoyed greater security, today they are approximating to the manual workers in this respect too, owing to the mechanization and automation of office work, in particular.

Similar changes have taken place in the position of the professional workers. As for income, many professionals (teachers in the lower grades, for instance, and also nurses, whose position is particularly unenviable) are often worse off than factory workers. The trained specialists, of course, are paid higher salaries, but here, too, the gap is narrowing. Moreover, research workers and technicians are often paid less than executives and corporation employees.

But it is not only income that matters. The point is that here and there the white-collar workers have to abandon their traditions and an established way of life.

One of the traditions is to live in a "better class" suburb (i.e., where there are no, or few council estates for manual workers), often far from the place of employment. This as a rule involves high mortgage payments. Add to this transport fares, which have increased by half in the last few years, education fees, for many professional workers regard it as a matter of prestige to send their children to private schools, and similar unwritten social requirements, which considerably increase their cost of living. Although, strictly speaking, these requirements are not absolutely necessary, renouncing the traditional mode of life would amount to giving up one more — perhaps the last — privilege setting the white-collar workers apart from the mass of wage workers. This is felt very strongly indeed and many therefore do their utmost to stave off this eventuality, and this, in turn, aggravates their position still more.

Awakening to the Need for Class Struggle

Last year a sensation was caused by the by-election in Orpington, a middle-class suburb near London, from which most of the population travel daily to the City.

Orpington was a traditional Conservative stronghold which the Tories carried in the last general election by a large majority. In this by-election, however, the Conservative candidate suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Liberals.

Though in itself by no means an epoch-making event, the Orpington result was regarded as a political watershed — a sign of the growing change in political thinking

among the professional and white-collar workers. This becomes apparent when the Orpington "revolt" is analyzed in the light of other facts.

One of these is the growth of organization. Whilst not so well organized as the manual workers, there has been, in recent years, a great influx of white-collar workers into the unions catering for their special needs. Between 1950 and 1961 the average rise in membership of the non-manual unions was over 25 per cent. Inside the Trades Union Congress non-manual membership is now estimated at 1,500,000.

Another important factor is the adoption by this group of new forms of action, mainly from the arsenal of the working class. This is a striking change, especially when it is recalled that only a short while ago, many groups of white-collar workers were subservient to the ruling class, regarding strikes and similar actions as being almost "subversive," suitable only for manual workers, but not for "respectable citizens." Yet in recent years there has been a succession of strikes among this strata. Not long ago 7,000 Glasgow teachers were on strike for a week. The employees

of a Derby bank compelled their employers to grant a wage increase. Actors went on strike for over three months against Independent Television and won. And in the spring of 1962 the nurses waged a vigorous fight for higher pay.

It would of course be a mistake to ignore the many obvious weaknesses of the white-collar movement. It is still developing on a very narrow, purely economic basis. Politically many of the white-collar unions still lag far behind even those industrial unions under the control of the Right-wing. For a long time many would not affiliate to the TUC, and of those that have affiliated a number have not applied for affiliation to the Labor Party. The reason is not that they consider the position of the Right-wing Labor leaders too "radical." It is rather an indication of how deep-seated and tenacious are the prejudices which impel white-collar groups to stand aloof from the basic sections of the working class and its movement.

The facts of life, however, are wiping out these prejudices and breaking down the barriers which disunite the working people and hamper their struggle.

VIII. POSITION IN THE CONSUMPTION SPHERE

Overall Picture

For the investigator of the condition of the working class the sphere of consumption is of interest for two reasons. Firstly, it is here that the worker's real wages are converted into the sum-total of material and, partly, spiritual essentials commensurate (or not, as the case may be) to his historically or socially established needs, i.e., essentials without which there can be no normal reproduction of labor power. Secondly, in the sphere of consumption the worker is subjected to yet another form of exploitation.

As regards the extent to which the workers' requirements are met, this has been dealt with in broad terms in Part I.

As mentioned earlier, many sections of the working class have won substantial gains since the war. First of all, their diet has improved. Today the same widespread malnutrition is not to be found in Britain as in the prewar years when millions were unemployed. The worker and his family are better dressed. Such durables as radios, TV sets, refrigerators, etc., are common in workers' homes and many have a motorcycle or a motor car (though in the case of workers, cars are more the exception than the rule).

On the other hand, these improvements can

hardly be considered adequate compensation for the greater intensity and productivity of labor, all the more so since they are not equally distributed among all sections of the working people.

Take, for instance, nutrition. According to official figures for the country as a whole, annual food consumption per capita increased very little — from £27.26 to £31.55 (in 1938 prices — between 1935-38 and 1951-55. An analysis of these overall figures reveals a more complex picture. Consumption of meat and bacon declined in this period from £7.96 to £6.76 per person annually, and of fats from £2.07 to £1.63. This is partly compensated for by more eggs, dairy produce (except butter, of which less is used, while consumption of margarine has doubled) and fruit. More bread and cereals are consumed, though this as a rule is not an indication of any improvement in diet. Ministry of Agriculture 1963 figures (on a different basis) show some improvement in the annual consumption of meat and bacon, which has risen by 16 lbs. per head since prewar; and of fats, which has increased three lbs. per head since prewar. But the annual consumption per head of butter is still below prewar — 20.1 lbs. as compared with 24.7 lbs.

An analysis of the various groups of the population broken down according to income and size of family reveals a picture which has little in common with that painted by the apologists of the "affluent society." According to a survey made in 1959, the diet of a family with three children in the £11.10s to £19 weekly income bracket (which takes in the majority of both skilled and unskilled workers) showed a nine per cent protein deficiency and a five per cent calcium deficiency, not to mention vitamins — as compared with British Medical Association standards. Families in the lower income brackets were, of course, worse off. As for the lowest income groups (especially old-age pensioners, those on National Assistance, etc.), here, as has been mentioned, there is to be found not only chronic undernourishment but actual hunger.

The same applies to many other consumer items — clothing, durable goods, services, etc. The increase in consumption is far from evenly spread.

Exploitation in the Sphere of Consumption

When the working class was still a relatively small section of society and the purchasing power of the wealthy minority and the middle strata was enough to keep the productive forces going and even expanding, the capitalist was interested in the worker chiefly as the producer of material values. Today, in a developed capitalist country such as Britain, where the working class constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population, and where most industries can exist only by mass production — all the more so in view of the growing competition on the foreign markets — the situation has radically changed. The capitalist is coming to regard the worker more and more as a consumer.

It is, of course, not only the interests of the capitalists that account for the new status of the worker as a consumer. The decisive factor here is the historically conditioned changes in the value of labor power, i.e., the sum-total of goods and services required for its reproduction. Moreover, the growing requirements have increased actual consumption only to the extent that the working people, through bitter and stubborn struggle, have been able to win a better price for their labor power, i.e., higher real wages.

This, however, does not alter the basic fact that exploitation through consumption has made a deep imprint on the economic and social life of the country. Exploitation in this sphere has of course been going on since the beginning of commodity production and ex-

change.* But never before has the position of the working man depended so much on developments in the sphere of consumption, and never before has he been subjected to such intensive additional exploitation in this field.

A condition for this exploitation is the deliberate creation of demand, artificially where necessary, and often in excess of the consumer's means and even his actual requirements.** This is done through a complex system of psychological, moral and social pressure to persuade the customer to buy and consume goods. Advertising is an important but not the only component of this system. Underlying it is the code of capitalist society (that advertising helps to perpetuate and popularizing certain standards of this code is a different matter). Advertising not only popularizes goods and informs the consumer of new goods in the market. Its chief purpose is to exploit, in the interests of commercial and industrial capital, human weaknesses, prejudices, needs and desires, much of it not always commendable — the exploitation of sex, for example, in commercial advertising.

The desire to "keep up with the Joneses," cultivated by the system of constant pressure exerted by high-powered advertising, is behind the never ending race for acquisition. This insidious system transforms an article (or even a new model of the same article) from a boon into a status symbol, and turns lack of possession from a mere inconvenience into a sign of social inferiority which weighs heavily on the man, his wife and his family. Formerly this was a feature of the middle strata, those who considered themselves "above" the working class. But, today, by means of the formidable machine of psychological compulsion, it is also being implanted in the workers.

The pernicious effect of this consists not only in the fact that people are made more susceptible to dishonest advertising and sales methods, or that they may find themselves in difficulties because they did not resist the temptation to spend more than they could afford. Still worse is the fact that the urge to buy more engenders an urge not only to economize on other things but also to try to earn more by working longer hours. Artificially stimulated buying thus plays a large part in the system of intensifying exploitation created

*To this was due the early development of the Consumers' Cooperatives in the 1840's; Consumers' Cooperative Societies now have a membership of some 14 million, with shops all over Britain.

**An instance is the "teenage market" which absorbs huge quantities of sports goods, dainties, cosmetics, pulp magazines, pop records, etc., and accounts for a large percentage of cinema admissions.

by modern capitalism. The worker finds himself in a vicious circle; he works more in order to consume more, in both cases creating for the capitalist still greater profits.

The Vicious Circle of Acquisition

That the capitalist gains from this is self-evident. But what about the worker?

When times are good and jobs plentiful, and the worker can put in overtime or perhaps do an extra job for three or four evenings a week he can buy more. But this increase in consumption is often achieved at so high a cost that one is prompted to reassess the usual criteria of the worker's position.

Is an extra suit of clothes, a TV set or even a motor car always an indication of better living? This question arises not only when one hears of people who cannot buy furniture because they are still paying off the instalments on the car, or of families who economize on butter and meat in order to buy a TV set. Still worse is that, having been caught in a vicious circle, a person tends to sacrifice such vital requirements as his *leisure time*, which Marx rightly called *room for the development of personality*, to neglect his family and often undermine his physical and mental health by excessive overtime.

What is likely to happen when times are bad? The sudden descent from the heights of a transient prosperity will be all the more painful.

Increased consumption, durables included, is in itself a good thing. Indeed the increased consumption still does not cover the actual needs of many people. Many of yesterday's luxuries have become today's necessities. Take, for instance, household appliances, such as refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, etc. In the case of workers can such appliances be called a luxury when one-third of all married women go out to work and simply could not manage without them? Could the worker, with his higher educational and political level, do without newspapers or a radio? Hardly. Speed-up and the nervous and physical strain at work make a better diet, holidays and a minimum of recreation after working hours equally necessary. Hence a TV set, weekend outings and holidays, far from being luxuries, are normal needs.*

*This applies to some extent also to things still regarded as signs of affluence, such as cars. The book by F. Zweig, *The Worker in an Affluent Society*, contains an illuminating classification of automobile owners. For some a car is a status symbol for which they are ready to make sacrifices (one young worker questioned by Zweig admitted that he had not married so as to be able to realize this ambition).

But there are also those for whom a car is an essential condition for the sale of their labor power. "In many cases," Zweig writes, "a car enables a man to do shiftwork, when

The same can be said of most other consumption items used by the worker today. Many of the things and services which were for his father and grandfather luxuries they could not afford have become, owing to social conditions and the demands made by modern production on the quality of labor power, normal requirements, even necessities.

The demand of the working-class movement is for a greater share of consumer goods, a demand determined by objective necessity and primarily by the historically conditioned changes in the value of labor power and to ensure that the *increased consumption should rest on the solid foundation of rising wages, not on intensification of labor and longer hours*.

There is also the more specific issue of adequate consumer protection. In this connection the question of consumer credit or hire-purchase merits attention.

The Pros and Cons of Consumer Credit

Buying goods on hire-purchase has a long history in Britain (Singer sewing machines were sold on hire-purchase about 100 years ago). But it is only since the Second World War that it has become particularly widespread. In 1960 consumer debt, as distinct from that of industrial firms and farmers buying machinery, plant and vehicles, amounted to £730 million. This, while not much compared with the expenditure on all consumer goods — approximately four per cent — is quite considerable in the sale of durable goods; 40 to 50 per cent of all motor vehicles and household durables (refrigerators, washing machines, etc.) were bought on hire-purchase. This cuts deep into the family budget. It amounts to nearly £14 per head or £50 per family, almost the equivalent of a month's earnings of an adult male. Experts believe that hire-purchase debt will continue to grow.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of this type of credit for the working class?

Its positive feature is that without it the worker would not be able to acquire many of the essentials he needs, not to speak of luxuries. According to a survey conducted in 1958-59 by the Manchester City Council, nearly 60 per cent of the new furniture purchased by families moving into new municipal houses was acquired on credit. For the newly married

he lives a long distance from his work, and even more so to work overtime at weekends when the buses are very irregular." As regards married women, he points out that a "car may enable her to make it easier for her to go out to work. One man said, 'I bring the wife with me to work and drop the kids at school. At weekends I use the car for shopping with the wife and that together with a fridge which keeps the food for a whole week enables her to go out to work'."

this is practically the only way they can set up house. Theoretically speaking, it is, of course, possible to save up first and then buy the things needed. In practice, however, this is not so easy and would mean postponing the purchase of essentials for months, if not for years.

At the same time consumer credit has many serious disadvantages.

Firstly, although hire-purchase benefits business firms no less than the consumers, the heavy cost of the credit is paid by the latter. Hire-purchase charges are high, ranging from four to 10 per cent and often more. Actually they amount to nearly double the official rate of interest, since a fairly substantial part of the price is covered by a down payment and by the first few instalments. To all intents and purposes this is another tax on poverty, inasmuch as those who have the money or who can obtain cheaper bank loans pay less than those who buy on hire-purchase.

Secondly, consumer credit gives ample opportunity for unscrupulous trade practices, especially since few purchasers are sufficiently versed in law to be able to understand all the intricacies of the hire-purchase agreement. Commercial firms often capitalize on this and induce the purchaser to undertake commitments which he often cannot afford to meet. Abuses became so common that legislation had to be passed in Parliament under public pressure, to prevent the worst of them. Today a hire-purchase firm can no longer take away the goods, if the buyer, unable to keep up with the instalments, has paid one-third of the purchase price. All further payments are paid into court. This applies only if the hire-purchase price is under £300. But there are other abuses which still persist. For thousands of working people this means heavy material losses and even imprisonment, since under existing legislation a person can be imprison-

ed for debt (it was stated in Parliament that prosecutions under the Hire-Purchase Act for recovery of goods had risen from 16,614 in 1951 to 57,043 in 1962; in 1960 there were 5,675 persons serving terms in prison for failure to pay the debt).

Hire-Purchase Is Affluence Based On a Mirage

From the standpoint of political economy, consumer credit is exploitation of the worker's future labor. Such exploitation is especially pernicious, because it adds to the insecurity of the worker. Clearly, people in debt will find themselves in difficult straits in the event of a slump even if they do not lose their jobs but only have their earnings reduced as a result of cuts in overtime and bonus, shorter working week, etc. Growing unemployment, and short-time working, especially in the mining, railway, shipbuilding, steel and heavy engineering industries have already spelt hardships for many working-class families.

The trade unions are also concerned with the adverse effect of consumer credit on the militancy of the workers, since it decreases their independence. Mr. Ted Hill, General Secretary of the Boilermakers' Union and ex-chairman of the TUC, had this in mind when he said that consumer credit was almost as corrupting as usury.

Because of this some British trade unions are against hire-purchase and demand higher wages instead. For the worker a wage increase means a genuine, and not an illusory, improvement in his standard of living.

But the facts of life cannot be ignored. For millions of families hire-purchase is the only way to obtain many essential goods and services. Hence the interests of the working class call for a struggle for further legislation to safeguard the consumer against abuses, and for cheaper credit on more favorable terms.

IX. THE IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS

General Factors

What are the prospects? This question merits detailed examination.

It is difficult to assess what the future holds for the working class primarily because so much depends on the economic outlook. Under capitalism, the economic outlook is unpredictable, however insistently the bourgeois and reformist economists might claim that cyclical crises have been relegated to the limbo.

The position of the working class is also affected by the international situation. Clearly, military spending and trade with the socialist

countries are factors which have a direct bearing on economic conditions and hence on living standards.

The significance of these general factors is obvious, and there is hardly any need to dwell on them. But there are also more specific trends on which the immediate prospects of the working people depend.

Effects of Technological Progress.

One of these is the rapid technological progress — the hallmark of our time. Its consequences impinge most directly on the in-

terests of the working class. Above all there are the structural changes in industry (caused also by developments on the world market, sharpening international competition and increasing specialization arising from the integration processes, etc.). Under capitalism such changes, even when economically justified and progressive, are fraught with grave consequences for the working class. Proof of this can be seen in the distressed areas.

Another aspect of the technological advance is rationalization and, especially, automation. In Britain automation is still in the initial stages, but the experience gained to date, as well as the example of other capitalist countries, afford an idea of what the British working class can expect from it. The main danger looming ahead is unemployment, the inevitable result of automation in capitalist society where the rate of economic growth is relatively slow. The magnitude of the danger is seen best from the experience of the USA.

Automation also holds the threat of wage cuts. These take various forms. One is reduction of rates, which is having its effect today. The worker is also hard hit by the introduction of technological processes that eliminate piece work or make the machine, rather than experience and skill, the pace-setter. Indeed, under capitalism the main purpose of automation is to shift to machines those operations which hitherto required the highest skills, thereby reducing the proportion of "costly" skilled labor. Hardships are created by the consequent need for widespread retraining, the burden of which the capitalists naturally seek to shift on to the workers.

But the fact that the technological progress threatens the working people with new hardships does not mean that the working-class

movement should resist it and wage war on machines in Luddite fashion. It should be seen as an indictment of an obsolescent capitalism, which, *unable to cope with the productive forces it has brought into being, is trying to make the workers shoulder the growing burden of difficulties. And this emphasizes the need for struggle for socialism.* At the same time it impels the working class to defend its immediate interests, to seek protection from the painful effects of automation and technological progress generally under capitalism.

Workers' Struggle Is the Major Factor

From the foregoing it would appear that *the position of the British working class in the future, as hitherto, will depend above all on how effectively it fights for its interests, both immediate and future.* The way in which the factors examined above develop will be determined by the extent of the organized resistance of the working class to the policies of the monopolies. This holds true even as regards the effect of the economic situation on the conditions of the working people. Capitalism cannot rid itself of its inherent contradictions, or of the crises engendered by these contradictions. But the hardships caused can be mitigated by economic and social reforms and anti-crisis measures, which it is in the power of the working class to win. Similarly, imperialism cannot rid itself of its aggressive, expansionist aspirations which engender world tensions and the danger of war. But in our time these aspirations can be effectively combated; the designs of the warmongers can be foiled and the international situation improved. The same applies to the effects of technological progress.

X. SOME CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions can be drawn from this glance at the conditions of the British working class?

The Class Struggle Remains an Objective Necessity

Taking advantage of the relatively high level of economic activity and the favorable political situation arising from the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the British working class has won considerable gains since the Second World War. Real wages have risen. Considerable advance has been recorded in social services such as public health and education, and there have been improvements in social security and in other areas.

Communists have every reason to call attention to these gains. For a big role in bringing them about was played by the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class — both in the sense that Communists have contributed much to the class struggle waged by the working people of their country, and in the sense that it is under the leadership of the Communist parties that the world socialist system has developed, whose achievements provide more favorable conditions for the workers' struggle in the capitalist countries.

But does this give grounds for asserting, as the spokesmen of the British bourgeoisie and some Right-wing Labor and Trade Union leaders claim, that the nature of capitalism has

changed, that class contradictions are being eliminated and that class struggle is subsiding? No, it does not.

And not only because the workers' gains are not nearly so substantial and stable as the capitalists and reformists would have us believe. The basic fact that emerges is that these improvements *have not essentially altered the status of the working class. It remains a class exploited by the capitalists* and therefore placed at a disadvantage in every respect. This is so whether it is a question of the share it receives of the growing wealth it produces, or its easier access to education and health services. The price paid for these gains is greater exploitation, speed-up and a growing uncertainty for the future. The data given above are proof of this, confirming that the Marxist analysis of capitalist society and the position of the working class within it remains valid.

The analysis shows that the gains of the British working class lag far behind its actual requirements and *leave unsolved a multitude of vital problems*. Whatever aspect we take—real wages, housing, public health, education, pensions — we find a number of issues which tarnish the lustre of the glowing picture of the "affluent society" painted by capitalist and reformist theorists. In place of the problems solved in the course of class struggle, capitalist society spawns a host of new ones, thereby "reproducing" the class struggle on a rising scale of intensity.

Another feature is that despite the gains, *large sections of the community still suffer hardship*, often, indeed, outright want — a situation that is hardly to the credit of a country as highly developed as Britain. This applies to some groups of workers and especially to old-age pensioners, those living on unemployment or sick benefit, and people on National Assistance. Working women and the youth, especially school-leavers, are also faced with problems, in particular discrimination in pay and difficulty of access to the skilled trades. Then there is the steady erosion of the privileged position of those numerous and rapidly growing sections of the salaried sections engaged in non-manual labor. This inevitably broadens the sphere of class struggle.

In a word, the working class still remains as irreconcilable an enemy of capitalism as it was 50 or 100 years ago, for it is still impelled to wage its class struggle. If its position today differs greatly from that which Engels in 1844 described in his *Condition of the Working Class in England*, in this par-

ticular respect the parallel remains. Indeed, the working people today have no less grounds for class struggle than they had in Engels' time. This is so especially in the fight to achieve their ultimate aim — socialism. For only socialism can deliver them from capitalism, give them security and the conditions of life which correspond to the present level of civilization. It is the same with regard to the struggle for immediate demands, a struggle without which new gains cannot be won, nor concessions retained.

Capital at the Present Stage of the Class Struggle

Inasmuch as the class struggle is an objective reality, it is essential that the working class should not only know the enemy but be fully aware of its strength.

From the standpoint of history, the positions of this enemy have been seriously undermined. The general crisis of capitalism is not an abstract formula, but a precise definition of the state of things at a time when capitalism has been overthrown over an area inhabited by one-third of mankind; when it has lost its colonial empires; when it is becoming more difficult for it to retain its hold over the remaining part of the world. The course of history is being increasingly determined by its opponents — world socialism and the international working-class movement, the national-liberation movement and the other great democratic movements of our time.

But in order to offer effective resistance to capitalism, and, even more, to wage a successful offensive against it, it is not enough merely to take into account the weakening of its internal forces. For the general crisis of capitalism compels it to search for new ways and means of waging the class struggle, new forms of organization and new tactics. A study of British monopoly capitalism fully confirms this.

Examined from the purely economic standpoint, state-monopoly capitalism stems from the concentration of capital engendered by the development of modern productive forces in conformity with the economic laws of capitalism. But no small role in its emergence has been played by the political factor, namely, the striving to perpetuate capitalism in the conditions of sharpening class struggle. It can therefore be regarded as a *new and higher form of organization of the dominant bourgeoisie in its class struggle against the proletariat*. In other words, the working class today is faced with a better organized class adversary than ever before — an adversary

which has interwoven its economic organizations with political and ideological organizations, including the state; an enemy which has created a gigantic machine for exerting political and moral pressure and which in the recent period has adopted new forms of international organization (witness the political aspects of European integration).

The changes in the class organization of capitalism have as their concomitants changes in its class policy and tactics. For a long time capitalist economy and, to a lesser extent, policy were founded on *laissez-faire*. A young and vigorous capitalism could, up to a point, rely on its vitality. Under these circumstances political power, in particular the state, could be likened to a night-watchman who takes action only when some emergency arises.

Today the situation has radically changed. The state and the entire political and ideological machine have become a totalitarian leviathan. An ailing and senile capitalism in the throes of its general crisis cannot live for a day without the attention of "doctors," without regular shots in the arm.

These artificial measures cover a wide range, from naked terror (characteristic of fascism) to the most insidious social demagoguery.

Britain is one of those capitalist countries where the bourgeoisie are past masters at subtle deception, alternately applying a skilful combination of pressure and concession. In combating the working class and the general democratic movement an important role is played by the means for conditioning public opinion. Both the government and the monopolies have made an art of "public relations," i.e., measures designed to appeal to one or another section of the public and win its support. As regards the working class, the bourgeoisie pin their hopes mostly on the Right-wing Labor and trade union leaders. These leaders are capitalism's Trojan horse in the camp of the class adversary, designed to keep the working-class movement within bounds, to divert it and to prevent it from engaging the capitalist class in decisive action.

The fact that, besides possessing a vast machine of class domination which includes the state, political parties and the mass media for ideological indoctrination, the capitalists also have a foothold in the workers' organizations, gives the monopolies additional opportunities for maneuver. They can afford to offer a compromise when resistance would not be to their advantage or even dangerous, only to recoup wherever and whenever the working class does not expect an offensive and is unprepared to meet it, or where its positions are weak.

This way of maneuvering is facilitated by the fact that the areas exposed to pressure from monopoly capitalism organized as the state are now far wider. This applies not only to the political but also to the economic machinations of the monopolies. If forced to make concessions in respect to wages, they will at once seek to recoup their losses through higher prices, a reduction in income tax for their class, by raising rents, the interest rate on housing loans, raising the price of building materials and increasing municipal rates. Indeed while the workers are still celebrating their victory, the lion's share, if not all, of what they have gained begins to trickle back into the pockets of the monopolies.

To sum up, it can be said that the monopoly capitalists have taken up new positions against the working class. This impels the working-class movement, too, to advance to a new and higher stage. Its future depends on this.

Some Dictates of the Times

The new forms of organization and the new methods employed by the capitalists did not evolve overnight. They evolved in the course of time and, as a consequence, the working-class movement has had to adapt itself to the changed conditions of struggle. Yet if we compare the sum total of changes in the working-class movement with the changes in the organization and methods of monopoly capitalism, there is an obvious disparity.

This applies above all to organization. Although the structure of the trade unions has somewhat changed, it still bears the imprint of the era of craft unionism. It cannot, of course, be denied that in certain cases the craft principle has certain advantages. But the existence of several, and sometimes dozens, of small unions in one factory can hardly be considered good under present conditions, or, worse still, there are industries without a union embracing all the workers. Clearly, when changes in the economy are on the order of the day (as in shipbuilding or railways) such a state of affairs hampers the struggle.

If the inadequacy of trade union organization is a serious defect, the weakness of working-class political organization is even more so. Even when defending the workers' immediate interests, the Labor movement finds itself faced not with individual employers, but with a state organization of monopoly capital which, increasingly, determines the workers' conditions. What has the working-class movement to counterpose to this?

A certain political role is played by national and regional trade unions (in Scotland and Northern Ireland). In defending the immediate interests of the workers these unions frequently advance programs which can be implemented only through political action by the working class. But being trade union organizations, they are not equipped to organize such action, quite apart from the attitude of the Right-wing leaders.

Consequently, special importance is attached to the political party of the working class. Such a party has always been essential to the working-class without which no fight can be waged for the workers' ultimate goal. Today a united party of the working class, pursuing a resolute class policy, is an indispensable condition for success not only for the ultimate aim of socialism, but also in the struggle for immediate demands.

It is in this decisive aspect that the working-class movement suffers from serious weaknesses.

Firstly, the split in the working class has not been overcome. The two parties — Labor and Communist — owing to the stand taken by the Right-wing leaders, do not present a united front and, at least at the national level, the Right-wing refuses to cooperate. The anti-communism of the Rights gravely injures the workers' movement, not just because it keeps the workers divided, but because it diverts them from the struggle against their real enemy, monopoly capital, thereby playing into the hands of the anti-working class policy and ideology of the ruling class.

Secondly, the Labor Party, though supported by large masses of workers, acts less and less as their political party. Its leadership consists largely of men who think they can run capitalism better than the capitalists. The rank and file and many functionaries of the Labor Party do not share this reformist view. But owing to the organizational structure and traditional procedures in the Party it is difficult for them to exercise any appreciable influence on policy. Another weakness of the Labor Party is that its structure is more adapted to contesting elections than to waging the day-to-day struggles of the working class.

Thirdly, the Communist Party, which upholds the interests of the working class in every sphere, is numerically small and wields insufficient influence among many sections of the working people. As against this, however, is the fact that the Communist Party has recently made progress in increasing both its membership and the circulation of its press, thereby strengthening its contact with the

masses. The Communist Party has in its ranks men and women who enjoy prestige among the workers in the factories and in the trade unions. The Communists are successfully combating sectarianism in their own ranks. But these achievements notwithstanding, the Party is conscious that much work still lies ahead in order greatly to extend its influence and to win for itself a decisive say in the political life of the country.

One cannot speak of the political organization of the working class without mentioning the mass media. In this sphere the position of the working-class movement is immeasurably weaker than that of the bourgeoisie who own and control practically the entire press, have vast publishing facilities and who monopolize TV, the radio and cinema.

The degree of organization achieved by the working-class movement, therefore, still does not measure up to the requirements made necessary by the new organization of monopoly capital.

To a certain extent this applies also to the methods employed by the working class in fighting for its interests, both immediate and future. The point is not that the traditional methods (strikes, collective bargaining, etc.) are no longer valid. They are as essential as ever, and will be needed in the future too. But as time goes on these methods must be supplemented by new ones, if only because the problems encountered in the fight for immediate demands are becoming more and more complex. For, as we have shown above, it is not so much a matter of the attitude of the individual employer as it is of economic changes, of foreign policy (entry into the Common Market, for instance), government policy on taxation, social security, the social services, and so on. This means that even in the fight for immediate demands, the working class is faced not so much by the individual capitalist as by the monopoly capitalists as a whole, including the state which is subordinated to them. Economic struggle as such, therefore, tends to become more and more *political* in character and, unless the necessary political solutions are found, increasingly ineffective. If, for example, the Scottish or South Wales miners win substantial wage increases, what are these gains worth if in the not too distant future the pits are closed?

In these circumstances, *political action* to compel the ruling class to meet the workers' demands becomes more and more essential. Moreover, political action often tends to develop into political struggle not only for partial demands but for more or less compre-

hensive programs. That this is so is evident from the fact that programs of this kind are being drawn up, not only by the Communist Party, but by the trade unions.

But it is clear that the realization of the growing complexity of the tasks and even the compiling of the soundest and best-grounded political program is only half the struggle. To win genuine advance it is essential to have effective means for carrying out the programs (and above all, as we have said, adequate organization) as well as to employ methods of political struggle commensurate with the new tasks.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the achievements of the working class in this respect. It has mastered many aspects of the art of conducting political campaigns, and time and again has won big victories. But the re-

alities of life now dictate far more extensive political action, particularly the organization of constant effective political pressure on the ruling class.

The working-class movement, then, is faced with the urgent but by no means easy task of mastering all forms of political struggle and improving the weapons of this struggle. To accomplish this, radical changes are needed throughout the movement. The difficulties involved are many, especially in view of the attitude of the Right-wing union and Labor leaders. The process will undoubtedly be long and painful, but for all that it is an imperative stemming from the facts of economic and social life. How fast this process will develop and the lines it will take will depend largely on the work of the Communists, who, though numerically a small Party, occupy an important place in the working-class movement.

CONCLUSION: TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE FIGHT TO IMPROVE THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS

End the Cold War

In both its long term program (*The British Road to Socialism*) and its various policy statements the Communist Party of Great Britain has always sought to convince the British people that the present foreign and arms policies, based on imperialism and the cold war, are a source of great weakness to Britain. A change in this policy is an absolute necessity.

The C.P. demands that Britain should withdraw from the nuclear arms race, whose cost is undermining its economic strength and impeding its growth as well as placing the country in dire danger, by ceasing to manufacture or stockpile nuclear weapons, and by closing down all nuclear bases on its territory. It should join with other countries to ensure that the partial test ban agreement recently concluded leads to further steps along the road to comprehensive disarmament. It also needs to abandon its military expenditure overseas, which is devoted to upholding NATO cold war strategy, i.e., the British army in Germany; or to fighting against the national-liberation movement and garrisoning the remnants of its empire.

To repudiate nuclear strategy and to refuse to don the strait-jacket of the Common Market are two necessary components of Britain's struggle for independence. Their adoption would not mean an acceptance of a diminished role in the world. On the contrary, were Britain to abandon policies which are drain-

ing her strength she could play a more positive role in the struggle for peaceful coexistence and comprehensive disarmament.

Against the Power of the Monopolies

The basis of the immediate program of the Party is that Britain can only advance in independence and prosperity if the power of the monopolists is curbed and finally broken. Only on this basis can British industry be modernized, economic stagnation overcome and the people's demands met.

To do this effectively it is necessary, in British conditions, to undertake a basic criticism of the present day reformist theory, which is that capitalism, given governmental and trade union pressure, can be made to work as effectively as socialism, and that such questions as political power and the ownership of industry are irrelevant. This concept has been exposed by the failure of governmental measures both in Britain and in the United States to maintain the economy at a high level of economic activity and employment. The monopolies are not interested in measures aimed at stimulating the economy because they do not see them leading to extra profits in a situation where there is a considerable excess of unused productive capacity in the main industries. The Communist Party has called therefore for a broad democratic offensive against the monopolies, against further take-overs, to force them to abandon monopoly practices and to proceed with nationalizing the most impor-

tant of them. Without the nationalization of steel, chemicals, key sections of engineering, the building materials industry, it will be difficult to wage a consistent fight to rescue Britain from the threat of economic crisis. But the type of nationalization so far operated must be changed. Compensation must be drastically cut, and managing boards must be composed of workers and technicians, with no private company directors. The nationalized industries must not be used as the milch cow for the benefit of the private industrial sector, but must dominate the economy.

Fight for Workers' Economic Demands

It is necessary to organize the workers to fight against unemployment both on a factory and a local basis. The British workers have long since ceased to regard unemployment as something to which they must submit. When unemployment threatens, the trade union organizations in the factories — the shop stewards — seek to prevent dismissals by forcing the employers to keep the workers in employment until they can find an alternative job. In other cases the employers are forced to share the work, putting all their workers on a four-day week instead of the usual five or five and a half days. This, of course, means some reduction in earnings but it saves the workers from being plunged into poverty on low unemployment benefit. These measures are not to the liking of the employers because in small measure they protect the workers against the worst effects of unemployment. The factory struggle against dismissals is often combined with mass deputations to Parliament calling for government measures against unemployment. These measures include State control of the location of industry, the direction of new factory building to areas of exceptionally heavy unemployment; the demand for alternative civilian work when arms industries are being curtailed; the demand for the abandonment or slowing down of closures, particularly in the nationalized industries; the demand that the State assist the renovation of the merchant marine, and insistence on a substantial increase in unemployment benefits.

The immediate policy of the Party links the struggle against unemployment with the struggle for higher wages and salaries. It seeks to induce the workers to reject all attempts to impose State regulation of wages and to persuade them to exert powerful trade union pressure, including strikes, to force wage increases.

The whole question of fringe benefits, i.e., of holidays with pay, full wages in sickness,

and adequate factory medical service, improved industrial training — has been raised by the Party. With the exception of holidays with pay, which are negotiated with the unions, all the other benefits are at the discretion of the employer. The Party proposes that the unions in all factories and industries should struggle for improved fringe benefits for all now, as a basis for forcing the government to introduce legislation guaranteeing adequate benefits of this type to all.

At the same time the Party is campaigning for adequate State pensions and social service benefits.

The Communists and the Labor Movement

Communist Party members are active in all trade unions and many occupy union posts as workshop representatives of the unions (shop stewards), trade union branch chairmen or secretaries, and members of district committees and executive councils.

The Communist aim in the unions is the creation of a broad alliance of Communists and militant trade unionists, with the aim of increasing trade union strength, safeguarding and expanding trade union democracy, winning the maximum concessions from the monopolists and seeking to develop a broad movement of the British people to break the power of the monopolies.

The Communist Party seeks to develop this broad militant alliance of Communists, and of militant trade unionists and socialists who are members of the Labor Party, in all trade unions, cooperative societies and trades councils with a view to ending the domination of Right-wing policies and leadership in the Labor Party and so unite the Labor movement on a policy against the monopolies and for peace and social advance.

In the coming General Election the Communist Party will put forward its independent candidates. By its campaign the Communist Party hopes to encourage an increasing number of Labor candidates to conduct a militant electoral struggle, which goes beyond the timid, basically pro-capitalist program which the Right-wing has imposed on the Labor Party.

Advance to Socialism

In all campaigns the Communist Party emphasizes the role which is being played today by the mighty world transforming forces, the advancing socialist world, the colonial liberation movement, and the working class pressing forward all over the capitalist world; it shows the important place which the British

working class and its allies are called upon to occupy in this forward march. It shows how British monopoly capitalism, with its persistent economic and political malaise throughout the entire postwar period, its recurring economic and financial crises, its brutal colonial wars, its arms race, particularly in relation to nuclear weapons becoming ever more expensive, its ever increasing exploitation of the working class, is putting obstacles in the way of working class and popular advance.

To sweep aside these obstacles there is "the urgent need to develop the united fight of the entire Labor movement and the widest sections of the people around an immediate program of peace and national independence; for the reconstruction of Britain's economy at the ex-

pense of the big monopolies, for raising living standards, wages and pensions, and extending housing, public health, education and all the social services.

"The more the British people move into struggle with these present day demands the clearer it will be seen that monopoly capitalism stands in the way. The fight for such an immediate program will, therefore, prepare the conditions for the advance to socialism." (Political Resolution of the Twenty-Eighth Congress of the CPB.)

Communists consistently expound in all campaigns and struggles the way forward to the conquest of power by the working class as outlined in the Party's long-term program *The British Road to Socialism*.

In the Communist and Workers' Parties

United Action in Japan

THE Fukuoka Prefecture is in the northern part of the island of Kyushu in southwest Japan, just across from the Korean Peninsula. Here are located the Yawata iron and steel works, coal mines, and the heavy industry and chemical plants of the Mitsui and Mitsubishi concerns. More than half of the four million inhabitants in the area are workers or members of their families.

Fukuoka prefecture, a center of heavy industry, is also a center of the revolutionary movement. The U.S.-Japan monopoly capitalists, well aware of the importance of the prefecture from both the industrial and the military standpoints, have made it one of their strongpoints.

The Itazuke airfield and adjoining landing strips, from which the U.S. airforce operated during the Korean war, are also located in the prefecture. Now, too, with an eye to the situation in Asia and primarily in Korea, the U.S. imperialists are expanding the Itazuke base with all speed. On May 12, in defiance of public sentiment, they based their F-105 H-bomb carrying jet bombers here. The Americans are pressing for missile sites in Kitakyushu and for the right to use Hakada, near the city of Fukuoka, as a port of call for nuclear submarines.

As a result of "rationalization" most of the prefecture's coal mines have been closed down and more than 100,000 miners thrown out of

work. The struggle waged against this kind of "rationalization" by the miners of the Miike pit owned by Mitsui, the action taken by the workers of the Nihon Tanko company's Takamatsu pit, the struggle conducted by the trade unions to combat unemployment, and the movement against extending the Itazuke base and for its closure afford an idea of the scale of the fight carried on in recent years by the Communist Party and other united front forces in the Fukuoka area.

The struggle to build this united front, which began immediately after the Second World War, found expression in the cooperation of all democratic forces in such movements as the Council of the Democratic Front, in the 1954 campaign for ousting the Liberal Democrat Governor for abuse of office. Headway was made in building the united front during the nationwide struggle against the U.S.-Japanese "security" treaty. At the end of 1959 the democratic forces, with the Communists, Socialists, the trade unions and peace organizations as their hub, set up a Council for Joint Action to get the treaty annulled. The Council's policy statement declared: "Revision of the 'security treaty' would strengthen the Japano-U.S. military alliance against the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries falsely described as enemies, **preserve the bases and prerogatives of the U.S. army on our territory,**

make Japan still more dependent on the U.S., open the doors to U.S. armed intervention in the internal affairs of our country and place the Japanese people in the very center of nuclear war preparations in Asia. Therefore, at this hour of grave danger for the nation, we have resolved to rally all forces striving for peace, democracy and national independence, and, cementing our unity and joining our efforts, resolutely to carry on the struggle first to prevent any revision of the 'security treaty' and then to have it annulled."

On the basis of this program the democratic forces in the prefecture joined together all the people of Japan in a powerful movement. But, with the Social Democrats still wielding greater influence than the Communists, it is not easy to organize joint actions along lines corresponding to the Communist program. The Social Democratic leaders naturally take a passive and vacillating stand in regard to the policy of the Council for Joint Action Against the "Security Treaty." But even in these conditions — provided the Communist Party pursues a correct line and champions the vital demands of the people, at the same time cementing the unity of its own ranks — it is possible to overcome passivity and vacillation by promoting mass pressure from below, to organize powerful united actions and build up the united front.

For instance, in the summer of 1958 when U.S. and British imperialism took aggressive action against the Lebanon and Jordan, the democratic forces in Fukuoka prefecture organized an anti-nuclear march in which 50,000 people took part. The demonstration was initiated by the Prefecture Committee of the Communist Party and carried out together with other organizations, such as the Peace Committee and the Council for Struggle Against Nuclear Weapons.

Ever since then the Communists have paid special attention to organizing militant united action and to extending and strengthening the Party's ranks. During and after the big protest demonstrations and strikes of 1960-61 against the "security treaty" the people of the prefecture took part in the national march for the return of Okinawa, marches against unemployment and for peace, a meeting attended by 100,000 people at the Itazuke base on March 25, 1962, and an equally big gathering in 1963, not to speak of local meetings held to protest against the "rationalization" measures taken at the pits, etc.

These landmarks in the development of the united front were invariably grounded on the initiative of the local Party organizations. In

the course of these actions the Party branches increased their membership several times over.

Special efforts were made to bring the unorganized workers into the trade unions, to strengthen working-class unity, to organize the unemployed, the peasants and people on public assistance, and to increase the membership of such organizations as the Peace Committee, the Japano-Soviet, Japano-Chinese and Japano-Korean Friendship societies, the New Association of Women, the Democratic Youth League, etc.

The "rationalization" at the pits is one of the big problems in Fukuoka prefecture. We have waged a consistent struggle against the reformist line of the Social Democrats, counterposing to it the idea of a united front.

In the movement for banning nuclear weapons we likewise have carried on an uncompromising struggle against splitters and pacifists and upheld the idea of united action. We have combated the Trotskyite attempts to involve united front forces in their provocative sallies. This has required the maximum vigilance and resolve, steadfast work combining firmness on questions of principle and maximum flexibility in the interests of unity. We have steeled ourselves in the course of the struggle and have overcome many difficulties.

In organizing a mass meeting on March 25, 1962, at the Itazuke military base we had to counteract the maneuvers of the Right-wing Social Democrats, who did their best to prevent united action. The Communists, who had shown during the movement against the "rationalization" projects at the Miike and Takamatsu pits that the united front was the right course to follow, planned the Itazuke meeting as a means of linking the workers' spring offensive with the struggle against war and oppression. The Right-wing Social Democrats tried to prevent the meeting from being held on the pretext that it was difficult to combine strike action for economic demands with the struggle against the U.S. bases. We replied by doing our best to convince them that our position was the right one, publicized the real state of affairs at the military base and showed that there was an intrinsic connection between the miners demands and intensified war preparations. We organized pressure from below in favor of a meeting in the vicinity of the military base.

The movement developed step by step in the most diverse forms. Raising such issues as the death of a workers' family under the wreckage of a U.S. military plane which crashed towards the end of 1961, and the removal of the Communist and Socialist councillors from a

meeting of the Fukuoka City Council by heavily armed police on February 27, 1962, in order to put through a resolution sanctioning the expansion of the military base, we organized an "investigation on the spot," i.e., at the military base, as well as sit-down strikes, demonstrations, petitions to local councils, signature and fund collecting campaigns.

With the spread of mass action from below the Right-wing Social Democrats were unable to halt the movement and the Left Socialists joined it. As a result, the transport facilities—several hundred buses and extra trains—needed to make the meeting a success were found.

In January this year the U.S. authorities at the Itazuke base took over, without permission from the prefectural authorities, a section of the public highway crossing the territory of the base in order to add another 700-meter strip to the runways. The Communists called upon the people to fight for the return of the road, to uphold the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country and to defend peace. Pitching tents on the stretch of road in question, the prefecture Council for Joint Action Against the "Security Treaty" organized a sit-down demonstration which went on for two months. Our protest compelled the local authorities to send bulldozers to the disputed site on March 19 and, with U.S. officers looking on, the road was restored to its previous condition.

Although as a rule, especially in rural areas, the lower the body of local government, the greater the influence wielded in it by the conservatives, in Fukuoka prefecture the balance between the Liberal Democratic Party on the one hand and the Communist and Socialist parties on the other shows a sharp shift in favor of the latter. This augurs well for the future. The new situation stems from the fact that the Communists and Socialists, who have cooperated on general issues for quite some time now, advanced at the local elections held in March and April an agreed election platform and nominated joint candidates for the posts of prefectural governor and mayor of Kitakyushu. In some electoral areas joint candidates for the prefectural assembly were also nominated.

Since the end of last year the Prefecture Committee of the Communist Party has conducted negotiations on several occasions with the prefectural federation of the Socialist Party. Besides ascertaining points of contact between the two parties, views were exchanged on problems of the mass movement. As a result two agreements were concluded. One of them declared:

"The representatives of the Federation of the Socialist Party of Japan and the Committee of the Communist Party of Japan in Fukuoka prefecture, prompted by the need to improve the standard of living and to uphold the democratic rights of the people of the prefecture, reaffirm, in connection with the coming election of the prefecture government and the mayor of Kitakyushu which is of cardinal importance in the struggle for peace and Japan's independence, their resolve to ensure the victory of the progressive forces at the polls and hereby agree to nominate joint candidates and to conduct a joint election campaign."

The agreement set aside the issues on which the parties differed and concentrated on those on which their views coincided. The Prefecture Committee of the Communist Party on its part published its own program and made it known to the population.

This agreement was implemented at the district level as well. There was also an agreement on the general line to be pursued in developing the mass movement. It set forth the positions of the two parties and proclaimed their resolve to cooperate in the area of the prefecture in strengthening the Council for Joint Action Against the "Security Treaty" and safeguarding the unity of the Council for Struggle Against Nuclear Weapons, and to work together in the local bodies.

After agreement had been reached on policy the Communists launched an extensive campaign for the joint candidates. As a result the workers and other democratic forces began to look to the future with great optimism, a militant sentiment made itself felt, anti-communist trends among the Social Democrats lost ground, and active cooperation was achieved between the Communists and the Socialists. In Nogata, the center of the Chikuhō coal field, all democratic forces supported the Communist candidate for mayor.

In Kitakyushu, a city wide a population of one million, the Socialist Hōsei Yoshida who was nominated jointly by the Communist and Socialist parties was elected mayor with a 30,000 majority over the joint candidate of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Socialist Party. In subsequent by-elections to the Upper Chamber of Parliament the Liberal Democrats saw it was useless to enter the lists and the joint candidate of the Communist and Socialist parties was elected almost without opposition. The joint candidate of the Communists and the Socialists was elected governor of the prefecture with a 200,000 majority over the Liberal Democrat nominee. The Liberal Democrats lost two seats in the

prefectural assembly, winning only 28, while the Democratic Socialist Party representation fell from eight to five. The Communist Party, which did not have a single seat in the previous Assembly, gained two seats; both candidates polled a far greater vote than their opponents. The Socialist Party increased its seats from 22 to 29. In the elections to the city and rural councils 46 Communists were elected as against 21 before, and the Socialists, too, registered substantial gains. The gains in the local elections greatly strengthened the faith of the workers, peasants and various urban strata in the victory of the united front.

Besides the Council for Joint Action Against the "Security Treaty," there is also a Social-Democrat-led Joint Action Council of the Residents of the Prefecture. The latter concentrates on economic demands. In order to preserve the unity of the Council for Joint Action Against the "Security Treaty" (which the Communist Party considers a form of the united front at the present stage) the Communists entered into a compromise with the Socialists and agreed to have the two organizations functioning side by side. In a little more than a year it has become clear, thanks to our efforts, that the residents' Joint Action Council cannot take the place of the Council for Joint Action Against the "Security Treaty." The Communist gains in the local elections will, undoubtedly, help to overcome the weaknesses of the latter organization.

At the height of the movement against the "security treaty" the prefectural Council for joint struggle against this treaty included more than 300 district, subdistrict, rural and factory committees. At present there are 26 district and several subdistrict committees. Inasmuch as the leadership of the movement as a whole is in the hands of the Social Democrats, the local joint struggle organizations provide a basis for developing the mass movement from below. In order to strengthen these local organizations we devote much attention to improving the work of our Party branches.

The prefectural Council for Joint Action Against the "Security Treaty" has a represen-

tative committee of four, comprising a Socialist, a Communist and one representative each from the General Trade Union Council and the All-Japan Peasant Union. The Secretariat of the Council consists of three people — the representatives of the Communist and Socialist parties and the General Trade Union Council. These seven people form the Council's working body and are responsible to the board of the Council, which is made up of delegates from all the affiliated organizations. In many cases agreement on joint action depends on whether the views of the Socialists and the Communists coincide or not. The victory in the local elections which was due to cooperation between the Socialists and the Communists showed those Socialists who tend to shy away from cooperation with the Communist Party how great the impact of joint action can be. Consequently, there has been a marked improvement in the relations between the Socialists and the Communists in the Council for Joint Action Against the "Security Treaty." In the trade unions too the Social Democrats have let up on their efforts to prevent the Communists from carrying on political work.

Supported by the governor of the prefecture and the mayor of Kitakyushu and seeking to influence the mayor of Fukuoka — a Conservative — the united front forces headed by the Communists and the Socialists have started a mass movement against the stationing in the prefecture of U.S. jet bombers equipped to carry H-bombs and the use of its ports by U.S. nuclear submarines.

As a symbol of protest against the basing of F-105's at Itazuke and the people's resolve to fight for peace and uphold national independence, several hundred flags of diverse organizations have been put up on both sides of the section of the prefectural highway which the U.S. military authorities were prevented from using to extend the runways of the base.

Although many difficulties remain to be overcome, the united front in Fukuoka prefecture is steadily gaining strength.

Miuki SAITO

In Class Battles the Communist Party of Colombia Will Become a Mass Party

THE Third National Conference of the Communist Party of Colombia, attended by 140 delegates, reviewed problems of building the Party organizationally and adopted a plan for activities for the period up to the next, the Tenth Congress of the Party.

Holding national conferences has become customary since the Eighth Congress (December 1958) which advanced the slogan "Build a Mass Communist Party!" The difficult times of the underground life of our Party ended in May 1957 when mass actions put an end to the Rojas Pinilla military dictatorship. The Party immediately set about the task of rebuilding its ranks and building branches in all regions, making the maximum use of the new conditions in order to transform the Communist Party into a really mass Party.

This line was carried into effect in opposition to the erroneous thesis "few but better" which developed in the Party during the years of illegal and semi-legal activities. Today more than half of the membership are people who have only recently joined the Party.

Building a mass Communist Party in Colombia takes place in special conditions. Our people have no traditions of Party organization. A large section of the working people are still influenced—true, this influence is lessening—by the so-called "caudilla" cult which has been typical of the Colombian political scene since the second half of the last century.

Gangs of bandits engage in lootings and murders. Besides, some latifundists have their own armed retainers who operate jointly with the government troops to combat the democratic agrarian movements.

There are other negative factors as well. Although the ranks of the working class have grown in the past 10 years, there are only 300,000 industrial workers out of the total population of 14 million, and only a small segment is organized.

Most of the working peasants are unorganized and many are influenced by the Church. Students' organizations are not united on a national scale.

The Left, which polled 625,000 votes in the presidential election of May 1962 (against the 1,500,000 votes cast for the official candidate), is not well organized and lacks propaganda media. Whereas the daily circulation of the newspapers published by the ruling parties runs to several hundred thousand copies, the

Left forces have but the weekly *La Voz de la Democracia* (Voice of Democracy) issued by the Communist Party.

Among the revolutionary forces, ours is the only Party which steadily carries out organized activity, has its functionaries, premises or Party Houses in the most important centers.

Recruiting New Members

In what way should the slogan "Build a Mass Communist Party" be implemented in the new conditions of growing repressions and plans for installing another dictatorship, on the one hand, and of rising indignation of the people who insist on finding their own solutions to their problems, on the other?

What is needed is flexibility and daring. In some parts of the country, especially in the towns, the Communists work legally; in others they can work only in semi-legal or even illegal conditions, especially in rural areas affected by the reactionary violence supported or practised by the government. There are towns in which the Communists can hold public rallies and demonstrations, in which the enemy cannot strike a blow at the Party organizations without running the risk of arousing mass protests. At the same time there are areas where teams of our newspaper sellers have to be protected by self-defense groups. In some rural areas where the self-defense movement and partisan detachments are active, the authorities have prices on the heads of their leaders. Then there are zones surrounded by military posts, in which our Party functions openly, although outside them our organizations are illegal.

In these circumstances recruitment of new members cannot take place in the same way in all regions. In most of the towns the recruiting campaigns often acquire a mass character. In the violence-stricken areas this work has to be carried out more cautiously, on a strictly individual basis. In tackling the question of recruiting it is necessary to take into account such things as how long a Party organization has been in existence in one or another region, how experienced it is, and how skilful the leadership.

For example, in one of the areas where our Party is in a position of influence, we have organizations in 22 out of the 37 municipalities, and their activity reaches out to other municipalities as well.

In another area with rich traditions of the liberation struggle, an area where the Left inflicted a heavy defeat on the official candidates in the 1962 elections, the Party is steadily gaining in strength, having an influence in 57 out of the 73 trade unions there. Under its leadership mass actions took place which further strengthened working-class unity, and also joint solidarity action by workers and students. Joint worker-peasant actions are a feature of this area.

In regions in which the Party is newer, the growth of its organizations is linked directly with the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, with the growing unity of action with the other Left forces.

The life of the Party organizations in the areas where the bandits and reactionaries engage in violence is full of privation and danger. The slightest mistake in organizing the masses can enable the class enemy, possessing machinery of repression and powerful media of propaganda, to do grave harm to the unity and moral stamina of the working people.

The enemy always seeks to provoke the agrarian movement into action which the government could use as a pretext for armed repressions against the masses.

It is essential, therefore, that the leaders should possess the necessary political and ideological skill, should enjoy prestige and respect among the people. It is necessary always to have reliable allies and thus prevent our organizations from being cut off from the masses, to be strong enough to repel an attack of the enemy.

The Party pays close attention to enlisting young people and women. In the past five years the number of regional and municipal organizations of the Communist Youth Union has increased 12-fold. A recruiting campaign held before its First Congress at the end of last year was a success.

The Party welcomed the establishment recently of a Democratic Women's Union which unites women of all trends and from all walks of life under the banner of the struggle for peace, for a more active participation by women in public life, for mother and child welfare. The Women's Union has committees in towns and villages, arranges meetings for women, takes part in the cultural life of the community and in the struggle against the government's violence and its economic policy.

Women comprise 15 per cent of the Party membership in the capital. Despite the many difficulties caused by the prejudice against women taking part in politics, a prejudice

current even among our members, we are working to recruit more women for the Party.

Formerly a fortnightly and now a weekly, our national newspaper, *La Voz de la Democracia*, should be a daily. In many rural areas it is the only newspaper read by the peasants. And if we succeed in making it a daily, this will mean re-establishing our daily contact with the masses after a 17-year break.

The Party publishes materials on political guidance, books and pamphlets on life in Colombia, articles on Cuba, classical and modern works on Marxism and the main documents of the world Communist movement; other publications include a bi-monthly journal, *Political Documents*, the national edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, and the recently started political supplement to *La Voz de la Democracia*.

Draw All Members into Active Work

The Conference called for action to improve the social composition of the Party, for collective leadership, to combat passivity and sectarianism, and to ensure effective work by the branches.

Although peasants still make up the majority of the membership, progress is being made in recruiting workers into the Party. In three industrial centers workers comprise from 30 to 50 per cent of the membership.

The need for collective work is now imprinted in the minds of the Communists. "Without collective activity," said a peasant delegate, "there can be no collective leadership. If only a section of the Party is responsible for the work, this hampers collective leadership."

"One cannot take a slogan, put it on its feet and think that it will walk all by itself," said one of the delegates from an industrial area. In this area, he said, they had published a guide for the branches. The book contains studies on such questions as the high cost of living, the economic crisis, the role of the different social sections in the revolution, the Program and organizational structure of the Party. This was done in order to acquaint new members with the aims of the struggle waged by the Communists. Members of the Party committee use this guide to explain how branch activity should be conducted, and to check upon the work of each member.

The Conference showed that the Party has made headway. The number of branches has nearly doubled compared with July 1961; membership in the towns has grown (it is now 80 per cent of the target figure); the social composition of the membership has improved, progress has been made both in inner-Party life

and in work among the masses. Now the Party has launched out on its next plan, more simple than the previous one, mapping out only the main avenues of work. Each committee is expected to define its specific aims in conformity with these general directions.

The Party will continue to improve the allocation of functionaries on a nationwide scale so as to strengthen the leadership in the areas;

it will also arrange national conferences on the various aspects of work.

The discussion showed that the Party had a correct political line, and that the opportunist trends — both Right and Left — in organizational matters had been caused by deviations from the line.

There is no doubt that severe battles lie ahead, but out of these battles will emerge a mass Communist Party. *Alvarado DELGADO*

Organizational Work in the Communist Party of Jordan

THE Communist Party of Jordan pays close attention to organization, inner-Party life and to contact with the masses. Despite the illegal conditions and the terror, the Party plays an important role in the political life of the country, availing itself of all opportunities to conduct work among the masses, to build new branches and strengthen their influence among the people.

The December meeting of the Central Committee reviewed the work of the Party. The Central Committee report stated among other things, that "the period which followed the meeting of the Central Committee in March 1962 was characterized by broad Party activities in various fields. The leadership of the Party undertook several measures to improve the Party's political, mass, organizational and educational work, to ensure collective leadership in the Party's branches and respect for the principles of democratic centralism, to encourage criticism and self-criticism and to raise the level of revolutionary vigilance in the branches and among the members."

A newly formed organizing bureau will have the task of directing, developing and supervising organizational work; an education bureau will have charge of work for inculcating theory and disseminating political knowledge among the members and the masses. To serve this purpose the Party is now putting out a monthly magazine called *Al-Hakika (Truth)*. Big improvements have been made in the Party's national paper — *Al-Muqawama Al-Shabiya*. Articles and news are presented in popular language, making them easily understandable to the masses, especially workers and peasants.

Good progress has been made in training and promoting people in Party organizations at all levels. Organizational work among factory workers, office employees, students and women has improved. A number of branches

in villages and in refugee camps have been re-activated. The Party leadership, despite the terror and police surveillance, has been able to hold many meetings of Party branches, leading committees and leading comrades in order to explain the tasks and problems facing the Party and the nation.

When the Yemeni revolution broke out, and when world peace was endangered because of the U.S. provocation against Cuba, a series of meetings was held to explain the policy and the tasks of the Party. The branches actively participated in enriching the Party line and in improving its work among the masses.

The Central Committee drew attention also to shortcomings in organizational work. Many of the Party organizations, it pointed out, still use the old routine methods which are characterized by complacency and spontaneity, out of harmony with the present possibilities and the scope of work. This is particularly reflected in the activity among workers, peasants and refugees. Some branches and comrades are the victims of dogmatism and sectarianism. Others are in a state of passivity, of inactivity, and lack adequate contact with the masses. Quite a number of comrades are not attached to branches and lack contact with the Party.

Some responsible comrades and committees are overcautious and indecisive in the matter of training and promoting new functionaries. They still hesitate to extend and consolidate some Party committees and branches, and do not take any initiative to form new branches even where this can be done. In some cases, incorrect criteria were used in advancing people. Sometimes pressure of circumstances or some momentary actions by this or that comrade were the criteria. Some branches and comrades immerse themselves in daily work at the expense of political work and basic tasks. The principles of collective leadership,

underground work and Party discipline are also violated, and often there is a lenient attitude towards non-implementation of decisions and directives. The reluctance of some comrades to engage in self study is also noticeable.

The Central Committee laid down the organizational tasks of the Party and the lines of the work to be carried out among the various sections of the public. The workers in the factories, it stressed, are the basic force of the working class in our country, the working class is the main force of the national-liberation movement and, in alliance with the peasants, it is the backbone of the national united front and the decisive force in the struggle against imperialism, for complete national liberation, for a democratic regime and for peace. The number of factory workers is growing, and their weight in the political and social life of the country is felt more and more. It is the duty of our Party to help the workers to deepen their class consciousness, to fight for their demands and their right to form trade unions. It is the duty of our Party to educate the workers to play their role as the basic political force in the national-liberation movement of our country.

Peasants and refugees, who form the majority of the population, are also an important force in the national struggle. This is why the imperialists and the reactionaries are trying to isolate them from the national struggle and from political life in order to prevent their alliance with the workers and the other national forces, and to keep them in a state of misery and backwardness.

Work among the peasants and the refugees is the national duty of our Party, for without our help, they will not be able to organize themselves to uphold their rights and demands. Without our Party they will not be drawn into the struggle for liberation, democracy, peace and for a radical agrarian reform that will ensure land for the peasants.

It is the duty of the Party branches and all comrades working among the peasants and refugees to single out and educate stable and persistent fighters, to concentrate on forming a solid core of activists around the Party branches composed of the best people in the villages and in the refugee camps. We must try to expand the groups of activists and along with this develop in them political, educational and mass work.

M.Z.

From the Experience of Party Branches

ORGANIZING AND EDUCATING THE MASSES

THE Pabianice Textile Mill in Lodz region turns out annually more than 75 million meters of 300 different kinds of fabrics which are sold not only on the Polish market but also exported. It has 8,000 workers of whom over 60 per cent are women.

More than one-third of all the employees are under 35 years of age. Many of them came here straight from the countryside and for many more this is their first job. A substantial part of the workers grew up during the fascist occupation and consequently have serious gaps in their education.

The mill has its own recreation center, stadium, nursery schools, creches, summer camps for children and medical center.

The enterprise was founded more than 150 years ago and much of its plant has been in operation for many years; however, we cannot afford to wait until it is all replaced and are working to modernize the old equipment. Steady improvement of technology and quality

of output is for us vitally important, all the more so since a substantial part of our production goes for export.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government have emphasized the need to produce for export. The implications of this are particularly great for the textile industry in view of the competitive struggle on the capitalist market whither most of our export fabrics are shipped.

This confronts the mill's Party organization, which has more than 1,100 full and probationary members, with many production, social and educational tasks.

One of these is training the Party members to equip them to play a leading part in production and in public life. This is not a simple task in a comparatively young Party organization like ours; about one-third of its membership joined only two or three years ago. The Party committee, therefore, has to pay special attention to work among the new members.

In tackling questions, we seek to promote community effort, stimulate initiative and inculcate in the workers a feeling of personal responsibility for the conduct of the mill's affairs.

I should like to give a few examples of what the Party branch and its committee have done in this respect. In 1961 the mill did not fulfil the plan as regards quality of output, and, consequently, suffered substantial losses. In order to disclose the reasons for this, to pinpoint the difficulties and to find ways and means of overcoming them, the Communists conducted hundreds of talks with the workers, both in groups and individually. This helped to reveal the obstacles. Proceeding from this, our engineers and technicians, above all the Party members among them, set to work to improve technology. The management drew up a detailed plan of action which we brought to the attention of all the workers — not formally but by turning to them for advice and informing them of the losses incurred by the mill because of sub-standard output. I myself conducted several such meetings and they taught me one thing: only if all workers are aware of the need to carry out a certain task can the desired results be achieved. This axiom found full confirmation in our showing in 1962, when the mill, thanks to improved quality of output, not only suffered no losses but exceeded its income target.

Technological lag can cause countless difficulties. There was a time when we neglected this aspect. The conversations I had with the workers used to revolve largely around such questions as the standard of the machines, the introduction of rationalization suggestions, etc. Many of the shortcomings the workers criticized could have been corrected without any heavy expenditure, merely by improving the work of the chief mechanic's and the chief power engineer's departments.

After thorough consideration, however, we decided that the question had to be tackled fundamentally. The Party committee suggested drawing up an annual plan for what are called minor technological improvements. We asked our activists to discuss the matter with the workers in the shops and to make their suggestions. The result was a comprehensive plan for technological improvement throughout the mill.

These examples show how our branch works to ensure the fulfilment of production tasks. But the Party committee and the branch as a whole have also social and educational responsibilities which often are more difficult to

carry out than the production tasks since here we have to deal primarily with the human factor. Hence the Party committee, before tackling one or another task, gives careful consideration to the forms and methods of work. The most effective forms are those that appeal to every worker.

The Party committee, then, is constantly searching for more effective methods. Take, for instance, Party meetings. These can be either interesting and useful or dull and boring. An irreproachable report may evoke no interest. Data on the production performance of one or another shop may be interesting in itself yet fall short of any genuine exchange of experience. Therefore, when we prepare for a meeting, we above all take care that the problems raised should evoke a lively discussion. From time to time we hold meetings in the shops (of which we have 24) without any formal reports whatsoever; instead, a few topical questions are submitted for discussion, giving the comrades an opportunity to put their heads together. And this, perhaps, is the most important thing. The exchange of opinions should help Party members to obtain a better understanding of the problems of production, the overall policy of the Party and the international situation. Our members appreciate this method of conducting meetings.

The more than 1,000 members of our organization are spread throughout the shops and many of them do not even know each other personally. Because of this the Party committee has for several years now called a general membership meeting once every three months. Since the shops work three shifts, meetings are held on off days. At these meetings, which are attended by anything from 900 to 1,000 members, the committee reports on the work of the mill as a whole and consults with the members on the basic political and production questions. We also make a point of inviting members of the regional Party committee to attend. Meetings of this kind play an important part in educating the workers in the spirit of teamwork.

Questions concerning production and all the more so those bearing on living conditions and education affect everybody, hence it is essential to enlist the help of the non-Party activists in solving them. In our conditions this is done through the workers' self-management bodies, which comprise the factory committee of the Party, the trade union committee and the workers' council. The workers' management conferences pass basic decisions concerning the management of the mill, assess

the production performance and approve plans for the future.

Workers' self-management, then, is an instance of harmonious teamwork between Party and non-Party people. The non-Party workers, engineers and technicians take an active part in discussing suggestions made by the Party or trade union committee and adopt decisions and carry them out together with the Communists. Participation in workers' self-management has been a good school for many activists who have subsequently joined the Party.

The Party organization pays attention to general education. To work and study at the same time is of course not easy. In the past, too, we tackled this question time and again but with little success. I remember asking workers and foremen countless times why they did not care to go on with their education and the answer in most cases was that the conditions made it hard to do so. It became clear that the conditions for study had to be provided first. Working collectively, we drew up a plan of action. First of all it was decided to bring the school to the workers. Auditoriums were fitted out at the mill so that people should not have to lose time travelling, perhaps to the other end of town, to attend classes. We asked engineers and teachers to act as tutors. We made it our aim to ensure mass enrolment at general educational and vocational schools. I must admit that some comrades had to be pressed hard to enroll; a year later many of them admitted that they had been annoyed with me in the beginning. But it is a pleasure to meet these people now when they have received their graduation certificates or technicians' diplomas and are sincerely grateful for it. Many workers have been promoted on the job and are now doing good work as charge hands or foremen. It should be noted that this work was only initiated by the Party committee and that now it is directed by the trade union. At present some 1,100 workers, including many women and middle-aged workers, attend various schools and courses.

As mentioned above, many of our workers are young people. Work among the youth often has its own difficulties and requires particular care in choosing the methods. Once I asked some members of the Socialist Youth League whether they knew the history of the mill and the struggle waged by their fathers and mothers. They admitted that they did not. The question arose of how to get the youth interested. Lectures would have been the simplest to arrange but hardly likely to pro-

duce the desired results. The Party committee suggested to the branch of the Socialist Youth League that it announce a public contest "How well do you know the revolutionary traditions of our mill?" It also helped to collect interesting documentary material and invited veteran Communists who had once worked at the mill and helped to organize the workers to tell the young people about the struggles of those days. The initiative was supported by the national leadership of the youth organization, which provided the prizes, including a free trip to the USSR. The element of competition appealed very much to the young people, and they began to delve into the history of the mill. In the process hundreds of young workers learned something about the history of the class struggle at the mill, about the fight their fathers waged for social emancipation and the sacrifices they made so that the youth of People's Poland should be able to work and study in freedom.

An important aspect of our Party activity is work among the engineers and technicians. The Party committee strives to stimulate their initiative and to enlist them in the activities. I personally have great faith in the efficacy of individual talks. Whenever a new engineer arrives I invite him to see me, acquaint him with the state of affairs in the mill, take an interest in his work, living conditions, etc. We have such talks regularly also with engineers who have been with us for years. There is no doubt that this is a useful method, for there are many things that cannot be discussed and settled at meetings.

The Party committee employs the most diverse methods to develop democratic practices and to keep the public posted on all aspects of the operation of the mill. We put out a monthly bulletin which subjects shortcomings to sharp criticism. The bulletin is popular with the workers, treating as it does of their life and work and the ways and means of solving the problems confronting them.

At an enterprise as big as ours it is by no means easy for the manager and the Party secretary to keep in constant touch with the workers. Yet without such contact it is impossible to give the proper leadership. It should be borne in mind that the rank-and-file worker is often reluctant to bring his problems to the leading functionaries. Because of this I try, sometimes with detriment to other duties, to spend as much time as possible among the workers. I have found this is never a waste of time. In the shops, on the production floor, many workers come to

me with questions, requests or complaints, while I in turn consult with them and answer their questions. Moreover, one must find solutions to the problems raised; some of them may have to be discussed collectively. Unless he maintains such contact with the worker, a Party worker runs the risk of becoming a mere official.

Once a month the manager, the secretary of the Party committee and the chairman of the trade union committee invite "passive" workers — people who may be excellent workers but who are not active in public life — to talk things over. During the talks we acquaint them with the problems of the mill and ask for their advice. These frank discussions are very useful for all concerned. Constant contact with the workers is the best way to find out their problems and their needs. Unless one knows these needs and problems it is impossible to manage the enterprise successfully.

Although political work does not lend itself to measurement by any conventional yardstick, the results are palpable. The average

worker at the mill today is versed to one or another degree in world affairs and reads the daily press as well as other periodicals. The years of educational work in the spirit of proletarian internationalism are producing ever more tangible results. When the Spanish miners were on strike, our workers, in response to a call issued by the Party committee, voiced their solidarity at numerous meetings, and on their own initiative organized collections for their Spanish comrades. Our workers similarly demonstrated their solidarity with the Cuban people during the Caribbean crisis.

The workers' attitude towards production and public property has likewise greatly changed. More and more they are beginning to realize that it is they who are the masters of the mill. This is the fruit, and in this, in the final analysis, lies the meaning of all our activity.

B. TSULA

*Secretary of the Mill Committee
of the Polish United
Workers' Party.*

BY JOINT EFFORTS

IN A socialist country the primary organization of the Communist Party, as a branch of the party in power, has to deal with a range of problems, from production plans to living conditions, from the leadership of public organizations to political education, to imbuing the masses with the Communist morality. And it can cope successfully with its complex tasks only *by joint efforts*, only with the active participation of *every Communist*.

This idea, expressed by Comrade Ion Gheorghe, Secretary of the Party branch at one of the departments of the Vulcan Iron and Steel Works in Bucharest, was the leitmotif of a gathering at which members of the Party bureau reviewed the work of Party members in the various departments.

The Vulcan Works is at present successfully engaged in fulfilling its program under the six-year development plan for the Rumanian People's Republic. But Communists are not content to rest on their achievements, they always look ahead, endeavoring to find new reserves still to be tapped. Recently the bureau of the Party branch at the Vulcan Works initiated work aimed at further improving quality of output. The entire Party organization took part in the undertaking. Several topnotch production workers — M. Mandache, N. Andrei, I. Pryscoveanu, and M.

Crasan — all members of the Party working in different sections of the department, made a study of the possibilities. They interviewed shop foremen, engineers and quality inspectors, both Communists and non-members, subjected various aspects of the production process to detailed examination and investigated the condition of vocational training. A group of non-Party activists including Radu Marin, a foreman, Enache Alexandru, a lathe-operator, and Anatole Neantu, an engineer, submitted suggestions for improving the technological process, extending mechanization at various points of production and proposed that the latest technological achievements be included in the program of vocational training courses.

"We approached the task of improving the quality of output not from the administrative standpoint," said Grigore Chirite, a member of the Party bureau. "We were interested chiefly in finding out what the workers thought of the problem, what contribution the Communists were making to its solution and what else could be done to carry out one of the most important tasks posed by the Party, namely, to produce high quality output (maximum durability combined with minimum weight and size). True this depends primarily on the designers. But we believe that to achieve these indices a creative approach and

a high level of technical skill are required of all workers, engineers and technicians. This has always been the position of the Party bureau in tackling questions relating to quality of output and in enlisting the efforts of all active workers, Communists and non-Communists alike, to achieve this objective.

A detailed study of the materials collected revealed that greater efficiency could be obtained if the workers specialized on particular operations, by introducing a more rational distribution of foremen and engineers by shifts, and by utilizing all available opportunities for improving technology. The Party bureau put these matters before a general meeting of the Party organization which adopted a number of decisions, including the demand that the Communists and the works management should, among other things, expedite the installation of an automatic machine already received by the department. The meeting also instructed the bureau of the Party branch to help the Party shop committee and that of the Communist Youth League to concentrate on improving skills and popularizing the experience of the leading workers. A plan of political and technical-organizational measures was adopted assigning definite tasks to the Party bureau, the management and individual members. At the same time measures were outlined for improving the work of the propagandists, of the wall newspapers, etc.

The meeting was attended by about 80 people, members and probationer members and by non-Party comrades. But since the department employs more than 260 people, it was decided that the main questions taken up at the meeting and the decisions adopted should be brought to the knowledge of the workers, engineers and technicians at trade union meetings.

Common efforts, it was pointed out, comprise the sum of individual efforts, hence to activate the Party membership each should contribute his or her share to the fulfilment of the tasks facing the Party branch.

"We have made a careful study of the question of Party assignments," said the secretary, "and we have found that while some members were overloaded with work, others either dissipated their energies on minor tasks, or had no definite assignments at all. So steps were taken to ensure that every member should have something to do, should make an effective contribution to the work of the branch. Now nearly all the 70 members of the Party have definite assignments."

It is not always easy to tell offhand for what type of work one or another person is best fitted. One may be a good organizer, another a first-rate propagandist, a third will be best equipped to establish contact with people, and so on. Before distributing assignments to various comrades the Party bureau makes a point of asking them what particular kind of work they are most interested in. This is one way of ensuring that the members will be assigned tasks best suited to their capabilities, background, inclinations and talents. Sometimes assignments are distributed at general meetings, in which case the bureau's recommendations are submitted for the approval of the Party organization as a whole.

Here is one example. There was a time when the shop's wall-newspaper was poorly done, it was dull and uninteresting, and gave a completely inadequate picture of the work of the Party branch. This was due to the bad choice of the editorial staff, and to the lack of experience of the editor who, with the best of intentions, was totally unable to cope with his task.

The bureau took the matter up with a number of members. The result was the suggestion that the man who was fitted to head the editorial board of the wall-newspaper was Steven Culai, a Communist and leading worker, and a regular contributor to the factory paper "Metalurgistul." Culai had a flair for journalism, the gift of observation, was impatient of shortcomings and possessed a keen sense of the new. These qualities were not long in making themselves felt. Now the corner where the wall newspaper hangs is never empty, and the paper is asserting itself more and more as the mouthpiece of public opinion in the workshop.

This example shows how important it is that a person should be able not only to cope with his work, but that he should do it with pleasure, with enthusiasm. This is the secret of the popularity of the Communist Gheorghe Alionte, leader of the class studying the history of the Rumanian Workers' Party. This was not a chance assignment for Alionte. The secretary and other members of the Party bureau had for some time noticed that Alionte, who began by attending a political class, frequently took the floor, argued his points lucidly and well and appeared to have a thorough knowledge of his subject. And so, naturally, when new propagandists were being selected his name was among the first to be mentioned.

Besides seeing to it that the assignment should correspond to the training and abili-

ties of the members, the Party Bureau helps them to carry out their assignments. *The most important thing is the daily verification by the Party of the way decisions are fulfilled.* This works both ways, said the secretary: it implies verification by the Party bureau of fulfilment of assignments by each member and control by the individual Communists of the work of the Party bureau.

With proper organization, every meeting of the Party branch becomes to a certain extent a means of verifying fulfilment of decisions. As a rule before passing over to the current agenda, the branch reports to the membership on the fulfilment of the decisions adopted at the previous meeting. In keeping with the rules, the bureau of the primary organization reports to the members once in six months. Add to this the regular brief report on fulfilment of assignments by the various members at general meetings or at meetings of the Party bureau and you get a clear picture of the forms and methods of work which serve to draw all Communists into the orbit of active Party life and to

strengthen the individual and collective responsibility for fulfilment of tasks.

"Meetings of the Party bureau, talks with members of the Party, either at our request, or when they themselves come to us, are tried and tested forms of Party work," added Comrade Ion Solaneo, assistant secretary of the Party branch. "We try therefore to improve these forms, to encourage the initiative of the members and support their suggestions, provided of course we are convinced that they are both correct and timely."

A special effort is being made by the Party branch in the machine shop to find ways that would ensure the participation of all members in Party activity. Before embarking on any important undertaking, the Party bureau draws up a draft plan and consults with the members on questions of particular importance.

Consistent implementation of the Leninist standards of internal Party life and a high standard of Party activity will ensure the fulfilment of the complex tasks of building a socialist society.

I. MITRAN

Meetings of Central Committees

SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

THE meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany held on July 29-30 heard a report by Walter Ulbricht on the meeting of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, and also on the recent meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states.

Comrade Ulbricht stressed the need to channel the common efforts of the members of the Council towards raising labor productivity to the maximum, lowering production costs and improving the quality of goods, for only in this way could the economic superiority of the socialist camp over imperialism be secured.

Ulbricht described the main task of economic cooperation between the member-countries for the immediate future — drafting and coordinating the plans for 1966-70 and greater specialization and coordination. The Central Committee instructed the Party, government and economic bodies and the GDR representatives on the Council for Mutual Economic Aid to be guided in their work by the decisions of the July meeting of the First Secre-

taries of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member-countries and also by the tasks set forth by the Central Committee of the SUPG.

A report on the policy of the leaders of the Communist Party of China directed against the common documents of the Communist and Workers' parties and against the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was made by Kurt Hager.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU published on July 14, 1963, was unanimously approved by the members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the speaker said. Fraternal bonds link us with the CPSU, its Central Committee and its First Secretary, Comrade Khrushchov. We denounce the attacks made by the Chinese leaders on the glorious party of Lenin and its leading comrades.

The new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism which was opened by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, overcoming the Stalin personality cult and eliminating its consequences, the speaker went on, paved the way to the upsurge of the world Communist movement. The general line of this movement, jointly elaborated by the Communist and

Workers' parties at the Moscow meetings in 1957 and 1960, has proved to be fully correct and successful.

The Socialist Unity Party resolutely rejects the theses of the Chinese leaders who question the possibility of averting war before the final abolition of imperialism, who laugh off the danger of atomic war, and who in irresponsible fashion regard with scorn the destiny of the peoples.

Our Party, the speaker said, is waging a resolute struggle against imperialism and militarism in West Germany. It regards the struggle for peaceful coexistence, the further strengthening of the socialist world system and the economic competition between socialism and capitalism as the main avenue of social advance to be achieved with the minimum sacrifice and in an historically brief space of time. Support for the sectarian policy of the Chinese leaders would put a brake on the struggle against imperialism.

By virtue of their sectarian, dogmatic and nationalist views, their factional and splitting activities, their slander against the CPSU and our own Party, their defense of the Stalin personality cult and by extending ideological differences to inter-state relations, the report stressed, the Chinese leaders are causing injury to the Communist movement, and to the struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism. We regret that the Chinese leaders have adopted this attitude. We maintain, how-

ever, that the differences can be overcome on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and that the unity of the world Communist movement can be preserved, for we have a common goal—socialism, and a common enemy—imperialism.

The meeting adopted a resolution on this report which says in part: "The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party declares its full support for the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of July 14, 1963, rejects the charges of the Chinese leaders against the Leninist leadership of the CPSU and the fraternal parties, and expresses its fraternal solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and its First Secretary, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov. In close unity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Communist and Workers' parties, our Party stands firmly by the common general line of the world Communist movement which time has shown to be correct; it will translate this line into reality and will fight persistently for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. Our Party will steadfastly carry on its struggle for the unity and solidarity of the socialist world system and the world Communist movement."

The meeting also discussed the question of the forthcoming elections in the GDR, the report on which was made by Albert Norden, and adopted resolutions on all questions.

ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

THE Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party at a meeting at the end of July discussed (1) the fight for the opening to the Left in the current situation and (2) problems of the international Communist movement. A report on the first item on the agenda was made by Mario Alicata, member of the Party leadership, who analyzed the political situation which had developed in the country since the recent elections. A feature of this situation was the attempt made by the reactionaries to effect a shift to the Right in national policy, an attempt which is at variance with the will of the people expressed during the April 28 elections. Undertaking this maneuver, the leaders of the Christian Democratic Party chose the Leone government as the vehicle for its realization. Another feature of the situation is the growing resistance of the working people to these reactionary maneuvers, and a shift to the Left among the masses.

The true problem of democracy in Italy is determined by the contradiction between the urge of this powerful people's movement head-

ed by the working class to assume leadership of the country and the obdurate resistance of the ruling classes who want to bar the way to this movement and who at the same time reveal their powerlessness to solve the problems of economic and social development on behalf of the people.

An analysis of the attitude of the so-called "Left of center" parties demonstrates, on the one hand, the rise of new contradictions and the growing differentiation inside these parties and, on the other, the lack of determination among the Left (including the Catholic Left) to resist the maneuvers of the conservatives who aim at reducing the "Left of center" policy to more refined methods of dividing the working-class and democratic movement. Recent developments have also shown that the leadership of the Socialist Party still tends to yield to Christian Democratic blackmail.

From this derives the main task facing the Party: to develop unity actions which, relying on the democratic aspirations of the working people, would make it possible to

build a powerful movement capable of realizing a far-reaching program of democratic regeneration. Another urgent and necessary task is to impart a new vitality to the united actions in the fight for peace. The signing of the Moscow nuclear test ban treaty should be regarded as the starting point for new steps towards easing international tension and for general and controlled disarmament.

Speaking on this point Palmiro Togliatti said that in the present situation the elaboration by the Left democratic forces of the common program of democratic regeneration and a common struggle for its implementation was more urgent than ever. The indispensable condition for carrying this line into effect and the essential condition for directing Italian society along the socialist road is the participation of the Communists in the government. These two things are indivisible.

Dwelling on the problems now being discussed by Communists and Socialists, Togliatti pointed out that a workers' and a socialist party should always have before them the perspective of socialism and that the thesis that the conditions were present for a democratic transition to socialism was not a dogma of the Communists. They should do their utmost to create at each step more favorable conditions for peaceful and democratic development, inflicting defeat after defeat on the reactionary and anti-socialist forces, which can be done—we have demonstrated this on more than one occasion—through work among the masses and by means of the mass struggle which we are now waging. A workers' and a socialist party should, moreover, always fight against imperialism and display solidarity with the countries in which the working class is in power. Among the points which should be subjected to thorough discussion not only with the comrades from the Socialist Party but also with other representatives of public opinion—both on national and international planes—an important place is held by the relationship between democracy and socialism. The Communist Party stresses that in Italy the struggle for socialism can be fought on the basis of the Constitution—since the Constitution, being progressive and democratic, makes it possible to advance towards socialism in a democratic way.

Recalling Lenin's analysis of the concepts of the state and democracy, Togliatti said that in view of the mistakes, deviations from the correct line and distortions that took place in building socialism in other countries, we should give definite guarantees. The first of these should be sought in the close link be-

tween the struggle we are waging today and the type of state we want to build. We want to achieve a socialist reconstruction through large-scale mass movements developing on the soil of democracy which is reflected in our Constitution.

Another element of the guarantee is the existence of other political parties in socialist society, which we admit.

But by far the best guarantee of democracy under socialism will be the development of the forms of immediate democracy, the plurality and independence of the organizations of the working class and working people generally, which would constitute part of the socialist system and support it.

The meeting approved a resolution urging all members to make new efforts in order to pass over from agitation and propaganda to the political initiative, to the struggle for the basic aims of the structural reforms.

A report on the second point on the agenda was made by Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the Party's Secretariat.

Dwelling on the possibility of averting war and on the possibility of peaceful coexistence, Comrade Pajetta stressed that the success of the Soviet Union's peace policy, of which the nuclear test ban treaty is a landmark, affords clear proof of the soundness of the strategy elaborated by the international Communist movement.

Peaceful coexistence, far from implying renunciation of the class struggle, signifies its further development. The general political advance of the Communist Party in Italy as well as the national-liberation struggle of the peoples are directly linked with the struggle for easing international tension. The fact that peaceful coexistence is objectively possible is, in effect, one of the elements of the crisis of the imperialist system and is proof of the new conditions in which the international Communist movement is developing. Today different roads of the socialist revolution and socialist construction are possible, and the possibility of advancing to socialism in the peaceful way should be considered in all seriousness.

As to the attitude of the Chinese leaders to the paths concerning the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, said Pajetta, one should bear in mind that the new balance of forces in the world is one of the main conditions determining the new possibilities of the liberation struggle, of the national revolutions, and, today, also of the non-capitalist way of development in the newly-emergent countries. To deny that the

contradiction between socialism and imperialism is the basic contradiction of our time is tantamount to making a serious blunder. With renewed vigor, Pajetta said, our Party should combat any underestimation of the role played by the working-class and democratic movement and its Communist vanguard in the countries in which the main forces of imperialism are concentrated.

Pajetta dismissed the attacks of the Chinese leaders on the Italian Party as unwarranted and inadmissible. These attacks, he said, show that the Chinese comrades have only a vague idea of the situation in the capitalist countries and the struggle of the Communist parties in these countries.

The Chinese attitude to the personality cult, he said, as well as their attempts to prevent the complete eradication of its consequences should also be emphatically rejected.

It is necessary, Pajetta continued, to advance along the road charted by the pioneering principles underlying the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the meetings of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960, and to make further efforts in order jointly to work out solutions for the problems advanced by our time.

Important in this connection is the general debate now under way, and the political struggle in which we cannot avoid participating, although we realize the grave difficulties which the present contradictions bode for the socialist camp and all Communist parties.

The purpose of this debate should be further to elaborate the principles of the Party's policy, to reinforce united action by the working-class and democratic forces in Western Europe, and to ensure unity of the Communist movement. When we speak about the need for multiple forms of relations between the Communist parties, we do not imply any weakening of unity. The Italian Party seizes on every opportunity to uphold the unity and solidarity of the Communist and working-

class movement and, in particular, to reinforce the unity and independence of the international democratic organizations.

The resolution adopted on Pajetta's report stated that the attitude taken by the leaders of the Communist Party of China "should be resolutely rejected and condemned both when it is a case of obvious distortion and when it assumes the character of an open attack on the strategic line which the Communist movement has elaborated on the basis of the teachings of Marx and Lenin and the common historical experience."

In an attempt to win preponderance for the dogmatic and extremist standpoint, the resolution goes on, the Chinese leaders have resorted to methods which should be condemned since they are based on factionalism. Acting in this way the Chinese comrades not only deliver a blow to unity which, judging by their words, they are anxious to preserve, but actually prevent the process of searching, analysis and debate which are so essential in view of the growth of the Communist and revolutionary movement and because of the new and complex tasks facing it all over the world.

It is essential, the resolution concludes, to see all the things we have in common and the things in which we differ in order to achieve unity. As a result of this unity the independence of the parties will be all the more successfully manifested and there will arise the necessary plurality of ideological and political contributions and the possibility of comparing viewpoints and debating particular positions.

The Central Committee called on the Party to hold a broad discussion which should be conducted with a profound sense of responsibility. The desire to grasp the historical and political reasons for the mistakes of the Chinese comrades and the respect for the Chinese revolution and the Communist Party of China should by no means result in justifying positions which threaten to doom the Communist parties to political passivity or extremist gambles.

MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, held in Mexico City July 17-19, issued a statement reaffirming a previous resolution on the unity of the international Communist movement, which was discussed and approved by the Party membership. The meeting declared its fidelity to the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960.

"Our Party," the statement says, "cannot agree with the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of June 14 last because this letter, in effect, presupposes a platform different from that approved by the international Communist movement at its two meetings in Moscow; because it contains a series of unwarranted and slanderous attacks on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and on the other Communist

parties carrying out the general line of the two meetings; because this letter, far from cementing the unity and cohesion of Communists throughout the world, is, on the contrary, aimed at disrupting this unity both on the international and national scale.

"The line proposed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in the above-mentioned letter and in other documents distributed in our country is simply an attack on the basic positions of the international Communist movement in regard to the issues of war and peace, the development of the world revolutionary movement and the Leninist principles in the relations between the fraternal Communist parties. If accepted, this line would lead to the isolation of the Communists and the defeat of the revolutionary and national-liberation movement."

The statement points out that the Mexican Party, basing itself on the Declaration and Statement, has waged a consistent fight against adventurers of all kinds, who seek to frustrate united action in the struggle against

imperialism and its agents like the so-called "workers' front" and the "ultras" expelled from the Party at the beginning of 1962, groups which see their main task in combating the Mexican Communist Party and the international Communist movement.

"The Central Committee," the statement goes on, "expresses its complete agreement with the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Party organizations and all Communists of the Soviet Union published on July 14, which contains important principles concerning the international Communist movement and the unity of its ranks."

"This Open Letter shows the erroneous attitude adopted by the leaders of the Communist Party of China on issues which are crucial for the struggle waged by the Communists, the working class and all peoples for peace, national liberation and socialism."

The Central Committee urged all members of the Party to study this document.

POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party held recently in Warsaw discussed the report made by Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Party, on the Party's ideological work and adopted the report as a document binding on the Party. The meeting resolved to convene the Fourth Party Congress in the first half of 1964 and formed a commission to prepare the Congress.

Gomulka's analysis of the situation on the ideological front was based on the Central Committee's assessment of the situation and alignment of forces in Poland and throughout the world.

The changes which have taken place in Poland during the 19 years of people's rule have determined the future of the country as a socialist state and an inseparable part of the socialist world system. The socio-economic base of bourgeois ideology has shrunk considerably. But the new and progressive is still countered by the not very numerous but still active reactionary forces who draw support from the Church hierarchy and from imperialist propaganda.

The Polish Party proceeds in its activities from its confidence in the superiority of socialism and its inevitable victory over capitalism, which is proved not only by theoretical postulates but also and above all by daily experience. The superiority of socialism is

manifested with particular clarity in the issue most crucial for all peoples—that of war and peace. Thanks to the fact that the international forces of peace prevail over the forces of war, a world war is no longer inevitable.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is the practical expression of the peace mission of socialism. "The condition for the success of this policy," Gomulka said, "is the interaction of all the anti-imperialist forces and above all the unity of the socialist camp on all the fundamental issues linked with the struggle against aggression and war, for general disarmament and peace."

Both the report and those who spoke in the debate stressed that coexistence does not represent, nor can it represent, perpetuating social relations or the status quo of colonialism and neo-colonialism, that coexistence precludes any ideological truce or any ideological compromise.

In these conditions a militant and effective struggle against bourgeois ideology is of especial importance. Gomulka outlined the tasks of the Party and the principles of its activity in the main spheres of ideological work.

In our ideological work, he stressed, the main efforts, especially in mass propaganda, should be concentrated on the tasks of socialist construction. Needless to say, no propaganda can ever replace the practical economic results, but in order to achieve economic ad-

vance there should be constant work to explain the policy of the Party and of the people's government. Popularizing the example of the thousands of rank-and-file heroes of labor, their sense of duty to the country and the people, the awakening of a sense of respect for work, of concern for socialist property, this is one of the cardinal tasks of the Party in the sphere of education.

The struggle for just, socialist relations in the enterprises, for the opportunity for the workers to display initiative which extends the area of workers' self-administration, as well as the struggle against distortions of our policy, against violations of state discipline, narrow group interests and pilfering state property—these are part of our educational work, of our propaganda for the ideas and ethics of socialism.

The Party educates the people in the spirit of internationalism and patriotism. We are waging and will continue to wage the struggle along two fronts: against nationalism which today is spearheaded against the socialist countries and above all against the USSR, and against nationalistic nihilism which is manifested primarily in kowtowing to the capitalist West, its ideas and way of life.

In its relations with the capitalist countries People's Poland steadily adheres to the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence. However, the Party stresses that peaceful coexistence by no means signifies ideological compromise with imperialism or peaceful coexistence of ideologies. Anything that is directed against socialism, any manifestation of submission to bourgeois ideology in propaganda, science and culture is at variance with the national interests of Poland and with patriotism.

It was from the standpoint of these principles that Gomulka analyzed the situation and tasks in the social sciences, cultural up-building, the press, radio and television, and education of the youth. Important achievements, he said, had been registered in these areas. Both Gomulka and the speakers who followed him concentrated on the shortcomings and weaknesses, disclosing their sources, and pointing to the ways and means of overcoming them.

Thanks to a creative, non-dogmatic approach to Marxist methodology, the situation in the social sciences has been largely stabilized, and the Marxist trend reinforced. Still the situation in this sphere is not up to the requirements of socialist construction, to which the social sciences should contribute by suggesting ways and means of perfecting all practical work. Workers in the social sciences are not

resolute enough in waging the struggle against bourgeois ideology, and some of them even yield to its pressure. This found expression, for example, in the emergence of a revisionist theory to the effect that science and ideology are incompatible, that scientific "objectivity" presupposes social sciences free from politics. Attempts were also made to substitute bourgeois and even anti-socialist concepts for the Marxist theory of the class struggle. Some researchers adopted an attitude of peaceful coexistence with bourgeois ideology.

Sharply criticizing the undue worship of bourgeois science, Gomulka pointed to the need for a thorough analysis of the incorrect trends in the social sciences at the forthcoming nationwide conference of researchers in the sphere of the social sciences. We now have, he said, all the conditions needed to ensure the complete victory of Marxism-Leninism in the sphere of the social sciences. Our aim, he continued, is to win this victory not by imposing solutions in scientific debate, but by ensuring freedom of research, by way of open, principled scientific and ideological discussion.

While giving credit to important achievements in the arts and culture, Gomulka drew attention to the shortcomings and weaknesses in literature, the cinema and the theatre. One should not forget, he stressed, that the ideological struggle is being fought out also in literature and in art. We should concentrate on fostering those ideals and views that help mould the socialist outlook, on overcoming everything that retards this process.

"While we do not underrate the danger of dogmatism and its consequences on our cultural front," Gomulka said, "it should be noted, however, that in our conditions revisionism is the main danger here."

The reason why many writers have withdrawn from the basic issues of socialist construction is that they neither understand the position in which the country finds itself nor their responsibility to the people, and so they succumb to bourgeois ideology.

Among some writers the criticism of the distortions and doctrinairism which had laid their imprint on the past, was accompanied by a denial of Marxism generally, by a peculiar type of ideological and moral nihilism. Works full of pessimism were written, and attempts were made to depict manifestations of cynicism, corruption and degeneration as a consequence of the situation in our country.

Our Party has nothing against artistic experiment within rational limits. Far from being against criticizing negative phenomena, the Party encourages it. But the Party is

definitely against destructive criticism. Our cultural policy gives ample scope for free and creative cultural work. But we shall not tolerate dissemination of views hostile to socialism and harmful to our educational work.

We do not want a literature and art based on narrow production subjects and schematism. But we are also against the tendency to ignore the problems pertaining to human labor. The Party has no desire to interfere in the creative laboratory of the artist, it hasn't the slightest desire to tell him how to write books or create works of art. At the same time it gives its support to the method of socialist realism, to works of high ideological standards and high artistic level, works that are understood by the people and that serve the people. We support all progressive art which broadens man's outlook, helps to mould his moral code, and imbues him with a feeling for beauty. We also recognize artistic work which corresponds to the healthy requirements of man—recreation, amusement and relaxation.

Turning to the erroneous interpretation of the concept of "freedom" by some intellectuals, Gomulka stressed that freedom is a class concept, and the question should always be posed concretely: freedom for whom, under what conditions, and in whose interests. The establishment of people's rule and public ownership of the means of production have deprived the capitalists of the basic attribute of their freedom—the right to exploit the labor of others. The exploiting classes removed from power and their patrons in the

"free world" ignore the fact that socialism has for the first time in history created conditions for genuine freedom for the working people; their claim is that socialism has abolished freedom. But these classes would use political freedom in order to fight against the revolution, to restore their rule, for the right to exploit labor. That is why the enemies of socialism should **not be given the right** to fight against the genuine freedom of the people, and this restriction is a restriction of freedom for reactionaries, for enemies, in the interests of preserving the freedom of the masses, which we are constantly extending and deepening.

"An analysis of the situation on our ideological front," Gomulka said in conclusion, "shows that we are not sufficiently aggressive in the struggle against our ideological enemy and in popularizing our socialist outlook."

Gomulka pointed to the need to rouse the Party organizations responsible for ideological work from passivity, to restore and reinforce Party discipline among their members, and to launch an ideological offensive primarily inside the Party.

In order to impart a united and militant character to the ideological activity of the Party, the meeting resolved to set up an Ideological Sub-Committee under the Central Committee.

The decisions of the meeting, which were met with universal approval by the entire membership, pave the way for an all-out ideological offensive in the Polish United Workers' Party.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

THE MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile held in Santiago in June discussed the preparations for the presidential elections scheduled for September 1964.

Orlando Millas, Secretary of the Central Committee, noted that the Party's efforts should be directed toward securing the election of Senator Salvador Allende, a Socialist, the nominee of the People's Action Front. The purpose of the Central Committee meeting, said Millas, was to give impetus to the democratic movement and to unite all forces in order to ensure victory in the fight for a people's democratic government.

The nomination for Presidency of Julio Durand, a notorious anti-communist, was, the speaker said, clear evidence that the reactionaries were out to preserve the domination of the latifundists and the U.S. monopolies.

The speaker described the grave economic situation in Chile at the present time. So urgent is the need for structural changes that even the reactionaries recognize this, at least verbally. However, so long as they remained in power the economic situation would not change. The election of Allende would make it possible to establish a people's government and lead the country to independence.

In order to win a majority for a people's government it was necessary to discard some of the old methods of Party work and to end sectarianism. The voice of the people should be heeded, and they should be addressed in a language they can understand. A mass party should march in step with the times, it should be the organizer and leader of the struggle of the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals. The accent must now be placed on work in the trade unions, with the peasant-

ry, and also on individual work among the people.

The "Left Independents," who represented a certain political force and who favored the candidacy of Allende, should be won over. The Party should carry on work among the youth, women, writers and other professionals, giving particular attention to the women since many of them vote for the Right bloc.

The meeting was greeted by S. Allende who thanked the Communist Party for supporting his candidacy. Allende emphasized the significance for the Latin American continent as a whole of the struggle waged by the people of Chile, and he expressed confidence that the Communist Party would be a decisive factor in the democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement and in the coming elections.

The meeting was also addressed by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Party, who said that many documents opposed to the line of the Party and of the world Communist movement had been circulated recently in Left circles and among members of the Communist Party; this, he said, had impelled the Central Committee to put on the agenda of the meeting a report on the "Differences with the Chinese Comrades."

The Communist Party of Chile, Corvalan said, had not engaged in a polemic against the Chinese comrades until the discussion had come into the open.

It was sad and regrettable, he said, that the Chinese comrades had given currency in their documents to a terminology which had nothing in common either with the fraternal relations between the Communists or with the actual state of affairs. This showed how far they had gone in their mistakes. Corvalan also noted that the Communist parties which criticized the views of the CPC had always replied to the Chinese comrades with principled arguments, not with abuse.

The differences with the Chinese comrades are directly linked with the crucial problems of the policy of the world Communist movement, said Corvalan. Examining the differences in detail, the speaker pointed out that the struggle for peace was the main task of the Communists. Starting from this thesis, laid down in the documents of the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960, Corvalan showed the error of the attitude adopted by the Chinese comrades on the issue of war and peace. "Either the Chinese comrades do not realize what a third world war would mean," he said, "or

else they are displaying Olympian disdain for the lives of millions, and this clearly runs counter to Marxism-Leninism which is the highest expression of humanism."

"The Chinese comrades," Corvalan went on, "often quote the Marxist thesis that history is made by the people, evidently they do so in order to say that there are people who have consigned this to oblivion."

"But the point at issue is different. There is no doubt that history is made by the people, but the people are not taken as human conglomerates, regardless of the material and moral forces they possess, or their political, economic and military might."

Declaring that the position of the Communist Party of China on the question of the danger and consequences of atomic war was unacceptable, Comrade Corvalan said that humanity was now facing the alternative: either peaceful coexistence or a total thermonuclear war. The banner of the struggle for peace, he said, is the noblest banner of our time, since this struggle makes it possible to isolate and repel the most aggressive circles of imperialism and is therefore the highest form of class struggle on the international arena.

Stressing that socialism which had become a world system was capable of binding the hands of imperialism, Comrade Corvalan noted that the position of the Chinese comrades on all these questions was sectarian and dogmatic, that their view of the world situation was that of a world in which the balance of forces had not changed in the past forty years. Another ingredient of the policy of the Chinese comrades was a certain measure of nationalism, manifested in anti-Soviet views, in absurd attempts to "Sino-ize" Marxism, in underestimating the struggle waged by the people in the capitalist countries of Europe and in the United States, and in the desire to counterpose the national-liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America to the movement of the peoples of the world for peace and socialism.

In view of the circulation of Chinese political documents in the country, Corvalan said, the Political Committee of the Party had been compelled to state that "the content of these documents is incompatible with the line of the Communist Party of Chile." This does not mean any infringement of the freedom of Party members: they have the right to read and discuss all ideological and political documents, but the Party as a whole and each of its members in particular cannot circulate documents running counter to its line and should popularize, defend and implement a

democratically elaborated line of the Party.

Summing up his analysis of the standpoint of the Chinese leaders, Luis Corvalan said: "The Communist Party of China has long held a place in our hearts. I would like to say that today we remember its services, the services

of the heroic Chinese people and the enormous significance of their great revolution. But precisely because of this, because of the respect it has earned, we have spoken so openly about the situation which has arisen and for which the Chinese leaders alone are responsible."

Communications and Comment

The People Will Win

(Letter from South Vietnam)

END THE military operations, establish peace, and achieve national independence and the territorial integrity of Vietnam—these were the conditions of the Geneva agreements signed in 1954, which could become the basis for a new, independent and democratic Vietnam.

But the new life came only to the northern part of the country. Contrary to the Geneva agreements, the U.S. colonialists have actually established military and political control over the territory of South Vietnam. The old French colonial regime has been replaced by the neo-colonialism of U.S. imperialism. Using the most inhuman methods without scruple, the U.S. rulers have torpedoed the Geneva agreements and turned the country into a military base. After the signing of a joint communique between the U.S. government and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique in May 1961, the U.S. embarked on undisguised political and military interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam and launched an "undeclared" war against its population, a war unprecedented for brutality.

Last year the U.S. imperialists established in Saigon a military command headed by General Paul Harkins. According to Wheeler, Chief of Staff of the U.S. ground forces, there are 15,000 U.S. military advisers and experts in South Vietnam, wings of helicopters, reconnaissance planes, fighters and bombers which are used against the population. Each day of this "undeclared" war costs the United States one million dollars.

In the past nine years 140,000 civilians have been killed, 650,000 wounded and maimed, and 350,000 are detained in prisons. The U.S. military have fenced off some 4,000 concentration camps disguised as "strategic villages." As a

result of a series of punitive expeditions known variously as Operation "Progress of the People," "Morning Star," or "Waves of Love," in which battalions headed by U.S. officers took part, the South Vietnam population has suffered incalculable human and material losses.

Early this year world public opinion was shocked by yet another crime—the spraying of poisonous chemicals from planes over densely populated rural areas, as a result of which the crops were destroyed and the people suffered heavy casualties.

The policy of the U.S. rulers in South Vietnam can only be characterized as genocide. The question facing us now is that of struggle for the right to existence. The people can no longer restrict their struggle to peaceful means only. As long as the U.S. troops, which are the only support of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, remain in the country, we shall have to wage an armed struggle for national liberation.

The social system in the south of our country has all the features of a brutal colonial regime. The U.S. colonialists rely on a small top section of the reactionary compradore bourgeoisie and feudalists. In the guise of an ostensibly national government, the U.S. rulers hoped to break the resistance of the people by force of arms. But they miscalculated, failing to take into account the new factors in the social life of South Vietnam, which, by the time of the signing of the Geneva agreements, had been characterized by sharp conflicts between the bulk of the population and the small group of compradore bourgeoisie and feudal landlords. The U.S. occupation sharpened the social contradictions and placed the reactionary force headed by Ngo Dinh

Diem in complete isolation. The existence and the progress made by the People's Republic in the north of our country instil in the people of South Vietnam the hope that their just democratic struggle will end in victory.

The democratic and progressive forces of the country are being consolidated. The end of 1960 saw the establishment of a National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, whose program, like the program of the People's Revolutionary Party, is the crystallization of the experience of the national-liberation struggle of the people. The successes of the socialist countries and the rise of the national-liberation struggle in recent years have weakened the general positions of U.S. imperialism and, objectively, have assisted in rallying all the progressive forces in our country.

In this situation the U.S. aggression and the policy of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique could not but arouse a nationwide protest in the full sense of the word.

The U.S. military and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique are suffering defeat after defeat at the hands of the National-Liberation Front. In 1962 twice as many U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem soldiers and officers were killed as in 1961. In the first three months of this year 9,460 U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem troops were put out of action, including 110 Americans killed and 74 wounded. Forty-three planes and helicopters were shot down and 64 damaged; 153 trucks, tanks and amphibious vehicles were destroyed, and 11 trains damaged.

Alongside the armed struggle we are carrying out large-scale propaganda: demonstrations for peace, messages and appeals addressed directly to the Ngo Dinh Diem soldiers and officers.

The resistance movement is attracting large numbers of people—peasants, teachers, journalists, architects, workers, Buddhist monks, Catholic priests, and the national minorities belonging to 23 organizations of the National-Liberation Front. The 700,000-strong demonstration on June 16 in Saigon, the biggest ever held, against the barbarous repressions precipitated by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem government on the Buddhists is indicative of the militancy of our people.

As more and more areas are liberated, a new and relatively tranquil life sets in. On the land from which the people have driven their oppressors, and where the Ngo Dinh Diem authorities and reactionary organizations have been eliminated, schools, maternity homes and orphanages are being opened. Some 650,000 hectares of land which had been confiscated by the reactionary authorities have been re-

turned to the peasants. About 200,000 hectares of virgin land have been brought under the plough. As new methods of sowing are introduced, the crop yields are rising. But this is possible only in the precious days of respite.

The U.S. rulers are stepping up their aggression in South Vietnam. In keeping with the plan for extending the air raids, more armaments are being brought into the country. A military mission headed by the Chief of Staff of the U.S. ground forces has arrived in South Vietnam to study the theatre of operations.

The people of South Vietnam have declared their readiness to suffer any sacrifices for the sake of winning a peaceful, independent life and a democratic and neutral political regime. However, the National-Liberation Front, true to the peace-loving aspirations of our people who have suffered so much during the 18 years of unceasing war, has always insisted on a solution which would cost the least losses in life and material. In a statement issued on July 20, 1962, it advanced four proposals aimed at ensuring national survival.

The U.S. government should end the armed aggression against South Vietnam, abolish its military personnel and those of its satellites, and remove all its armaments from the country.

The parties concerned should cease hostilities and peace and security should be established on the territory of South Vietnam. The South Vietnam authorities should stop the punitive expeditions, the wholesale killing and the persecution, lift the state of emergency and abolish the concentration camps immediately.

A government of national unity should be formed in which all parties, political groups, social sections, religious trends and nationalities would be represented. This government should guarantee peace and hold general and free elections to elect a democratic National Assembly. It should also extend rights and liberties to all parties, political groups and religious trends, and release the political prisoners.

South Vietnam foreign policy should be a policy of peace and neutrality. It should aim at establishing friendly relations with all countries, non-alignment and refusal to recognize the right of any country to instal military bases on South Vietnam territory. The people are prepared to accept any aid from any country, provided it has no political strings. The new, democratic government

should work for an international agreement under which the powers in the different blocs would pledge themselves to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and neutrality of South Vietnam. The country should be prepared to form a neutral zone together with Cambodia and Laos, in which each of the three countries will preserve their national sovereignty.

Implementation of this program will restore peace in our country and put an end to the intolerable suffering of our people. At the same time it will be a contribution to the

cause of peace in South-East Asia and throughout the world, to the success of the worldwide national-liberation movement. We know that our struggle enjoys the support of world public opinion. Maintaining the glorious traditions of our people, rallying all sections of the population of South Vietnam, and inspired by the solidarity of all peace-loving nations, we are fighting against a war of aggression imposed on us by U.S. imperialism, and we know that our just cause will triumph.

MA THI CHU

Rampant Racism

(Letter from South West Africa)

SOUTH WEST AFRICA, grabbed by Germany in the 1890's, remained under the yoke of German imperialism right up to the First World War. In 1915 it was occupied by the South African troops. When the war ended South Africa, supported by Britain, was granted a mandate over our country by the League of Nations, and actually turned it into a colony. After World War II South Africa refused to place the territory under a United Nations trusteeship.

The racist, fascist apparatus in the country together with the international reactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialism and West German neo-colonialism are doing their utmost to intensify the exploitation and extend the colonization of South West Africa.

Our natural resources are exploited to enrich the white settlers and overseas investors. The economy of our country is dominated by white settlers and by the forces of international reaction. Two-thirds of the best land, for example, is farmed by white settlers. Our natural wealth—copper, lead, zinc, vanadium, cadmium, diamonds and silver are ruthlessly looted by the U.S. and West German monopolies.

Politically our people are brutally oppressed. They have no political rights whatever on their own soil. Our social conditions and educational standards are kept at a level which best serves the political, economic and racist interests of the colonialists. The fascist government in South Africa spends more than 85 per cent of the budget on the whites, while educational, health and other facilities for Africans are hopelessly inadequate.

It is our conviction that in the fight against the imperialist intrigues the peoples of Africa,

Asia and Latin America can win victory thanks in large measure to the unity and solidarity between these peoples and the socialist camp. We appreciate the support we have received from the newly-emergent states of Africa and Asia, from the socialist countries and from the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. Every effort to assist us has inspired our people and fortified their determination to carry on the fight against white domination.

Under the leadership of the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), which is operating under extremely difficult conditions, the Africans in towns, on the reserves and on the white man's farms are fighting apartheid and white domination. There is general turmoil in the country. In its desperate attempts to stop the rising tide of resistance the Verwoerd government is using intimidation, brutality and terror against our people, their leaders and their organization (SWANU).

At the beginning of last year Vorster, the present Minister of Justice, reorganized the police, equipping them with weapons for combat operations. At a parade of white police trainees at the beginning of this year in South Africa, Vorster again warned the police of their duty towards the whites who, he said, had enemies everywhere in South and South West Africa—"Blacks and Communists." Communists, according to Vorster, are all who oppose white domination. The South African police have a black record of terror, brutality and murder, which even their own government cannot hide. They faithfully carry out the order given in 1952 by Swart, then Minister of Justice and now President of South Africa: "When you see a group of Africans

you must shoot to kill and ask questions afterwards."

In the past the Security Branch was a small body, but it has grown with the rapid rise of the liberation movement. At the end of last year General Keevy, then head of the police, announced that the entire detective force would now have to assist the Security Branch of the police in exposing what he called "subversive activities."

The National Union is determined to achieve freedom for South West Africa. It would have preferred to do so in a peaceful, non-violent way. But the South African fascist government has always met our protests and demonstrations with violence. Unable to halt our march towards freedom, the government uses violence as its main weapon in the attempt to crush the liberation movement and to bludgeon our people into submission.

Verwoerd and his supporters have boasted that whoever wishes to get rid of them will have to face the armed might of the whites. The Minister of Justice, Vorster, has approved the formation of private armies by those whites who pledge to assist him in combating the liberation movement. A certain Robey Leibrandt, in the past a Nazi saboteur in South and South West Africa, claims to have an army of 1,000 white cutthroats.

Rather than retreat in the face of overwhelming world condemnation and the vigorous internal struggle, the Verwoerd government has declared over and over again that it is prepared to carry on the war against the African people fighting for freedom. But these declarations of the racists will not deter us. We shall struggle indefatigably to free our country from the Verwoerd fascist tyranny.

Katjimuina VEII

Puerto Rico — A Colony of the United States

(Letter from San Jose)

THE U.S. SEIZED Puerto Rico in 1898 during the Spanish-American war and turned the island into its colony. After 65 years of North American imperialist rule we are denied even the rights we had before the country was occupied by the U.S. marines. The proclamation of a "free commonwealth association with the United States" was but another example of neo-colonialism, an attempt to conceal the real status of our country which for all practical purposes is that of a colony of the U.S.A.

The United States exercises practically unrestricted control over Puerto Rico. It dominates our judiciary system, the customs, trade, post office, banks, transport, communications, defense, foreign relations—in a word our entire life.

Postal correspondence is under strict censorship. Patriotic organizations are denied the right to send any materials and letters to other countries and also the right to receive anything from abroad. These measures are designed to prevent world public opinion from learning the truth about our country, about the struggle waged by our people for national independence and for the abolition of the U.S. bases on our territory. But truth will out. More and more people abroad learn about the true state of affairs in Puerto Rico, are voicing their solidarity with our people. The solidarity expressed by the revolutionary

government of Cuba and the other socialist countries is inestimable for the Puerto Rican people who know that they are not alone in their fight for national independence.

Thirteen per cent of Puerto Rican territory is occupied under U.S. bases. The headquarters of the U.S. military command in the Caribbean and the Antilles are located in San Juan. In the north west of the island the U.S. strategic air force base has a heavy concentration of atomic bombers and refueling planes of the KS-135 type. There is also an atom bomb depot there. In the north east are launching pads for guided missiles aimed at Cuba. U.S. military personnel on the island exceeds 60,000. In point of fact, Puerto Rico is a military fortress of the United States.

The military bases play an important part in the aggressive policy which the United States prosecutes in regard to Cuba and the other Latin American countries. This was seen with particular clarity at the time of the Caribbean crisis.

The United States uses our country not only as an outpost in the Caribbean but also as a training center for "specialists" against the national-liberation movements in the Latin American countries. The U.S. clings to Puerto Rico not only because of its important strategic position as a naval and air base but also because our country brings fabulous profits to the Wall Street monopolies due to

the low wages paid to the Puerto Rican workers. Whereas in the United States the average profit of an industrial enterprise is in the vicinity of 12-15 per cent of the invested capital, in Puerto Rico it amounts to 28 per cent. Over \$250 million are pumped annually from Puerto Rico into the coffers of U.S. shareholders and manufacturers.

Puerto Rico is an underdeveloped country; the principal occupation is agriculture which provides a livelihood for the overwhelming majority of the population. The crops are mainly cash crops: sugar-cane, tobacco, coffee, citrus fruits, pineapples and bananas. U.S. monopolies control the production of sugar: they fix the area sown to sugar cane and determine the volume of sugar production. The same is true for other crops. The only developing branch of agriculture is pineapples and some other fruit crops, which are exported to the United States. But the rise in exports of tropical fruits is accompanied by a decline in the crops which provide food for the local population. It is in the interests of the U.S. monopolies that potatoes, vegetables and other foods should not be grown in Puerto Rico or, if they are grown, then only in extremely limited quantities, since this enables the American monopolies to make big profits on the export of food to our country and to keep us dependent on food supplies from the United States.

The domination of the U.S. monopolies gravely affects our standard of living. The working people are always under the threat of unemployment and poverty. In a country with a population of 2.5 million there are about 200,000 wholly or partially unemployed. Some 40 per cent of the population live in huts and shacks. Indeed, so bad are the conditions of the people that even the colonial authorities have had to admit that 700,000 Puerto Ricans, or 35 per cent of the population, live on the dole or owe their existence to the distribution of food "surpluses." Poverty and unemployment compel thousands to leave the country in search of work. Each year 45,000 Puerto Ricans emigrate to the United States.

Inspired by the victory of the Cuban revolution, by the consolidation of the socialist world system and the growth of the national-liberation movement, our people have stepped up their struggle for national independence.

The liberation struggle is headed by the Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico—a national front which includes Communists, Socialists, Liberals, Catholics and all the anti-imperialist forces in the country.

During the four years of its existence, the membership of the Independence Movement has increased several-fold. More and more workers, peasants, students, women and youth are joining its ranks.

Faced with the rising independence struggle and aware of the growing international solidarity with the struggle of our people, President Kennedy instructed the Governor of Puerto Rico to hold a "plebiscite" in our country. But this was opposed by practically all our people. And this opposition frustrated the plebiscite despite the many attempts made in this direction by the imperialists since July 1962. The people realize that through a plebiscite the imperialists aim at legalizing the colonial status of our country and to perpetuate U.S. domination in it.

The Puerto Rican lawyers' college opposed these plans of the imperialists. They said that for our people freely to express their will the Congress of the United States should first "renounce all power exercised by it in Puerto Rico and transmit it to the people." Only if this were done, the college added, could the decision of the Puerto Rican people be regarded as a "genuine expression of their sovereign will."

The people are well aware that the maneuver around the "plebiscite" was due above all to the fact that UNO was about to examine the question of the colonial status of Puerto Rico. The idea was that by holding the plebiscite the question would be removed from the agenda of the United Nations. It should be said that the U.S. was one of the nine countries which abstained from voting in the United Nations on the Declaration on granting independence to the colonial countries. The U.S. imperialists are insisting on holding the plebiscite, hoping to utilize for this purpose the ultra-reactionary ruling party and the Independence Party. Even though it favors independence, the latter is, in effect, a reactionary, pro-imperialist party. It supports Kennedy's Alliance for Progress and is prepared to guarantee the inviolability of U.S. capital in Puerto Rico, having declared that it will work to attract foreign investments when our country becomes a republic. This party is attacking the independence movement. A bourgeois party, it defends foreign capital, free enterprise, the Alliance for Progress and other neo-colonialist schemes of the imperialists. It has been and remains the mainstay of U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico. In the event of the Independence Party coming to power, its "independent" policy would not affect the Puerto Rican interests of U.S. imperialism one iota,

and for this reason Washington gives it every support.

The independence movement on its part wants immediate and complete independence for Puerto Rico. It demands that a Constituent Assembly be convened immediately after the United States transfers the administration to the Puerto Ricans, and does so without any reservations. This demand is fully in accord with the spirit of the resolution adopted by the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly on granting independence to colonial countries and nations.

The members of the independence movement will not take part in colonialist elections, referendums and plebiscites. They call on the

Puerto Ricans to boycott them, and insist on complete sovereignty for the country. When this has been achieved we, in keeping with our own laws and our own will, will hold genuine elections which will guarantee the forming of a government of Puerto Ricans for the Puerto Ricans. Our movement demands that the people should be granted the right freely to express their will.

The movement for the independence of Puerto Rico appeals to the people of the world to render active and effective support to the struggle waged by the people of our small country against the heartland of world imperialism.

Narciso Rabell MARTINEZ

Reviews

Our Tested Ideological Weapon

THE Kossuth Publishing House has issued in one volume the selection of documents of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on work in the sphere of ideology and culture.* These documents, which appeared between 1958 and 1961, give an idea of one of the most significant stages in the history of the class struggle in Hungary, above all in the area of the ideological struggle. Naturally, they also embrace the essential political issues of the struggle against the counter-revolution, of the work to consolidate people's rule, and to lay the foundations of socialism. The value of the symposium is proved by the fact that the principles proclaimed in the documents have stood the test of time; they serve as a compass in the different spheres of the ideological struggle also at the present stage of our development.

Guided by the aim of rounding off the building of socialism and by the tasks devolving on us in the class struggle in the international arena, the Eighth Congress of the Party pointed out that "the ideological offensive of Marxism is a necessity and a consequence of all our constructive labor."

The conditions for mounting an ideological offensive were created by the fact that the Party, by correctly tackling both the theoretical and practical problems associated with the building of socialism, reaffirmed the creative power of Marxism-Leninism and, by doing

so, greatly diminished the influence of anti-Marxist views. The aim of the offensive is to make the Marxist-Leninist world outlook the dominant ideology in all spheres of our public and cultural life. To achieve this it is necessary not only to uproot the still current bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views but also to teach all our people to live, work and think in the socialist way and, what is more, to give scientifically sound answers to the questions arising in our daily life. In waging this offensive we can rely on the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and on the success and experience of the ideological struggle waged by us since the counter-revolution.

The main reason for the political success of the Party, for the results achieved in its ideological struggle is that the Party correctly applied, in the context and idiom of Hungarian reality, the concepts of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which are universal in their character. In conformity with the standpoint adopted by the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960, our Party maintains that the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU provided the international Communist movement with a powerful ideological weapon, opening a new chapter in its history, and making possible its subsequent successes. "Since November 1956 our Party has fought and worked with the aid of the ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism which was further developed by the Twentieth Con-

Partdokumentumak az ideologiai es a kulturalis munkarol. Budapest, Kossuth Konvolyiade, 1962. 275 old.

gress of the CPSU. The soundness of this policy is proved by the facts, by the victory of our people over the counter-revolution, and by the successes in building socialism since then" (p. 268).

On the basis of the experience of the international class struggle and its own experience, our Party, without the slightest hesitation, expressed its complete solidarity with the line of the Twentieth, Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU. "For a long time to come the materials of the Congress and the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will provide inestimable ideological and political support to the international Communist movement, to the fraternal parties and to our Party," we read in a Central Committee resolution on the significance of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU (p. 267). In the same resolution we read: "the peoples of the socialist countries now engaged in building a socialist society draw new strength from this splendid program of communist construction. This program clearly shows that, following the example of the Soviet people, they, too, will be able to switch over to the building of communism within a relatively brief space of time. Inspired by the program of communism and by the successes of creative labor, the peoples still oppressed by capitalism will fight more resolutely for their emancipation, for people's rule" (p. 264).

The correct political line of the Party was elaborated in the conditions of a severe ideological struggle against anti-Marxist views. In the summer of 1958, following a thorough discussion, the "theses on the cultural policy of the Party" were published. This document contained a comprehensive assessment of our cultural policy, past and present, and formulated the basic principles and concepts in this area. In contrast to the nihilism of the counter-revolution, the document stressed unequivocally that in unfolding the cultural revolution we could boldly and proudly rely on the results achieved since the liberation, that these results provided a firm foundation for our further advance. The document specified that the struggle against anti-Marxist views was the main condition for the further development of the cultural revolution. "The most persistent and dangerous among the hostile ideological and political trends," it said, "are: nationalism, the so-called third way, bourgeois objectivism in some spheres of literature and art, and the 'non-political' pseudo-humanism and formalism. . . . At the same time the fact should not be ignored that dogmatism

and sectarianism in theory and practice are not a remedy against the revisionist plague; hence it would be wrong to lose sight of the struggle against their vestiges and survivals. . . ." (p. 35)

In the political struggle as well as in the battle of ideas nationalism has been enemy No. 1, together with the 1956 counter-revolution. The former leadership of the Party lost sight of nationalism, failed to assess its impact and did not subject to criticism the particular nationalist trends; at the same time the mistakes made in the economic, political and cultural spheres of building socialism were conducive to the spread of nationalist demagoguery. The theses "bourgeois nationalism and socialist patriotism" prepared by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee helped clarify the theoretical aspects and the practical tasks of the struggle against nationalism. This document stressed: "Criticism of bourgeois ideology cannot be limited merely to struggle against nationalism; it would be wrong, however, to fail to see that all the political and ideological 'concepts' and slogans of the Hungarian reactionaries, all the attempts of international imperialism to disrupt our unity are either openly or in concealed form associated with nationalism; all the counter-revolutionary, revisionist trends current in our Republic bristle with nationalist argumentation" (p. 195).

The document exposed the anti-socialist essence of the nationalist views of different origins, and counterposed to them the idea of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, stressing that "upholding and developing the unity of the socialist camp, strengthening friendly relations with the Soviet Union—these are the imperatives of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism" (p. 188).

Many of the documents deal with questions of literature. Attention to this was necessary not only because of the part played by literature in educating the people and in moulding the new social consciousness, but also because in the period before the counter-revolution the discussions on literature were openly political and during the counter-revolutionary putsch and for some time after it the Writers' Union was one of the legal centers of the hostile forces.

The Party and the Government displayed patience in regard to the writers who opposed our policy, believing that time and the facts of life would convince them of the error of their way. Only in extreme cases did the Party have recourse to administrative methods,

for it knew that the struggle had to be fought out above all in the field of ideas.

An important role in this was played by the critical analysis of the ideology of the so-called "populist" writers. The need for this analysis was all the more imperative because "the ideological preparation of the counter-revolution hinged on 'populist' ideology, i.e., an ideology which by its advocacy of a 'third way' camouflaged the attacks on socialism and thereby created a legal forum for ideological and political actions against it" (p. 101). The Party has always respected the talent of the "populist" writers, considering that their best works belong to the people as a whole and believing that in future, too, they will write good books. But this did not prevent it from criticizing the "third way" concept imbued with nationalism, and the false illusion in regard to the "special Hungarian way" inherent in the ideology of these writers.

The Party opposed those tendencies which sought to separate literature from the people; it fought for a literature which would be guided by the principle of Leninist partisanship. "The essence of Leninist partisanship is true-to-life portrayal of reality and helping in the victory of socialism, presentation of reality on the basis of the proletarian world outlook, i.e., the outlook of Marxism-Leninism, defense of the interests of a definite social class, the working class heading the struggle of all working people, acting on behalf of this class. At the bedrock of Leninist partisanship, then, lies the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and its principal element is support, through literature, of the struggle for socialism" (p. 141). Voicing the demand for both ideological purity and a high artistic level, the Party declared that "only the method of socialist realism makes it possible to portray the complex phenomena of life in all their fullness, in their motion and development, and to use the artistic media more effectively in the service of the people" (p. 54).

Special tasks in the ideological struggle devolve on Marxist philosophers. In a document entitled "For Leninist Partisanship in Philosophy" the Party made a thorough analysis of the state of affairs on the philosophical front in Hungary and outlined the tasks in this respect. The document stressed the need to combat revisionism in philosophy, which had done much harm over a period of years, and, in the framework of this struggle, to criticize the views of György Lucacs, one of the pillars of international revisionism in philosophy. It pointed out that "criticism of the political, philosophical and aesthetic views

of György Lucacs is part of the ideological struggle which the international Communist movement has waged and is still waging against revisionism" (p. 203). The document also criticized the sectarian and dogmatic views in philosophy which "separated partisanship from the search for objective truth, underrated and hindered creative Marxist thought, and sought to fit the wealth of Marxist-Leninist philosophy into scholastic patterns" (p. 205). "Conciliation in relation to dogmatism," the Party stressed, "is as alien to Marxism-Leninism as is compromise with revisionism" (p. 204).

Persistent struggle against all manifestations of sectarianism and dogmatism in the cultural and ideological life was the main condition of overcoming the revisionist and openly bourgeois views that appeared during and after the counter-revolution. That is why the documents under review pay close attention to criticism of sectarian and dogmatic views. "The mistakes committed in political and economic life, naturally, have affected cultural life too, but this alone is not enough to explain the shortcomings in our cultural life. Mistakes were made in cultural policy, too, mistakes which derived from the subjectivism associated with the personality cult, and as often as not from an illusory assessment of the actual situation, which either encouraged dogmatic and sectarian trends or gave rise to conciliation and unprincipled concessions," we read in the theses on cultural policy (pp. 20-21).

Although the documents published in the symposium deal with the different aspects of ideology and culture, they nevertheless clearly present a single concept of the ideological struggle waged by our Party, i.e., the concept of struggle along two fronts, which signifies upholding the purity of Marxism-Leninism, its persistent application and creative development.

The lessons of history have also taught our Party that it is impossible to forego correct principles, for it is not conciliation and compromise but persistent adherence to principle that can ensure the victory of our cause. Hence defining its attitude and its views, the Party proceeded from the standpoint that neglect of the ideological struggle, silence and avoiding problems of principle, an uncritical attitude and conciliation in regard to incorrect views can only do harm to the cause of socialism. The documents, therefore, honestly and openly criticize views alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, uphold the standpoint of the Party in a militant and partisan manner.

This adherence to principle and to the spirit of criticism is manifested also in regard to those who hold wrong views but whom the Party regards as allies. Political alliance does not rule out discussion and criticism. Moreover, we maintain that to remain silent about differences, far from strengthening the alliance, can only weaken it and, on the contrary, the alliance will gain in strength the more openly and sincerely we put forward our point of view. This fundamental attitude is expressed, in particular, in the document entitled "On some shortcomings and derelictions in our literary criticism." "Those critics," it says, "who tend to smooth over differences in principle between the scientific-revolutionary ideology and the 'ideas' of petty-bourgeois reformism do a bad service to the ideological

and artistic development of our literary life and to those art workers who are not Marxists but who are in alliance with us" (p. 240).

Our Party has never considered the ideological struggle to be a narrow professional job for workers on the ideological front. The ideological problems posed in the documents are closely linked with the socialist education of all our people. The Party has always combined persistent and principled struggle against hostile views with painstaking explanatory work among the masses. The documents under review will aid the practical activities of our Party and, by applying the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in our country, will be a useful weapon in the hands of our people for completing the building of socialism. *Miklos OVARI*

Against the Persecution of Democrats

A SHATTERED "SHOP-WINDOW" OF WESTERN DEMOCRACY

THE government of Argentina never misses the opportunity to brag about its fidelity to "Western and Christian civilization." President Kennedy, too, had the idea of making the country into the "shop-window" of the Alliance for Progress.

Bourgeois democracy, it is said, flourishes in elections. And elections did take place in Argentina on July 7. One should have no doubt that this was indeed an excellent example of "democracy"—wholly Western and fully Christian! The elections were sponsored by the present government — a *de facto* government — not elected by the people, but imposed on them by the military junta with a view to annulling the results of the previous elections of March 18, 1962. At that time the working people, despite persecution, inflicted a heavy defeat on the candidates of the International Monetary Fund, behind the screen of which the U.S. monopolies operate in our country.

It may be that in arranging the elections the government pursued the aim of re-establishing the attributes of bourgeois democracy? No, such was not the government's intention.

As part of the preparation for the elections it carried out a number of police operations aimed at dividing the political parties and the electorate and sowing confusion among them. This dirty game was clear to all. What it really wanted was to impose on the electors' college its own nominee (who, incidentally, was also the nominee of the Pentagon) General

Onganía, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, or, in the event of his defeat, General Aramburu—known to the public as the "Killer."

The elections were rigged with the clear purpose of imparting to the fascist dictatorship a semblance of legality and "democracy," and simultaneously of intensifying the reactionary offensive against the democratic rights of the people.

Preparing the farce, the government adopted what is known as the "statute of the political parties" — a more appropriate title would be the "code of punishments" for political parties. It also revised the electoral law. The direct election of the President was replaced by indirect election through the college of electors. At the same time resort was had to pressure, threats, intimidation and corruption. The Government sought to multiply the number of parties and to divide their ranks. It encouraged the nomination of a number of candidates for the Presidency. This was needed in order to prevent some of the parties from getting a majority in the electors' college. It should be added that U.S. Ambassador McClintock interfered so brazenly in the elections that he has become known as the "Pro-consul."

The police-state character of the Argentine of today was manifested most clearly during the months that preceded the elections. The coercive bodies were busy, combating the Communists and all other patriotic and de-

mocratic forces. In this they were actively assisted by the "advisers" and agents of the FBI.

The de facto government promulgated a series of anti-democratic regulations. In January it enacted the "Decree on the Security of the State,"* and, not satisfied with this, enacted another in May, which once again (for God knows how many times!) banned the Communist Party and, as a consequence, the activity of "any association of persons or organizations which, acting in the name of the Communist Party or any other name, is proclaiming or accepting the principles of world communism."

Under this decree all patriots and democrats are liable to prosecution, for all come under the general category of those who advance "false aims" which, allegedly, screen their Communist activity. Only the European fascists in the past or the McCarthys could descend to such legal chicanery.

On July 10, i.e., three days after the "democratic" elections, the government issued another decree, a follow-up of Decree No. 4214 and which for all practical purposes pursued the aim of destroying the political, civic and cultural activities of the Communist Party, the Communist Youth Federation, the trade unions and other organizations. It renewed the old anti-democratic legislation against immigrants, and empowered the chief of police, and the director of the gendarmerie to "issue written and oral orders, and raid premises" which they considered suspicious.

It should be added that the election campaign took place in the state of emergency introduced in the autumn of 1959 and still in force, in conditions when prisons were filled to overflowing with hundreds of political and trade union leaders, mostly Communists, arrested and held there without trial.

On July 7, election day, Argentina resembled an occupied country. Voters had to make their

way to the ballot box through a forest of bayonets and tanks. And although terror and intimidation reigned supreme, although the prisons were filled to overflowing, although the government encouraged dissension and corruption, it was unable to prevent the people from expressing their disgust with its policy of treachery and reaction.

If the votes of those who refused to go to the polls or who voted with blank ballot papers were added to those cast for the parties opposed to the de facto government, we would get the impressive figure of nearly six million. The parties which in one way or another support the policy of the government polled slightly more than 2.5 million votes. Arturo Illia, Civic Radical Union, who both before and after the elections spoke in favor of providing democratic guarantees (for the Communist Party too), advocated trade with all countries, including the socialist countries, breaking the contracts with the U.S. oil monopolies and a break with the International Monetary Fund, polled the biggest number of votes and was elected President.

Decree followed decree in quick succession, and the threat of the dictatorship evolving into a still more brutal dictatorship shows that the ruling classes, even if they stage a democratic farce, can no longer rule by any other method. But the mass movement is on the upsurge. The militancy and political awareness of the working class and the people are growing, and so is the prestige of the Communist Party. Unity is being reinforced. Addressing the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party, Comrade Codovilla said: "The political firmament over our country is obscured by reactionary clouds. But the working class and the people can and must disperse them. As the people say, the darker the night the nearer the dawn. And on this dawn there will arise the sun of democracy, national independence, peace and socialism. So let us advance, through mass action, towards power!"

Osvaldo GUTIERREZ

*Laws have been replaced by decrees in Argentina.

Journalists Protest

ON September 8 — the Day of International Solidarity of Journalists — progressive journalists will raise their voices in defense of peace, against infringements of freedom and democracy, against the persecution to which their colleagues in the "free world" who dare to speak the truth are subjected.

Public opinion throughout the world is aware of the suppression of freedom of speech and the press. Some of these facts are mentioned in the bulletin issued by the Union of German Journalists for International Solidarity Day.

The *Der Spiegel* affair was but one of the links in the chain with which the Bonn authorities wanted to fetter freedom of speech and thought in the Federal Republic. On January 11, 1963, the secret police raided the offices of the sports magazine *Sport-Tribune*, which appears in Langenfeld (North Rhine-Westphalia), and the homes of its editor and

others of the staff. The sole reason for the raid was that the magazine has steadfastly championed West German sport to be really free and independent.

Three journalists, Dr. von Schwichow, Dieter Graf and Karl Ulrich, were persecuted for criticizing the agricultural policy of the Adenauer government. Nor are the GDR journalists accredited in the Federal Republic immune against persecution. On May 14 the offices and homes of 48 GDR journalists were searched on suspicion of engaging in "anti-state information activity." Twenty-six arrests were made. Shortly afterwards, two other GDR journalists, Professor Teubner and Dr. Grasnich, were placed behind bars.

These arbitrary actions are only one of the facets of the resistance of moribund capitalism to the advance of everything new and progressive in the world.

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the titles are given in English)

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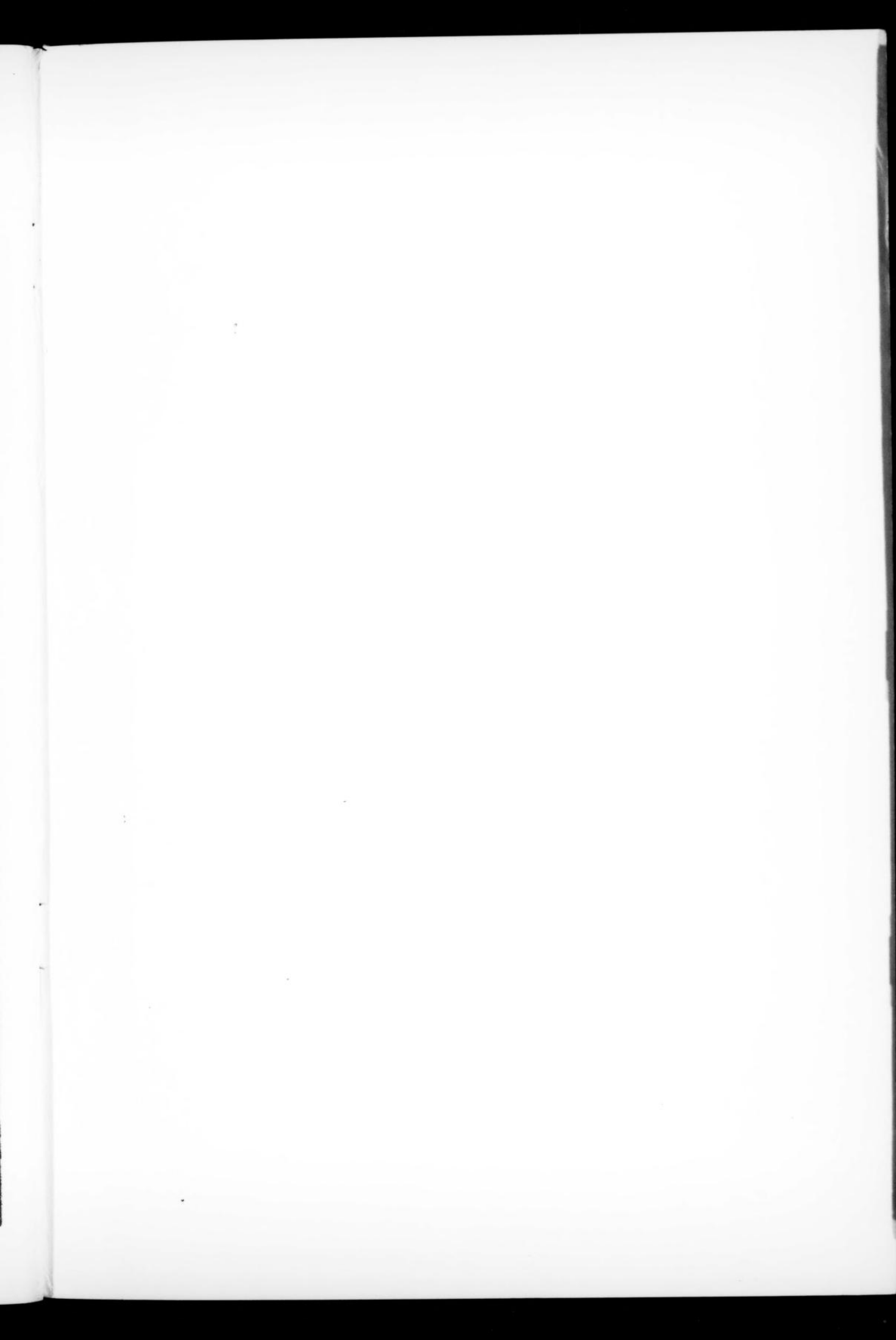
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