

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

PROBLEMS
OF PEACE AND
SOCIALISM

**AUGUST
1962**

VOL. 5, NO. 8

35 CENTS

PEACE vs. WAR

Two events have had a powerful impact on people everywhere:

**THE WORLD CONGRESS FOR
GENERAL DISARMAMENT AND
PEACE**

and

**THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS'
HIGH-ALTITUDE NUCLEAR
TEST**

These events are a reflection of two lines of world policy, of the two opposing forces of our time — the progressive forces of peace and the reactionary forces of war.

Today there is not a single rightminded man or woman in the world who does not approve of the call issued by the World Congress and brand with shame the provocative actions of the U.S. military.

"Our clear duty is to utterly condemn this act of our government," Carlton Goodlett, the head of the U.S. delegation, told the Congress, referring to the high-altitude test carried out by the U.S. government in defiance of the scientists' opinion. The actions of the enemies of humanity arouse feelings of indignation that are shared by all the peoples of the world.

The peoples of the whole world protest against the actions of the Pentagon atomaniacs.

The peoples of the world demand general disarmament.

They are resolved to uphold peace.

World Marxist Review: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism is the Canadian edition of the monthly journal published in Prague under the title: *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. The Canadian edition is published by

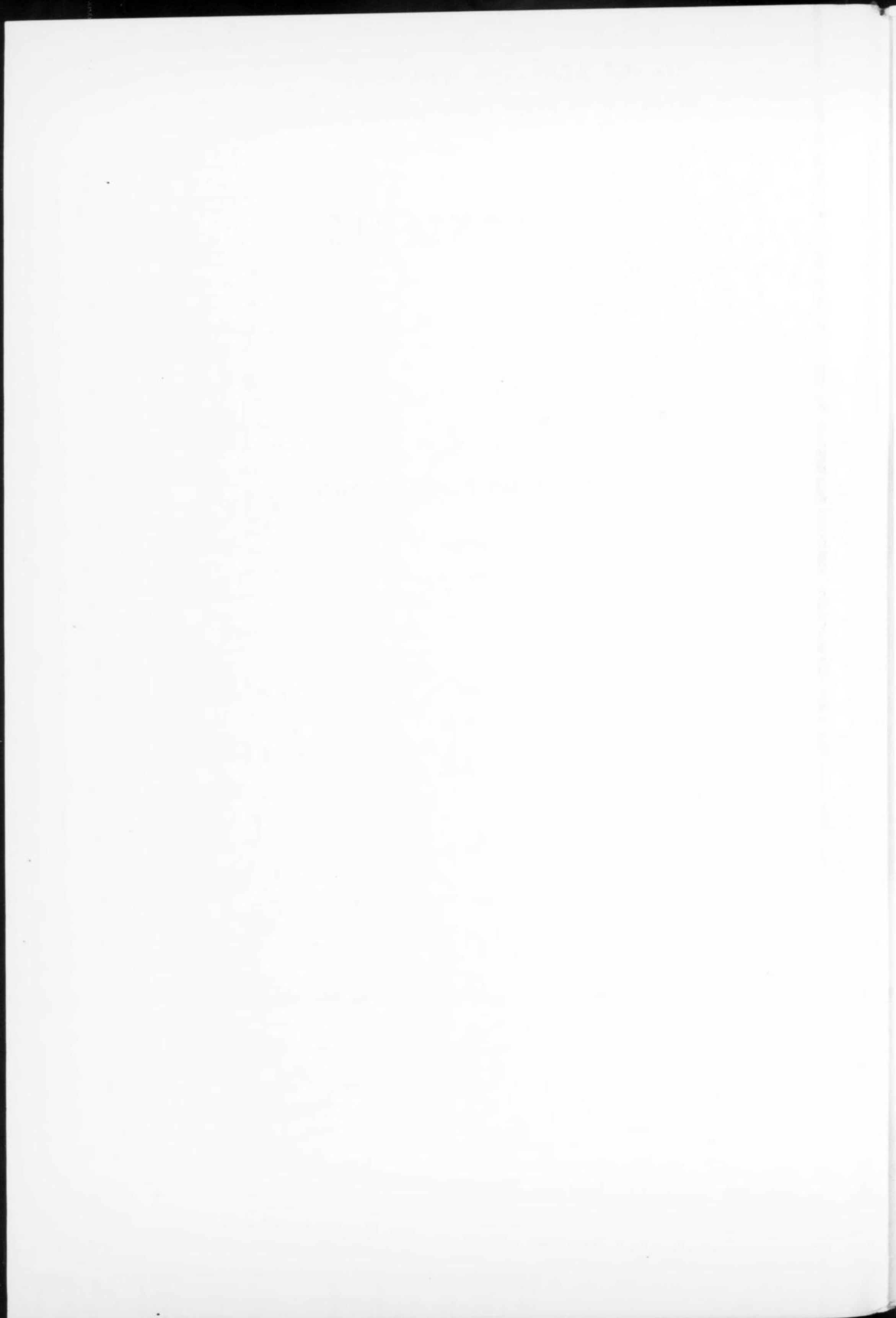
PROGRESS BOOKS, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada.

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

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$3.50 a year. Single copies, 35 cents. Bundle of five or more, 25 cents per copy. For orders addressed to PROGRESS BOOKS from outside Canada, an additional 25 cents is required to cover bank and exchange charges.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in French, Russian, Chinese, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Polish, Rumanian, Spanish, Swedish, Vietnamese (distributors: Press Circulation Agency, Sadova 3, Prague 6, Czechoslovakia). Subscriptions to any of these editions may be obtained through Progress Books, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto. Yearly Subscription Rates for the edition in the following languages: French—\$3.50. Czech—\$6.50. Russian—\$3.50. Spanish—\$3.50. German—\$3.50.





The Working Class Paves the Way to Freedom for Spain

Santiago Carrillo

BY their heroic actions in April 1962 the Asturian miners sparked off one of the biggest and most hard-fought strike struggles in the history of the Spanish working-class movement. A place of honor, beside Asturias, has been won by the miners of Leon and, indeed, by practically all the miners of Spain. The metal workers of Biscay too played an outstanding role in the struggle. Today the whole world has realized — and this is a big step forward — that a new situation has arisen in Spain thanks to the heightened political consciousness and maturity of the working class and the youth.

The Communist Party Was Right

We Communists can congratulate ourselves on our understanding of the pattern of events, a faculty which has always illuminated our way forward and fortified our will at the most difficult moments of the struggle when all others saw things in an entirely different light.

All in all nearly half a million working people took part in the strikes of April and May. Besides the industrial workers, tens of thousands of agricultural laborers joined the struggle, which swept 25 provinces with varying degrees of intensity. In addition to economic demands, such as a minimum daily wage of about 140 pesetas, political demands were also advanced.

That the strikes were of a political nature is an indubitable fact. And not because they were engineered by any "international conspiracy against Spain" or by "graduates" of some mythical "international schools," as Franco propaganda claimed, but primarily because by challenging the wage freeze they struck at the very heart of Franco's economic policy. For the so-called "economic stabilization" aimed at putting Spanish industry in a competitive position on the world market is based on brutal exploitation condemning the working people to poverty and semi-starvation. Therefore from the moment the working class began to fight for higher wages the

whole economic policy of the present regime was placed in jeopardy.

The workers also fought for the right to strike and to organize trade unions, i.e., they rose against all that constitutes the political and ideological facade of the Franco regime—the fascist cant about the "disappearance of the class struggle" and "worker-employer co-operation," the fascist corporative system, the negation of democracy.

The strikes threw the Franco regime into confusion. The "Caudillo" himself told a U.S. news agency that at the root of the trouble were the Communists, behind whom all "factions opposed to the regime" had united. At the same time, however, the official press worked hard for days to prove that nothing in particular was happening in Spain and then came out with vague references to some "labor conflicts." The newspapers and the radio, which 23 years ago declared that the Communists had been crushed once and for all, again raised a hue and cry about the "Communist menace." While Solis, a member of the government and secretary of the Falangist Movement, distributed medals stamped with the image of the Pope, Franco charged churchmen with engaging in "separatist" and "extremist" activities. In order to stop the growing dissension among his followers, Franco called a special "rally" on Garabitas Hill. It was ludicrous indeed to hear him argue that the strikes had changed nothing in Spain and that there were no reasons to fear the morrow since he remained at his post and was still young in spite of his 70 years. A few days later the monarchist newspaper ABC, referring to Salazar but clearly with Franco too in mind, wrote in a leading article: "Unfortunately the years are passing and the life of this outstanding statesman is also approaching its end."

The experience of the strikes of April and May once again confirmed the assessment of the situation given by our Central Committee at its Plenary Meeting last October. The meeting drew a parallel between the situa-

tion existing then and the situation that prevailed in 1955 on the eve of the strikes which led to the temporary lifting of the wage freeze in the spring of 1956. At the same time it pointed to a number of new factors which helped to bring about the present state of affairs: the emergence of a broader and more far-reaching democratic movement accompanied by ferment in rural areas, and the heightened activity of the urban middle strata, in particular the intellectuals and students. But most important, the Central Committee pointed out, was the fact that "today anti-Franco sentiment has gained still more ground among the masses and our Party has become organizationally stronger and broader."

Today it is obvious to all that the Central Committee did not err when it declared that the wage freeze would be ended if "a wave of strikes and demonstrations compels, as in 1956, the exploiters and their dictatorial regime to concede the demand of the working class."

The April-May strikes fully corroborated the political line and tactics of our Party. Above all this applies to the policy of national conciliation and, in particular, to our declaration that the prime aim of this policy — the achievement of the situation where the civil war of the 'thirties has ceased to be a cause of cleavage among Spaniards — has been achieved in the main. Moreover, the facts have shown that the policy of national conciliation is the only correct, revolutionary policy capable of placing the working class at the head of the democratic and national movement in our country.

The analysis submitted by the Central Committee to the Sixth Congress of the Party in January 1960 which showed that the disintegration of the Franco regime had begun has also been borne out. We declared at that time that "the disintegration is extending beyond the ruling political circles and is making itself felt more and more in those governmental bodies and those institutions (namely, the church and the corporative trade unions—S.C.) on which present-day Spanish society rests."

What in other countries might have been just another more or less serious labor conflict gravely undermined the entire regime in Spain, revealing its impotence and senility and shaking society to its very foundations. This was indirectly admitted by the monarchist Union Espanola in its June 5 manifesto: "The ruling classes are living through a critical moment. Unless they work

to build the present and the future of Spain guided by reason and unencumbered by egoistic motives, with thought for all Spaniards, they will find themselves cast overboard . . ."

The same idea was expressed still more explicitly in another statement published in Madrid during the strike and signed by representatives of six bourgeois opposition groups: "Our bourgeoisie cannot afford to rely on the protection of the security forces and to entrust the defense of its interests to a despotic and bankrupt government . . . If it does so it will be signing its own death warrant."

Even the top dignitaries of the church, under pressure from the strike movement as well as the Catholic masses and clergy who had joined the movement or rendered it support, found it necessary to terminate their protracted honeymoon with Franco and to dissociate themselves from his regime. For the first time in more than 20 years the church came into conflict with the dictatorship, which, while proclaiming its devotion to Catholicism, banned the radio broadcast of Sunday mass and openly began to persecute those priests and other Catholic activists who conducted themselves with honor and courage. Clearly, this conflict is bound to grow more acute in the course of the coming weeks and months as developments will make it increasingly patent that the die-hard fascist regime is incapable of ensuring genuine progress and that the April-May strikes were merely the first of a series of actions which will eventually sweep away the dictatorship.

Highly symptomatic is the stand of the so-called "forces of public order," or at least of the majority of their members, as well as of the army. True, the strikers themselves consciously avoided violent action. But there were large mass meetings, demonstrations, picketing, and other measures to prevent strike-breaking. In the Spain of former days, this would have been enough for the police to use force, to open fire on the workers and to resort to bloodshed. If nothing of the kind happened now, if the government did not dare to order the movement to be suppressed by brute force, can this be explained by a sudden "liberalization" of the Franco regime, a sudden renunciation of terroristic methods? Had the wolves turned into sheep? Clearly not. The reason was that the majority of even the gendarmerie recognized the justice of the strikers' cause and often sympathized with them. As a matter of fact, considerable sections of the army and the security forces

realize the need to change the regime. Franco could not order the use of arms without risking the resistance of these sections, with fatal consequences for the dictatorship.

All these facts, highlighted by the strikes, show once again that an end can be put to fascism by means of peaceful forms of struggle. It is clear, however, that this peaceful path should not be identified with simple civil disobedience and passive resistance. *The peaceful way implies courageous, universal mass struggle, a struggle which may well involve clashes with the Frankist ultras; it runs through a general political strike in which the working people are joined by the students, intellectuals, shopkeepers, etc. During such a strike the masses will pour out into the streets demanding an end to the dictatorship and will carry on the struggle until it is overthrown and a democratic government of national unity established, a government in which all democratic trends would be represented without any discrimination. The strikes of April and May fully confirmed the views and the tactics of our Party, and opened the way to political changes in Spain.*

Further Far-Reaching Changes Are Inevitable

What is most significant — and on this all observers are agreed — is the awakening of the working class to a realization of its own strength. The Asturian miners forced the Franco regime to capitulate. After declaring week after week that no decree increasing the price of coal would be forthcoming before the miners returned to work, the government had to retreat and issue such a decree, and it was only several days later that the workers went back to work. The wage pause was broken. The miners as well as the workers of many other enterprises won considerable increases; wage differentials according to zones were practically abolished. This was a major victory for the working people, but they must still be prepared to defend their gains whatever turn the political situation may take.

Although the strikers, having won their demands, went back to work, after a heroic struggle lasting two months, it would be a mistake to think that the storm is over and that nothing has changed. After the events of April and May there can be no return to the past. True, the government and the big employers are out to wipe out the workers' gains. In Asturias itself the size of the wage increase is still in dispute. At many enterprises concessions were made to the workers only with a view to forcing them to give up

their demands as soon as the storm blows over. In a number of provinces wages remain the same as before. All this builds up into a situation pregnant with new big strike struggles, a new wave of strikes and demonstrations which may well develop to a higher stage, acquiring an even broader scale and a higher degree of militancy than the actions of April and May.

Under no circumstances will the working people give up a single inch of ground gained. On the contrary, wherever they have not yet succeeded in winning their demands, they will take action to achieve that which their class brothers elsewhere have already won. Under no circumstances will they abandon the hundreds of their comrades who have been thrown in prison or deported. Indeed, the struggle is bound to continue so long as a single prisoner remains behind bars or a single deportee is prevented from returning home. This is evidenced by the resolve of the workers of big enterprises in the Bilbao area who, even after the end of the general strike, displaying exemplary solidarity, have been unanimously downing tools for one hour each day to demand the release and reinstatement of their victimized comrades, as well as by the Asturian miners' go-slow campaigns and strikes against repressions. Either the harsh unjust sentences will have to be quashed or they will serve as still another spur to the resumption of the general struggle, perhaps in the very near future.

The problems which have arisen as a result of the April-May strikes are of a far-reaching and complex nature. Simple repairs are not enough to restart an old engine all the parts of which have been worn out. It has to be replaced with a new one.

Indeed, how can the right to strike be denied after a strike struggle which lasted for two months and in which nearly half a million workers took part? If the dictatorship is no longer able to prevent strikes, how can it insist on retaining a legal ban on them? Such a ban is opposed by public opinion both within the country and without. On the other hand, if the dictatorship is compelled to recognize the right to strike and thereby give up one of its fundamental tenets, if the monopoly capitalists are forced to turn to other means to maintain their rule, what need is there then to retain Franco and his camarilla who are enriching themselves thanks to the existing state of affairs? What point will there be in maintaining fascist forms of government and allowing people to continue in power who have lost the trust

and earned the hatred of the overwhelming majority of the population?

The corporate, or "vertical," as they are called, trade unions have suffered complete bankruptcy. Their true purpose as a tool of the fascist rulers and big employers has become all too clear. Hence, as time goes on the continued existence of such unions and their bloated staffs of functionaries is bound to become more and more a useless luxury for the bourgeoisie. It would actually be in the interests of the latter to include the "vertical" functionaries in the political police. At least things would be far clearer then.

In view of the bankruptcy of the corporate unions, the opposition within them has become a force enjoying growing authority and prestige among the working people. This force, as represented by the commissions and committees set up at the enterprises by the workers themselves, has come to the fore as the real representative of the latter. Needless to say, these commissions and committees should be preserved (and the workers themselves are doing their utmost to this end) as the embryo of a future united, independent, class trade union organization which will not compromise with the employers and the government. It is only natural that these commissions and committees should head the workers' struggle — a struggle which, far from having come to an end, is only beginning, and in which the workers still have many a trial to face. They provide the groundwork for setting up bodies at the factories to lead the trade union opposition locally as well as on an industry-wide scale, and also building up a leadership on both the provincial and national levels.

Although still illegal, these forms of workers' organizations are an established fact. Their viability has been tested in struggle, and they must be built up, supported and developed. Another initiative which emerged in the course of the past weeks of struggle and which should be supported is workers' meetings on factory premises. At such meetings the commissions mentioned above report on their activities, take counsel with the workers, and suggest timely solutions to issues arising on the job. The corrupt "vertical" unions are on the way to being replaced by genuine trade unions born of the events of April and May and headed at the enterprises by the workers' commissions and committees.

The workers are more and more vigorously resisting the efforts of the "vertical" hierarchy to assert themselves as their sole

spokesmen, as well as the attempts of all those who would split the workers' ranks for their own selfish reasons. There are, for instance, those who would divide the proletariat into three or four trade union centers roughly corresponding to the political parties which wield influence among the Spanish workers. For these people restoration of trade union freedom means splitting the trade union movement, even though this would leave the workers defenseless against intensified exploitation by the employers and turn them into pawns for politicians of every ilk.

The working people give credit to the General Workers' Union and the National Confederation of Labor* for the positive role they have often played in the past, and respect their traditions. But they also know that the splitting of the trade union movement into different centers greatly facilitated the victory of fascism, and hence they feel that in the future there is room for only one trade union organization — an independent, democratic class organization which would uphold the interests of *all* working people in equal measure, irrespective of party affiliation or political views.

The fact that the ban on strikes is no longer effective, that the "vertical" trade unions are bankrupt, and, finally, that the government itself has been compelled to talk about revising the union structure and repealing the prohibition of strikes shows that *the need to grant the working people some basic democratic rights without delay is now on the agenda*. There are some, especially among the higher clergy and certain sections of Catholic Action, who think that the changes can be halted at the present stage. *But the right to strike will inevitably bring in its train recognition of the right of assembly and association*. The bankruptcy of the government trade unions clearly reveals the non-representative, fictitious character of all the present state institutions, beginning with the notorious Cortes, Franco's caricature Parliament. The winning of rights for workers directly leads to the posing of the general problem of civil rights, the problem of freedom and democracy.

Besides these political problems, the question of Spain's general economic policy and, in particular, its relations with the Common Market is of cardinal importance.

The hopes of joining the Common Market cherished by the Franco regime are today even more illusory than they were some

*The General Workers' Union was an organization with Social Democratic tendencies, while the National Confederation of Labor represented the anarcho-sindicalist trend.

months ago. Voicing our vigorous opposition to the plans for entering the Common Market, the Central Committee declared in October last year: "Integration involves hard bargaining with international monopoly capitalism, and in this respect the present regime, which has been undermined and is disintegrating within the country and which has lost prestige throughout the world, may become an obstacle. The most influential sections of the oligarchy appear to realize more and more that integration would necessitate a certain evolution of the forms of the political power of the monopoly oligarchy to the detriment of the personal position of Franco and his closest associates." Today this is being fully borne out. True, the monopoly oligarchy, embarking on maneuvers inspired by crafty and two-faced elements from *Opus Dei**, has been pushing Franco towards the Common Market, but much in the same way as an unwanted nag might be pushed to the brink of a precipice in order to get rid of it. The object is to enter this monopoly conclave unencumbered by Franco. The strike movement, however, forestalled the maneuvers of Minister of Trade Ullastres and Co. by posing the issue of the continued existence of the regime sooner than the latter expected and, what is more, in an altogether different form.

Ullastres is no longer able to offer the profit-greedy foreign capitalists labor power which would be satisfied with miserable wages. Nor can he guarantee the prices of a few months ago. The U.S. and British financiers now regard Spain as a country which represents a big political risk for foreign investors. And if even a few months ago Ullastres had very little to offer in down payment to the European monopoly conclave, today he can offer still less. The strikes made it imperative to examine and settle the problem of the regime as a preliminary to any serious examination of the problem of the Common Market. For only a democratically constituted government and Parliament can decide whether Spain will enter the Common Market or whether it will choose an independent economic policy, which need not signify either voluntary withdrawal from the international economic community or a return to the farcical "autarchy" to which Franco once aspired. The continued existence of the Franco regime, then, means complete immobilization of economic policy at the

time when such immobility is least desirable. This is obvious from every angle.

A National Front of All Anti-Franco Opposition Forces Is an Urgent Need

The far-reaching effects which the April-May strikes had on the Spanish political scene were reflected at the conference held in Munich on June 5-6 and attended by more than 100 representatives of the bourgeois opposition parties as well as the Social Democrats functioning both at home and in exile.

The Munich meeting laid down the following political conditions as prerequisites for Spain's application for entry into the Common Market: 1) truly representative and democratic institutions guaranteeing the government the freely expressed support of the people; 2) effective guarantees of all human rights, especially the right to personal freedom and to the free expression of opinion, with the simultaneous abolition of censorship by the government; 3) recognition of the rights of the various national groups; 4) guarantee of trade union rights on a democratic footing and the right of the working people to defend their basic rights by various means, including strikes; 5) organization of popular movements and political parties and the recognition of their right to oppose the government.

Our Party's attitude to the Munich conference was defined in a statement published on June 13 by its Executive Committee. "The Communist Party," the statement says, "has repeatedly declared its vigorous opposition to the entry of Spain into the European Common Market, which would place Spanish economy under the control of the big foreign monopolies, hinder the independent economic and political development of the country, and seriously jeopardize its future. In this connection the Communist Party, guided by the economic and political interests of Spain once again reaffirms its position. But in spite of the differences in regard to the Common Market between our position and that of the groups and individuals assembled in Munich, we agree with them that in no circumstances is Franco competent to decide so important a problem. He has no right to do so because his regime, which was imposed by force on the people of Spain, evokes their hostility and condemnation, as can be seen from the strikes of April and May. Only a system meeting the above five conditions, i.e., a democratic system, has a right to declare for or against entry into the Common Market." Even if the majority of the participants in

*This ultra-reactionary Catholic order, founded in 1928 in Madrid, carries a great deal of weight in Spanish ruling circles. It also has sections in Italy, USA, the Latin American countries, etc.

the Munich meeting disagree with us in the matter of the Common Market, we are all united on one fundamental democratic principle: that *only a free people can decide this question of vital importance for the political, social and economic development of Spain*. Neither Franco nor any other government imposed on the people, nor a government which does not enjoy the confidence of the people and has not been democratically constituted, has the right to commit the country to the Common Market.

Under these circumstances the Munich agreement can be regarded as a promising sign that it is possible to find interim solutions to problems on which the opposition forces are now divided. The final settlement of disputed issues in both home and foreign policy should be put off until the wishes of the majority of the population can be duly complied with in the conditions of a democratic parliamentary system.

The significance of the agreement arrived at in Munich lies above all in the fact that it is in a way a positive answer on the part of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic forces to the call issued by the working people during the April-May strikes — a call to build a national front uniting all anti-Franco classes and sections of society.

We Communists were not represented in Munich, nor could we take part in a conference convened on the initiative of the so-called European movement, whose political positions are only too well known. Nevertheless, the five conditions, with the substance of which we agree, were formulated with our direct or indirect participation.

These five conditions are a close reflection of the points of contact between the views set forth in the statements of the Communists, the Socialists and the bourgeois opposition parties, all of which expressed support of the strikes and noted their important political consequences. It is noteworthy that all these statements were published simultaneously, on May 21, in Madrid.

The above five conditions are evidence of the crystallization of unity and understanding among diverse political and social groups, — a process which is developing successfully in Spain (and was given new impetus by the strikes), even though all resistance and all the prejudices hindering the achievement of unity have not yet been overcome.

Agreement on the five conditions is bound to accelerate the maturing of factors hastening the end of the Franco regime. These factors are the creation of a national front,

joint struggle against repressions, for the release of political prisoners and deportees and for the return home of political exiles, as well as the preparation of a national strike and the elaboration of a democratic alternative (a concrete minimum program and the establishment of a body to assume the functions of a provisional government). However, there are still obstacles to overcome. The most important of these is the continued resistance of some of the leaders of the anti-Franco extreme Right and the emigre Socialist leaders, who hold that the Communist Party need not be reckoned with in solving the Spanish political problem. The leaders of a number of other groups are also afraid openly to assume responsibility for contacts and agreements with the Communist Party.

As a result of all this we find the Communist Party supporting the anti-Franco movement while being itself subjected to ostracism. Even its right to function legally is being questioned. All this is being done on the pretext that the bourgeoisie, the church and the army, which have their part to play in changing the situation, do not want to have anything to do with the Communist Party.

We have said before and continue to say that our Party cannot renounce its mission as a Marxist-Leninist party, the representative of the working class, the rural working people and the progressive intellectuals. We could not renounce all this even if we were a small party with little influence in the country. Still less can we give up our mission since, as the April-May strikes and the general march of events have shown, we are the most influential of all the Left forces in Spain.

The strikes clearly revealed the vast influence of the Communist Party among the working class and all other sections of the working people. But there is no doubt that these strikes cannot be attributed exclusively to the Communists. They were a struggle of all the working people supported by the entire nation, by broad sections of political opinion and diverse social strata. We Communists, free from sectarian narrow-mindedness, do not conceal this fact.

But for all that there is no doubt that in this struggle, in the achievement of unity, the role of the Communist Party was decisive. Our Party was the only party which was not caught unawares by the events. It foresaw those events and prepared for them, consciously and skilfully.

The bourgeoisie, the church and the army know this full well. All the more irrespon-

sible then are those opposition leaders who have joined in the refrain that "the Communists had nothing to do with the strikes of April and May." But they can hardly deceive anyone but themselves and a few foreign correspondents, who, like M. Grignon Dumoulin of *Le Monde*, are anxious to be deceived.

We do not deny that it is possible that some of the most reactionary elements of the army, the church and the bourgeoisie, fearing the influence of the Communist Party, will seek to uphold the existing state of affairs even if this is fraught with disaster for themselves. But it is equally certain that the more sober-minded elements of the army, the church and the bourgeoisie cannot fail to realize that an anti-Franco coalition without the Communists is insufficient to guarantee an orderly and peaceful transition to democracy. They cannot fail to realize this because it is becoming more and more obvious that the collapse of the present regime is the inevitable finale of the crisis which has set in as a result of the strikes. This realization is maturing quite irrespective of the attitude of these elements toward us (on this score we have no illusions).

The radical changes which are inevitable in the near future will burst all the dams that are holding back the masses today. It will then be impossible to govern by means of repressive measures without running the risk of being swept away. Instead it would be necessary to seek the support of the working people and the masses generally. A coalition of the bourgeois Right and the Socialists would not offer any way out of the impasse, but would only amount to a dangerous gamble. In the situation developing in Spain anyone who knows the facts, any sober-minded person, no matter how conservative, cannot but see that the prime guarantee of peaceful transition to a democratic system is agreement with the Communist Party. I am certain that many spokesmen of the bourgeoisie, a good many of the military and even some churchmen will eventually arrive — if they have not done so already — at this truth. Were the regime not on the brink of disaster, things might be different.

In view of the circumstances, the forces which may be called conservative are bound to ask themselves whether the creation of a national front with the participation of the Communist Party would not indicate a socialist future for Spain.

In answering the question, it must be said that we Communists are naturally working

for a socialist Spain. We shall fight for that aim by democratic and peaceful means so long as these means are available to us. But we would be deceiving ourselves and the people if we were to say that the establishment of a national front will lead to socialism. In the present situation a national front can lead only to a democratic system, in other words, create conditions objectively more favorable for carrying on the struggle for socialism. But although these conditions would be more favorable to the working people than the fascist dictatorship, the bourgeoisie would still have ample opportunity for maneuver which it will surely seize upon in an effort to counteract our struggle. There should be no doubt on this score.

Only the supporters of Franco, for whom any departure from the present regime is synonymous with socialism, can claim that the national front as such would predetermine an advance to socialism in the present conditions in Spain. Only bureaucrats who feed on anti-communism like rats on carrion can argue along these lines.

If those bourgeois forces which pose as an anti-Franco opposition merely to gain their own ends were to embark on an anti-popular adventure and replace the Franco dictatorship with a regime controlled by the ultra Right, and if this regime were to pursue, on the pretext of "containing communism," a policy similar to Franco's, the bourgeoisie would be deprived of any possibility of political maneuver. In that event the democratic sections of the people would have only the working class and its Communist Party to look to as a force capable of bringing genuine liberation. The objective conditions might then develop for a more radical, though possibly non-peaceful, solution. If that were to happen, the responsibility would rest wholly on the reactionary bourgeoisie.

It is not only the Communists who are advocating the formation of a national front with Communist participation. Such a front is in the interests not only of the workers, but of other sections of society, of all those who are seeking a peaceful solution to Spain's political problem.

The Unity Achieved During the Strikes Must Be Consolidated and Extended

As a result of the April-May strikes and the Munich conference, the isolation of the dictatorship and the magnitude of the forces rising against it stand out in sharp relief. The repressive measures taken by the government against the Munich "conspirators,"

who are being given practically the same treatment as the Communists, only testify to the impotent frenzy of the Franco gang. In this connection one cannot but recall the wave of police terror unleashed under the monarchy at the end of 1930, a few months before the proclamation of the republic. Clearly, the Franco regime has no future either in the economic or in the political sphere.

In these circumstances it is the political duty of all anti-Franco forces to prepare for action that would consummate the present march of events by the establishment of a democratic system. The most important thing today is to *preserve, strengthen and extend at all levels the unity achieved during the strikes*. We Communists will display the maximum perseverance and exert the maximum effort to achieve this aim. Above all we seek to strengthen the contacts already established within the country with our Socialist comrades as well as with the Catholic working people and their representatives, and to consolidate and extend the coordination of action already achieved. Differences should be patiently discussed and overcome.*

We are working to extend united front action against repressions. There now is a broader basis for developing the struggle for an amnesty, for the release of political prisoners and deportees and the right of all political emigres freely to return home, and it will be prosecuted with all vigor on a national as well as an international scale. The fact that the struggle now taking place in Spain is of vast significance for the cause

*The recent joint statement of the Madrid organization of the Socialist Workers' Party and the Madrid Committee of the Communist Party is an example of such unity. The statement says:

"In connection with the explosion of several bombs in Madrid, the General Security Directorate has again resorted to an old, familiar maneuver. In an announcement full of contradictions and lies it has sought to shift the responsibility for these senseless and provocative acts on the workers' political organizations.

"In reality it is the political police which plants or orders the planting of these bombs, employing for this purpose some Falangist hired killers and fascist groups belonging to the Young Europe organization and connected with OAS terrorists.

"The object pursued by Franco's police is obvious; it is out to sow confusion regarding the nature of the struggle waged by the working class. But the miners of Asturias, the metalworkers of the Basque country, the workers of Catalonia, Madrid, Puertollano, Leon, Murcia and Galicia, and the agricultural laborers of Andalusia and Extremadura displayed during the recent events, in which they took both militant and peaceful action, a high level of class consciousness and unity. It is this mass struggle, which is gaining in depth and assuming a universal character, that will lead in the coming months to a national strike and the overthrow of the dictatorship.

"Exposing the clumsy provocative maneuvers of the political police and the Ministry for Home Affairs, the Madrid organizations of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Spain call upon all working people, all men and women of the people, to redouble their efforts and strengthen their unity for peaceful mass struggle against the dictatorship, which is now obviously in a state of disintegration and bankruptcy.

"Madrid, June 16, 1962."

of democracy and peace everywhere, and especially in Western Europe, Latin America and North Africa, is a powerful stimulus to the international solidarity of the working people which was so vividly displayed during the strikes.

The circumstances demand intensified effort for democratic rights on the part of the working people, the intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie and the non-monopoly capitalists, and the enlistment in this effort of new forces whom the march of events is spurring to activity.

The working class and the other sections of the working people will continue to set the example for the entire nation. Their struggle for urgent demands is bound to sweep the whole country, forging unity and organization and accumulating the experience essential for declaring a general political strike when the situation becomes ripe. It should be stressed once again that **the paramount issue of the day for all anti-Franco forces is the all-round preparation of a great national strike which would make it possible to replace the Franco dictatorship with a provisional government of national unity comprising all democratic trends without any discrimination.**

This makes it imperative not only to intensify the struggle and to coordinate actions, but also without delay to reach agreement on the program of such a provisional government and its composition. A national strike can provide a democratic solution with the minimum use of force, and even without the use of force, provided this solution is worked out within a brief space of time and the national strike is prepared by a broad representative coalition capable of winning the confidence of the most diverse forces, and above all of the working class, which bears the brunt of the struggle. Hence the need to unite all opposition forces without delay, to establish the broadest contacts with representatives of the various sections of the population and the institutions of the country, with all those who can help to effect the transition to a democratic system.

We shall devote serious attention to strengthening and expanding our Party organizations, to building up the Young Communist League, to strengthening and consolidating the trade union opposition, and to developing a broad democratic movement among women, who displayed notable initiative during the strikes of April and May. The Communists are working among the masses to elucidate the problems involved

in the transition to democracy, the character and role of the mass organizations in this transition, the need to prepare the ground for the introduction of democratic forms at local, provincial and national levels, in the factories, in the villages and in cultural institutions. We shall redouble our efforts to stimulate democratic initiative on the part of the people. Not a single Communist can remain passive in this work. It is the duty both of the young members of the Party and the veterans to set an example in initiative and courage, to press forward at the head of the working class and the people, devoting all their abilities to the common cause and dis-

playing the highest sense of responsibility for its success.

We are entering the final battle against the dictatorship. The victorious conclusion of that battle is no longer a matter of the distant future. Today we are not waging a lone fight, as was the case at some earlier periods. We now have many allies from the most diverse sections of society. Today we are stronger than the dictatorship and we can already see victory ahead. The Asturian miners blazed the trail. Along this path, which half a million strikers took in April and May, let us forge ahead to the victory of democracy!

The Communist Party of Sudan in the Struggle for Independent Democratic Development of the Country

Ibrahim Mustafa

COLONIALISM is one of the most important problems of today.

The imperialists realize that the peoples who have recently gained political independence are making a determined effort to reconstruct their countries and to become economically independent. Taking advantage of their economic and cultural backwardness the imperialists offer aid and promise capital investment with the aim of maintaining their grip on these countries and continuing the exploitation of their peoples.

"The imperialists, headed by the USA," says the statement of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, "are making desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic 'aid', drawing

them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there."

The developments in Sudan since the attainment of independence have reaffirmed the correctness of this characterization of the new aspirations of the colonialists, and especially of the American imperialists who are encroaching on the independence of the young Sudanese Republic.

Our country achieved political independence at the beginning of 1956. The Sudan Communist Party's Third Congress, convened then, endorsed and published its program which is called *The Sudan Road for the Consolidation of Independence, Democracy and Peace*. The program summarized the tasks of the new stage in the struggle for the completion of the national anti-imperialist democratic revolution. The leading role in this stage would be played by the united national democratic front consisting of workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie.

The Sudan Communist Party realized that its goals could be achieved only through a long process of struggle. Therefore the Party

persistently and patiently fought to develop the mass movement and to place the working class in its vanguard. The Party also untiringly worked for the unification of the national forces based on the solid foundation of the workers and peasants alliance aiming at rallying the mass movement around this policy.

The Sudan Communist Party, in order to build and activate the national democratic movement, has pursued flexible revolutionary tactics exploiting all the objective potentialities of the prevailing situation. The Party has consistently struggled against reactionary governments and supported those governments which adopted a national line, while maintaining a resolute fight against any reactionary tendencies. The Party successfully carried out this policy under the national bourgeois government of the National Unionist Party, supporting its national and positive policy against imperialism, while at the same time exposing and opposing its anti-democratic measures and its attitude to the exploitation and suppression of the working people. The Party also pursued this policy under the coalition government formed of the National Democratic and Umma Parties headed by the reactionary Abdalla Khalil. It exerted pressure on the People's Democratic Party to adopt the nationalist platform and to defeat the reactionary bloc of the Umma Party inside the government.

This policy won wide mass support and resulted in the strengthening of the leading role of the working class in the country's political life, and in advancing the struggle of all the democratic forces in our country for peace and democracy, and against imperialism and war. It was also able to enforce the policy of non-participation in military pacts and ties upon the government of the National Unionist Party and even upon the government of the reactionary Abdalla Khalil.

The mass movement against acceptance of American aid reached its peak in 1958 when Abdalla Khalil was preparing to sign an agreement. It resulted in an anti-government majority in Parliament and it was certain that the government would be overthrown during the parliamentary session due to be opened on November 17, 1958.

Abdalla Khalil, head of the reactionary government, at the instigation of the American imperialists, handed over power to the leaders of the Sudanese Army, headed by General Farig Abboud. Thus unconstitutionally on November 17, 1958, began the black reign of the reactionary military regime. Its

first steps were: dissolution of Parliament, annulment of the Constitution, prohibition of political parties, abolition of freedom of speech, publication and assembly. In pursuing its aims this regime did not even hesitate to sacrifice the best sons of the people.

The Military Dictatorship Endangers the Country's Independence

Where did it lead our country?

To answer this question objectively and correctly we have to review the stand of the present government regarding the urgent national questions: consolidation of national independence, economic reconstruction, defense of peace and peaceful coexistence, active opposition to imperialism and guarantee of democracy.

The main characteristic of the Sudanese economy after independence was its backwardness which had resulted from British imperialist domination in the past.

The bulk of the national income was made up of revenue from agricultural production. Even agricultural production was inadequate and depended on one main cash crop—cotton, the marketing of which was wholly tied to the capitalist market.

There was practically no industry in the country. Its private and state sectors consisted of a few firms engaged in light industry and food-processing, which produced about one per cent of the national income.

More than 80 per cent of foreign trade was tied to the imperialist market and its development was controlled by British companies, trading firms and banks. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that the marketing of cotton was under the control of the British monopolies. The price of gum arabic, which rates second as a cash crop in the Sudan and constitutes some 90 per cent of world production, was regulated by the Bauxhall Company. This was also the case with the marketing of ground nuts, sesame and other crops. These companies were the sole agents for the importation of consumer goods and agricultural machinery, and fixed prices. For the imperialists our country was a source of cheap raw materials, a market for their consumer goods and a pool of cheap labor.

Political independence was and still is an important means of eliminating an imperialist influence and its remnants and of the construction of a powerful dependent national economy, relying on the exploitation of the internal resources of the country and making use of clean, non-imperialist aid, especially from the socialist world.

The previous coalition government because of its reactionary character did not even try to face up to these tasks, while the Abboud government opened the door wide for foreign monopoly capital. Its first step was to accept unconditionally American aid which in the last three years has amounted to £21 million and was expended on projects which in no way helped the Sudanese economy.

The American aid department works out schemes which appear to have a purely economic character, but in fact pave the way for political and economic American imperialist domination, in other words, for neo-colonialism which takes the form of loans and direct investment.

Thanks to Abboud's puppet-regime, foreign capital, especially American, has sneaked into our country and stretched like an octopus over all the vital sectors of our economy. One cannot find a single major scheme in the economy of Sudan, especially in the state sector, free from foreign imperialist loans from the USA, West Germany, Britain and Italy. The total sum of the loans received by Sudan from these countries amounts to some £65 million. More than half of this sum was subsidized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, controlled by the USA.

What are the practical consequences of the policy of accepting imperialist aid and loans?

Firstly: Penetration of the imperialist monopolies in vital and major economic projects, e.g., the Managel Cotton Scheme, the Roseires and Khashma El Girba dams and the project of railway extension financed by them. An even greater danger is contained in the conditions of those loans agreed to by Abboud's government, i.e., the right of American experts to know in detail the economic potentialities of the country, the chances of success of the schemes co-financed, the reliability of the working people (read—the suppression of democracy), the right to be consulted before entering into trade relations and agreements with other countries, i.e., socialist countries, etc.

Secondly: The rate of interest on these loans ranges from five to 10 per cent which is very high and is a heavy burden on the country's economy. Even the Minister of Finance in Abboud's government was compelled to admit this fact in his secret memorandum to the Council of Ministers on May 7, 1961.

The Sudan government is committed to pay £26 million within the next five years,

i.e., more than 50 per cent of the Sudanese 1960-61 budget.

Thirdly: The general trend of these loans is far from a genuine plan to develop the nation's economy. The projects financed by foreign capital do not envisage any significant growth of national industry, which is in line with the interests of the imperialists who want to retain Sudan as a market and a source of cheap raw materials.

Pseudo-Industrialization

The Western powers in their propaganda approve Abboud's government's intention of industrializing the country. But we know that the West can never mean the kind of industrialization desired by our people as an urgent necessity for the construction of the economic base upon which true national independence rests.

What has Abboud's government achieved in the field of industrialization?

According to the *London Times* the foreign capital invested in industry increased from £1 million to £15 million since the coup d'état government has been in power. This capital, however, is not used to industrialize the country but to extract profits which are exported from Sudan by foreign monopolies.

The foreign-built enterprises do not use the main local raw materials such as cotton, gum arabic, hides, fruits, etc. The biggest industrial enterprise in our country as regards volume of capital and production is a textile factory allotted to an American millionaire. The American General Exploration Company was given the right to look for oil in the Red Sea area. The California Company has the right to look for minerals.

The other imperialist countries also won vital positions in this field. Britain regained parts of her previous monopoly privileges: for example, the Shell Oil Company got the right to reconstruct petrol refineries in Port Sudan. The Italian Egib Company had the right to explore for oil in the Red Sea Area. The famous German monopolist and war-monger Krupp gained the right to look for iron ore in Sudan.

Progressive and democratic forces in the country consider industrialization as a main task of our national-democratic, anti-imperialist revolution. Industrialization is demanded in order to free our national economy completely from the domination of foreign capital, to develop the productive forces and fully to utilize the natural resources and wealth of the country, to increase the na-

tional income, to expand the home market, and to solve other important economic and social problems.

The industrialization of such backward countries as Sudan can, under the conditions of the steady growth of the socialist camp, the deep crisis of world capitalism and the active role played by the working class and the national forces inside the country, assume a more progressive and democratic form than in the past.

The establishment of durable economic ties with the socialist countries is essential for the development of the national economy and its emancipation. But these ties have not been developed.

Our foreign trade which—under the reign of British imperialism—was closely connected with the Western market and which shifted in favor of our country after independence owing to new relations with socialist and independent countries, became entangled once more, under the Abboud regime, in new imperialist ties. This is evident from the following figures:

The import of textiles and consumer goods from the Western countries increased considerably as compared with 1956, i.e., after independence. This increase in imports is not met by a corresponding increase in exports to this Western market. It exports to us more than it imports from us, and buys from us at low prices. Take for example cotton, the main cash crop (about 60 per cent of the Sudan foreign trade) which is mainly connected with the capitalist market; it suffered a steady drop in price, ranging in the last three years from £3 to £8 per kontar (45 kilograms) compared to the average price of £15.

In order to finance imports and to cover the deficit in the foreign trade balance the government has to resort to loans. The imperialists, of course, exploit this situation to keep Sudan as a permanent market for their accumulated commodities and obstruct the development of relations with the socialist market.

The volume of trade-exchange between Sudan and the socialist countries according to official economic statistics (1959-60) of the Sudan Ministry of Finance did not exceed £7 million in exports and £7 million in imports.

There is a genuine desire on the part of our people to develop large-scale relations with the socialist countries, which is reflected even in the conservative press. The Sudanese newspaper *El Rai El Aam* on July 29, 1961, after the visit of Abboud to the Soviet Union,

wrote: "We are fed up with the past stagnant situation in the development of our relations with the Soviet Union and the suspicious spirit which has dominated our policy for a long time."

This desire met with a sincere response from the Soviet Union, expressed in the words of Comrade N. S. Khrushchov to Abboud during that visit: "We hope that your visit to us, President Abboud, and the negotiations between the representatives of our states will be a solid foundation for the broadening of mutual Soviet-Sudanese relations. We can extend trade relations between us on the basis of mutual benefit and develop cooperation in the technical and economic spheres. And there are many possibilities for exchange in the sphere of culture and art, science and education."

Abboud's government has, under mass pressure, recently negotiated trade and financial agreements with some of the socialist countries.

The terms suggested by socialist countries are of mutual benefit. Loans and aid offered by the socialist countries differ from those of the Western countries just as socialism differs from imperialism. The Soviet Union, for example, provided a two-per cent loan of £8 million for the development of the Sudanese food industry, while Sudan has to pay 10 per cent annually on imperialist loans totalling over £80 million.

The national democratic forces together with the Communist Party work tirelessly for firm economic ties with the socialist countries, to safeguard them against reactionary intrigues, to widen their scope and make use of them to develop the productive forces and throw off the monopoly domination of our country.

Deterioration in the Standard of Living

Under the piratical pressure of the imperialist market, our weak undeveloped economy is bound to reflect the crisis of the capitalist world and its natural outcome, viz., inflation, unemployment and lower wages.

The 1961-1962 budget itself exposes the policy of the Abboud regime which has deepened the economic crisis in our country and put the burden onto the shoulders of the working people. In this budget indirect taxes account for £34 million, i.e., 65 per cent of all revenue, while the income from all productive enterprises is only £6 million. Expenditure on health and educational services and on salaries dropped by £8 million.

The cost of living in the Sudan, even according to the government's official figures,

which are subject to the gravest doubts, has risen by 10.3 per cent. This enormous increase in the cost of living has actually lowered wages, especially those of employees and workers who suffered direct cuts by the government. Daily wages of builders were cut from 75 piastres to 69 piastres, of first-class fitters from 79 to 60 piastres, mechanics—from 80 piastres to 60 piastres, second-class carpenters—from 60 piastres to 50 piastres (one Sudanese sterling pound = 97.5 piastres).

As for unemployment, it has never been so widespread as it is under the present regime. The Director of the Labor Office was quoted in the official government organ *El Thawra* as saying that in October 1961 the number of unemployed registered in Khartoum Province alone was 60,000 (the population of Khartoum Province is 500,000). It is important to note that the number of unemployed in the Khartoum Province in 1957 was only 6,000.

The situation in the countryside is no better.

There are big semi-feudal landowners such as El Mahdi and Ali El Mirgani on whose estates the peasants, who are tied to these semi-feudalists by religious bonds, receive in kind only a small part of the crop.

The government runs the largest agricultural schemes. The land is owned in part by the government, in part by the peasants, and rented to the government under a permanent contract at a rate of one pound sterling for 10 feddans (one feddan approximately equals one acre). The peasants are regarded as partners with a share of 44 per cent including the cost of agriculture expenditure for their allotments. Administration is run *completely* by government boards. Peasants are not represented on these boards and have no right to check their accounts or to have any say in marketing the crops.

There are private schemes run by individual capital. The land is owned by the peasants and rented to tenants on the basis of long-term agreements.

Individual farming prevails on tribal land. The peasant depends on natural irrigation, cultivates small pieces of land with the help of his family, using primitive instruments. He owns the land as a member of the tribe.

State capital is predominant in agriculture. Its share, for example, in cotton is 70 per cent of all production. As the government controls the system of irrigation and the land, it regulates production, marketing, prices, and the sites of the markets. These

arrangements will in the long run be helpful in the solution of the agrarian question although now, owing to the reactionary character of the government with its links with the monopolists and the capitalist market, it has impoverished the peasants. In most cases the 44 per cent received by the peasants is not enough to cover the deficit, and certainly does not help to raise the standard of living.

The Abboud government boasts of having increased the peasant's share of production by the White Nile and Gezira schemes. However this increase, which the government claims as an agrarian reform, amounts only to £2-5 a year, while the average yearly debt per peasant amounts to £20. The peasants have to sell their property and even their animals to pay their debts. Many of them leave their land and go to the towns in search of work, adding thereby to the already large army of unemployed.

Dangerous Foreign Policy

As a result of the increasing influence of American and other monopolies on the Sudan economy, the political line characteristic of Abboud's regime coincides with the interests of imperialism. Abboud's government wants to grant to the USA the Halaib Area in north-eastern Sudan for the construction of a military base as an important link in the network of their military bases, joining Libya, Morocco, Greece, Turkey, Zaharan (Saudi Arabia). The Khartoum aerodromes are already available to the American Air Force including the famous U-2 spy plane. The Sixth Fleet is allowed repeated visits to Port Sudan harbor.

Abboud's government is now seriously considering a West German offer to equip the Sudanese armed forces and to train Sudanese officers—under Hitler's generals of course. It has already sent Sudanese officers to West Germany for training.

All this reveals the Sudanese government's policy in relation to the vital problems of peace and the freedom of peoples, which has no claim to being based on neutrality. The policy of positive neutrality for their free independent republic was imposed by the Sudanese people on the government. The verbal promise of positive neutrality and the fact that no military bases have so far been granted, are used by the government in an unscrupulous attempt to prove that it is committed to a "peace-loving" foreign policy.

The present regime was unable to impose on the Sudan participation in imperialist

military blocs, but this was the result of the shift in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism and of the mass movement for peace, against war and participation in military blocs led by the working class.

The Sudan's Road to Democracy and Progress

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Sudan in its statement of November 18, 1958, condemned the military coup as reactionary. It pointed out that within the army there are large nationalist elements and that the coup did not rely on these elements but on a gang of pro-imperialist officers and a handful of imperialist tools from the semi-feudal Umma Party who were promised the presidency for the spiritual leader of the Ansar sect, who is closely connected with the Umma Party.

The Communist Party has not taken a stand against the army as a whole. The Party has been ready to ally with any nationalist trend within the army on the basis of the tasks which serve the national democratic development of our country. Subsequent events have proved the truth of our Party's analysis and its conformity with the facts.

The policy pursued by the present regime within the army, which has always been the suppression of nationalist trends, is vigorously opposed by the nationalist elements in the army. In the past three years alone these forces dealt three blows at Abboud's regime—in March and May 1959, and in November 1960.

The policy pursued by the military regime consists of combating the national democratic forces and the subordination of the country's economy to the interests of foreign capital. This is against the interests not only of the workers, peasants and other working people but also of the national bourgeoisie.

Abboud's government is supported by the religious Khatmia sect, but this support is dictated only by the selfish interests of the leadership of the Khatmia sect, which wants to use the government's help to smash their traditional opponents—the Ansar sect and the bourgeois National Unionist Party. The Khatmia followers are dissatisfied with the existing regime, which has done nothing to lift them out of backwardness and poverty.

The Communist Party of Sudan has persisted in upholding the banner of opposition. It has patiently and boldly rallied and organized the masses in opposition to the regime. This state of affairs, together with the heroic struggle waged by members of the party,

progressive workers and students throughout the country, has led to a considerable strengthening of the opposition and to the increased isolation of the present military regime.

Owing to this struggle contradictions have developed inside the reactionary bloc that engineered the coup. The ousting from the Supreme Military Council of the group which formerly sympathized with the Umma Party and the subordination of the majority of the Council to the leadership of the semi-feudal Khatmia religious sect, which is urging the regime to crush the Ansar sect—all this has given rise to contradictions between the regime and the Umma Party. Although these contradictions are within the Right-wing bloc, nevertheless the sharper the contradictions, the more certain is the failure of the imperialist plans to rule the country through a military dictatorship dependent upon the Right bloc.

At the same time rightist trends have penetrated the opposition movement and constitute a certain danger. They conduct their own tactics aimed at ending the present regime without a real mass struggle and establishing a parliamentary regime, while trying to avoid the main revolutionary issues such as agrarian reform, full democracy, etc.

The Communist Party of Sudan works not only for the liquidation of the military dictatorship, but also for its replacement by a national anti-imperialist government which stands for a democratic policy and will lead the country along the path of independent development.

Can this task be achieved in the present situation in the country?

Yes, it can be achieved, because the national democratic forces are stronger than the reactionary bloc, which is the backbone of the military regime.

Thanks to the devoted efforts of the Sudan Communist Party the working-class movement has avoided a split. The working-class movement in Sudan, united as it is, has played an outstanding role in the struggle for peace and democracy. This movement has developed the political consciousness of the people, raised their fighting spirit and enriched the mass movement with valuable experiences. After the military coup the trade unions were dissolved. But as a result of the stubborn struggle of the working class they were reformed and today have over 200,000 members. Under the present dictatorial regime the masses have become more steeled in battle, more persistent in the struggle for democracy. They will be better able to smash

the regime and all those who try to preserve the same reactionary policy and methods in a new guise.

The working class and its vanguard the Communist Party have become more powerful. The scope of their outlook and understanding has widened. They have become experienced in the struggle against the different forms behind which the reactionaries hide their real face. In the interests of the revolutionary movement the Communist Party can and must make skilful use of the contradictions within the Right-wing bloc.

The pro-imperialist elements and reactionary bourgeoisie of countries which have lately gained independence seek to hinder the development of the national democratic revolutions. To this end they resort to the same tactics — the suppression of democracy and an offensive against the working class and its Party.

The Right-wing bourgeoisie and other reactionaries attempt to mask their mercenary interests, which are in complete contradiction to the interests of the people. That is why they propagate in our country and in the Arab liberation movement false theories about the "decay of democracy in the Sudan" due to the "illiteracy of the people" and to the allegation that democracy is an item of "import."

Some of the Right-wingers in the Arab world, as well as in our country, have tried to pose the question in this way: Which should have priority, national liberation or democracy? They allege that the duty of the working class and the Communists is to avoid raising any internal problems such as the democratic rights of the people, for example, which according to these "theoreticians" can give rise to internal contradictions that would be utilized by the imperialists and their accomplices.

Our Party rejects these theories and takes the genuine Marxist-Leninist standpoint. We believe that political independence, economic and social regeneration, as well as development along the lines of peace, peaceful co-existence and anti-imperialism are inseparably linked with broad internal democracy; of this we are also convinced by the valuable experience of the international Communist movement, summarized in the CPSU Program, which says: "Foreign capital will retreat only before a broad union of patriotic, democratic forces pursuing an anti-imperialist policy. The pillars of feudalism will crumble only under the impact of a general democratic movement. . . . Political independence

can be made secure only by a nation that has won democratic rights and freedoms and is taking an active part in governing the state."

The national-liberation movement must not be deprived of democracy, which is the guarantee of national development in the period immediately following the achievement of political independence. To state the opposite is merely to resort to demagoguery and crafty tricks aimed at establishing the rule of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who in the long run would come to terms with the imperialists.

Experience in the struggle within our country and that of the people of other African countries teaches that the masses, having achieved political independence, are fully capable of going on to complete the tasks of the national-democratic revolution, but they can do so only on one condition, namely, that they succeed in securing real democracy — the only reliable basis for independence and further progress.

Unity of All Democratic Forces Is a Guarantee of Victory

It is becoming more and more evident that to pursue an anti-communist policy and to disrupt the national forces is detrimental to the vital interests of the nation and puts the country's national independence in jeopardy.

The Sudan Communist Party believes that there is only one way to get rid of the present reactionary government, namely, to unite all the revolutionary forces (the working class, peasantry, national and petty bourgeoisie) in a national-democratic front, capable of carrying through the development of our country along democratic lines.

Now, more than ever before, there are objective conditions for the formation of such a front. The national bourgeoisie suffers severely from the rivalry of the Western monopolies: the national commercial capital is on the verge of bankruptcy, goods do not find a ready market owing to big imports and the low purchasing power of the people. All this greatly influences the national bourgeoisie. The bourgeois parties can no longer ignore the effects of the policy of the existing regime: they are more than ever inclined to cooperate with the working class, with all the working people of the Sudan.

The Sudanese lawyers, journalists, cultural workers, the medical profession and other sections of the intelligentsia are also antagonistic to the reactionary regime, which oppresses them, stifles any hint of freedom of

thought, encourages stool-pigeons and informers in their ranks. The progressive intellectuals greatly contributed to all the mass actions against the military regime by their manifestations and political statements in which they expressed their views and lent support to the national movement's demands to restore democracy and to pursue an anti-imperialist foreign policy aimed at preserving peace.

The part played by the peasants in the mass movement has become more pronounced. Their widespread activities and strikes have shown that the wide masses of the peasants find it impossible to live under their present conditions and are now ready to fight for an improvement.

The party, having close ties with the peasants, has put forward its program demanding democratic agrarian reform for solving both the new and the old chronic problems of poverty and backwardness in the countryside. This agrarian reform would do away with the semi-feudal agricultural relations, free the poor peasants and agricultural laborers from severe exploitation and ensure the development of productive forces in the countryside on the basis of new techniques.

The Communist Party of Sudan understands that the agrarian question, which affects the majority of the population, is the major question to be solved by the national-democratic revolution. This can be achieved only through mass struggle firmly based on the revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants.

Of all parties, the Sudan Communist Party was the first to address the peasants as an independent class, and explain to them their present and future needs and the importance of allying themselves with the working class for attaining a real improvement in their own standard of living. The peasants' movement now assumes wide proportions and responds vigorously to workers' activities. The mass movement is now firmly based on the joint action of the peasants and workers which increases day by day.

Thus we note the growth and deepening of the contradictions which undermine the

present regime. The opposition to the regime grows and gains momentum. Despite the difficult conditions of illegality the Sudan Communist Party tirelessly inspires the people to fight for their rights and democratic freedoms and intensifies its ideological work in this struggle.

Today all the Sudanese people can see the results of this struggle. The working class has managed to regain the right to trade union organization, despite the so-called "Labor and Workers' Law" which denies the workers many rights (i.e., the right to strike, the right to form a general federation). The workers, however, are waging a decisive struggle against these anti-democratic measures. The two general strikes of the Sudan railway workers, which took place in June and July 1961 respectively, are good examples.

Some successes have been achieved in the creation of the National Democratic Front. Already a strong and stable basis has been formed by the setting up of NDF committees among workers and students. They have established close revolutionary ties with the masses and have a strong influence on the development of the mass democratic and revolutionary movement. Similar committees emerged among peasants and the city population. Although they had no firm basis and were not permanent, nevertheless, whenever decisive steps had to be taken, they united with the workers' and students' committees.

The main task now is to fight to make these committees permanent bodies, to unite all democratic forces in the national-democratic front for the struggle against the present reactionary regime, against imperialism and for the revolutionary democratic development of the country.

We are sure that the struggle of our people will be victorious. The effect of this victory will not be limited to our country but will stimulate the struggle of the liberation movements in all African countries.

The Iraqi Communist Party and the Kurdish Question

Jabbar Ali

FOR almost a year, with brief intervals, the government of Iraq has been waging an armed struggle against the Kurds. War planes have been dropping bombs on peaceful Kurdish settlements and villages, killing hundreds of people, and the fratricidal war continues, despite the demands of the democratic forces of Iraq for a peaceful settlement of the Kurdish question.

The Kurds inhabit the territory of what was once Kurdistan but which is now split up between Turkey, Iran and Iraq. As far back as 1639, Kurdistan was divided between the Osman empire and Persia. After the First World War the imperialists partitioned Kurdistan anew, this time dividing it between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria.* All this has had a disastrous effect on the development of the Kurds as a nation.

The struggle for the national unification of Kurdistan began in the latter part of the 19th century and reached a high point of intensity after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The formation and consolidation of the world socialist system and the weakening of imperialism after the Second World War changed the balance of forces in the colonies, including the colonies and dependent countries of the Near and Middle East. The Kurdish liberation movement has developed mainly under the flag of nationalism.

The Iraqi Communist Party has always proceeded from the Marxist-Leninist concept of the duality of the nationalism of an oppressed nation. It has supported the general democratic struggle for national independence and against foreign oppression, but at the same time it has strongly opposed that aspect of nationalism which expresses the interests and the ideology of the Kurdish upper strata of exploiters.

At the present time the national-liberation movement throughout the Kurdistan area is essentially democratic inasmuch as it reflects the desire of the divided Kurdish people for

national emancipation and unity and is directed against national oppression, against imperialism and its agents. This makes it a powerful ally of the working class and of all the democratic forces in the Middle East. Moreover, the geographical position of Kurdistan (in the light of the military strategic plans of CENTO and the economic, and especially the oil, interests of the imperialists) imparts a special significance to the Kurdish liberation movement in the general struggle of the peoples against the aggressive imperialist plans that are threatening world peace.

The imperialist powers are chiefly to blame for the fact that the Kurdish question has remained unsettled to this day. The American and British imperialists are responsible for the division of Kurdistan, for the intensification of national oppression and the preservation of feudal slavery in that area. They are responsible also for the extremely tense situation in this quarter. They supported the reactionary regimes in Turkey and Iran and the former monarchy in Iraq and approved the policy of subjugating the Kurdish people. The United States and Britain were the initiators and organizers of the CENTO bloc (the erstwhile Baghdad Pact), which has set up military bases on the territory of Turkish and Iranian Kurdistan, thereby including this area in the atomic death zone. One of the purposes of this bloc, apart from aggression against the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement, has been to keep the Kurds in subjection and to frustrate their legitimate national aspirations.

The imperialist powers are trying to pose as the friends of the Kurds and the protectors of their national interests. Imperialist agents in Kurdistan are seeking to implant in the minds of the more ignorant sections of the Kurdish population the idea that a colonial Kurdistan is better than no Kurdish state at all and that had Kurdistan been a colony, it would have received its independence by now. Moreover the Kurds are told that the "free world" is prepared to help set up a

*The Kurds in Syria are a small minority and hence the Kurdish problem is less acute there than elsewhere.

Kurdish state provided the Kurds join the military bloc directed against the socialist camp. But the Kurdish people will not fall for the imperialist bait. They have learned by bitter experience what imperialism means. They know too that the socialist countries will support any nation fighting for liberation and self-determination.

At the present time the West German imperialists who are seeking to gain a foothold in the rich oil areas have joined in the colonialist machinations. They are trying to penetrate into the Kurdish national movement in order to undermine the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of the Middle East.

All these facts show that the most urgent and imperative task confronting the Kurdish peoples today is to wage a joint struggle with the patriotic and democratic forces of Turkey, Iran and Iraq against the chief common enemy — imperialism and its accomplices in these countries, the feudalists and reactionaries — and to win genuine independence.

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The liberation movement in Iraqi Kurdistan, like any other movement of this kind, has its inner class contradictions which are reflected in political and ideological differences among the democratic and patriotic elements.

The Kurdish liberation movement in Iraq has two basic trends. On the one hand there is the proletariat and its Communist Party, and on the other the bourgeois nationalists.

The policy of the Iraqi Communist Party has always been dictated by the interests of the masses of workers and peasants. Its slogan is the brotherhood of the Arabs and Kurds in their common struggle against imperialism. The Party has fought not only against national oppression, but against the Kurdish feudalists and big capitalists as well, in defense of the interests of the Kurdish workers and peasants. In the ideological sphere, the Iraqi Communist Party has combated narrow nationalistic and sectarian tendencies, as well as the chauvinism of the Kurdish bourgeois nationalists in relation to the Turkoman nationals. The working-class principle of proletarian internationalism has nothing in common with nationalism or chauvinism. Internationalism and proletarian patriotism are harmoniously intertwined and reflect the interests of the workers and peasants.

As for the Kurdish bourgeois nationalists, they have placed their narrow nationalist

conception above the interests of the common struggle. This has frequently led them to adopt a course which weakens the common struggle and to advocate the liquidation of Communist organizations in Kurdistan.

Thus, Kurdish bourgeois nationalism, despite its general democratic content, tends to resort to erroneous, sectarian methods of struggle at a time when unity should be enhanced and the national front strengthened.

Nationalist, isolationist tendencies are supported and fostered by the Kurdish feudalists and the big bourgeoisie connected with foreign capital. Scared by the mounting wave of popular protest, both in Kurdistan and Iraq generally, against the domination of foreign capital and the remnants of feudalism, these forces are seeking to stir up national antagonisms in order to disarm the Kurdish working people.

The Kurdish nationalists ignore the fact that apart from their national aspirations, the Kurdish workers are prompted by class interests; that the worker in Kurdistan is exposed daily to exploitation and class oppression by the Kurdish feudalists and bourgeoisie plus the yoke of the foreign monopolies and the Iraqi Arab capitalists. The Kurdish workers know that their class interests are the class interests of the Arab workers. The imperialist oil company in Iraq exploits not only Kurdish workers but Arab, Turkoman, Assyrian and Armenian workers as well. The monarchist regime in Iraq protected the interests both of the Arab feudalists and bureaucrats and of the Kurdish feudalists and bureaucrats to whom it entrusted the dirty work of police repressions. The shootings, hangings, bombs and prisons were intended not only for the Kurdish but for the Arab workers as well.

When the Kassem government launched its anti-democratic drive, the Kurdish national bourgeoisie, guided by their narrow class interests, supported the government's action against the Communist Party. Nevertheless, despite the vacillations characteristic of the national bourgeoisie, the Iraqi Communist Party considers it both possible and necessary to wage a joint struggle with them against imperialism and reaction.

The Iraqi Communist Party ever since its foundation has played a leading role in the development of the political consciousness of the people of Iraqi Kurdistan. While fully recognizing the right of the Kurds to self-determination, it has always emphasized that the Kurds and Arabs must fight together against imperialism and reaction. Much of

the Party's activity in Iraqi Kurdistan has been directed toward isolating the reactionary Kurdish parties which exercised a great influence on the Kurds during the Second World War and diverted them from joint struggle with the Arab population for Iraqi independence.

Before there were any democratic organizations in Kurdistan, the Communist Party urged all Kurdish patriots to form democratic parties and organizations in order to prepare the people, when the time came, to turn their "union with the Arabs in Iraq into a voluntary union founded on full equality. . . ."

As far back as 1944, the *Azadi*, the illegal Kurdish-language organ of the Iraqi Communist Party, played an important part in rallying the Kurdish working people to the struggle. The Communists, who led the popular masses in Kurdistan, suffered heavy losses at that time. Many of them lost their lives; dozens were sentenced to life imprisonment and long terms of penal servitude.

The Iraqi Communist Party played a leading role in the uprisings of the peasants in Suliymaniyah, in the Dizei uprisings involving three hundred villages in Arbil, and the uprising of the Khorin-Shekhan peasants in the area of Khanegin. The Communists headed the oil workers' strikes in Kirkuk in 1946 and the Arbil railwaymen's strike in 1948 and many other mass actions and demonstrations.

The Second Conference of the Iraqi Communist Party in September 1956 emphasized that the correct solution of the Kurdish question consists in "mutual recognition of the right to self-determination and of the justice of the aspirations of both the Arab and the Kurdish peoples for liberation and national unity. . . ." In this the Iraqi Communists have always been guided by the Leninist principle of the self-determination of nations.

Since the peasantry comprises a large part of the population of Kurdistan, the Iraqi Communist Party has always given serious attention to the agrarian problem. Its agrarian program has won the approval and support of the Kurds. Thanks to the Party's indefatigable anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle and the correct Marxist-Leninist policy it has pursued on the national question, its organizations in Kurdistan have been and still are the vanguard of the Kurdish workers, peasants and artisans. Many leading members of the Kurdish intelligentsia—writers, poets and artists—have rallied under the banner of the Iraqi Communist Party. Not for nothing do the Kurdish working people

call our Party the party of land, bread and freedom.

The history of the national democratic movement in Iraq has demonstrated that the common struggle of Arabs and Kurds on a broad national front is the only way to defeat imperialism and win national liberation. The July 1958 revolution was the result of a prolonged common struggle of Arabs, Kurds and all the other national minorities.

The Kurdish people played an important part in safeguarding the independence of the Iraqi Republic against the intrigues of imperialism and its agents, including the Kurdish feudal traitors. The victory of the revolution instilled the Kurds with faith in the possibility of ending the national oppression in Iraq and strengthening the union between the two peoples on a democratic basis. The equal national rights of the Kurds and Arabs are formally recognized by the Provisional Constitution of the Iraqi Republic, Article Three of which states that the Republic "is a partnership between the Arabs and Kurds."

The Communist Party, together with the Democratic Party of Kurdistan* and other democratic forces, fought for the practical implementation of this Article. We demanded time and again that the government take legal and practical steps to enable the Kurds to exercise their rights.

Further developments, however, showed that the government's recognition of these rights had been nothing but a maneuver. In mid-March, 1959, the government advanced the slogan of assimilating the Kurds and embarked on a policy of national suppression far more brutal than that of the monarchy.

The ruling Arab bourgeoisie in Iraq have banned the very name of "Kurdistan." They call the province "Northern Iraq." The Kurdish people have been denied the right to education in their native tongue, to elect their own genuine representatives to republican bodies, to set up their own legislative and executive organs. Poverty, exploitation, ignorance and disease are the lot of the Kurd masses. The policy of the Iraqi government towards the Kurds is one of discrimination in the construction of industrial enterprises, the establishment of cultural and medical institutions, in admitting Kurd youth to higher educational institutions, and in granting stipends for study abroad. The following figures afford some idea of the low cultural level of the population: in Iraqi Kurdistan there

*The Democratic Party of Kurdistan, headed by Mustafa Barzani, is a party of the national bourgeoisie and the small liberal landowners. It also includes part of the petty urban bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. It pursues an anti-imperialist policy.

is only one elementary school to 3,500 inhabitants and one secondary school to 57,000 inhabitants. In all the public libraries of Iraq there are no more than 685 Kurdish books.

The situation has been sharply aggravated latterly in connection with the government's anti-democratic drive. Democratic rights for the Kurds have been virtually abolished, and Kurdish traitors are encouraged to murder and rob the peasants. The authorities look on while armed bands of feudalists set fire to villages and granaries belonging to peasants who have the courage to demand radical agrarian reform and the abolition of feudal oppression. These feudalist outrages have assumed an organized and mass character.

Since the Spring of 1961 the government's policy towards the Kurds has become still harsher. With the help of several reactionary Kurdish tribal chiefs, it has provoked a number of armed clashes which have been used as a pretext for concentrating armed forces and preparing a crushing blow against the Barzani.* The government's action aroused the indignation of the Kurdish people and forced many patriots, particularly among the youth, to take to the hills and form their own armed detachments. During summer and autumn of 1961 the imperialist CENTO circles, and especially the oil companies, sought to take advantage of the situation. They made several attempts to use the conflict between the government and the Kurds to provoke large-scale bloodshed. The Communist Party repeatedly exposed the intrigues of the imperialists and reactionaries, and urged the government to stop provoking clashes which jeopardized the independence of the country. But the government persisted in its dangerous policy in spite of the popular protests. In September 1961 it launched military operations. Kurd villages were bombed from the air, hundreds of defenseless people were killed in cold blood and large numbers were thrown into prisons and concentration camps.

As our Party had anticipated, this policy played right into the hands of the imperialists. Toward the end of 1961 at the height of the government's military campaign against the Kurds, the British and other imperialists sent their fleets to the shores of Iraq, thereby creating a direct threat to the independence of the Iraqi Republic. It was only then that Kassem proclaimed an "unconditional amnesty" for all those who had participated in the Kurdistan events and urged them to join forces and fight the imperial-

ist menace. In the same speech Kassem repealed the land tax and announced that the government would restore the villages damaged during the military operations.

However, no sooner had the imperialist danger abated, thanks to the vigilance of the Iraqi people and the solidarity of the peoples all over the world, than the government reverted to its policy of suppression. Since the spring of this year it has again been concentrating armed forces which are at present operating against the Barzani, ignoring the latter's sincere appeals for peace in Kurdistan. Mustafa Barzani's assurance that the Kurds are ready to begin negotiations with the government for the granting of self-government to Iraqi Kurds within the framework of the Iraqi republic has likewise been ignored.

Ever since the beginning of the crisis in the Kurdish question the Communist Party has urged the government to recognize the danger of the situation and the possible consequences. But the government has refused to abandon its dangerous policy. As for the Arab bourgeois parties, they have kept silent, while some of them have found excuses for the government's policy and defended it. It was not until quite recently that under mass pressure some of the Arab political leaders in Iraq, who are alive to the dangers of a military dictatorship, gave partial recognition to the national rights of the Kurds.

The Communist Party, which has always championed the cause of the Kurdish people, demands a peaceful settlement of the crisis. It urges the Arab masses to defend the oppressed Kurdish people, showing them that by doing so they are defending democracy in the whole of Iraq.

The struggle against the aggressive militarist policy of the government toward the Kurdish people is gaining in scope and momentum. Tens of thousands of leaflets and posters have been circulated in Baghdad and other Arab cities. Petitions bearing thousands of signatures have been submitted to the government demanding an end to the military operations against the Kurds and recognition of their legitimate national demands.

"We call upon all national forces to support our demand that the government take immediate steps through mutual understanding and other peaceful means to put an end to the present situation in Kurdistan," reads one such petition signed by former cabinet ministers, a university professor, several prominent lawyers, engineers and journalists. Large popular demonstrations demanding a

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 3, 1962.

peaceful settlement of the conflict were held in Baghdad in the latter part of April.

The bombing of the Kurdistan region by the Iraqi air force and the subsequent events in Iraq dealt a serious blow to Arab-Kurd unity and weakened the forces of the young Iraqi republic. The government's policy, states an appeal issued by the Iraqi Communist Party, "has widened the breach in the ranks of the patriotic forces and reduced the possibilities of defending the country's independence in the face of constant threats and ceaseless intrigues on the part of CENTO and the oil monopolies."

While actively opposing the government's chauvinistic policy and waging a determined struggle against it, the Iraqi Communist Party at the same time warns against the danger of isolationist and separatist tendencies in the Kurdish national-liberation movement.

In its efforts to crush Iraqi independence imperialism is striving to undermine the unity of the Kurds and Arabs and to direct the national struggle of the masses onto the road of antagonism, by introducing isolationist and separatist ideas. Unfortunately, the anti-democratic policy which the Iraqi government has imposed on the country is grist to the imperialist mill. Instead of taking a resolute stand against the imperialist intrigues, the Iraqi government has turned its weapons and its repressive machinery against the Kurd masses and the national forces which are sincerely defending the national independence of Iraq. That is why all who value the independence of the Iraqi Republic are raising their voices in protest against the persecution of the Kurds, for they regard the struggle of the Kurds for their national rights as part of the general struggle for a genuinely democratic system in Iraq.

The Kurdish national problem is an integral part of the struggle for democracy for all the Iraqi peoples. The dictatorial regime which oppresses the Kurds oppresses the Arabs as well. The Kurdish reactionaries are no less dangerous to the cause of the Kurdish people than their "brothers" the Arab reactionaries. The forces of reaction in Iraq—whether Kurds, Arabs or others—have common interests which bind them to the imperialists. Their sole aim is to put Iraq back under the yoke of imperialism.

Notwithstanding the undemocratic practices of the Kassem government at home, the foreign policy of the Iraqi Republic, thanks to the persistent popular struggle, is on the whole anti-imperialist. This is a bitter pill for the imperialists and their agents to swal-

low. The Kurdish people cannot afford to ignore this fact or to underestimate it as the Kurdish bourgeois nationalists are doing. Besides fighting for a democratic domestic policy, the Iraqi people, including all the national minorities, must redouble their efforts to induce the government to adopt a more consistently anti-imperialist foreign policy. Moreover, the Kurdish people must recognize the necessity for a democratic policy toward the Turkoman minority and respect for their legitimate national rights. The imperialist oil companies and the ruling circles in Turkey have always fomented strife between the Kurds and the Turkomans, and of late the Kassem government has been adopting the same tactics. In the interests of the struggle of the Kurdish people and of the Iraqi nation as a whole against imperialist conspiracies the bonds of Kurdish-Turkoman fraternity must be strengthened.

Prompted by its sense of patriotic responsibility for the independence of Iraq, for its democratic development and for the cause of peace, the Iraqi Communist Party calls upon all the patriotic forces, the whole people and the government to work for a just democratic settlement of the Kurdish national question. The Central Committee of the Party (at its meeting in March of this year) emphasized that in the present situation *the solution of the Kurdish problem would mean the establishment of self-government in Iraqi Kurdistan within the Iraqi Republic.* This would be in the interests of the entire Iraqi people and its unity in the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

The slogan of self-government is a democratic slogan that can be carried into effect in the course of the present anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Fulfilment of this just national demand will strengthen the unity of the Arab and Kurdish peoples. The Egyptian-Syrian experience has shown that an enforced alliance even between two Arab peoples can be harmful; especially would it be so in the case of two such distinct nationalities as the Kurds and the Arabs.

The establishment of self-government in Iraqi Kurdistan would have a powerful impact in the Middle East, especially in Turkey and Iran. It would give strength and confidence to the Kurds there in their struggle against the reactionary regimes and the CENTO pact. The Kurdish national movement in all parts of Kurdistan would then become a powerful ally of the Iraqi Republic, helping it to combat the imperialist intrigues. This would foil the schemes of the oil companies

in Iraq which are constantly stirring up trouble between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish people for their own ends.

Self-government for the Kurds can only be achieved by struggling for a parliamentary democratic republic in Iraq itself. It can be won by means of a *peaceful mass struggle on a broad national front*, a struggle to safeguard Iraqi independence, to end the dictatorial military regime and set up a national government on a democratic basis; to satisfy the rights and demands of workers, peasants and the whole Iraqi people, to fulfil the major tasks of the national democratic revolution and establish a national democratic state which would offer the Iraqi people wide prospects for developing their country and marching forward on the road to socialism.

The Kurdish and Arab peoples are learning more and more by their own experience that only in unity and common struggle can they win the battle for their rights, and that adventurist methods of struggle in the national-liberation movement invariably play into the hands of the reactionaries and imperialists.

The present policy of one-man military dictatorship in Iraq is isolating its supporters more and more and affords the patriotic parties and organizations wide opportunities for building a united national front. As the resolution of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party (December 1960) noted, the national front policy is the only way out. This view is being fully borne out by subsequent events.

While demanding self-government for the Kurds living in Iraqi Kurdistan, the Communist Party is well aware that this would by

no means provide a final solution of the Kurdish national question. Self-government, as was stressed in the report to the Second Party Conference of 1956, "cannot replace the right of self-determination for the Kurdish nation, including the formation of an independent state for the whole of Kurdistan." But this is a matter for the future.

The ultimate solution of the Kurdish question, the Communists maintain, is closely linked with the struggle to end imperialist domination in the Middle East. For Iraq the solution of this problem is connected with complete liberation from all the remnants of imperialist domination and the establishment of a democratic form of government. This makes it essential to strengthen and consolidate the joint struggle against the common enemy—imperialism and reaction. The Iraqi working class and the Arab workers are the reliable and natural allies of the Kurds in their fight for full self-determination.

The national bourgeoisie of a dominant nation cannot solve the national question. Nor is the national bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation (in this instance, the Kurds) capable of finding a solution *that would be in the interests of the whole people and particularly the working people*. At its meeting in March the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party emphasized that *the working class alone is capable of achieving a final solution of the Kurdish national question*. As the experience of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries has shown, such a solution of the national question is possible only under socialism.

The Working Class and the “Integration” of Monopoly Capital

Alexander Mitil

DEFINITE trends toward “integration” are today asserting themselves in one way or another throughout the capitalist world. There already is the “integrated” Europe of the Six—Federal Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. Now the entry of Britain and some other capitalist countries into this community is in the cards. There is also talk about “integration” in Central and South America. And recently projects have emerged for the “integration” of the USA and Canada and the USA and Western Europe. The idea of a Eurafrika is also being mooted.

Marxist analyses of this tendency have already been made in many countries. From the point of view of elaborating working-class tactics on the question, it is of fundamental importance to assess the respective parts played by economics and politics in the “integration” processes. One must be on guard against two kinds of errors.

It would be a mistake to think that the sum total of economic measures effected, for instance, within the framework of the Six is merely a “cover” for political schemes.

On the other hand, it would be equally erroneous to ignore the political aspect and regard the problems of “integration” as purely economic issues stemming from the need to promote production and rational division of labor.

“Integration” combines both elements — the economic and the political. Nor could it be otherwise, considering that the issue in question is one of *inter-state monopoly associations*. Economic motives are reflected in politics, but in the process of “integration” the political aspect is by no means a passive one. It not only stimulates and accelerates the economic processes, but is the dominant factor of “integration.”

World development today is determined by the competition of the two social systems. The existence of a socialist world economy, its successes and the change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism lay their imprint on processes under way within the

capitalist system, impelling the imperialists to implement “integration” schemes.

It is common knowledge that the imperialists regard blocs as a means for consolidating their forces in the struggle against the socialist countries, the national-liberation movement, and the working-class and general democratic movement in the capitalist countries. In particular, the European Common Market is designed to strengthen NATO economically. Without such contributing political factors the “integration” of capitalist powers would proceed at a much slower pace.

Although the “integration” processes are of a more or less universal nature, it is the Europe of the Six which should be the point of departure in examining this new trend. For it is here, under the direct influence of U.S. monopoly capital, that it first asserted itself and has developed most dynamically and assumed its most advanced forms. And since the West European working class is the first to go through the school of struggle in the conditions of “integration,” its experience is of major international significance.

How does “integration” affect the objective positions of the principal classes of modern capitalist society and the development of its basic contradiction—the contradiction between labor and capital?

The Europe of the Trusts

The six-power European Economic Community represents the highest form of international state-monopoly association characteristic of the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

What are the specific features of this form? As distinct from ordinary international monopoly alliances, the EEC was established by *inter-governmental* agreement (the Treaty of Rome of 1957). It embraces not only limited spheres (as do, for example, the European Coal and Steel Community or Euratom), but in effect the whole of the economy, with “complete,” *all-embracing* economic “integration” of the member-countries as its objective. The purpose is to create an “integral

economic territorial entity" by combining the national markets in a single common market (by lifting all customs barriers within the community), ensuring the free flow of capital and manpower, and transferring in a number of cases the overall reins of economic policy to *supra-national* bodies.

What are the economic levers which led to the establishment of such a monopoly association?

The emergence of monopoly from concentration of production is, as Lenin said, the "general and basic law of the contemporary stage of the development of capitalism." The vast scale of modern production and increasing specialization and cooperation between diverse economic units within countries as well as between various national economies as a whole, are manifested in the conditions of imperialism in the export of capital and international monopoly agreements, in other words, in the direct or indirect economic partitioning of the world. The need to expand markets and spheres for the application of capital grows together with the growth of the productive forces and their internationalization. While expanding in absolute terms, the capitalist world market nevertheless tends to shrink relatively, i.e., in comparison with the requirements and potentialities of production. Because of this any attempt to expand markets is accompanied by a struggle for their redivision, depending on the correlation of the economic strength of the rival groups. With the mushrooming of state-monopoly capitalism, the state, as an instrument in the hands of the monopolies, inevitably becomes involved. And this finds formal expression in interstate monopoly agreements.

Such agreements are associated not only with the relationships prevailing within the capitalist class, but also with the desire on the part of the monopolies to extend their sphere of exploitation. It is characteristic of monopolies in general to seek absolute domination on the commodity and labor market. Through price fixing and—with government assistance—through the tax system and the state budget, they are out to effect a redistribution in their own favor of the surplus value created in the non-monopoly spheres as well as of part of the value essential for the normal reproduction of labor power. But this "legalized" practice is not enough for them; capital, which recognizes no national frontiers, has an insatiable appetite. Customs barriers and other national protective measures, however, help to some extent to pre-

serve non-monopoly enterprises and small and medium-scale production in many branches of industry, and the monopolies find it far from easy, even with the help of measures implemented by the national governmental machine, to break the stubborn economic and political resistance of the "middle strata" and expropriate them—if only because of the weight these strata carry in Parliament, not to speak of other political considerations. Moreover, even if it enjoys the active support of the state, national monopoly capital finds it increasingly difficult to conduct an offensive single-handedly against the working class. This is where the combined strength of several capitalist states comes in; expressing the will of the most powerful monopolies, they seek through the establishment of a common market to remove all curbs on the growth of the economic might of those who already wield the greatest economic power.

European economic "integration" is still less than half-way to completion. But although the national markets have not yet been completely united, the Common Market as a stage in their organic merger is by no means a fiction. Already it not only embraces the sphere of exchange but also affects production.

The state-monopoly measures taken in preparation for the Common Market have stimulated the further concentration of production and capital. This trend is expressed in growing concentration and centralization of capital on a national scale and in the international infiltration, interweaving and merger of capital.

The increasingly cosmopolitan nature of capital is manifest, first, in the direct flow of investments from one EEC country to another, and, secondly, in multifarious private and state-monopoly agreements and deals between these countries.

A specific type of outgrowth of the "cosmopolitanization" of capital are the supra-national organizations of the EEC, with which the protagonists of the "European" idea associate rosy illusions. For instance, the French Right Socialist *Revue socialiste* writes: "The time is not far off when it will be possible to embark on joint economic planning on the scale of the Common Market."

Actually, however, free circulation of goods and capital within the bounds of the EEC can only mean giving a free hand to the biggest monopolies, which are out to solve their contradictions at the expense of the people generally. The balance of forces within the monopoly economic blocs, however, is sub-

ject to constant change. The cosmopolitanization of capital by no means does away with the struggle between national capitals; it is merely a manifestation of this struggle, which is bound to continue even when "supra-national" bodies take over.

Needless to say, interstate monopoly regulation should not be disregarded. At any rate, the general trend is toward "supra-national" economic institutions playing a bigger role. Already it is the practice in the top bodies of the EEC to adopt certain types of decisions not unanimously but by a qualified majority, which likewise strengthens the hand of the economically and politically strongest members. But interstate regulation in the interests of the monopolies is incapable of ensuring planned, balanced development inasmuch as it does not affect the cornerstone of capitalist society—private property. It only provides a broader, international arena for all the contradictions of capitalism.

The "supra-national" bodies of the EEC are a tool in the hands of a few top monopolies, which regard them as an additional instrument—over and above their direct economic power and influence in national governmental bodies—for extending their economic domination. The part which these organizations will play in the economy of the Common Market countries will wholly depend on the relations between the cosmopolitan trusts and how long and to what extent the strongest of them work together to impose their will on other monopolies more dependent on the support of national governmental bodies. Governmental participation in such organizations may in many cases aggravate conflicts instead of facilitating their settlement. Under all circumstances the interstate set-up, although it helps to cement the bargain among the trusts, is unstable and likely to develop serious cracks, especially in the event of grave economic convulsions.

Due regard should be paid to the foreign policy factor. Monopoly "integration" of Western Europe is supported by the most diverse political groups, from the neo-fascists, militarists and clericals to the Right-wing Social Democrats, who, far from concealing the fact, often stress that the EEC is designed to bolster up economically the military-political positions of the imperialist powers. As far back as 1952, Hallstein, the present chairman of the Common Market Commission, spoke of the "integration of the whole of Europe all the way to the Urals." Illusory though such projects are, they are nevertheless a reflection of an existing school of

thought. Hence the repeated attempts to complement economic "integration" with political association. But here too inter-imperialist contradictions are making themselves felt.

The West German monopolists, who already account for nearly half of the industrial output of the EEC countries, are economically strong enough to count on playing, with U.S. support, the top role in any West European concert of powers. Because of this the Bonn rulers are inclined to support complete political integration as a means of further strengthening their influence in the community. The weaker French monopolies are not prepared to risk complete loss of the support of their national governmental bodies, which explains the stand of de Gaulle, who demagogically roots for a "Europe of fatherlands." But all these "family" quarrels concern only the forms of the domination of the trusts over Western Europe. They do not remove or question this domination as such.

The Europe of the Trusts Versus the Working Class

The Treaty of Rome solemnly proclaimed that the Common Market would ensure continued and even development, growing stability and a rapid improvement of living standards.

How this pledge will be redeemed it is too early to say, since the Market is still in its formative stage.

The basic trends, however, are already clearly in evidence. To assess them fully and objectively it should be borne in mind that the preparations for "integration" coincided with a period of high business activity.

No doubt developing division of labor among the West European nations and steps taken by the monopolies to improve their competitive position in the new conditions have much to do with the "investment boom" and modernization of plant, which expanded the market and thereby stimulated industrial production. The underlying factor, however, was a cyclical economic upswing. But although there was a relative increase in production as compared with the overall showing of the entire capitalist world economy, the formation of the Common Market nevertheless did not result in an absolute increase in the rate of industrial development.

The main economic component of the Common Market—West German industry—progressed at an exceedingly high rate at first, but since 1960 it has been steadily slowing down. In the first five months of this year industrial production in the Federal Republic

increased by only 2.4 per cent as compared with the corresponding period of last year. From 1954 to 1957 French industry registered an annual output increase of 8-10 per cent, but in 1958, when the Common Market agreements began to come into force, the figure dropped six per cent, and in 1961 to 5.7 per cent. Belgium's rate was only a fraction of other countries of the community—Italy and Federal Germany, for example. Today crisis symptoms may be noted in a number of branches in the EEC countries.

The comparatively high level of business activity naturally increased employment. Particularly great was the demand for labor power in West Germany, which caused an influx of migrant workers into that country. By this summer the number of foreign workers employed in West German industry reached 670,000, most of them Italians. But the high level of business activity notwithstanding, the "free flow" of labor power did not solve the unemployment problem in the EEC as a whole. In Italy, although there was a certain shortage of skilled workers in the North, the number of totally unemployed ranged last year from 1.7 to 1.3 million, the equivalent of nearly 10 per cent of the labor force. Belgium has the same percentage of unemployed.

It should be remembered that average figures for the EEC conceal enormous economic disproportions, the social consequences of which affect hundreds of thousands of people. In particular, the various economic areas are developing more unevenly than ever. This was admitted, for instance, by Marjolin, a member of the EEC Commission, who declared, according to *Le Monde*, that discrepancies between regions were increasing in the Common Market countries generally.

In the most favorable position as regards influx of capital are the Ruhr-Lorraine area, Northern Italy and a few other regions. But there are also depressed areas, such as the coal-mining districts of France and Belgium, where the decline is directly due to the Common Market and the policies of the European Coal and Steel Community, which is concentrating on developing the Ruhr coal basin.

The advance in some branches and stagnation or decline in others have increased disproportions on the labor market. In general the Common Market engineering and electrical equipment industries have not experienced any drop in the demand for skilled labor. At the same time, however, the closing of en-

terprises rated as unprofitable and crisis symptoms in a number of industries are causing more unemployment among workers of other trades. The extractive industries, for example, cut their labor force last year by an average of five per cent. Owing to the closing of collieries in France, Belgium and Federal Germany there were mass lay-offs of miners, which, it will be remembered, gave rise to major class conflicts in the Borinage (Belgium) and Decazeville (France).

Under capitalism it is difficult for a worker to acquire new skills and to find work in other industries. Miners who lose their jobs, for instance, cannot easily find other work ensuring them their former earnings. Nor does this apply to miners alone.

"Integration" has greatly accelerated the introduction of new technology, rationalization and "economy" measures, with all the consequences this inevitably involves under capitalism. Here is what a research study published by the West German metal-workers' trade union has to say on this score: "Technological progress has devalued the skills and experience of many. Weavers, metal grinders and polishers, expert welders, rolling mill workers and porcelain turners, of whom there was a shortage only a short time ago and who were highly paid, are hardly needed any more. Other trades offering equal wages are often closed to them. Most of those who have lost their jobs as a result of automation have had to accept lower-paid work."

The monopoly drive to meet the new conditions of competition means greater speed-up. According to the German Economic Research Institute in West Berlin, labor productivity in Western Germany generally has increased by 74.3 per cent since 1950. But only one-third of this increase is due to modernization and mechanization of production. As a result of the speed-up and inadequate safety techniques the industrial accident rate is soaring.

The "equal conditions of competition" which all the Common Market members are demanding presuppose also equal conditions for the exploitation of labor. The juridical expression of this may be found in those articles of the Rome Treaty which provide for a gradual "equalization" of wages, a unified labor code throughout the EEC and the free movement of labor power within its boundaries.

Actually, working conditions differ greatly in the various Market countries. According to French sources, Federal Germany, fol-

lowed by Belgium, France, Italy and Holland, headed the list in 1959 as regards real hourly wages (inclusive of social benefits).

As regards social legislation, France holds first place. Family allowances are higher there than in Federal Germany, for instance, the pension age is lower and employees contribute less to insurance funds. The working day, too, varies in the different countries.

Can these differences be abolished? Theoretically yes, but in practice this is far from easy.

Free development of capital without the impediment of national boundaries would of course help to some extent to equalize living conditions, increase the mobility of the population and make working conditions more uniform. But labor power is a commodity of a specific kind. Natural and historical factors play a big role in determining its value. "In the comparison of the wages in the different nations," Marx said, "we must . . . take into account all the factors that determine changes in the amount of the value of labor power: the price and the extent of the prime necessities of life as naturally and historically developed (Holland, for instance, differs from the South of Italy in this respect—A.M.), the cost of training the laborers, the part played by the labor of women and children, the productiveness of labor, its extensive and intensive magnitude"* (and these magnitudes too vary greatly country by country—A.M.).

The factors which pivot the fluctuation of wages on the value of labor power also have their specific features. Most important of these factors is economic struggle, the balance of class forces. And this social factor cannot be equalized in countries which greatly differ from one another in national, social and political respects. Hence the proposed "equalization" of wages is highly problematical.

No simpler is it to standardize social legislation inasmuch as it is still regulated by national bodies with far from identical political alignments. In this sphere the principle of equal pay for men and women for equal work set forth in the Rome Treaty should be easiest to implement, since the criteria are perfectly clear and recognition of the principle itself was morally won long ago by the working-class movement as a result of decades of stubborn struggle. But the solution of even this problem has been put off until 1964.

*Capital, Vol. 1.

What the "equalization" policy really amounts to at the present time is an attempt on the part of the monopolies of each country to block any rise in wages for their "own" working class by invoking one or another advantage, actual or imaginary, enjoyed by the working people of a given country over the workers of other EEC countries. Employers turn down wage demands on the plea that if they conceded them they would not be able to compete with their Common Market partners. In this the monopolies are backed by government bodies. "If, however, all the economic measures of the government fail and the calls for moderation remain unheeded," Federal German Vice-Chancellor Erhard neatly put it on March 26, "it will be essential to act according to the old maxim that where the word is powerless the rod will do the trick."

The governments of all Common Market countries have taken some kind of action to freeze wages, curtail social services and increase taxes. The wage-freeze policy is in fact an attempt to "equalize" wages at the lowest level.

This policy has already encountered the strong resistance of the working class, some sections of which have been able, in conditions of relatively lively business activity, to win some wage increases, for example, in West Germany. (Incidentally, the increases have been far from commensurate with the increased speed-up). But many of the concessions which the monopolies have been forced to make to the working class have been quickly wiped out by the tried and tested device of raising prices. It is symptomatic that the cost of living has risen in all EEC countries in spite of the tariff reductions and increased production. Federal German housewives, the Social Democratic *Vorwaerts* tells us, are already saying that "they can keep their EEC if it makes everything more expensive." "The general feeling," the paper adds, "is that there is some justification for this sentiment."*

The living standard of many sections of the population of the Common Market countries has declined considerably. Since the EEC came into being, the purchasing power of most industrial and office workers in France has dropped by 6-10 per cent below 1957, and of some groups of working people, by 15-20 per cent.

The problem of removing national wage differences is therefore not being solved. In this connection the Italian *Lavoro* writes:

**Vorwaerts*, June 20, 1962.

"We started out from the lowest level and it would only be logical for our country to develop faster than the rest so as to reach a level at least approximating the average. Actually, however, the opposite is happening: our wages and earnings in general are also increasing at a slow rate in comparison with the other developed capitalist countries. The figures speak for themselves; instead of closing, the gap is widening."*

Not all the social consequences of "integration" for the working people have yet made themselves fully felt. For one thing, the state-monopoly measures taken to fit agriculture into the Common Market pattern have greatly intensified the ruination of the peasantry in Federal Germany, France and Italy, and in the coming years, as a result of the projected elimination of a vast number of peasant farms, the ranks of the working class in the EEC countries will increase by about eight million.

Economic "equalization," which is designed to intensify the exploitation of the working people, is accompanied by a movement toward what might be called "political equalization," i.e., consolidation of the most reactionary political regimes, "containment" of the working-class and general democratic movement, and elaboration of unified tactics for an offensive against the peoples' political rights.

A special role in this is assigned to "supranational" bodies. While restricting national sovereignty in the interests of the "European" sovereignty of the cosmopolitan trusts, they are at the same time usurping many of the prerogatives of representative bodies, and on certain questions have already abolished the role of Parliaments, thus curtailing still more the democratic rights of the working people. For example, obviously with a view to "equalizing" competitive conditions, the top bodies of the European Steel and Coal Community took a decision in July prohibiting state subsidies to the coal mining industry of the Common Market countries, especially subsidies earmarked for increasing the miners' wages.

The protagonists of "European solidarity" are looking even farther ahead. For instance, Alain Pyrefitte, the French Minister of Information, discussing in one of his speeches the development of the economic community into a political community, asked bluntly: "Who will send a mobile security force to maintain order if the pits are closed in Pas de Calais?"

*Lavoro, May 5, 1962.

The Working Class Versus the Europe of the Trusts

If state-monopoly capitalism generally lays the material groundwork for socialism, international monopoly associations objectively operate in the same direction by internationalizing the productive forces, offering still more convincing proof that capitalist society has outlived its time. This is reflected in the aggravation of class contradictions in the "integrated" countries, especially of the contradiction between wage labor and capital. Of the 37,400,000 workers involved in economic and political strikes throughout capitalist Europe in 1961, 35,600,000 were in the EEC countries. According to official figures for the last few years, the number of man-days lost annually through strikes has averaged 5,500,000 in Italy, 3,000,000 in France and 1,000,000 in Federal Germany.

What are the distinguishing features of the strike movement in "integrated" Europe?

The salient feature is its *mass* character. In France, for instance, the one-hour general strike of February 1, 1960, against the fascist rebellion in Algeria was joined by some 12,000,000 working men and women. And as many downed tools on February 13 this year in protest against the persecution of supporters of peace in Algeria. In Italy more than 2,500,000 took part in the strikes and demonstrations of 1960 which toppled the Tambroni government. And practically the entire working class of Belgium joined the general strike in December 1960 and January 1961.

Moreover, the strike weapon is being used by *broader sections of society*. In Italy, 1,200,000 agricultural laborers declared a nationwide strike on May 15 last year, and on June 15, 1,250,000 sharecroppers did likewise. In France more than one million telecommunications workers, doctors, nurses of state hospitals and minor civil servants went on strike on March 14, 1961.

The proportion of *political* strikes has increased. Of these the biggest were in Italy in 1960 and in France in 1960-1962.

Finally, *nationwide* strikes have become common. In 1960-1961 such strikes took place in Italy, Belgium and France, which together account for nearly two-thirds of the population of the EEC countries. In several instances open clashes with the bureaucratic state machine ensued.

Such is the picture of the far from harmonious social life of "integrated" Europe.

The deepening of social antagonisms leads to a realignment of class forces at the two

opposite poles of society. As a result, from the standpoint of the development of the revolutionary process, a number of new conditions arise.

At the first and second stages of the general crisis of capitalism, a revolutionary situation developed in Europe in the specific conditions of a deep cleavage between the leading groups of international capital. The Europe of the trusts, which, moreover, is supported by the USA, represents, on the contrary, a certain degree of unity among the imperialists. As is known a *national* political crisis — a crisis affecting both the exploiters and the exploited — is an objective prerequisite of the socialist revolution. But life has presented a complex combination of circumstances where the socialist revolution is maturing unevenly in the different countries while the ruling classes of Western Europe have achieved a measure of government-backed unity to counterpose to the socialist forces. There is no doubt that such an amalgamation affords greater opportunities for political maneuver and mobilization of reserves to strengthen the weakest links in the chain of imperialist domination. In the face of this cosmopolitan association of the state-monopoly forces, the West European working class still remains *objectively* divided into national detachments each with its specific problems, not to speak of the fact that it is still divided both politically and in the trade union sphere.

The cleavage in the working class, however, is transient while the trend toward its unity and solidarity is an objective imperative. "Integration" enhances the "educational" role played by capitalist development, which confronts the working class and the broad masses of working people generally in all the countries of the EEC with common problems and thereby impels them to combine their efforts against international capitalist combination.

The unity of the Common Market ruling circles is built on a foundation of sand which is constantly eroded by inter-imperialist conflicts. At the same time the emergence of a "Little Europe" testifies that the bourgeoisie of the various countries has lost faith in being able to check *singlehanded* the growing working-class and general democratic movement for peace, democracy and socialism. This attempt to *strengthen* its positions is thus evidence of *the weakness* of the ruling class. Finally, it should be borne in mind that the monopoly "integration" is proceeding in the conditions of the third

stage of the general crisis of capitalism, when the balance of forces in the world arena is changing more and more in favor of socialism, when there already exists a socialist Europe embracing the greater part of the continent, and when socialism is becoming the decisive factor of social development.

Today the Marxist-Leninist parties of the capitalist countries are, as the statement of the 1960 Moscow conference of the Communist and Workers' parties declares, "waging a selfless struggle, doing everything already in the present conditions, without waiting until socialism triumphs, to defend the interests of the working class and the people, to improve living conditions and to extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people."

By expanding the domination of the finance oligarchy and stripping it of camouflage, "integration" aggravates the conditions between the monopolies and the nation as a whole, thereby broadening the social base of the anti-monopoly movement. But a broad anti-imperialist front does not come into being of itself. It can only be built by active day-to-day work among the masses centered around struggle for working-class unity. This question is dealt with, in particular, in a joint statement issued by representatives of the Communist parties of Italy and Belgium which declares that the working-class movement can carry out the tasks devolving on it in connection with the Common Market only "if it achieves greater unity of action between working people and organizations of all trends — Communist, Socialist and Christian — in each country, on an international scale, and within the six-power community... If the working class is united in its struggle against the capitalist monopolies, more and more opportunities will open up from day to day for concluding alliances with all sections of the population whose interests are opposed to those of the monopolies."

The creation of the political army of the anti-monopoly front in Western Europe is proceeding along two basic lines: first, in struggle for the national interests of each country; second, in efforts to cement the international solidarity of the working people. Moreover, struggle for the unity of the working class and all other anti-monopoly forces in each country is an essential prerequisite for the achievement of international solidarity.

In the light of the specific conditions of each country, the Communist parties are charting definite lines of advance to this

goal. The French Communists pose the task of abolishing the de Gaulle regime, regarding it as an aim most likely to rally the broad sections of the population whose interests are encroached upon by monopoly rule. The Italian Communists are calling for far-reaching democratic structural reforms which would open the way to further, socialist changes. And the Communists of West Germany, working in the most adverse conditions, are fighting for the legalization of their Party, against the clerical-militarist regime of Adenauer and for a peaceful and democratic Germany.

The Communist parties and progressive trade unions in Western Europe have drawn up comprehensive programs for combating the consequences of the Common Market. In particular, they have proposed national power programs which would ensure work for miners and have demanded jobs for workers dismissed from the so-called unprofitable enterprises, an end to discrimination against immigrant workers and expansion of trade with the socialist countries.

"Integration" with its tangle of economic and political problems is a process with widely ramified implications affecting all aspects of social life. Consequently, the struggle against its consequences can hardly be restricted to narrow economic or limited political demands. It is a fight that cannot be divorced from the overall context of the class struggle.

The fight against national state-monopoly capital is at the same time a fight against the

Europe of the trusts as a form of interstate monopoly combination. To breach the united front of the imperialists, the working class should build up an anti-monopoly front and isolate its principal class enemy by exerting growing economic and political pressure on all national sectors.

This general line of the struggle of the progressive forces does not preclude the specific national tasks of the various detachments of the working class. However, the solution of these specific tasks in the conditions of monopoly "integration" requires coordination of action on an international scale. An important role in this respect was played by the Brussels conference of the Communist parties of the Common Market countries held on April 1 and 2, 1959. More recently joint documents on issues connected with "integration" have been adopted by the Communist parties of France and Belgium, Belgium and Italy, and also by the Communist parties of Northern Europe. These documents contain a Marxist assessment of the processes taking place and outline a common policy of struggle against the Europe of the trusts. Important steps are also being taken toward coordinating the activities of the progressive trade union movement in the conditions of an "integrated" Europe. Of paramount importance in all this is struggle to win the masses and to cement their unity on both a national and international scale.

United, the masses are a force capable of compelling monopoly capital to retreat, a force that will ultimately lead to a Europe founded on peace, democracy and socialism.

Some Aspects of the Problem of Building Mass Communist Parties

Sergio Cvalo

THE world Communist movement has entered a new phase in its development.

The first stage of the general crisis of capitalism was marked by the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, the emergence of the Bolshevik Party as the ruling party and the foundation and development of Communist parties in most countries of the world. At the second stage of that crisis, the Communist parties became the ruling parties in more than ten countries, and in some capitalist countries, e.g., Italy, France, Finland and Indonesia, they became large mass parties. Today there are Communist parties in 88 countries.

Now, in the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism even greater objective possibilities are taking shape for winning the majority of the working class and the broad masses of working people in the capitalist countries over to Communist ideas and turning the Communist parties into mass militant detachments of the revolutionary proletariat. Moreover the creation of such mass parties is the imperative need of the times.

"Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class struggle," reads the statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties, "it is of the utmost importance that Communists should expand their work in trade unions and cooperatives, among the peasantry, the youth, the women, in sports organizations and the unorganized sections of the population."

For the successful fulfilment of this task it is necessary for the Communists to work steadfastly with knowledge, competence and skill among all sections of the population. In other words, to organize a mass struggle it is necessary to have a mass party.

Taking all these factors into account, many Communist parties have now made it their immediate aim to build themselves up into mass parties. This will of course be a complicated process, one that will proceed differently in the different countries and at different stages of the struggle. But in all cases it is an inevitable process conditioned by the march of history.

Objective Factors Making for the Growth of the Communist Parties

There are many reasons, both objective and subjective, for the growing influence of the Party among the working masses and its development into a mass party.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us to distinguish among a multitude of phenomena—contradictory for the most part—the key factors which determine the character of the development of one or another country or party.

The decisive objective factors determining the influence of the Communist parties among the masses are, above all, the sharpness of the social contradictions in one or another country; the strength and revolutionary spirit of the working class and other sections of the working masses; the economic and political strength of the bourgeoisie, and, specifically, the possibility or impossibility of certain sections of the working class being bought over by capital, etc.

The scope of the class struggle and the social movement in general, which depend on how acute the social contradictions are, have a direct bearing on the growth of the class consciousness of the working people in any country. In the course of the movement the masses learn from their own experience to appreciate the correctness of the Communist Party's policy, and to expose the false "friends of the people." "A year of political upsurge," wrote Lenin, "can give the proletariat more in the sense of revolutionary education than several years of lull."

The revolutionary example of the socialist countries and the fact that the peoples in the capitalist countries can now rely in their struggle on the support of the working people of the socialist countries is a powerful objective stimulus to the growth of consciousness among the workers in the capitalist world.

These above all, are the objective factors which are accelerating the advance of the Communist movement in our day.

The third stage of the general crisis of capitalism is marked by a continued succes-

sion of shocks, which are rocking the capitalist system to its foundation, not in conditions of war, but in peacetime. The growth of the world socialist system, the great national-liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries and the powerful revolutionary struggle waged by the working people in the capitalist countries are dealing capitalism more and more painful blows every day. Sharp conflicts, which place the rule of the bourgeoisie in jeopardy, are flaring up in one capitalist country after another.

The possibilities for establishing a broad anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist front, with the working class and its Communist Party at the head, are greater today than ever before. By leading the popular struggle for an enduring peace, and for general and complete disarmament against the imperialist policy of military gambles and arms drives, the Communists have won the admiration and respect of millions of people. The conditions both for the non-peaceful and for the peaceful conquest of power by the working class and for the victory of the socialist revolution are becoming more favorable. The heroic example offered by Cuba is convincing proof of this. Cuba's case also proves that a revolution can be successful not only in countries in geographical proximity to the socialist camp, but also in countries far removed from it.

The contradictions between labor and capital are deepening. The number of wage-earners, i.e., people directly exploited by capital, has grown to huge proportions in recent years.

The front of the strike struggle is extending from year to year and the militancy of the working people is growing. Last year 71 million people were involved in strikes throughout the capitalist world as compared to 13.8 million in 1956. Moreover, the number of political strikes is steadily increasing. In 1956 about 500,000 people or four per cent of all strikers took part in political strikes, whereas in 1961 the number had risen to 56 million, or more than 80 per cent of the total number of strikers. This shows that the relative decline in the strike movement of a few years ago has ceased and the class struggle has entered a new stage.

More and more working people are joining the fight against monopoly domination. It is no longer uncommon to find factory workers, clerks, peasants, shopkeepers and tradesmen taking part in joint actions. The number of big national strikes is growing: from five in 1958 to 14 in 1961. It is clear that participa-

tion in the strike struggle, and especially in political strikes, is a splendid training ground for the masses, a training ground for the militant cadres on whom the Communists can primarily depend in their efforts to build up mass Communist parties.

The advantages of socialism, formerly less strikingly obvious, are today being demonstrated with exceptional force. The fact that it is thanks to socialism that the Soviet Union was able to overcome its former backwardness in an incredibly short time and to astonish the world with its achievements in economy, science, technique and culture, is now generally recognized. This and the successes achieved by all the other countries that have taken the socialist road have knocked the trump card out of the hands of anti-communism. The prestige of socialist ideas is rapidly growing while the actual course of events exposes more clearly the slanders of anti-communist propaganda.

The rapid progress of the socialist countries, the expansion of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the fact that hundreds of millions of people, especially in the former colonies, are today making history, the swift development of science and technology—all these factors have given a powerful impetus to the participation of people in public life, opening their eyes to the organic weaknesses of the capitalist system and winning them over to Communist ideas.

The masses are putting their trust more and more in the policy of the Communist parties and turning away from the imperialist bourgeois lackeys — the social-reformists. Convincing evidence of this is the profound crisis in which social-reformism now finds itself. Since 1946 the membership of the French Socialist Party has decreased from 354,000 to 79,000; that of the Social Democratic Party of Germany from 875,000 (1947) to 652,000, the Socialist Party of Belgium from 600,000 (prior to the Second World War) to 180,000. The social-reformist parties are gradually ceasing to be mass parties. The Right-wing Social Democrats are polling fewer and fewer votes in parliamentary elections. The struggle of the Leftist elements in the Socialist parties against the treacherous policy of the Right-wing leaders is becoming more intense. During the past five years, nine Social Democratic parties have split on this issue. "An atmosphere of uneasiness, uncertainty and disquiet reigns in the Socialist labor movement," is how K. Cernez, one of the leading theoreticians of the Austrian Socialist Party

and the Socialist International, describes the situation.

Of course, these objective processes are manifested differently in the various countries.

Imperialist reaction is doing everything in its power to halt the advance of the Communist movement, employing both economic as well as political and ideological means to this end. At the same time, the bourgeois states are resorting more and more often to repressions. Communist parties have been banned in more than 30 countries, and their members subjected to the most brutal persecution. Never since the defeat of Nazism has the anti-communist hysteria assumed such frenzied proportions as at present.

All this creates grave difficulties for the Communist parties. Experience, however, shows that while one or another Party may suffer temporary setbacks, the general tendency is one of constant growth. The decline in membership which had been observed in some parties has now been checked and a substantial increase registered. In 1957 the total number of Communists in all the capitalist countries amounted to some 4.6 million; today there are 5.3 million.

Prior to the Second World War, during the boom period in the developed capitalist countries the influence and numerical strength of the Communist parties sometimes showed a tendency to decline. A similar situation also prevailed in some countries after the war. The enemies of communism seized on this to draw the erroneous conclusion that it is only in conditions of war and economic crises that Communist influence can grow. This idea also found its way into some of the Communist parties, adversely affecting their work.

But the experience of the past few years has proved beyond all doubt that Communist parties grow not only during periods of acute crises and major social upheavals, but also in relatively "quiet" years or boom periods. It is a well-known fact, for instance, that the highest rate of industrial development in Western Europe has been registered in Italy. Yet no one can deny that the position of the Communist Party in that country has grown stronger. A definite turn to the left on the part of the masses is observed also in other countries with a relatively high level of business activity. This means that the time has come when, given the correct policy of the Communist Party, the strength of communism increases regardless of the fluctuations in the economic or political barometer.

This is the direct result of all those great revolutionary events which are the feature of our time.

Noteworthy too is the fact that the marked decline in the pace of economic development in many of the "prosperous" capitalist countries is dispelling the illusions concerning the economic stability of capitalism.

Subjective Conditions for the Building of Mass Parties

Marxists never rely solely on favorable objective conditions. They know that progressive tendencies assert themselves through the conscious struggle of the democratic forces against the forces of social reaction. Many Communist parties, while fully aware of their tasks and of the favorable objective conditions existing for their fulfilment, realize that the possibilities for improving work among the masses and augmenting the ranks of the Party are by no means fully utilized in all cases.

A mass party is a political, not an arithmetical concept. It is determined not only by the numerical strength of the party in relation to the total population of the given country, but above all by the influence it wields among the working masses, and particularly among the more active sections of the workers belonging to the trade unions, peasant, youth, women's and other mass organizations.

What is important is that the Party should correctly express the interests of the working class and all the working people of the given country, that it should pursue a policy that accords with their interests, maintain the closest ties with the masses and not wait passively for a revolutionary situation to mature; that it should not confine itself solely to denouncing the ills of capitalism, but should take a definite stand on all current problems, be able to advance the right political slogans at the right moment, and lead the masses in the fight for their realization. Here is what Lenin said on this score: "If a party of this kind advances its own slogans at such a time and is able to secure the following of millions of workers, then you have a mass movement. I do not altogether exclude the possibility of the revolution being started by an extremely small party and brought to a victorious conclusion."

At the same time Lenin stressed the advantage of a large party in a mass revolutionary movement. History shows that successful revolutions were carried out as a rule by large and militant parties. That was

the case in Russia, and in China as well. And this is only natural. A large and well-organized party is in a better position to influence all sections of the population. Moreover, in a mass party it is easier to select and train cadres. Such a party also has greater material means at its disposal.

Here and there apprehensions are voiced that the mass influx of new members may lower the political and ideological standards of the Party. But if the Party functions properly, if its members are properly educated, and particularly if the importance of ideological and organizational training of cadres is always kept in mind, the strength of the Party, its influence on the masses, far from diminishing, will, on the contrary, steadily increase. A mass party and a party of professional cadres are not two mutually exclusive concepts. A numerically large party, firmly united around a seasoned core of cadres — provided this core has been steadily growing through the promotion of the most able Communists from the rank and file, including new members — this is the correct pattern of development for the Party.

"Under the present circumstances," we read in the decisions of the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Uruguay, "when the popular movement in Uruguay has assumed broad proportions, the Party cannot depend exclusively on veteran cadres, it must open its doors to thousands of the more class conscious and honest fighters from among the workers' and popular movement, with a view to educating them to become conscious revolutionary fighters."

Some comrades affirm that the Russian Bolshevik Party was a party of professional cadres. But they forget that, in the first place, that Party functioned deep underground, and secondly, its cadres of professional revolutionaries rallied around themselves a host of fighters, and were able in 1912-14, despite illegality, to win over no less than three-fourths of all the class-conscious workers of Russia. And in 1917, when the Bolshevik Party emerged from underground, its membership increased fourfold in the space of eight months during the bourgeois regime, a fact which contributed in large measure to the victory of the socialist revolution.

It is thought by some that the development of the revolutionary struggle itself will increase the strength of the Party and impart a mass character to it. But the growth of the Party is not a spontaneous process. It needs to be directed and planned like any other activity based on scientific elements. The

Communist Party rejects the opportunistic creed of waiting for Nature to take its course. It is hence natural that the Party should place its own development on an organized footing.

The chief *subjective prerequisite* for turning the Communist Party into a mass party is the activity of the Party itself, the correctness of its theories and policies, its ideological and organizational unity, the activity and devotion with which every individual Communist and the Party as a whole uphold the immediate as well as the long-term interests of the working people. This principle is confirmed by the experience of the parties themselves.

For example, development of the Italian Communist Party into a mass party after the war was the result not only of objective conditions, but also of the correct general line pursued by the Party and the active role it played in the life of the country. In Indonesia, during the revolutionary upsurge of 1945-1948, the conditions were favorable for increasing the influence of the Communist Party. But at that time it was not yet a mass party, its membership was less than 10,000. The same may be said of Japan where, despite the rapid growth of the labor movement in the postwar period, the Communist Party until quite recently had comparatively few members.

As has been pointed out on more than one occasion in the decisions of these parties, as well as the speeches of their leaders, this was due mainly to the lack of ideological unity, of a clearcut policy that could unite the entire Party on the cardinal issues of the revolution, and consequently to disagreement among the Party leadership. Comrade Aidit has noted that it was only after the Indonesian Communist Party had elaborated the correct policy on the development of the revolution in the country, thus consolidating the leadership of the Party; after the Party began to pursue a correct policy, especially with regard to the peasantry and the national bourgeoisie, and after it realized the urgent need to expand its ranks and proceeded to work in this direction that the Party began rapidly to grow and its influence to spread among the masses. From the decisions of the Japanese Communist Party we learn that it was thanks to the elaboration of the correct political line by its Seventh Congress and the healing of the split in the Party ranks that the Party succeeded in doubling its membership and bringing it up to 100,000 in the period between the Seventh and Eight Congresses.

The history of the entire Communist movement clearly demonstrates that, provided the necessary objective prerequisites exist, ideological unity, full clarity on all important political issues, internal and external, consistent application of creative Marxism in analyzing the tasks of each party, proceeding from the specific features of each country, are the principal conditions for the consolidation of the Party itself and for increasing its influence among the masses. And conversely, any departure from Marxist-Leninist teaching, from the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, any tendency to ignore the wealth of experience accumulated by the international Communist movement as a whole is bound to introduce confusion into the ranks of the Party, to weaken it and lessen its influence among the masses.

In recent years nearly all the Communist parties have elaborated programs and policy documents outlining their paths of struggle under the new conditions. This is an important means of strengthening and consolidating the parties.

But to build a mass party it is not enough to have a correct program. What is needed is to demolish the arguments of the anti-communists, to convince the workers that the program and policy of the Communist Party alone accord with the vital interests of the people, that the path proposed by the Communists is the only one that can save the people from a destructive war, from exploitation and all kinds of oppression. This is what must be done if the masses are to be won over to the side of communism and if the Communist parties are to grow in strength and numbers.

The masses accept political doctrines above all in the light of their own practical experience. Their judgment of a party is based chiefly on how that party protects their vital interests. Hence it is not enough to elaborate a correct program and to adapt it to the interests of the various groups of the population. Besides this, the Party must have the will, the determination and the ability to defend the day-to-day demands of the workers. That is why in the struggle against reaction and the monopoly attack on the economic gains of factory and office workers, for the regeneration of democracy, for the interests of the peasants, against the tax burden and for the rights of women, the youth and other sections of the population, the Communist parties must be the most consistent champions of the working people,

the most resolute fighters against monopoly capital. By their courageous and self-sacrificing struggle they win the respect of the masses who come to regard the Communist Party as their own party.

One of the principal conditions for building a mass party is to overcome the old disease of sectarianism that is still to be encountered here and there, "massophobia" and also passivity.

Ever since the worst years of the cold war, when in a number of capitalist countries the influence of the Communist parties waned and membership dropped as a result of the anti-Communist hysteria as well as for various other reasons, some Communists, especially in the smaller parties, have been laboring under a feeling of isolation and lack of self-confidence in the face of the reactionary offensive and this gave rise to passivity and inertia. It is important for the growth of Communist Party influence that such tendencies be overcome.

The need to show more confidence in the masses, to work harder to elevate the parties organizationally to the level of their growing political tasks has been emphasized latterly in the decisions of many parties. "We have spoken of the need to break through the wall of isolation," Gus Hall, a U.S. Communist Party leader, wrote recently. "We said that years ago. I think now we must say more, yes, the enemy works to isolate us, but mainly we isolate ourselves. That's the main obstacle . . . Even on the shores of the most turbulent river one finds little enclaves. I think that all of us have to determine that we are going to get out of those little warm pools, and that we are going to get into this river where the people are swimming in the stormy currents . . . You cannot influence the currents or the stream in those enclaves. You can only do that if you get in there and swim."

The efforts of the Communist parties at the present time are concentrated on the following tasks: continuous work among the masses, both through mass organization and in direct contact with the workers at the enterprises; with the employees in offices, with the students in colleges, with the peasants in the villages, with the population in the neighborhood districts; bringing the masses into the struggle and educating them in this struggle; exposing anti-communism and explaining to the masses the true Communist position, recruiting the best section of the workers into the Party.

Many Communist parties conduct mass actions and campaigns aimed at attracting working people to their ranks. Moreover, this work is carried out more and more not only by Party functionaries but by almost all the members.

In organizing the work of recruiting new members, the Communist parties endeavor to avoid going to extremes. They close their ranks to persons whose views run counter to the principles of the Party, or to those who have not yet arrived at a clear understanding of its aims and organizational principles. Nor do they accept morally unstable people, for they know that any misdemeanor such a person might commit will discredit the Party as a whole and will be exploited by enemies to damage its prestige. On the other hand, the parties do not tolerate a puritanical, holier-than-thou approach to the recruitment of new members. They take into account that people who join the Communists have grown up in a bourgeois environment and have been exposed to the influence of that environment and hence cannot be expected to enter the Party as seasoned fighters. The education of new members, therefore, should continue after they have been accepted into the Party.

A steady influx of new members is observed both in those parties which have already become mass parties and in those which are still comparatively small. In Western Europe, for example, the Communist parties of France, Finland, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Sweden alike are growing.

Notwithstanding the savage reign of terror in Spain, Greece, Portugal and Federal Germany, the illegal Communist parties in those countries are successfully fighting for the interests of their people. Experience shows that illegal conditions are not an insuperable obstacle to building a mass party. This is evidenced by the heroic struggle of the Spanish Communist Party and some other clandestine parties whose ranks are steadily swelling.

The Communist parties in countries which have won political independence or are fighting for national liberation are also growing. Prior to the Second World War, the Communist movement in most of the countries of Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, not to speak of Africa, existed only in embryo. The following table illustrates the rapid growth of the Communist parties in these countries:

**Number of Communists
in Capitalist Countries of Asia,
Africa and Latin America**

	1939	1957	1960
Asia	over 90,000	over 1,700,000	approx. 2,500,000
Latin America	90,000	200,000	approx. 250,000
Africa	approx. 5,000	over 20,000	50,000

Although there are as yet no Communist parties in most of the African countries that have recently won their political independence, Communist ideas are nevertheless penetrating there also. At the present stage it is a matter of building up the cadres that will be the core of the future Marxist-Leninist parties.

All these facts point to the steady growth of the Communist movement on all continents, an historically conditioned process which nothing can halt. The Communist parties are taking advantage of the favorable objective conditions to intensify their day-to-day activity among the masses.

On Combining the Mass Character of the Party with Its Role as the Vanguard of the Working People

Under the guise of combating sectarianism, the revisionist elements in some of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries have sought to liquidate the parties as the militant revolutionary vanguard of the working class and to turn them into broad "associations" without strict discipline and a clear-cut organizational framework.

Such tendencies have nothing in common with the Leninist principles of building mass parties. Expanding the ranks of the parties and making them into mass organizations does not mean removing the distinction between partisanship and non-partisanship nor does it imply dissolving the Party in the masses. The Communist Party, whatever the size of its membership, always remains a party of a new type, i.e., the firmly united Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and all the working people, the highest form of their political organization, a party founded on the indestructible principles of democratic centralism. The bigger the Party, the better it should be able to fulfil its role as the vanguard, the guiding force of the working class and all the working people, and to elevate their consciousness to its own level. This is the distinguishing feature and the principal object of turning the Communist parties into mass parties.

The normal growth of a party does not consist merely in increasing its numerical

strength, but simultaneously in raising the whole standard of Party work. To consolidate the numerical growth of the Party and avoid the outflow in membership, which is to be observed in some capitalist countries and which retards the building of mass organizations, it is essential to improve Party work.

A reliable core of working-class members is one of the prime conditions for making the Party a mass, firmly-welded, highly-disciplined organization. The parties strive to augment their membership primarily from the working class, which was and still is the most revolutionary class and the most consistent champion of socialist ideas.

It is one of the chief concerns of the Communist parties to have mostly workers or people of working-class origin in the Party leadership at all levels. In the French Communist Party, for example, 53 per cent of all the members of federation bureaus and 60 per cent of the federation secretaries are workers. In the Central Committee and the Central Financial Control Commission of the French Communist Party there are 49 factory workers (in the French Socialist Party only two of the 45 members of the top leadership committee are workers)

The building of a proletarian core, however, by no means precludes the enrolment of members from other sections of the population. On the contrary, peasants, artisans, intellectuals and civil servants are widely represented in many Communist parties.

The fact that with the influx of non-proletarian elements into some parties the percentage of industrial workers among the membership has declined has been seized upon by some of our opponents to assert that the Communist parties are losing their proletarian character. But the Communists, standing firmly on positions of Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the proletariat, can afford to ignore such calumny. The industrial workers have always been and continue to be the backbone of the Communist parties. The recruitment of non-proletarian middle sections of the population into the parties does not mean that the latter have ceased to be proletarian, it is merely evidence of the highly interesting fact that in the present epoch the middle sections of society are coming over more and more to working-class positions, and this is bound to be reflected in the composition of the working-class parties.

At a time when revolutionary sentiments are growing among the non-proletarian sections of the population it would be sectarian narrow-mindedness on the part of the Com-

munist to neglect these sections and to bar their best representatives from membership of the Party.

In recruiting representatives of non-proletarian sections, the Communist parties at the same time make it their constant concern to educate them in the spirit of socialist ideology and to combat petty-bourgeois prejudices. "If people of this kind from other classes," wrote Marx and Engels, "join the proletarian movement, the first condition must be that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices with them, but should wholeheartedly adopt the proletarian outlook."*

The Communist parties seek to draw into their ranks the most vigorous and energetic section of the working class and other strata of the working population, namely the youth. The revolutionary activity of the youth is growing everywhere. It is the youth that imparted boldness, persistence and determination to the mass actions of the working people in Belgium, Italy, France and Japan. It is noteworthy that the overwhelming majority of those who were victimized for taking part in these actions were between the ages of 16 and 30. This means that a new generation of working people, primarily young factory workers and students, have joined in active struggle for their rights, for peace, democracy and socialism.

In many countries a healthy tendency to rejuvenate the composition of the Communist parties is to be observed. More than half of those enrolled latterly in the Communist parties of Great Britain, Brazil, Japan, France, Italy, Spain and other countries are young people. Some parties have stated that underestimation of work among the youth, hesitancy in drawing young people into political activity and recruiting them into the Party, has led to an increase in the average age of the membership. The parties are endeavoring not only to bring in more young people but to "rejuvenate" their own cadres and to be bolder in promoting young Communists to leading positions.

Many Communist parties point to work among women as one of the weaker links in their activity. The percentage of women in some parties, especially in the leadership, is much lower than the percentage of women in the labor force. The Central Committee of the French Communist Party has noted that only 13.5 per cent of the members of the federation committees of the Party are wo-

*Circular letter to Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and others, 1879.

men. In the leaderships of many other parties the percentage is even lower. The lack of an adequate number of women activists hampers the parties' work among women. With a view to remedying this situation some parties have stipulated that no less than 25 per cent of all the new members enrolled in party-building campaigns should be women.

As the mass base of the Communist movement grows broader, the question of the organizational structure of the Party assumes a special significance. It must be such as to ensure the ideological and organizational unity and the proletarian class character of the Party, as well as organizational flexibility and the capacity to adapt itself to the changing conditions.

The Communist parties have made considerable headway in recent years in combating bureaucratic distortions of the organizational principles of Leninism. This is reflected in broader inner-Party democracy, more criticism and self-criticism in all spheres of Party democracy, and a more vigorous implementation of Party decisions. All this has undoubtedly served to strengthen the parties, to improve the political training of their members and to cement their ties with the masses. The Program and Rules adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU which provided for the further development of inner-Party democracy in the Communist Party of the USSR, were accepted by the fraternal parties as an example to be emulated in the struggle for the affirmation and furtherance of the Leninist standards of Party life.

At the same time, the Communist parties are combating all and any attempts to weaken their organizational foundations. The French Communist Party has condemned the revisionist tendencies of some of its members who adopted a high-handed attitude toward the primary, and especially the factory organizations, underestimated the importance of inner-Party work and attempted to shift the focus of all Party work to the mass non-party organizations. This practice involved the danger of the Party being dissolved in the mass organizations. Similar tendencies of this kind have been exposed and condemned in several other Communist parties as well.

According to the Leninist organizational principles, the Party branch is the basic unit in any Communist Party. It controls the activity of each of its members, including those who work in other organizations. The Communist parties are vigorously opposed to Communists who work in mass workers' or-

ganizations being detached from their Party branches. This leads to narrow preoccupation with practical detail, weakens the Party's control over the activities of its members, and is not conducive to criticism at the different levels.

The Sixteenth Congress of the French Communist Party correctly stressed that "the Party branch should be the vital, organizational center of ideological training and political action on the part of masses, a center in which each Communist should have a definite assignment." Only in this way will the efforts and the will of the individual Communist be merged with the efforts and will of the whole Party, thus strengthening the Party, raising its fighting capacity, ensuring unity of action and organizational cohesion.

The more militant factory branches there are, the stronger will be the Party's ties with the masses, and primarily the working class, and the stronger the Party as a whole. Hence it is the policy of the Communist parties to strengthen the factory branches in every way, to establish them at every enterprise where there are Communists, and above all, at the big enterprises. The number of factory branches has shown a marked increase latterly; in France 802 were formed between January and May of this year; in Uruguay, the number of factory branches in Montevideo alone has increased threefold in recent months, in Chile 264 Party branches were formed at the industrial enterprises in seven months of last year.

More and more Party organizations are springing up in offices, in the countryside and in educational institutions, and also in city districts where Communists reside.

The Communist parties aim at the proper correlation between the activities of factory and territorial Party organizations. They believe that it should be the task of the territorial branches to set up Party branches at the enterprises in their respective districts, and that the Communist members of the factory branches should, in their turn, contribute their share to the work of the neighborhood Party branches.

* * *

"By educating the workers' Party," Lenin wrote, "Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat which is capable of assuming power and of leading the whole people to socialism, of directing and organizing the new order, of being the teacher, guide and leader of all the toilers and exploited in the task of building up their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie."

Historical experience shows that the bigger and more militant the Communist Party in one or another country, the easier and more painless is the conquest of power by the working class. In a number of capitalist countries there already exist mass Communist parties which are prepared to repel the reactionary offensive, and under certain favorable

conditions, are capable of assuming power and leading the peoples along the socialist path of development. In other countries such parties are growing in strength and numbers. The coming historical period will witness the formation of truly mass, militant Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries.

Moral Bankrupts

Reflections on Contemporary Bourgeois Ethics

Constantin Ionescu Gulian

MARXISM-LENINISM has opened to humanity the prospect of a social system where genuine justice prevails—communism, which is already becoming a reality over a large part of the globe. Communists do not limit themselves to merely proclaiming lofty moral principles. They are working selflessly to implement these principles in the internal and foreign policies of the socialist countries as well as in the international working-class movement and the contemporary liberation movement in general. Hence the irresistible appeal which Communist morality has for all honest, unprejudiced people.

Precisely because of this the ideologists of the bourgeoisie, seeking to perpetuate capitalism, are waging a desperate struggle for the minds and the conscience of men. The more the capitalist system comes into conflict with the objective requirements of social development and the vital interests and aspirations of the masses, the higher the priority accorded in bourgeois ideology to ethical problems. And no wonder, for as capitalism is forced to yield one position after another in the political, social, economic, cultural, scientific and technological competition with socialism, "Western moral values" become its last ideological defense line. This explains the spate of sententious effusions by bourgeois theorists who are out to whitewash the doomed antagonistic capitalist system which has literally swamped the book market in the capitalist countries.

1. Ethical Values — True and False

A number of influential trends in modern bourgeois ethics bear to a greater or lesser extent the imprint of disillusionment in contemporary capitalist reality and a quest for a moral code that would uphold and con-

tinue the humanist traditions of the period of the rise of the bourgeoisie and its struggle against feudalism. But these tendencies are patently anachronistic. The fact that capitalism has no future reduces them to speculative theorizing which at best amounts to nothing but utopian, impracticable wishful thinking utterly divorced from life and the struggles of the world around us. At their worst they are tools in the hands of reactionary demagogues striving to divert the masses from the struggle for social emancipation.

A striking illustration is the "ethics of value" current in the capitalist West. As the term suggests, its proponents—Hartmann, Lavelle, McKean and others—seek to establish the universal value of certain ethical standards and ideals. Essentially it is an idealist and metaphysical credo, for its advocates are out to canonize these "universal moral standards" completely disregarding the actual day-to-day class struggle in capitalist society. This doctrine separates ethical ideals from the pressing issue of the economic and political deliverance of the working masses from the yoke of capitalism, colonial slavery and the threat of war. It fosters the illusion that all the social problems of our day are merely a matter of morals, and being methodologically anti-historical, to all intents and purposes it exalts bourgeois ideological slogans and moral standards as universal and eternal principles of social life generally. In the final analysis all the "values" which these bourgeois moralizers seek to uphold boil down to one "supreme value"—private property. Naturally such an ethical system is powerless to make for moral unity in a society the overwhelming majority of whose members have no private property. Even in

the case of those who own it, private property does not unite people or their interests, but on the contrary sets one owner against the other. In his essay *Man Without Value* (1958) Erich Kahler makes the following significant admission: "There is a fatal correlation, a vicious circle in which we seem to be caught. Without a human community there is no human responsibility of the individual, and without such responsibility, without true morality in this purely human sense, no human community can maintain itself."

The adherents of this kind of speculative ethics lay claim to being the last Mohicans of humanism, forgetting that the outstanding exponents of the humanist ideology of the rising bourgeoisie, from Giordano Bruno, Thomas More and Erasmus of Rotterdam to Voltaire, Goethe and Hugo, sided with the masses and linked the questions of social ideals with the struggle against feudal oppression and the clerical reaction. *The cult of moral "value" will never rise above standard bourgeois individualism and the most odious philistinism unless it is based on the struggle of the masses for a better life, for peace and social justice.*

It is highly indicative that the popularity of this ethical doctrine has been on the wane ever since the Second World War even among the bourgeois intellectuals to whom it was calculated to appeal. But at the same time analogous conceptions have gained wide currency in the West European Social Democratic parties, the Right-wing leaders of which are propounding what is called "ethical socialism." The new programs adopted by these parties in recent years abound in demagogic phraseology about moral values, freedom, humanism, the human personality, etc., which the reformist theoreticians have devised as a substitute for real revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of the working people from capitalist wage slavery. By exhorting people in the capitalist countries to accept the existing system and to fight communism under the banner of such illusory values as "free enterprise," the "multi-party system," etc., the Right-wing Socialists and revisionists are actually inveighing against the true values of civilization. It is not they but the Communists and other progressives who are the champions of the genuine social and moral regeneration of humanity, of peace and democracy, social justice and national independence, equality through the abolition of exploitation, and the right to work, education and happiness for the working man.

2. For a Life Worthy of Man

The traditional "ethics of value" has been gradually giving way to existentialism with its propaganda of naked individualism, freedom of the human personality from objective moral standards, and, what is most characteristic of this philosophy, its hopeless pessimism, pathological preoccupation with "the end," "non-existence," death, etc. It is not by chance that existentialism has latterly become exceedingly widespread precisely among the Western small bourgeois and bourgeois intellectuals. Finding themselves increasingly denied the material benefits of capitalist civilization, these sections naturally have begun to question its spiritual and moral ideals as well. Existentialism is thus a peculiar ideological reflection of tangible social processes in the capitalist system.

"Existentialism" means a philosophy of existence. However, the existence from which its adherents proceed is not real life, but the joyless existence of the solitary petty-bourgeois intellectual in a hostile capitalist jungle. Hence they are above all concerned with how such a lone individual is to preserve his moral integrity, remain moral in an amoral social environment. As Kahler aptly puts it, existentialism has replaced Tertullian's religious maxim "Credo quia absurdum," with Camus's "Vivo quia absurdum." From this stems the striking characteristic of the existentialist to seek refuge from real life, which he cannot accept and dare not condemn, in an imaginary "non-existence" and attendant speculation hinging on the problems of loneliness, responsibility, and so on.

But no individual can remain long in such a state of suspension. Human destinies generally impinge on the private destiny of the existentialist, leaving him no choice but either to allow himself to be carried along by the turbid stream of reaction, or to join the ranks of the progressive forces. Those who take the latter course are surprised to find themselves among people who do not engage in lamentations about death and non-existence, but who are courageous in fighting to create conditions of life worthy of man and to deliver him from poverty, hunger, slavery, disease and war. These people call themselves Communists. The existentialists, in whose philosophy the concepts of freedom and death are curiously intertwined would do well to ponder these words of Spinoza: "The free man thinks least of all of death, and his wisdom consists in contemplation of life, not death."

Marxism-Leninism regards man as the product of historical development, as a personality conditioned by the social relationships of the given epoch. Marxist humanism proceeds from the premise that the emancipation and development of the human personality are effected through the practical struggles of the working masses under the leadership of the working class. *Marxism has inherited the noble ideals of pre-Marxian humanism and placed them on the firm foundation of scientific socialism.* The illusion that humanism can prevail in capitalist conditions is being dispelled more and more as people are coming to see that respect for the human being, his dignity and worth, incompatible with the oppression and alienation of the human personality under capitalism, is finding practical realization in the socialist countries.

Today more and more intellectuals in the capitalist countries are coming to see where lie the true paths to humanism, freedom, genuine moral values, fulfilment of the human personality. The existentialists too are no exception in this respect. Many prominent exponents of this school of thought—Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Françoise Sagan, and others—have signed such progressive documents of our time as the Manifesto of Solidarity with the Algerian people in their just struggle against colonialism, appeals issued by the Peace Movement, calls to intellectuals in defense of democracy, etc. The fact is, however, that this is due less to their philosophical views than to their active participation, often in spite of their own philosophical concepts, in the day-to-day political struggle. Such progressive political actions, though not always consistent, are a tangible expression of democratic aspirations and will culminate in the flower of the intelligentsia of the capitalist countries joining the fighters for freedom, peace and socialism.

3. From Scorn of Ethics to Moral Irresponsibility

While many existentialists are sincerely seeking a way out of the moral impasse in which a considerable part of the intelligentsia in the capitalist West has landed, there are philosophers who have found no better outlet for their disillusionment in bourgeois morality than to deny the need to pose any ethical problems on the pretext that they are metaphysical and unscientific. These are primarily the semanticists and the neo-positivists.

It should be noted that the tendency to disdain ethics originated as a protest against

the imposition of the bourgeois moral code on the scientist. But while questioning ethics as a science, philosophers like Bertrand Russell and Carnap did not deny the social importance of morality. They have taken a more or less active part in combating fascism and war. As eminent scientists of weight in their respective fields, they have time and again set an example of irreproachable moral conduct both in private and public life. But for all that their stand on ethical issues, quite irrespective of their subjective intentions, has objectively facilitated the spread of ethical relativism and scepticism.

The modern bourgeois philosophers are wallowing more and more in ethical subjectivism, scepticism and relativism, denying that ethics is a science. Generalizing such views, the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* published in the USA postulates: "Morals in their root, their growth and their sanctions are as irrational as the lives they inform." The logical positivists and also the semanticists argue that ethical standards, being mere "opinions," are of a different order than scientific conclusions and hence relate to the sphere of the irrational. For instance, the prominent physicist P. Bridgman, who is also an operationalist in philosophy, declared that the actions of the moralists, unlike those of the physicist, are purely "verbal" and, consequently, have no objective content. Reactionary capitalist ideologists have good reason to regard this school of thought, now fashionable among intellectuals in the USA, Britain, Federal Germany and other countries, as the initial stepping stone in the propagation of amorism and nihilism. Indeed it has always done yeoman service for the reactionaries, who are seeking to pass off their own amorality as the moral degeneration of humanity generally.

The bourgeoisie would naturally wish to appear in the eyes of the masses as the carrier of noble ideas. But the practice of the modern imperialist bourgeoisie and its underlying motives cannot be concealed. They burst through every disguise finding particularly glaring expression in the cynical American philosophy of pragmatism.

The only moral precept which the relativist and subjectivist theorists do not assail is the egoism of the individual, the morals of the capitalist proprietor. The pragmatists bolster up these morals with their notorious axiom about the "utility" of truth. They argue that the criterion of whether a thing is good or evil is the extent to which it serves a purpose and pays off. This pragmatic morality of the

businessman was cynically put in a nutshell by ex-Defense Secretary Wilson when he said that what is good for General Motors is good for America.

Needless to say, when men who call themselves philosophers have descended to preaching religious morality and mysticism, the theologians are plying their trade more zealously than ever. Alarmed by the grand progress of Communist ideas throughout the world, the spokesmen of clerical reaction are painfully aware of the serious decline of religion. Finding it more and more difficult to lull the masses with promises of rewards in the hereafter they have even risked "studying" Marxism (as Bigot, Calvez and Chambre have done) in the hope of imparting new vitality to the obsolete gospel of humility and patience. Crude distortion is their way of fighting Marxism.

All the efforts of the reactionary moralizers, however abstract their ethical concepts may seem, are aimed in the final analysis at discrediting Marxism-Leninism, at combating proletarian, Communist morality. But the very fact that fashionable ethical doctrines crop up with kaleidoscopic speed in the capitalist West reveals their utter inadequacy as an alternative to communism capable of appealing to the masses. That this is the Achilles' heel of contemporary bourgeois morality is being increasingly realized by its high priests, who are compelled to concede that neither dollars nor military bases and pacts, nor even police terror, can make up for the lack of a positive ideal capable of moving the masses. As P. Campbell and P. Howard aptly put it in the book *America Needs Own Ideology*, democracy without ideology may be likened to a brightly lit show-window of a shop without goods.

The seeming multiplicity of ethical systems in the capitalist West is just such a garish show-window designed to conceal the ideological and moral bankruptcy of the contemporary bourgeoisie. The various doctrines, far from competing with one another, only complement each other's ideological stock in trade. Essentially their social purpose is to blind the working people to the amorality of the capitalist system founded on the exploitation of man by man, to keep them in the toils of the bourgeois world outlook. To people who have lost faith in pious exhortations, they offer the metaphysical "ethics of value." And if the hypocritical values of the "free world" prove disappointing, persistent efforts are made to implant refined moral relativism from neo-positivist and pragmatic

positions. Finally, to those who would wish to break away from the world of social injustice, the choice is offered of an existentialist morality in either an atheistic or a religious wrapping. In a word, anything but Marxism, anything but Communist morals!

The capitalist ideologists are, then, trying to create the illusion that the working people have an ethical choice instead of working for the true moral emancipation of humanity through struggle for social justice.

4. Moral Disarmament of the Working People

Although the direct influence of the idealist moral concepts discussed above is limited to a comparatively narrow circle of bourgeois intellectuals, indirectly they hold a substantial part of the population in the West in captivity to bourgeois prejudices. The obsolete dogmas of bourgeois morality still determine the behavior of hundreds of millions of industrial and office workers and peasants, govern their thinking and actions, corrupt public opinion, dull the class consciousness of the working people, and make them look at the gloomy realities of capitalism through rose-colored spectacles. It is often said that the venerable bourgeois professors of ethics have fewer readers than there are pages in their books. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the proponents of bourgeois morals have at their service the school and the church, the press and the cinema, radio and television, not to mention the diverse philanthropic and religious organizations especially set up to ensnare the mind and conscience of the working people. Hundreds of thousands of moralizers in cassocks and business suits are engaged in the manufacture and packaging of advice on how to live, soul-saving recipes and banal moral sermons concocted from ethical raw material supplied by bourgeois savants. Of the numerous organizations engaged in the West in "saving" the working people from communism perhaps the most vociferous and active is Moral Re-Armament, founded by a U.S. clergyman, the late Frank Buchman. This latter-day prophet set out to remake mankind and, as the *American Who's Who* says, "initiated a program of life, which issues in personal, social, racial, national and supernational change." Buchman's followers advise people to "commune with God" for an hour every day, then jot down the injunctions of the "holy spirit" and compare notes with one another to ascertain whether God had really spoken. "I saw," Buchman said, "that when I obeyed God, miracles happened; I learnt the truth

that when man listens, God speaks; when man obeys, God acts; when men change, nations change."

Moral Re-Armament seeks to capitalize on the natural anxiety felt by broad sections of the population in the capitalist countries on seeing traditional moral pillars crumbling around them (the alarming growth of crime, especially among children; the ominous break-down of family ties and the increase in the number of divorces; unreasoning nihilism among the youth, etc.).

Seeing that official religion and the church are unable to stem this moral disintegration of society, many members of the bourgeoisie and the middle strata are looking for other, more flexible means of coping with the problem. It is here that Moral Re-Armament steps onto the scene. Its social purpose is to fill the ideological and moral "vacuum" created by mass disillusionment in the traditional religious morals, i.e., to penetrate where neither the Catholic nor protestant missionaries, compromised by collaboration with the colonialists, can reach. No wonder then that Moral Re-Armament concentrates its main efforts on the economically backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where it is trying to fill the ideological "vacuum" just as assiduously as U.S. imperialists are seeking to fill the political and strategic "vacuum."

The followers of Buchman blandly claim that they have discovered the "secret of the moral transformation of men." Actually, however, their bombastic preachings amount in the final analysis to propagating "moral self-perfection," all-forgiving love for one's neighbor, etc. All the ills of our world, they proclaim, are caused not by the evils of the social system but by the moral failings of man. According to them, if people observed four "absolute moral standards," namely, honesty, purity of spirit, love and unselfishness, the need for social revolution would disappear. They promise wealth and work to all, to end exploitation, build a new world, create a new civilization and transform the age of gold into a golden age. "Moral Re-Armament is the scenario of a Golden Age—a God-directed production," Buchman himself said in one of his speeches.

There is no need to enumerate all the promises which the Buchmanites so lavishly shower on the working people in order to induce them to sample the magic elixir of Moral Re-Armament. Their ethical doctrine is from beginning to end merely a slightly modernized version of traditional Christian morality refurbished to meet the ideological

needs of the monopoly capitalists. And as the 2,000-year-old experience of Christianity shows, the gospel of self-denial and love for one's neighbor suits the exploiters perfectly. Not that they have any intention of giving up private property or their dominant position in society; it is only to shield themselves from the legitimate indignation and wrath of the masses that they preach forgiveness and seek to persuade the people to renounce struggle against the capitalist system in the name of "universal love" and "moral self-perfection." *In carrying out this social assignment of the monopoly bourgeoisie, Moral Re-Armament is actually engaged in the moral disarmament and ideological enslavement of the working people, and it is doing this with a good deal of ingenuity and no scruples as to the means employed.*

If the "absolutes" of Buchmanism differ little from religious moral dogma, in its practical activities Moral Re-Armament combines semi-military organization with Big-Business methods. It has set up in the USA, Switzerland and several other countries training centers for its officer personnel, who are taught psychology at university level and instructed in stage craft, radio and cinema techniques, etc. Unlike ordinary missionaries, Moral Re-Armament operates as a rule in teams numbering as many as 200 people and provided with the latest technical equipment. Besides cinema projectors and radio stations, their stock of weapons usually includes a renegade from the working-class or national-liberation movement, a businessman who has "seen the light," or a "redeemed" criminal. Just as priests stage displays of holy relics, the Buchmanites parade these puppets whose job it is to testify to the miraculous powers of Moral Re-Armament.

Such "trouble-shooting squads" for dealing with popular discontent are called out not only by one or another corporation but by the governments of countries whenever there is a strike to be broken or a trade union to be split. To earn their keep, the renegades of course sing the praises of Moral Re-Armament and urge people to follow their example. For example, during a Latin American tour, Eudocio Ravines said this: "The main problem of Latin America is not backwardness, but communism and corruption. The best export the United States of America or any nation can send to Latin America is Moral Re-Armament." Another squad had as its show piece a former active participant in the Mau-Mau movement in Kenya who had publicly repented her revolutionary errors.

In West Germany the trump card was a certain Bladek, a worker from the Ruhr whom Moral Re-Armament had not only "cured" of communism but also helped to stop drinking, smoking and being unfaithful to his wife, which practically makes him an angel. These are instances of high-pressure publicity campaigns turning into cheap farce.

Clearly there is nothing the Buchmanites will not do to boost themselves in the eyes of international reaction and to earn the lavish donations they receive from the monopolies. An agent provocateur who has broken a strike or an informer who has betrayed freedom fighters ordinarily prefers to remain in obscurity. The preachers of Moral Re-Armament, on the contrary, not only publicly boast of their "exploits," but seek to immortalize them in plays and films depicting their subversive activities against the peace movement in Japan (the play *The Tiger*) and the seamen's union in Brazil (the film *The People of Brazil*), or telling the story of a Negro boy who becomes a presidential adviser (the film *The Crowning Experience*).

At rallies held at a Swiss health resort and so far attended by a total of 100,000 persons, the Buchmanites annually stage a several days' show of universal reconciliation: here capitalists press workers to their bosom, colonial overseers fraternize with the people they oppress, a bloated American multi-millionaire polishes the boots of Negroes, scions of aristocratic families work as porters and leaders of reactionary bourgeois parties as dishwashers—all in front of cinema and television cameras. "Behold, we have achieved true democracy and social justice without violence, without any revolution," exclaim the Moral Re-Armament leaders. But they prudently remain silent on what their proselytes do in the remaining 360 days of the year.

There is nothing of the martyrdom of the prophets about the activities of Moral Re-Armament. Its agents haunt NATO barracks in Europe, exhorting the soldiers to self-denial in the name of Western defense. In the South African Republic a grateful government headed by the racist Verwoerd has granted Moral Re-Armament an unprecedented privilege—the right to circulate its printed matter throughout the country without censorship. In the Congo the U.N. command has asked the Buchmanites to broadcast their sermons twice daily. Time and again the press has exposed the threat linking Moral Re-Armament with the Mobutu coup in the Congo, the generals' putsch in

Algeria, and the activities of the OAS. The U.S. National Association of Manufacturers, Chancellor Adenauer, U.S. ex-President Truman, the Japanese ex-Prime Minister Kishi, the Kuomintang, NATO generals, and imperialist stooges in the governments of a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are all numbered among the sponsors of Moral Re-Armament.

Buchman declared a "holy war" against the Communist and national-liberation movements. In the pamphlet *Ideology and Co-existence*, of which his followers distributed 87 million copies in 1960, Moral Re-Armament rejects the idea of peaceful coexistence as one of the methods of Communist "subversive activity." Claiming that they stand for "genuine democracy," the Buchmanites hold that "the choice for the world is not war or coexistence. It is Moral Re-Armament or communism." It is not surprising that the logic of anti-communism should lead to misanthropic slogans. Buchman himself, cherishing the idea of a "holy war" against communism, dreamed of a "fascist dictatorship under the guidance of God." True, one of those whom Buchman obviously had in mind—Hitler—did not live up to the expectations of the "savior of humanity." Even the blessing which Buchman bestowed on him through a *World Telegram* correspondent in 1936 did not help ("I thank heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler, who built a front line of defense against the Antichrist of Communism.").

The Buchmanites can, of course, buy the services of corrupt renegades, and dupe those who wish to be duped, those who seek solace, not struggle. But the attempts of the imperialist reactionaries to avert the socialist revolution with the help of Moral Re-Armament and to induce the oppressed peoples to forgive the crimes of imperialism are clearly doomed to fail. *And not because the bourgeois moralizers are lacking in zeal or because there is a shortage of funds for financing one ethical farce after another, but because the capitalist system is doomed, because it is socially and morally bankrupt, a fact which is becoming more and more obvious to the working masses.*

5. Communism Is The Flowering of the Human Spirit

For Marxist philosophers and other progressive men of culture the morality which is emerging in the capitalist countries from the aspirations of the proletariat and which is already flowering in the socialist countries, confirms the correctness of the Marxist theory

of ethics, the theory of genuine humanism. Lenin devoted particular attention to the content of the new, communist morality, the antithesis of barren religious morality and bourgeois ethics. "We repudiate all morality taken apart from human society and classes," he said. "We say that it is a deception, a fraud, a befogging of the minds of workers and peasants in the interests of the landlords and the capitalists."

Inasmuch as morals are inseparably linked with politics, the reactionary thesis of an independent morality without political content or ideological foundation is meaningless. The policies of the Marxist-Leninist parties have an *ethical meaning* and Communist morality has a *political content*. This creative interlinking of politics and ethics is a characteristic feature of Communist morality. As N. S. Khrushchov said in his speech on the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Communists can pursue only a moral policy. Even if capitalism would perish in another war, he stressed, "we Communists never have and never will seek to achieve our aims by such fearful means, for to do so would be anti-moral and run counter to our Communist world outlook."

For hundreds of millions of people the competition and ideological struggle between socialism and communism is also a struggle between two ethical systems. *Apart from its vast economic, political and military power, the peace camp enjoys also an overwhelming moral superiority which is given only to those who are fighting courageously and staunchly for the just goals towards which humanity is striving.* "True education of the masses," Lenin said, "can never be separated from the independent political and especially revolutionary struggle of the masses themselves. Only struggle educates the exploited class, only struggle reveals to it the measure of its strength, widens its horizons, heightens its powers, clarifies its mind, steels its will."

When the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU presented to the world a scientific program for the building of communism, it once again emphasized the vast significance of the questions of morals and ethics in the shaping of the man of communist society. The program sets forth the moral code of the builders of communism in which are reflected the basic principles of Communist morality. A comparison of this code with various bourgeois moral doctrines clearly reveals the absolute superiority of Communist morality.

Unlike the bourgeois theories of ethics—theories which leave man defenseless and without hope, theories hypocritical or impotent, preaching moral nihilism or submission to God—the Program of the CPSU is permeated with faith in the powers of man and his boundless moral progress. It counterposes to decadent bourgeois morals, to egoism in its most brutal forms, the ideal of genuine humanism and moral purity. But these moral qualities are not an end in themselves. Honesty, sincerity, modesty, and other sterling traits should be cultivated not for the sake of self-adulation, but as a guide to conduct in public life, at work, in intercourse with the community, friends and family.

One of the basic features of the CPSU Program is the harmonious synthesis it envisages of the material and spiritual requirements of the masses. Rejecting and exposing the falsehood of such demagogic doctrines as "moral re-armament," Marxism shows that man's moral fulfilment is impossible unless it is preceded by economic and social emancipation.

The Communist ethical ideal—the noblest ideal man has ever known—is devotion to the cause of communism, realization by each citizen of his duty to the community, conscious voluntary dedication to the common cause. This common cause will then no longer be regarded as being opposed to personal inclination and desires, for under communism each individual will know that he owes everything to society and that his requirements could not be satisfied without the help of society. Communist morality cannot exist except in conjunction with its supreme criterion—public opinion.

The Program of the CPSU outlines the measures essential to ensure the harmonious development of man. The objective criterion of the worth of the individual will always be the share he contributes to the material and spiritual well-being of society and its defense against external and internal enemies. The aim of Communist morality is to imbue man with love for labor and a desire to enrich his mind and spirit by drawing on all the achievements of world culture.

To present this noble ideal to the peoples of the world, the political experience and prestige of the CPSU — a party which throughout its history has set an example of devotion to the masses, of sincerity and heroism—was needed. The Communist parties all over the world have earned the respect and admiration of the masses because they have

given conclusive proof not only of their political ability, but also their lofty moral quali-

ties, which they have dedicated to the cause of the peoples' happiness.

Victims of the Capitalist Moloch

On the Demographic Consequences of War

"The peoples have already gone through the bitter experience of two world wars. The ordinary men and women, who bear the heaviest burden of suffering in the holocaust of war know that each successive war brings in its train more grievous suffering, destroys more countries, kills more people and leaves behind grimmer and more enduring consequences than the previous one."

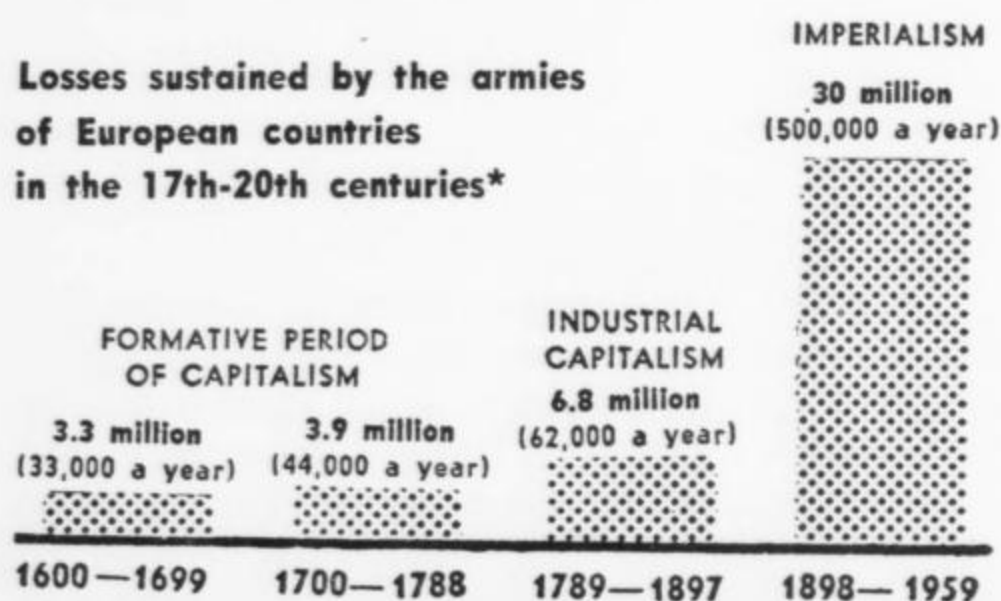
From the Peace Manifesto.

TODAY, when the imperialists with their insensate arms drive and their ceaseless aggressive provocations have faced the world with the threat of nuclear annihilation, it is more than ever timely to recall the price the peoples have had to pay for war. Such an assessment is in the interests of all progressives and primarily the working class, which pronounces history's verdict on capitalism and is hence anxious to gather all the evidence pertaining to the crimes against humanity perpetrated by this last antagonistic social system.

Tribute of Blood

Throughout human history wars have always been the curse of the working people who have had to pay with their blood for the adventurist policies of the ruling classes. Instead of the eternal peace promised by the ideologists of the rising bourgeoisie, capitalism, as Engels correctly pointed out, brought in its train armed conflicts even more sanguinary than any that had gone before. Moreover, the tribute of blood exacted by war grew from century to century until, in the epoch of imperialism, it developed into the systematic extermination of nations for the sake of monopoly interests.

DIAGRAM 1



*B. T. Ulanis, *Wars and the Population of Europe*.

If the slaughter by the colonialists of the local populations of Asia, Africa and America is taken into account the number of persons who perished as a result of wars under capitalism will be even greater. Suffice it to say that during the conquest of America the population of that continent, according to M. K. Bennett, dropped from 47 million in the beginning of the 16th century to nine million in the middle of the 17th century; that in Africa, according to W. DuBois' estimate, 100 million people perished as a result of the slave trade in the 17th-19th centuries, and that the colonial invasion cost the peoples of Asia tens of millions of lives.

It is one of the favorite arguments of its apologists that capitalism has rid humanity, or at any rate the population of Western Europe and North America, of famine and pestilence. Maybe, but only to destroy human life by still more fearful means in aggressive wars. This is the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the above diagram, a conclusion which starkly reveals the incompatibility of capitalism with social progress, with the interests of the peoples, and, at this stage, with the very existence of civilization.

The revolutionary reorganization of society along socialist lines removes the root cause of all wars—private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man — and delivers humanity once and for all from the threat of armed conflicts. It is true that however much the people might have striven to end social and national oppression by peaceful means, the ruling classes in antagonistic societies have never yet relinquished their power without a fierce and bloody struggle. But the losses borne by the working people because of the armed resistance of their oppressors is incomparably less than the toll taken in aggressive wars; moreover such sacrifices are not in vain; they hasten the establishment of universal peace

on earth, when, as Marx and Engels predicted in the *Communist Manifesto*, "in proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostilities of one nation to another will come to an end."

War Losses, Direct and Indirect

However great the losses of the armed forces, they nevertheless constitute only part of the total loss of human life caused by wars, and by no means exhaust the demographic consequences of wars. With the development of weapons of mass destruction, the extension of their radius of action and the employment of the "total war" strategy, the casualties among the civilian population have immeasurably increased. While civilian casualties during the First World War amounted to less than five per cent of the military losses, during the Second World War they comprised nearly half of the total loss of life, and in a nuclear war the proportion would be nine-tenths, if not more. To the direct losses caused by war should be added the indirect losses caused by the decrease in the birth rate and the rise in the

death rate, deaths among the civilian population from privation and hardships, as well as hunger and disease, which can continue for some time after hostilities have ceased. These indirect military losses are rarely mentioned, although they sometimes substantially exceed the military losses proper. During the Second World War, for example, they comprised about half of all the losses sustained by Japan and Poland, two-thirds of those of Germany, three-quarters of those of France, etc.

How the Living Pay for the Dead

War, however, is accompanied not only by a quantitative depletion of the population. It also causes a great disproportion in the sex and age composition of the population. A graphic picture of these changes in the structure of the population is afforded by comparing the sex and age pyramids of the belligerents and neutral countries.

The diagram at left illustrates the following demographic consequences of war:

1. A vast depletion of population (mainly in the 10-15 and 25-55 age groups) amounting to 18-20 million people, or 20-22 per cent of the estimated population of Germany if the two world wars had not occurred.

2. A general increase in the death rate and a decrease in the average life span due to the lowering of the health standards, especially among men (in the Federal Republic of Germany alone there were two million disabled war veterans in the fifties).

3. A substantial excess of women over men in middle age and over, due mainly to the losses on the battlefronts of the two world wars (up to the latest population census in Federal Germany, there were 126 women to every 100 men in the 30-64 age group).

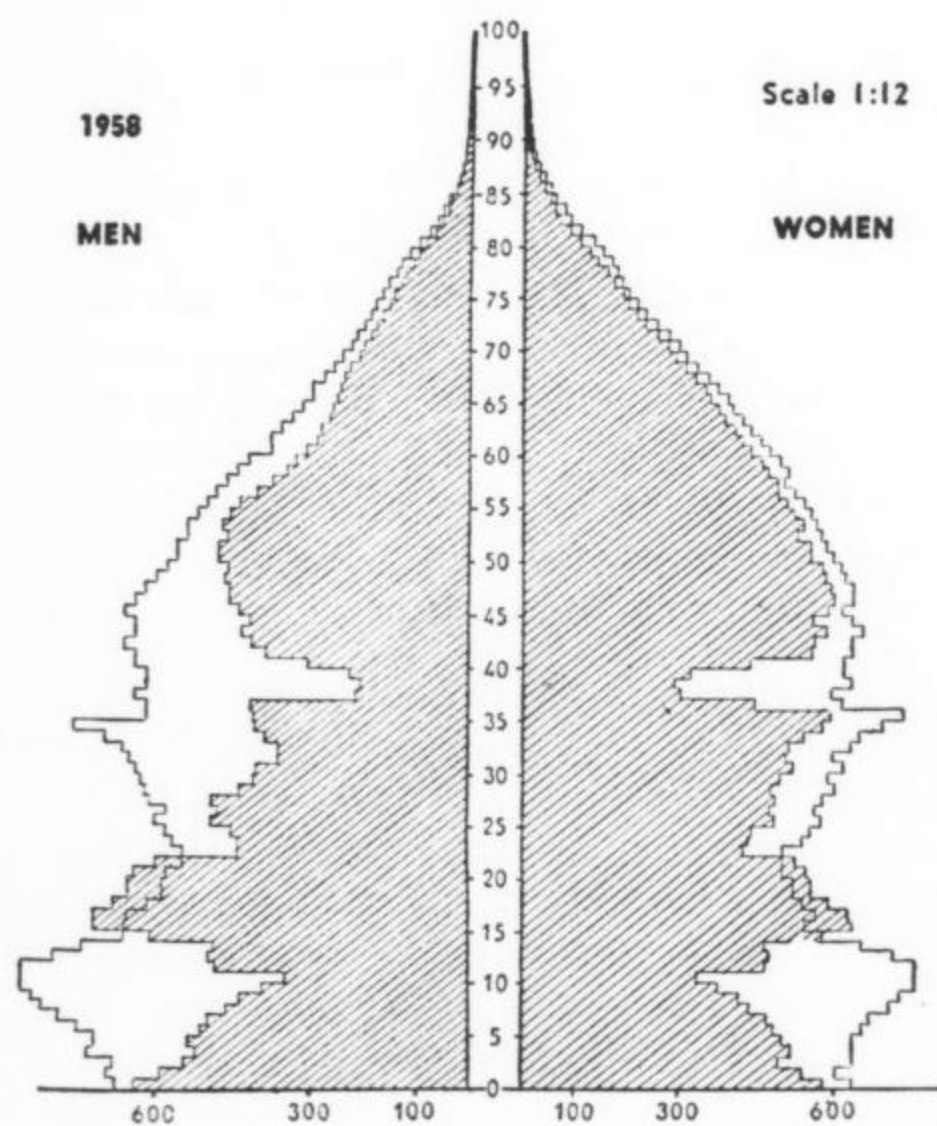
4. A reduction in the natural population growth after the war.

The changes in the structure of the population due to war are fraught with negative economic and social consequences *far graver and of much longer duration* than the depletion of the population.

In the first place the resources of manpower are substantially diminished, especially workers in the prime of life, a fact which substantially retards economic revival and development. At the same time, the able-bodied population carries a heavier burden of expenditure for the upkeep of children and the aged than the population in non-belligerent countries.

DIAGRAM 2

Sex and Age Pyramids*
of Sweden (contours), G.D.R. and F.R.G. (shaded)



*Statistisches Jahrbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1959; Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1959; Statistisk Årsbok foer Sverige, 1959.

Further, owing to the preponderance of women over men in middle age, many women are unable to marry. Apart from the negative moral and psychological effects of this war-provoked phenomenon, it results in a decline in the birth rate, more divorces, more children born out of wedlock and brought up without fathers, which leads eventually to a certain looseness of morals and an increase in juvenile delinquency. The extensive employment of women for heavy work long after the end of the war is also partly explained by the shortage of men.

The drop in the birth rate during the war years, and the consequent discrepancy in age groups, gives rise to certain difficulties with regard to the education and upbringing of children and subsequently, some 15-18 years after the war, causes a sharp decrease in the influx of new labor power into the national economy. This situation also complicates enrollment in higher education institutions, reduces the number of young men of recruiting age, etc. And finally, if the drop in the birth rate during the war is sharp and prolonged, this in turn can lead 20-25 years later to another, if less palpable decline in the birth rate, with a cyclical repetition of the consequences enumerated above, though in a modified form. Such a decline in the birth rate is expected to occur in the 1960's.

The effects of war on population movement thus make themselves felt for decades after hostilities have ceased. For example, whereas the decrease in population during the war is usually made good in a relatively short time, the prewar level being restored within five to 10 years, the reduction in labor power resources as a result of direct war losses makes itself felt for a period of 40 years, and the influence of indirect war losses due to the drop in the birth rate, for as many as 50-60 years after the war has ended. In other words, *the demographic consequences of the two world wars — the unequal distribution of the population of the belligerent countries according to age and sex — will last until the end of the present century.*

What Wars Cost Nations

France offers a striking example of how disastrous the demographic consequences of war can be for the development of a country. The continued drop in the natural population increase in France for more than one and a half centuries and its diminishing share in the population of Europe have usually been explained by such factors as the preponderance of small property owners who

are reluctant to divide up their inheritance, by the prevalence of the rentier among capital investors, late marriages, etc. However, the following table, compiled on the basis of estimates made by B. T. Ulanis, shows beyond all doubt that the slow rate of population growth in France is in fact connected with the huge war losses sustained by that country in the past century. Moreover no less an authority than A. Sauvy (*La Montee des Jeunes*) considers the slowing down of population increase to be one of the chief reasons why France has lost the economic and political position it once held in Europe.

TABLE No. 1

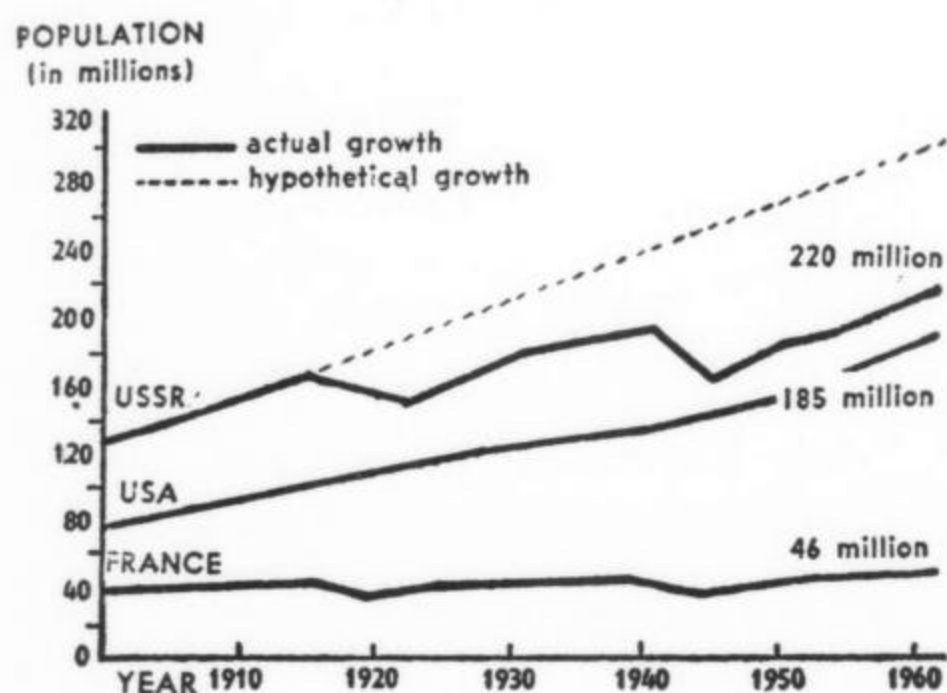
France's share (%)	centuries				1940
	17th	18th	19th	20th	
a) of the population of Europe at the beginning of the century	16.3	17.1	14.5	9.7	7.6
b) of the military losses of the European countries in the course of the century	25.	28.2	30.1	12.4	
Place occupied by France in European economy	I	II	III	IV	

Demographers are agreed that the enormous war losses, direct and indirect, sustained by Germany during the Second World War would have made the rapid economic restoration and development of Federal Germany impossible had they not been compensated for by the resettlement on its territory of nearly ten million Germans from other countries, and by the subsequent employment of workers from abroad.

The loss of human life suffered by the Soviet Union as a result of two world wars and the civil war were colossal, far greater indeed in relation to the population than, say, those of France in the First World War. For any capitalist country losses of such magnitude would have meant a setback of decades both as regards economy and population. That this did not happen in the USSR is due primarily to the superiority of the socialist system and the planned national economy which enabled the country to take the necessary legislative and economic measures in good time (in 1944).

DIAGRAM 3

Influence of Wars on Population Growth



The Soviet Union, as the above diagram shows, needed only six years to restore the loss in population caused by the First World War and the civil war, and nine years to compensate for the drain caused by the Second World War, whereas France, notwithstanding substantial immigration (nearly two million for the period 1919-1938), was unable to bring its population back to the 1914 level before the Second World War.

It would be a mistake, however, to minimize the dire effects of three devastating wars on the population of the Soviet Union; the war losses seriously retarded population growth and hampered economic and social development, and their effects are still felt to a certain extent. Were it not for these wars, the population of the USSR would today exceed 300 million, and the Soviet Union would already have economically outstripped the United States whose territory was not devastated by war and whose war losses were relatively insignificant.

Reactionary politicians and ideologists, seeking to reconcile the public of their countries to the prospect of new armed conflicts, have made the problem of the demographic consequences of war an object of shameless speculation, juggling with the figures of war losses, omitting all mention of indirect war losses and their disastrous effect on economic and social progress.

The Unlimited Harm of "Limited War"

The cynical attempts of neo-Malthusians, like Gaston Bouthoul for example, to justify the human sacrifices on the altar of the capitalist Moloch as a remedy for the supposed over-population of the world, is only one of

the more revolting forms of this sort of demagoguery.* Besides these, however, there exist other, more subtle and therefore more dangerous myths.

For example, the advocates of "local" or "limited" wars, such as the intervention in Korea, the Suez adventure, punitive operations in Algeria, etc., demagogically maintain that the losses involved in such wars on the whole do not exceed the number of casualties from, say, automobile accidents. Apart from the downright amorality of the sort of reasoning that can justify the deliberate slaughter of human beings by the unfortunate deaths of a similar number as the result of accidents, there is another aspect to the question. While the number of victims may indeed be the same in both cases, the demographic, economic and social effects on society are entirely different. After all, the victims of accidents are more or less equally distributed according to sex and age, whereas even relatively minor war losses break down the natural structure of the population and do grievous injury to the country.

All the more impossible is it for the conscience and reason of men to be reconciled to the thought of another world war. According to Linus Pauling's estimates, a war employing nuclear weapons would blot out no less than 800 million human lives, besides reducing the chief centers of modern civilization to ashes. Even from the purely demographic standpoint, the estimates of the time required for the "economic recuperation" of the United States (based on probable losses in a third world war) made by the American sociologist Herman Kahn in his book *On Thermonuclear War***, as well as all his subsequent computations, look somewhat naive to say the least.

Miscalculations That Can Have Tragic Results

At first glance, Kahn's estimates may appear to be statistically flawless. Actually, however, they do not stand up to any serious demographic and sociological analysis. The two final columns which we have added to Kahn's table show that his predictions are essentially based on the most primitive kind of arithmetic, viz: if the number of survivors is taken as the starting point, how long would it take for the natural increase in population in the U.S. to compensate for the hypothetical losses. He calmly ignores the natural structure of the population and the

*G. Bouthoul, *La Surpopulation dans le Monde*, Paris, 1958.

**Herman Kahn, *On Thermonuclear War*, London, 1960.

role played by immigration in its growth. The population that would survive a thermonuclear war would be subjected to the effects of radioactive fallout and, moreover, its structure would be deformed. Apart from the disturbed equilibrium between the sexes and ages, there would be extremely sharp changes in the relation of urban to rural population.

TABLE 2

"Tragic but Distinguishable Postwar State"*

Number of dead (in millions)	Economic Revival	Number of survivors (millions)	Years when U.S. population equalled number of survivors
2	1 year	180	1960
5	2 years	177	1959
10	5 years	172	1957
20	10 years	162	1954
40	20 years	142	1946
80	50 years	102	1916
160	100 years	22	1849

*H. Kahn. *On Thermonuclear War*, 1960; Statistical abstract of the USA, 1961.

Such a population would obviously be unable to produce the natural increase characteristic of the United States in the past. Nor would it be in a position to raise the country's national economy from the ruins and restore the prewar level of life, if only because there would be neither sufficient manpower nor an adequate consumer market. Hence Kahn's assertion that by following his advice the United States could emerge from a nuclear war "not only the richest nation in the world but also one of the largest in population" (p. 116) clearly holds no water. This illusion is all the more dangerous both for the United States and for mankind in general when it is shared by political leaders on whom the issues of war and peace largely depend.

Nor can the fact be overlooked that in some economically backward countries of Africa and Asia there are political leaders who are inclined to adopt the position of disinterested bystanders in a possible armed conflict between the great powers. Their hopes that a third world war would wreak irreparable damage to North America, Western Europe and the USSR, while leaving the neutral countries unscathed, and that the latter's prestige and international role in the future would gain thereby, are as naive as they are cynical. Irresponsible rulers like the Shah of Iran, caught in the throes of economic difficulties, calmly contemplate the pros-

pect of enemy hydrogen bombs wiping out half their populations and thus ridding them of the "extra mouths" they are incapable of feeding. A similar misanthropic position is also held in effect by the Trotskyites: through their spokesman, J. Posadas, they declare there is no need to be frightened by the prospect of a nuclear war which, though it may "swallow up half the world," will at least, so they claim, bring social justice to the survivors.

Speculations of this kind are not only inhuman but shortsighted, irresponsible and essentially unsound. A third world war, which would destroy the industrial and cultural centers of modern civilization and threaten the very existence of the human race, would not help a single country to solve its problems, it would only aggravate those problems and engender a host of new ones.

Radioactive fallout respects no state boundaries, even if the belligerents were willing to observe the sovereignty of neutral countries. A thermonuclear war would deprive the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America of a market for their commodities and a source of industrial equipment, technical aid and medical supplies and force them to abandon all hopes of industrialization in this century. They would be plunged into incredible economic chaos, and those who escaped the hydrogen bombs and radioactive fallout would perish from a global famine or virulent epidemics such as the world has never yet seen.

The discovery of atomic, and subsequently, thermonuclear energy holds out to mankind the dazzling prospect of abundance in the foreseeable future. But at the same time, owing to the aggressive policies of the imperialists, it threatens humanity with annihilation in a thermonuclear holocaust. To avoid that fearful possibility is the most urgent task of our generation, a task moreover which is perfectly feasible. The political leader who would follow Kahn's advice and take the calculated risk of a thermonuclear conflict, the statesman who is capable of the same "sober-minded attitude to the means of intimidation," can surely be likened to the misanthrope who, when told by Allah: "ask of me what thou wilt but know that I shall give thy neighbor two-fold," replied. "Gouge out mine eyes!"

Those who contemplate sacrificing half the population of their own countries for their selfish political ends forget that thermonuclear war will not rescue them from the

morass of contradictions in which they are floundering but, on the contrary, will thrust them still deeper into the mire. *Thermonuclear war is a crime against the human race, is meaningless as a solution of disputed international issues and political conflicts of our time, and from the demographic standpoint is tantamount to national suicide.*

To Avert War Is in the Interests of All Mankind

That is why, we repeat, the prevention of thermonuclear war is the cardinal task of our time. With the balance of forces in the world today having changed radically in favor of socialism, there is no longer any doubt that the outcome of a new world war would be lamentable for the imperialist aggressors. Nevertheless, as the bellicose pronouncements of the reactionary political leaders testify, the imperialists have not yet abandoned their hopes of turning history back and, at the price of a thermonuclear war, crushing the liberation movement of the peoples and preventing the inevitable triumph of socialism and communism throughout the world. As Gomez Morin, the leader of the Mexican clericals, for example, cynically observed: "Nothing less than an atomic hecatomb can halt the revolution of the poverty-stricken countries."

Seeking to frighten the peoples by teetering recklessly on the brink of war, international reaction does not stop at dangerous provocations in the Middle East and Cuba, in Berlin and Indo-China, each of which is capable of triggering off a world conflict. And,

finally, in a situation marked by a colossal arms drive and a war hysteria such as that now prevailing in the capitalist West, the possibility of a war breaking out by accident cannot be precluded.

Under these circumstances peoples everywhere are refusing to submit to atomic blackmail or to sacrifice their freedom and their future to the preservation of the status quo. They are realizing more and more that the prevention of a new world war is both in their interests and within their power. Only the growing might of the socialist countries, combined with the resolve of the peoples in the capitalist countries to bridle the aggressors, can prevent them from succumbing to the temptation of starting a "preventive war"; only the selfless struggle of the oppressed peoples for their independence, backed by the active support of all the peace-loving forces, can stop "limited wars" from developing into a global war; only the destruction of the stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the abolition of military bases on the territories of other countries can remove the risk of an accidental outbreak of nuclear holocaust; only universal and complete disarmament can wrest the weapon from the hands of the potential aggressor and ensure lasting peace.

The World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace which took place last month in Moscow was convened for the precise purpose of inspiring and rallying progressive mankind for the fulfilment of this historic mission.

Eduard ARAB-OGLY

WMR Commentaries

Lest the Guns Go Off . . .

IT is sometimes said that guns, when there are too many of them, are likely to go off by themselves. The profound wisdom of the saying has a direct connection with one of the most important events of the day — the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace held in Moscow.

To regard armaments as the cause of war would, of course, be a mistake. War and the armament drive are both engendered by imperialism. The aggressive plans of the imperialists, who are still dreaming of crushing socialism and the national-liberation movement, the contradictions of the moribund capitalist system, and the economic interests of the monopolies — it is these that breed international tension, the cold war, and the armament drive.

As is often the case with social phenomena, armaments and militarism, when carried to a certain critical point, acquire a relatively independent existence governed by its own logic. The most dangerous thing is that once let loose, the armament drive becomes an important factor in continually increasing tension; the cause of a deterioration of international relations which in itself impels the world toward war. And not only because the armament drive enhances the influence of the most aggressive group of the ruling capitalist class (above all the monopolies which grow rich on it) and thereby makes it easier for them to pursue a policy of increasing tension and preparing for war. The fact that the continued piling up of armaments engenders suspicion, poisoning the international atmosphere and creating a climate favorable for unleashing war, is also highly important. For everyone knows that guns are made not for ceremonial parades but for waging war. True, the opponents of disarmament say that armament in itself is the product of suspicion. Therefore, they argue, the causes of suspicion should be abolished first and the scrapping of war weapons and the reduction of armies discussed afterwards. The first argument is correct; suspicion is one of the causes of the armament drive. But one cannot close one's eyes to the fact that today armaments have become the main source of suspicion. There will be no confidence among nations so long as missiles stand poised on launching pads and the skies are patrolled by bombers carrying hydrogen bombs.

When ballistic missiles and nuclear bombs take the place of guns and even conventional aircraft as the backbone of national armaments, the problem of disarmament acquires an entirely new meaning. The change is not only one of quantity but also of quality, especially when the President of a country like the USA publicly announces his readiness to take the "initiative" in a nuclear war with the Soviet Union.

It is an undoubted fact that modern weapons have greatly increased the possibility of the imperialist bourgeoisie embarking on adventures. For many believe ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads to be the "ultimate" weapon. Consequently, those who do not repudiate the military solution as a matter of principle (and these people include not only the imperialist generals but also a good many politicians) are tempted to resort to it as soon as they have reason to think that they have gained a technical advantage over the adversary, for tomorrow this advantage may be gone.

In such an event no bourgeois democratic institutions would provide any safeguard, since possession of the "ultimate" weapon also affords a convenient pretext for abolishing democratic control over crucial decisions ("Modern weapons leave no time for discussion," the people are told).

Modern weapons also greatly increase the danger of "accidental" war. When two armed camps stand facing each other and tension is nearing the critical point, and when neither the technical means of warfare nor the men who service them are guaranteed against errors, the element of chance becomes well-nigh the rule. Formerly, incidents caused by a rifle shot or a gun going off, or a plane straying across a frontier, could be easily regulated (provided no deliberate provocation was involved). But suppose there was an incident involving a ballistic missile carrying a nuclear warhead. Even if this were to happen by accident, there might be no time left for a sober examination of the circumstances. And this is no imaginary danger. How many times have NATO aircraft carrying nuclear bombs met with mishaps, and how many false alarms have been raised at radar stations! And how disastrous are the possible consequences of irresponsible experimentation with nuclear explosions in outer space!

The armament drive is also directly disastrous for the peoples. Military expenditure is soaring at a fantastic rate. The burden is becoming too heavy even for the biggest and richest nations. The atmosphere, the oceans, the earth's land surface and outer space are being contaminated. Militarism, one of the sources of fascism and of extreme reaction in political and spiritual life, is gaining strength.

One could cite scores of other arguments in favor of disarmament. But there is little need. The "balance of terror," which the protagonists of the armament drive hold to be practically the only guarantee of peace, can in fact guarantee nothing but the sinister prospect of mass annihilation. The latest in weapons can, in a way, help to combat war, not because they guard peace, but primarily because they bring home to people the insanity of war and the imperative need to abolish all armaments. Lest the guns begin to go off, they must be destroyed. This logic is being appreciated by more and more millions of people. Disarmament is the issue of the day.

As an idea it is not new. Time and again during the past few decades the attention of the world public has been focussed on the problems of disarmament. Time and again they have been discussed at diplomatic conferences at the highest levels. The international conferences and the debates in the League of Nations on this question in the period between the two world wars are still remembered. At that time the efforts of the peace-loving forces failed. The memory often tends to give rise to scepticism: will it not happen again? It is precisely this scepticism which undermines the will to struggle that presents the greatest danger today.

Analogies are often superficial, and in this case completely erroneous.

In our time the fight for disarmament is being waged in completely different conditions. And not only because the danger and the cost of armaments have grown immeasurably. The forces working for a world without armaments and wars are not what they used to be. Today they include the powerful camp of socialism, which is exerting a growing influence on world developments. They also comprise millions of working men and women in all countries who were very remote indeed from politics 20 or 30 years ago.

Today disarmament is still an item on the agenda of diplomatic conferences. But it is also something much more—it is *the demand of the peoples, the goal toward which the peace movement, the greatest mass movement in history, is resolutely pressing.*

The clearest evidence of this is the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow. Never in history has there been a more representative assembly of the envoys of the peace-loving forces, of statesmen and ordinary workers, atheists and Catholics, Communists and adherents of the bourgeois world outlook, all united by a single aim — peace and disarmament.

The impact the Congress would have was obvious long before it opened, if only from the desperate efforts made by the opponents of disarmament — from imperialist brass hats to the Right-wing Socialist leaders — to prevent its success. As might have been expected, the old slanderous device of branding not only the Congress but the entire struggle for disarmament as a Communist "machination" engineered by Moscow was brought into play.

Such allegations are of course nonsense. One naturally finds Communists taking part in the annual Aldermaston anti-nuclear marches sponsored by the opponents of nuclear armament in Britain. But side by side with them march M.P.'s and trade union leaders who on any other issue would weigh the pros and cons a hundred times over before getting together with Communists; students from Eton and other exclusive schools; churchmen and venerable professors who are irreconcilable opponents of Marxism. It is people like these who picket the White House in protest against nuclear testing, or at Eastertide march through the towns and villages of West Germany, Denmark and other West European countries demanding an end to nuclear weapons.

The movement for disarmament, like the peace movement in general, is a mass democratic movement born of the people and reflecting their vital interests.

That the Communists are the most active participants in this movement, that it is fully supported by every individual Communist and the Communist movement as a whole, is as it should be. The Communists could take no other attitude to a movement representing the profoundly democratic interests of the people.

The Communists are not trying to use this movement for any selfish purposes, as the imperialist propagandists allege. Peace and disarmament are great and noble goals and the Communists are fighting for them with wholehearted dedication. But at the same time they have a clearer understanding than many other peace fighters of the motive forces, the perspectives and the political significance of the peace struggle. Hence it is not as pacifists that they work for disarmament. By its very

nature the movement for peace and disarmament is a *political struggle against the monopolies*, whose domination engenders the danger of war and the armament drive. Because of this it is destined to become a splendid political school for millions of people, helping them to grasp the social and political facts of life. This is not a question of "machina-

tions," but of the masses learning from objective reality.

Peace and communism are inseparable. This, of course, does not mean that every supporter of peace is or must be a conscious Communist. But it does mean that each Communist is a convinced, determined and selfless fighter for peace. *George ARMSTRONG*

The Foundations of Colonialism Are Crumbling

OURS is a remarkable age—an age marked by grand victories of socialism and momentous achievements of the national-liberation movement. The foundations of colonialism are crumbling and new sovereign states are emerging one after another over large areas of the globe.

People everywhere welcomed the outcome of the referendum in Algeria and the entry of an independent Algerian Republic into the ranks of the free nations. This was a truly historic event which conclusively testified to the unity and solidarity of the heroic people of Algeria, their singleminded resolve to achieve freedom and independence.

A magnificent part in the struggle was played by the Algerian Communists, who, courageously fighting together with all other patriots for the liberty and happiness of their people, did so much to rally the national revolutionary anti-imperialist forces to defeat the colonialists and to win a new, independent Algeria.

The victory of the Algerian people dealt a further shattering blow to colonialism, which has outlived its time. Offering an inspiring example to the peoples still languishing in colonial slavery, it is echoed by other victories won by the African national-liberation movement. The latest gratifying news from this quarter is the appearance of two more independent states — the Republic of Ruanda and the Kingdom of Burundi — on the political map of the continent.

In our time the imperialists, who have lost their dominant position in the world arena, can no longer arbitrarily order the destinies of nations. Evidence of this was recently provided by another significant event — the formation of a coalition government in Laos. The internecine struggle which bled the Laotian people and played into the hands of the colonialists scheming to restore their rule in this country, was brought to a halt and an

important step taken toward the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. The establishment of the coalition government has shown once again that where there is a will to settle disputed issues, the obstacles, no matter how great, can be overcome and mutually acceptable agreements arrived at.

While people everywhere rejoiced at the good news from Algeria and Laos, they were alarmed by the war clouds gathering in another area. This time the epicenter of imperialist provocations shifted to the Far East. The USA — the leading power of the imperialist world — has long been accumulating explosive material in this quarter. The American imperialists are helping to revive Japanese militarism, the old enemy of the freedom and independence of the Asian peoples. They are preventing the peaceful reunification of Korea, the cherished dream of all Koreans. They are not stopping at any expense to supply and feed the army of Chiang Kai-shek and to back it up with their own armed forces. And now, on orders from the U.S. imperialists, and with their direct assistance, the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan has begun with all speed to put their forces on a war footing with a view to invading the mainland. U.S. armaments and other war materials are being poured into Taiwan in a steady stream. The U.S. Navy has become more active off the Chinese coast. Violations of the territorial waters and air space of the Chinese People's Republic by U.S. warships and aircraft have become increasingly frequent. High-ranking U.S. military men and government officials, who have latterly been playing particularly frequent visits to Taiwan, declare that the USA is prepared to live up to its "allied commitments" and "to defend Taiwan against a Communist invasion." That this is sheer provocation is obvious to all honest people. For the people of China are engrossed in peaceful labor on their own territory and are threatening no one. On the

contrary, the government and people of China steadfastly seek a peaceful solution of all disputed issues. Even though Taiwan is occupied by the U.S. armed forces, they are urging the U.S. government to negotiate.

It is not by chance that precisely at a time when the peaceful settlements in Laos and Algeria have lessened world tension somewhat, the magic bottle is uncorked and the evil genie released in the shape of a sabre-rattling Chiang Kai-shek.

Who hopes to gain by this shady trick?

Anyone who seeks an answer to this question in the Western capitalist press will only be puzzled. According to U.S. officials and news analysts, Washington is doing its best to prevent Chiang Kai-shek from violating the status quo, while he allegedly ignores all advice and insists on pursuing his own "independent" policy. The gullible are assured that the Americans, adhering to democratic traditions in dealings with their "allies," cannot compel him to give up his bellicose plans and therefore have to limit themselves to mere admonitions and diplomatic maneuvers. The *Washington Post and Times Herald*, for example, babbles incoherently about apprehensions that the "Tiger," who so far has lived up to his alleged promise to consult with the USA before taking any military action, may this time risk a headlong plunge on his own. The U.S. government poses as a peacemaker seeking to maintain tranquillity in this area. Actually, however, the tense situation there is a result of the calculated aggressive policy it has been pursuing. The clumsy maneuvers designed to conceal the true role of the USA will not deceive anyone, for the situation in the Taiwan area offers new incontrovertible proof that American imperialism is the main bulwark and the international gendarme of world reaction, the enemy of all peoples.

The real purpose of the dangerous game in the Far East is revealed by the newspaper *Jenminjihpao*. "American imperialism is out to kill two birds with one stone," it writes. "This is its scheme: if the Chiang Kai-shek gang is lucky and its military gamble succeeds, U.S. imperialism will be able to establish a bridgehead on the Chinese mainland, strike a blow at the prestige of the Chinese People's Republic, and also disperse the armed forces of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, involve it in greater financial difficulties and thereby make it still more subservient to American imperialism. But if the adventure fails, the Chiang Kai-shek gang will be considerably weakened and American imperialism will be

able to achieve with comparative ease the aim it has been pursuing for years, namely, to realize its 'two Chinas' scheme, casting Chiang Kai-shek overboard and setting up a new puppet through whom it would rule Taiwan."

The Americans have embarked on the realization of their aggressive plans in this area with suspicious haste, which, however, can be explained very simply. Another U.N. General Assembly is in the offing, and the U.S. rulers themselves do not conceal the fact that they are looking forward to it with particular apprehension. The *New York Herald Tribune* throws some light on the reasons for this anxiety: "The formidable Afro-Asian group, whose campaign against colonialism prolonged the Sixteenth General Assembly for a record ten months, is expected to reach 55 members during the Seventeenth session opening on Sept. 18. This means they will control one-half of the votes. When backed by 11 Communist nations, they will have a clear majority."

These figures augur little good for the U.S. delegation in the United Nations. The U.S. government seriously fears that it will have difficulty in defending its position on the question of restoring the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the U.N. unless something extraordinary happens. Hence the haste to create an emergency in the Far East in order to shift the blame onto the Chinese People's Republic and to postpone for another year the question of China's place in the United Nations.

By creating tension in the Taiwan area, the USA is making a desperate effort to strengthen its shaken positions. The situation is highly reminiscent of last year's adventure against revolutionary Cuba. Evidently the imperialists have forgotten the bitter lesson they were taught then.

There is no doubt that this time too the schemes of the colonialists and warmongers will be foiled. The Chinese people will not allow anyone to encroach upon their great revolutionary achievements. Moreover, the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries, to which the Chinese People's Republic belongs, provides reliable guarantees to all its members against imperialist encroachments. If the U.S. imperialists and their puppets refuse to listen to the voice of reason and, in spite of all reasonable warnings, unleash aggression in the Taiwan area, they will be taught a new and even more convincing lesson which will cost them dearly.

The successive victories of the national-liberation movement accelerate the disintegra-

tion of the colonial system. No matter how desperately the defenders of colonialism seek to prolong its existence, all their efforts are doomed to failure. The complete and final

abolition of colonial rule in all its forms and manifestations is an imperative of our time. No one can turn back the wheel of history.

O. BROWN

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

The Social Principle in Party Work

(From the Experience of the Moscow Organization of the CPSU)

ENCOURAGING MEMBERS' INITIATIVE

AFTER the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, which condemned the personality cult and removed all obstacles to the development of inner-Party democracy, spare-time volunteer work is now playing an important part in the activities of the Party. The Moscow City Committee, for instance, now has no more full-time functionaries than it had 20 years ago, although the city organization has nearly trebled since then, numbering over 600,000 members. Recently thousands of Party members have become active spare-time functionaries. This influx of fresh forces has enriched the content and improved the methods of Party work.

What forms does the participation of unpaid functionaries take in the capital's leading Party bodies?

First of all there are the volunteer functionaries of city and district committees and the committees of large local organizations. The City Committee has 141 functionaries, and the district and subdistrict committees, 1,031. This is considerably more than the number of paid functionaries in the districts. The spare-time workers take part in checking up on the activities of local organizations, prepare materials for submission to Party bodies and participate in all their activities.

Many commissions, departments and sub-departments of Party committees are also made up of volunteer workers.

The commissions set up by district committees for the preliminary examination of applications for membership as well as questions concerning individual Party members have fully proved their usefulness. The activities of the organizational, technical and economic, ideological and other advisory committees and commissions have also been successful.

Many of these have undertaken to study and popularize the most valuable experiences of Party organizations in their respective spheres of activity. Instructive and useful work is being done, for instance, by the technical and economic committee functioning at the Kuibyshev District Committee. It has 11 sections, which have enlisted the services of a large number of specialists. It generalizes and publicizes useful experiences in the mechanization, automation and organization of production. Technical conferences dealing with various branches of industry have been held in the district sponsored by the committee.

Highly effective is the work of the numerous commissions set up to exercise control over the management of enterprises. At present Moscow has 6,000 such commissions with nearly 30,000 Party members taking part. They verify the fulfilment of production plans and socialist emulation pledges, and help to reveal latent production potentialities and to eliminate shortcomings.

The councils of innovators established at industrial enterprises are an interesting form of activity. Their members — leading workers, engineers and technicians — examine the experience and achievements of innovators in production and work to introduce these achievements extensively and thereby promote technological progress.

Spare-time Party work is very extensive in the sphere of ideology, especially in the organization of political education. All the vast amount of work involved in organizing and directing the numerous seminars, study classes, lecture bureaus and people's universities in which more than 1,500,000 people (including more than 1,000,000 non-members) study the theory of

scientific communism and the history and policies of the Party, is based on the volunteer principle. More than 70,000 Party members work as lecturers, tutors and seminar leaders. To help these educational workers, sections of Party history, economics, philosophy and problems pertaining to the international Communist and working-class movement have been set up under the guidance of prominent college professors and teachers at the various Party committees.

More than 1,000 political education centers, methodological councils and Party education groups manned by volunteer workers now function in Moscow. They arrange lectures and advice for Party education workers on Marxist-Leninist theory and the history of the CPSU, select materials for leaders of seminars and study circles, give them methodological advice, prepare visual aids, conduct conferences for the exchange of experience.

This year the departments of social sciences at higher educational establishments have conducted nearly 30 different courses for Party education workers. Such courses are given by prominent scientists on an unpaid, spare-time basis. The same applies to factory papers. More than half of the editorial staff of *Moskovskaya Pravda*, a daily paper put out by the City Committee, are unpaid. In addition, the paper has eight unpaid advisory boards to assist writers in the spheres of economics and culture.

In recent years many people's universities giving instruction in the arts, science, technology, economics, law, etc., have been established in Moscow. These unique educational establishments where tens of thousands study after working hours have no paid staffs. The lectures are delivered free of charge by leading scien-

tists, writers, artists, engineers and educationists. Moscow also has over 700 recreation centers and 600 libraries without a single salaried staff member.

Recently Party organizations have shown a great deal of initiative in work in residential neighborhoods. House and block committees have been set up to help improve cultural services, housing facilities and municipal amenities in general. Last year under the auspices of these committees nearly two million volunteers took part in planting greenery. On their initiative new parks and gardens with tens of thousands of trees and hundreds of thousands of shrubs have been laid out. To coordinate the activities of these public organizations each residential neighborhood has a special council consisting of representatives of Party branches at factories, medical institutions and schools, as well as of the general public.

The Party committees are steadily improving their work, which is acquiring new vitality and depth, flexibility and efficiency, and their ties with the people are steadily becoming stronger. Their volunteer activists provide an excellent reserve of cadres.

Spare-time volunteer work has become normal practice also in the local Soviets and the trade union and Young Communist League organizations of Moscow.

Active participation of the entire membership in all aspects of Party life will ensure the steady growth of the initiative not only of individual members but of whole organizations in carrying out the policy and decisions of the Party.

N. YEGORYCHEV,
Secretary, Moscow City Committee
of the CPSU

MORE DISTRICT ACTIVISTS

LIKE all Moscow districts, the Timiryazev District was enlarged last year to cover a wider area. The number of local Party organizations within its bounds increased from 240 to more than 600. These function at 130 industrial enterprises, 60 building and 70 transport organizations, and at scores of higher schools, research institutes, designing offices, technical and other schools.

The tasks of the District Committee accordingly became more complex and greater demands were placed on its personnel, which remained numerically unchanged. The committee could not have given detailed, timely guidance to each primary organization in the many spheres of economic and cultural development had it not enlisted the assistance of a large number of activists.

Groups of spare-time instructors were first set up in the district and sub-district committees, and then three departments staffed by spare-time workers established in each of the latter to deal with industrial and transport, educational and organizational questions.

Commissions to give preliminary consideration to membership applications and matters concerning members personally, committees on methods of organizational and ideological work, technical and economic and other committees dealing with the work of industrial enterprises, and an architectural and planning committee have been set up under the District Committee on the same basis.

Today the District Committee has six spare-time workers for each full-time staff functionary, while the proportion of volunteer assistants

is still greater in the sub-district committees. Our spare-time functionaries are all politically mature activists with a good deal of experience in both Party work and life generally. Through them the District Committee has improved its contact with the primary organizations and is now better informed on the life of each collective.

Many examples could be given of the fruitful initiative displayed by our spare-time functionaries. Take, for instance, our organizational committee. It consists of 15 members, who make a study of the experience gained in inner-Party work and seek to make the best of this experience available to all Party organizations. Since many of the leading functionaries of local organizations were only recently elected to their posts, the committee has arranged for inexperienced secretaries and bureau members to receive advice on how to prepare for and conduct Party meetings, how to distribute assignments and ensure their fulfilment, etc. Activists have also organized a center where Party workers can find the literature, advice and information they need for their work.

The technical and economic committee has drawn up a district "catalogue" of scientific achievements and passed them on to industrial executives. As a result, 20 plants have already included these innovations in their plans. The Bureau of the District Committee has also approved the technical and economic committee's recommendations regarding systematic assistance from scientists to promote technological progress at the various industrial enterprises.

Our district includes the Academy of Agriculture and several major research institutes employing a large number of agricultural scientists. We have set up a commission of these scientists at the District Committee which helps us to give more effective guidance to the Party organizations in these institutions with a view to helping them to carry out the decisions of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU held last March.

It is difficult to visualize the various departments in the District Committee working without the assistance of spare-time instructors. In the industrial and transport department, for example, there is one full-time instructor for every 30 or 40 primary organizations. One man could not make the rounds even once a month. Now the staff instructors have the assistance of experienced workers, technicians and engineers who devote their spare time to this work. Each of the latter is assigned to two or three Party organizations functioning at enterprises of the same type, the work of which he follows and which he helps with practical advice. For

instance, voluntary instructor Sidorychev not only made a study of the quality of output at the two clothing factories he is assigned to but visited stores to find out what the customers thought of their output. The upshot was a serious talk at the District Committee with representatives of the factories about the replacement of obsolete styles and the introduction of mechanized production processes.

Latterly many new forms of Party work have taken shape. At first it was hard to say which of them would prove to be useful, really necessary and therefore viable forms, and which would not. Practice, however, has taught us a great deal. In particular, it became clear that there was no point in setting up commissions and committees duplicating the work of existing institutions and organizations. A body like the architectural and planning committee, which we also set up on a spare-time basis, is, however, another matter, since the District Soviet has no equivalent department although building activity in the district is very intensive. Through this committee architects and builders help us effectively to solve problems connected with the building programs. Together with the staff of a municipal designing office they are working on the planning and improvement of 22 residential neighborhoods.

The commissions and committees consisting of spare-time workers keep in close touch with the corresponding departments of the District Committee, and the district secretaries give personal guidance. Regular seminars are held for their members to keep them posted on the tasks of the district Party organization and the plans of the Bureau and departments of the District Committee.

The spare-time instructor is not only an investigator; he is above all an organizer who helps primary Party organizations to correct shortcomings and to improve the work. At first some District Committee workers were inclined to think that these volunteer assistants could help only by collecting information and compiling data. But we rejected such views. The spare-time instructors were given independent assignments and in many respects accorded the same rights as the permanent staff. We now have about 300 such activists in the district.

Volunteer spare-time work plays a big part in the life of the primary Party organizations. There are 26 political education centers, 53 committees on ideological work and nearly 500 commissions (consisting of 2,700 members) exercising control over business managers which have been established at the enterprises in the district. All told more than 8,000 Party members

are active in commissions and committees in the primary organizations.

This form of Party activity holds much promise for the future. Learning from experience, we shall perfect it further, remembering that

organization of the masses is the key to success in Communist construction.

M. KHALDEYEV,
Secretary, Timiryazev District Committee
of the CPSU, Moscow

ACTIVE HELPERS OF A FACTORY PARTY COMMITTEE

THERE are 1,200 full and candidate members of the Party at the Trekhgornaya Textile Mills, or one out of every five workers employed. It would be difficult to guide an organization of this size without the help of a large number of activists. Besides the 147 members of the mills' Party Committee and shop bureaus and group organizers, there are also other spare-time functionaries, workers and engineers with experience in Party work. They help the Committee to organize educational work among the activists generally and publicize all that is valuable in the experience gained in their day-to-day work.

Our Party Committee has set up three commissions—to check up on the introduction of new techniques, the progress of the reconstruction work and of housing construction and repairs. These commissions are assisted by many activists, Party and Young Communist League members, who help to ensure all-round managerial efficiency.

In conformity with a decision of the government, the reconstruction of the finishing mill, our biggest production unit, is to be completed within the next two years. This will increase the daily output of fabrics from 800,000 to 1,100,000 meters.

The commission exercising control over the progress of reconstruction, headed by A. Halizova, an engineer, keeps a check on the work of the building organization engaged on the job. The members of the commission visit the construction site, talk things over with the workers and foremen, and keep an eye on how the work is organized. Suggestions of the commission for improving the work have already been discussed and adopted by a general Party meeting of the building organization.

The volunteer principle is widely applied in ideological work. We have 380 lecturers and tutors, and nearly 4,000 textile workers, including more than 2,500 non-Party people, have signed on for study circles and courses.

The lecturers and tutors are assisted in their work by the methodological council set up by the mills' Party Committee. This group, which consists of 19 experienced educational workers and activists, compiles syllabuses, visual aids and study plans and conducts conferences of tutors. Formerly we relied on the district and city committees of the Party sending people to

give lectures to the workers. Now we have our own group of lecturers consisting of more than 50 engineers, economists and outstanding workers who give as many as 100 lectures a month at shop floor level.

We have dozens of spare-time organizations conducting political and educational work. They include political and technical education centers, a House of Culture, a factory newspaper, a local radio center and three libraries. Formerly they had no unified plan, but now we have an ideological commission functioning under the Party Committee which coordinates their activities. The 21 members of the commission direct the work of the lecturers and tutors, the educational activities among the youth and the workers at their homes as well as scientific anti-religious propaganda.

Our factory paper is also produced by activists in their spare time. It has nearly 300 correspondents in the various shops. The editors often sponsor inspections by the worker-correspondents of the various production sectors. This helps to reveal shortcomings and enables the paper to raise urgent questions before the workers generally.

Formerly the tendency was for some Party members to work on several assignments while others had none, or if they had, did not carry them out. Now we try to ensure that every production and office worker takes an active part in public life. Beginning with simple assignments, we try to stimulate interest in public activity. Discovering that they can cope with these assignments, people begin to work with greater zeal and tackle more complicated tasks.

All our 1,200 Party members are engaged in some kind of public activity. But we want all workers to play their part in public life. At the weaving mill, for instance, 800 out of a total of 1,200 workers are already members of public order squads, conduct educational work among the population generally, or act as volunteer inspectors keeping an eye on trade and public catering organizations, etc.

The enlistment of every worker in public activity is one of the conditions for the successful fulfilment of the historic decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

V. SAMARETS,
Secretary of the Party Committee
at the Trekhgornaya Textile Mills

PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES

PEOPLE'S universities of science and technology staffed by spare-time instructors have become a highly popular form of advanced training after working hours. Moscow has 35 such universities with an enrolment of more than 17,000. How they work and what results they produce can be seen from the example of the People's Universities of Technology and Economics established on the initiative of the City Committee of the CPSU.

Here engineers and technicians study the latest achievements of science and engineering, automation, advanced technology, organization of work and the economics of production.

The university has eight departments: precision instruments, machine-building, chemical, electrical machinery, radio and electronics, light industry, automation and computing techniques. The classes are attended by 4,100 students. The university has quickly become very popular among Moscow's engineers and technicians. Last year the radio and electronics department, which has a total of 250 places, received 600 applications for enrolment, the machine-building department, with 250 places, received 620 applications, and the computing techniques department with 500 places, nearly 2,000 applications. At first it had students from 420 enterprises and organizations; today its students are drawn from 700.

Among the university's 310 lecturers there are 12 Members and Corresponding Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 120 professors, 130 with Candidate of Science degrees, and other specialists, including engineers and the best production workers. They all teach without pay after regular working hours.

The university is headed by a council consisting of 21 prominent scientists.

The material and technical facilities are supplied by the leading higher schools in Moscow, which provide the auditoriums and laboratories, as well as the heads and secretaries of the various departments. Studies are conducted according to a two-year program, each course being divided into two semesters. The academic year is eight months—from October to May inclusive.

Besides theoretical studies, the program provides for practical work and exchange of experiences between innovators in production, Communist labor teams and the best enterprises. For instance, a course on efficiency was conducted at the plant by the director of the Vladimir Ilyich Works. After lectures the students inspected the factory and became acquainted with the organization of production.

The scientists and other specialists who lecture in the university not only impart to the students a certain amount of knowledge but also give detailed advice on the practical application of this knowledge.

The students are told in which scientific institutions and enterprises they can find the data they need to effect a given improvement in production.

After the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party prominent scientists and other leading experts gave a series of lectures on the principal technical problems raised at the Congress.

That the university is firmly established is evident from the high percentage of attendance—nearly 80 per cent of the enrolment attend classes regularly. After the first year of study, 1,820 students, or 71 per cent of the total, passed on to the second course.

A. SAMARIN,

*Rector; Corresponding Member,
Academy of Sciences of the USSR*

Party Congresses

DENMARK

AT THE end of May and the beginning of June the Danish Communist Party held its Twenty-First Congress. In one of the halls of the parliament buildings the delegates discussed the perspectives of Denmark's development and the means of unifying the growing democratic movement for peace, progress and national independence, while in another hall of the same building, the government and the bourgeois parties were drafting new measures designed to lower the living standard of the people — Denmark's entry into the Common Market, which is

tantamount to the loss of its national independence.

This in itself illustrates the two lines along which our country is developing: the intensification of the monopoly offensive and the growing resistance of the people.

This dual process has marked the whole period between the last two congresses of the Danish Communist Party. Nearly one-sixth of the Danish working people took part in more than 320 strikes and in the broad democratic movement in 1961. The Communists played the most

active role in this movement which won some signal successes. The minimum weekly wage demand advanced by the Communists was achieved. The struggle against the old collective agreements with the employers, which infringed trade union rights, ended in victory. A new impetus was given to the peace movement. New sections of the population, and particularly the youth, joined its ranks. The campaign against Denmark's entry into the Common Market is spreading. The last public opinion poll shows that even in the Social Democratic and Radical parties only a small section of the rank and file is in favor of the Common Market. Left tendencies are growing in these parties. The demand for "structural reforms" is gaining ground. The intellectuals are louder in their condemnation of the anti-humanist culture implanted by the monopolies. Women are advancing their economic, social and cultural demands with greater insistence.

On the other hand, the monopolies, using the state machinery, have been able to deprive the people of a number of their economic gains, while piling up their own profits, strengthening their ties with foreign monopolies, promoting the establishment of a joint Danish-West German military command and paving the way to the country's entry into the Common Market.

The 1960 and 1962 elections in Denmark showed that substantial sections of voters are veering to the Left, but at the same time the revisionists, headed by Alex Larsen, the former chairman of the Communist Party, have succeeded in winning over part of these sections.

At its Twentieth Congress, the Communist Party defeated the revisionists ideologically. As was noted in the Central Committee's report to the Congress, a "life and death struggle" was fought against the expelled Larsen group. The very existence of the Party was at stake. The revisionists sowed confusion among the electors. Forming their own Party and masquerading as Socialists, they banked on the prestige which Larsen had enjoyed in his capacity as chairman of the Communist Party. They played on the nationalist and pacifist sentiments fostered by the continued economic boom in Denmark. And in this they had the direct or indirect support of the monopolies.

The Communists had to hold hundreds of meetings and thousands of discussions in an effort to remedy this situation. Under the circumstances the regular daily work among the people was bound to suffer.

The Congress noted that the Party had "underestimated the influence of the anti-Communists in Denmark and had not sufficiently emphasized the difference between the Socialist People's Party (the party of the revisionists) and our-

selves." In our mass work, it was further pointed out, "we yielded too often to pressure, and for live, daily contact with the masses we substituted tons of printed matter. The Party adopted too defensive a position with regard to anti-communism and all that concerned the socialist world and proletarian internationalism." Discussions on questions of war and peace, the Congress observed, were often held between Communists and other supporters of disarmament and not between the supporters and opponents of disarmament.

Nevertheless the Party did play an active, and often a leading role in all the big mass actions that took place in this period, although, as is stated in the Central Committee's report to the Congress, we frequently failed to combine the results achieved with the work of our Party, or the partial successes, with the general political objectives of the Party.

An important step in the struggle for the masses was the adoption of the "Program for the regeneration of democracy" by the National Conference of the Communist Party in September 1960. It defined the general line of policy for a broad anti-monopoly struggle of the combined democratic forces. The Party thus showed that it yields neither to revisionist pressure nor to sectarian and dogmatic tendencies.

The Left movement is uniting more and more on questions of peace, democracy, national independence, social and cultural progress. But its weakness lies in the fact that it is attracting a large number of unrelated groups of diverse tendencies and experience, and that a good many of its participants are still vulnerable to anti-communist propaganda and cherish illusions concerning capitalism, especially state-monopoly capitalism, illusions fostered by the past period of rapid economic advance.

These problems which are of decisive significance for the future of the Danish democratic movement were given priority by the Congress.

The Communist Party once again declared that it is prepared to cooperate with all democratic, anti-monopoly forces; that it does not lay down any conditions for such cooperation; that it guarantees its absolute loyalty and devotion to this struggle; that it respects the ideological and political independence of all the members of such a movement and, naturally, expects to enjoy the same rights itself. The Communist Party expressed its confidence that many problems still unclear to all concerned would be clarified in the course of the joint struggle. This could be achieved through principled, concrete and dispassionate discussions.

The unity of all the democratic forces demands above all unity of action on the part of the working class. The Congress drafted a

program of demands on which working-class unity could be achieved (wages, working hours, democracy in the trade union movement, the housing program, equal pay for equal work, problems of the working youth).

The Communists proceed from the conviction that the monopolists will never satisfy the demands of the democratic movement, but neither can they withstand the combined pressure of all the democratic forces. Hence the unity of the democratic movement opens the way to radical social changes, enables the people to impose their will on the monopolies by peaceful means, employing for this purpose methods that can be easily understood and which accord with the cherished traditions of our people.

This does not preclude the possibility that at certain times the Communist Party will be obliged to advance demands or defend an opinion which cannot be accepted immediately by the whole or even a majority of the Left movement. The Communists will do everything possible to preserve the unity of the democratic forces short of departing from their Marxist-Leninist principles. This will require a high standard of ideological work on the part of the Communists.

More than half the delegates to the Congress were between the ages of 30 and 45, an indication that there has been greatly increased activity on the part of the generation that matured in the hard struggles of the 50's. No less signi-

ficant is the fact that 50 per cent of the delegates are functionaries of big mass organizations.

The Congress decided to hold a Party Building Year beginning on October 15, 1962. Party branches will be set up at major industrial enterprises and steps taken to strengthen the Party press. Communists are being urged to show more activity and to display greater initiative and imagination in conducting the work of Party organizations.

The Congress unanimously endorsed the report of the Central Committee and demonstrated the full political and ideological unity of the Party. However the Party is aware that there are still shortcomings to be overcome in its practical work, that a maximum effort on the part of every individual Communist will be needed to reinforce the unity and influence of the Party. The immediate task is to increase the size of the Party by recruiting new members from the more active elements of the democratic movement.

The objective possibilities for ushering in a new stage in the anti-monopoly struggle of the united democratic movement are there. The Twenty-First Congress of our Party can become an important landmark along this road. The practical efforts of the Communists together with all democratic forces are the decisive factor at the present time.

Kjeld OESTERLING

INDONESIA

THE Seventh National (Extraordinary) Congress of the Communist Party, held in April, described the period between the two last congresses as one of fierce struggle between the workers, peasants, the petty urban bourgeoisie, intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the imperialists, landowners, compradores and bureaucratic capital, on the other.

Seventeen years have passed since Indonesia proclaimed its independence, yet the people continue to languish in poverty. At the same time foreign capitalists are pumping huge profits out of the country. In 1958 alone, three oil companies (the American Caltex and Stanvac and the Anglo-Dutch Shell BPM) took out more than 2,360 million rupees, or \$52,400,000 (at the present rate of exchange).

In one year (up to July 1961) Indonesia lost \$240 million in rubber alone due to its economic dependence on the capitalist market and particularly to U.S. manipulations with raw material prices. This sum would have been enough to pay for four years of Indonesia's eight-year plan of development.

Nearly all the key branches of the economy have suffered a decline as a result of the machinations of the imperialists and their puppets within the country. This has led to a further drop in the living standards of the people. Prices for consumers' goods have risen two and a half times in the past 18 months. Domestic enterprises are working to barely 40 per cent of capacity, due to the reduction in the principal items of export. As a result many enterprises are closing down and unemployment is growing.

Several governments have come and gone since the proclamation of independence, but no radical changes have been made in the country's economy capable of ensuring Indonesia's economic independence.

The Party Congress declared that only by uprooting imperialism and feudalism and turning the colonial economy into a national and independent economy, as was demanded by the August revolution, will it be possible to achieve any substantial improvement in the situation.

In agriculture, in which more than 70 per cent of the population are engaged, feudal relations still prevail. The poor peasants and agricultural laborers are burdened by huge debts and are obliged to give up half and even more of their harvest in payment for the land; moreover, certain forms of forced labor are still practiced by the big landowners.

True, the government, under mass pressure, introduced legislation on the distribution of the harvest and an agrarian law which could serve as a legal basis for a land reform. But these laws merely restrict without abolishing the power of foreign monopoly capital and the big landowners.

There is no doubt that the people's struggle, inspired by the Communist Party, has borne fruit. This is seen from the fact that the popular demands have been incorporated in the official program of the government. The establishment of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, the Supreme Advisory Council, the National Planning Board and other state bodies in which the Communist and other democratic parties are represented is aimed at changing the political system in conformity with the people's demands.

However, it must be remembered that since no essential changes have been made in the government and state apparatus, there is no guarantee that firm measures will be taken against the forces of reaction. The latter are doing their utmost to undermine national unity. To this end they are stirring up anti-communism, chauvinism and race discrimination, resorting to such anti-democratic measures as the arrest of active trade unionists, an attempt to abolish the revolutionary trade unions, and the brutal suppression of the peasant movement. Sabotage, plunder and corruption are being stepped up by these elements. Attempts are being made to rob the "guided democracy" formula of its democratic content, and to turn "guidance" into a one-man dictatorship, the dictatorship of bureaucratic capital. Certain circles are trying to make use of the state of emergency to stifle democracy. They have taken advantage of the situation to seize a large measure of power, especially in the provinces.

The Communist Party's position is that only a Gotong Royong cabinet, i.e., a government based on representation of all parties (including the Communists), sincerely working for the ideals of the August revolution, can rally all the national forces to cope with the difficulties facing the country and the people at the present time.

The Communist Party Congress outlined some immediate measures for improving the position of the working people: to free the pea-

sants from the remnants of feudalism, allot land to the agricultural laborers and peasants at the expense of the big landed estates, give workers a say in the management of industry, put an end to corruption, to arbitrary rule of bureaucratic capital and the abuse of power.

For the fulfilment of these tasks it is essential above all to guarantee democratic rights to the people and to repeal the state of emergency where there is no need for it. The Communist Party considers that the cardinal issue of the day is summed up in the slogan: "Raise the Three Banners of the Nation" (democracy, unity and mobilization).

The ranks of the revolutionary movement are being joined by new forces. The correct policy of the Communist Party has won over to the side of the peasants broad sections of the urban population, including the intellectuals and civil servants. The failure of reactionary attempts to destroy the representative trade unions was an important victory for the trade union movement. A Joint Secretariat of Cooperation has been set up to combine the efforts of the different trade union centers, in which the decisive role is played by the SOBSI, the biggest revolutionary trade union organization, with more than three million members.

A significant step toward united action by the patriotic forces was the joint appeal issued by the Communist, Nationalist and Islam parties to strengthen national unity and fulfil the "Tri-Command of the people" (President Sukarno's appeal to foil the attempts of the Dutch colonialists to set up a Papuan puppet state, to free West Irian, be prepared for general mobilization, for the defense of the independence and unity of the homeland and nation).

The Communist Party points the way to the strengthening of national unity. This can be done primarily through cooperation within the framework of NASAKOM (cooperation of nationalist, religious groups and Communists). Another urgent task is to strengthen and democratize the National Front. National unity and democracy must be introduced into legislative and executive bodies, into the enterprise councils, the production councils, the distributive councils and other public organizations both in the center and in the outlying areas. The keystone of national unity should be the anti-feudal alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat.

To broaden and consolidate unity it is necessary to strengthen and augment the ranks of the Communist Party. The reactionaries, realizing their mistake in attacking all parties simultaneously, have changed their tactics and are now concentrating all their big guns against the Communists. Publication of several journals

circulated under the auspices of the Communist Party and several Party publications in the provinces has been suspended by the authorities. The newspaper *Harian Rakjat* has been closed time and again and its distribution in South Sumatra and Djambi is still banned. The reactionaries tried to undermine the role of the Communist Party by turning the National Front organization into a government party. However all attempts to crush the Communist Party have failed.

The Communist Party is growing rapidly. It now has more than two million members. Its influence among the people, and especially the working class, is growing. It has scored some notable successes recently in its work among the peasants. Its influence on the youth, and particularly the student movement, is spreading. The Pemuda Rakjat, an organization which trains the youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, has a membership of more than 1,250,000. Thanks to the Party's efforts democratic national culture is gaining ground. This is apparent in the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist trend

to be observed in the work of progressive playwrights, sculptors, painters and film workers.

The ideological education of its members continues to be the chief concern of the Party. A second three-year plan of educational and organizational work has been drawn up in which the chief accent is laid on ideology. Special attention is paid to extending the network of Party schools and popular study courses. The plan provides also for expanding the ranks of the Party and mass organizations.

The Congress called for an improvement in work with Party cadres, urging that they be properly utilized and more readily promoted. Stressing the need for more vigilance to guard against the penetration of reactionary agents into the Party ranks, the Congress at the same time pointed out that vigilance should not be allowed to prevent the sons of the people from giving their best service to the revolution.

The Congress outlined ways of strengthening the influence of the Party among the various strata of the population. H. YUNUS

COSTA RICA

THE People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica held its Ninth Congress in the middle of April. It was attended by 80 delegates from all the seven provinces of Costa Rica.

The Costa Rican Party is at present functioning in semi-illegality. Some important aspects of its work, however, have been legalized. Evidence of this is the holding of the Congress itself, all preparations for which were conducted quite openly.

Naturally, the right to a certain amount of legality and some measure of freedom was not won without a struggle.

The main report to the Congress, which reviewed the work of the Party in the ten years since the Eighth Congress, noted that the entire activity of the Party in this period had been closely linked with the solution of the urgent social and political problems confronting the country. The Party had made considerable progress in overcoming difficulties and rebuilding its ranks after the defeat in the civil war of 1948 and the subsequent repressions. In recent years it has begun to play a more noticeable role in national life and is marching in the front ranks of the masses who are fighting for their rights and for national independence. In 1959-1960 the Party took an active part in the general strike at the United Fruit Company banana plantations and in several other actions.

Both the main report as well as the speeches of the delegates emphasized that notwithstanding the obvious progress the Party had made as regards organization, the marked qualitative and quantitative growth of its ranks, and

its growing influence among the masses, it is still weak in relation to the tasks and the responsibilities devolving upon it. The Congress stressed that the organizational and ideological strengthening of the Party are tasks of first-rate importance, and that the Party must at least double its membership by the Tenth Congress, which is to be held in two years' time.

The resolution underlines that the machinations of the imperialists are being frustrated by the growing solidarity with Cuba of the Latin American peoples who see in Cuba's achievements the fulfilment of their own ideals of well-being, independence and freedom.

The new Party Rules, which were widely discussed in the Party before being adopted by the Congress, take into account the rich experience of our own and of fraternal parties.

Present developments show that the Party is growing and will continue to grow notwithstanding the repressive measures taken against it. Costa Rica is the scene of a constant struggle between the enemies of freedom, nurtured and financed by the U.S. monopolies, and the democratic forces which are headed by our Party. The entire struggle of the working class, the peasantry, the student youth and intelligentsia is taking place against the background of anti-communist hysteria. The continual attacks on civil liberties strike also at our national sovereignty. But the Communists of Costa Rica are exerting every effort to create a bigger and stronger party, one capable of leading the masses along the path of social progress and national independence. Oscar VARGAS

Britain: Party Education

THE fight to inject the ideas of scientific socialism—Marxism-Leninism—into the Labor movement is an important task of the British Communists. This is not an easy job because the Labor movement has a long tradition of "practicalism" and "aversion to theory" which has long proved an obstacle to its development and victory.

Today clarity on a number of key questions of theory are the pre-conditions for political advance. Such questions, which are in the center of discussion amongst the advanced sections of the British working class are: What are the main economic features of contemporary capitalism? Why have we had no slump of the character of the 'thirties? What should be the attitude of socialists to nationalization under capitalism? Can we speak of "imperialism" today in the "old sense," in view of the advance of a number of former colonial countries to political independence? What is the nature of democracy and freedom under socialism and under capitalism? Is a transition to socialism without armed conflict possible, especially in Britain? Is peaceful coexistence possible in the present world situation? Is the leadership of the Communist Party essential for the advance to socialism in Britain? Could not the Labor Party, purged of the Right-wing, play the decisive role in the advance to socialism in Britain?

Education in the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the development of understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory, therefore plays a very important part in the work of the Communist Party in Great Britain. Each year the Executive Committee of the Party reviews the experiences and problems arising in this sphere and outlines a plan of work for the subsequent year. The main direction of the education work has been—and remains—the study of the basic theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism in the light of the specific conditions and problems of the British Labor movement. Thus the study of our program—*The British Road to Socialism*—and of the basic problems of the Labor movement occupy a central place in our system of Party education.

The educational work is many-sided. First there is the education provided for the general membership in the branches, in the form of branch classes. These normally take the form of four or five special sessions, each of which lasts from 1.5-2.5 hours. These classes are based on one or other of a number of syllabuses which have been prepared over the past few years:

e.g., "Political Economy," "Imperialism," "Classes and the Class Struggle," "Problems of the Advance to Socialism," "Marxism v. Reformism," "Socialism and the British Labor Movement," "The British Labor Movement," "The British State," "The Role of the Communist Party in the Working-Class Struggle."

However, although the branches thus have a wide selection of themes on which to base their branch education, each individual education plan includes proposals for syllabuses aimed to illuminate current political tasks and campaigns of the Party.

Thus the educational plan for the school year September 1961 to September 1962 was linked with the major Party effort — the Party Building Year. This was initiated in June 1961 and terminated in June 1962. At this period 6,900 new members were won. This raises important theoretical questions before the Party. The most important of these questions is the role of the Party and its organizational structure in the new conditions. To help clarify this question a syllabus called "The Role of the Communist Party" has been re-issued and efforts have been made to make it the main basis of Party branch education during the course of the Party Building Year. Additional material on the role and organization of the Party branches, as well as special educational material for new members, is in preparation.

In addition to syllabuses for systematic Party education spread over four or five evenings, special educational material is issued from time to time for discussion in the branches during one particular evening. Such material includes: "Notes on Nationalization," "The Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties (1960)" and on the decisions of our Party congresses.

Along with this general branch education, efforts are made to organize more advanced education. These consist firstly of the encouragement of self-study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the organization of Party schools of different kinds and catering for different levels of theoretical development. The method adopted for encouraging self-study is the organizing of small groups of comrades, the members of which agree to undertake an intensive course of study of selected books, or parts of books, related to some major aspect of Marxist-Leninist theory. The course usually lasts for six months. The members of the group are all expected to do the reading and to meet once every month to discuss any problems which have arisen.

The Party schools are organized either by branches or areas, sometimes for one day, sometimes for a weekend, and they deal with questions such as "The Common Market" or "The Program of the CPSU," "Problems of the Advance to Socialism," etc. District Committees also organize weekend schools, often for three days. Then there are the national schools, organized on the responsibility of the Executive Committee, which last for seven days.

Many districts organize special schools for women comrades and young Communists.

The National Schools aim to give a concentrated course of study. These schools are mainly devoted to the study of our Party program, *The British Road to Socialism*, although the syllabus is often varied, sometimes dealing with the "History of the British Labor Movement," "Political Economy," "Marxist Philosophy," etc.

In addition, special schools are frequently organized in collaboration with specialist groupings of the Party. For example, special weeks' schools have been organized together with our Party economists, to study "British capitalism since the Second World War" and also weekend schools on "Britain and the Common Market." A week's school was recently organized to study "Marxism and Problems of Culture." At the moment, the main attention is being given to the organization of schools for branch

secretaries and branch officials and of classes for new members.

At the outset of the Party Building Year the aim was adopted of involving a minimum of 300 branch secretaries in a special course embracing study of the role of the Party, the organization and tasks of Party branches and the Party's electoral work, in order to strengthen politically the basic units of the Party—the Party branches. In a number of geographically convenient centers, branch secretaries from adjacent districts were brought together for three days to study these problems.

The recruiting to date and the new recruits which we are certain will be won in the period ahead call for the education of the new members in the principles of communism, their introduction to Marxist-Leninist theory and integration into the life of the Party. Special classes for new members have been organized, although nothing like as many as are required. A new educational booklet on the Communist Party, to be given to every new recruit, is in preparation, as are special week-end and three-days schools for new members.

Priority in our Party education will continue to be given to the political education of our new members and of branch secretaries and officials.

Jack COHEN

Lessons Must Be Drawn from the 1962 Elections

(A Letter from West Bengal)

THE general elections held throughout India in February 1962 developed into a big political battle of the democratic masses against reaction. In West Bengal the principal feature of the elections was the struggle to replace the existing Congress government in the state by an alternative, democratic government. Although in the previous general elections of 1957 the progressive forces in West Bengal could not achieve such a success as they did in the state of Kerala, they won 99 (including 46 Communists) out of 252 seats in the State Legislative Assembly. Moreover, the ruling Congress Party had suffered disastrous defeats in the Greater Calcutta industrial area which emerged as a powerful center of the democratic movement.

During the period of 1957-1962 powerful mass struggles led by the Communist Party took place in West Bengal. Notable among these were the movements for reduction in the price of grain in 1959, the protests against the dismissal of the Kerala government; the general strike

of government employees; the struggle of peasants for surplus land illegally held by the landlords; the teachers' strike for higher salaries; and demonstrations and strikes for the defense of the rights of minorities.

It was against this background that the 1962 elections took place. The Communist Party took the initiative in building up a united front of six leftist parties, and this front was joined by some leading progressive individuals, former members of the Congress Party. The local and foreign capitalists expressed their apprehension about the possibilities of a new, democratic government emerging from the elections. The disruptive leadership of the Praja Socialist Party refused to join the united front, as it had done in 1957 and this had its effect on the results.

The results may be summed up as follows: The Congress Party's candidates won five seats more than in 1957 but polled 342,483 fewer votes. The democratic forces won four seats fewer

than in 1957, but polled 700,000 more votes. The percentage of votes polled by the united Left front rose from 26.95 to 35.53.

At the same time, the Congress succeeded in substantially increasing its strength in Greater Calcutta and some of the adjacent rural areas, and won a majority of seats in these regions. If the position and importance of Calcutta in the political life of West Bengal are taken into consideration, this means a serious reverse for the Left front, which, however, made important gains at the expense of the Congress in many of the latter's former rural strongholds.

The Communist Party won 50 seats and polled 2,380,000 votes as against 1,860,000 in 1957. Its percentage of the total votes polled went up from 17.82 to 23.91. In the simultaneous elections to the all-Indian Parliament, the Congress won 22 seats in the state (1957: 23) out of a total of 36. The Communist Party won nine seats (1957: 6) including three out of four in Calcutta city, and the percentage of votes polled by it increased from 19 to 29.8.

Commenting on the West Bengal results, the *Hindustan Times*, an organ of the Indian monopoly capitalists, wrote on March 9, 1962: "The Communists have emerged stronger after the elections . . . The most significant aspect of the election is the emergence of the Communist Party in the rural areas."

The bitterly anti-communist, anti-unity PSP could win only five seats as against 21 in 1957, while the openly Right-wing and reactionary communal parties like Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and Swatantra were utterly routed and failed to win a single seat.

The overall picture that emerges from an analysis of the voting shows that despite the increased economic difficulties for which the ruling party is responsible, many sections of the working people are still under the influence of the Congress Party.

The experience of the election campaign in West Bengal has clearly demonstrated that while the slogan of an alternative democratic government was the correct slogan in the prevailing conditions, it is not enough to advance a correct slogan. It is essential to take the necessary political and organizational measures to implement that slogan.

When the slogan for using the elections to break the ruling party's monopoly of power is put forward, the ruling classes are bound to adopt all kinds of tactics (anti-communist slanders, intimidation and violence, corruption, misuse of the state machinery, financial pressure, etc.) in a desperate bid to defend their position. In this situation, it was all the more necessary for the Communist Party and its allies to mobilize all their strength and to exercise keen poli-

tical vigilance. But the forces of the Left front were not organized sufficiently for this purpose.

The ideological line of attack against the Communists was well planned, intelligently organized and flexibly executed. The anti-communist propaganda was far more bitter and much more extensive than in 1957. Speeches, leaflets, posters, pamphlets and wall newspapers, distributed by the Congress Party, were full of vituperation and slander against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Their main purpose was to "prove" that democracy, civil liberties, political rights of the citizens, and personal freedoms do not exist under communist regimes. To this end, they employed all sorts of fabrications, half-truths and distortions about, for example, the consequences of the cult of personality in the USSR, the Hungarian events of 1956, and so on.

Against Communists in general, and the Indian Communists in particular, accusations were made that they are the enemies of all private property, including that of land, a house, shop, small business, etc.; it was alleged that their victory would mean suppression of all religious rights, desecration of places of worship, that the Communists are not patriots and that in case of their victory they would support the territorial demands on India.

There can be no doubt that this offensive of anti-communism created a good deal of confusion and vacillation among various sections. The urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie, a section of the intelligentsia, and those unorganized masses among whom religious and caste traditions and dogmas are particularly strong, were affected to a greater or lesser degree.

The Election Review of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party admits:

"We were unable to give fitting replies in time to the slanders and lies spread by the Congress. We did not get timely information as to the scale on which different types of misleading propaganda were being carried on by the Congress, how it was organized, how many people were confused and, to what extent, by such propaganda. As a result, we could not counter all of it in time."

The elections revealed a serious weakness in the Party's ideological work among the masses. It is not enough to expose the negative aspects of Congress rule. Greater emphasis must be placed on the positive policies and program of the Party. We must present convincing answers to the arguments put forward by the anti-communists.

Our trade union activity, mainly on day-to-day economic issues, provided a basis which was too weak to counteract the bourgeois ideological campaign of anti-communism, religious

chauvinism, etc. At the same time, the best election results were found precisely in those areas where strong Party units and strong mass organizations exist.

The peasants' organization (Kisan Sabha) led by the Party also showed serious weaknesses. In places where there were sectarian trends in the movement, reactionaries in the countryside were able either to turn the middle and rich peasants against us or to confuse them. Where the movement had been mainly confined to agricultural laborers and share-croppers, and the middle peasantry had only confused ideas about our program, these latter sections largely went over to the Congress, even taking with them part of the poor peasantry. On the other hand, in places where we succeeded in exposing the government's policies we got mass support despite our organizational weaknesses.

The immediate tasks now facing the Party

are to improve its ideological work and the style of its political agitation; to popularize in detail its program for the all-round reconstruction of the nation's life; to strengthen the mass work in the organizations of workers, peasants, students, youth and women and to take special steps to organize and improve Party education and the Party press.

Conditions for carrying out our work have improved. This year's elections have shown that the organized section of the working class (including white-collar employees), agricultural laborers and poor peasants have come out more firmly than before in support of the united leftist front; and the election activity has brought forward many new potential cadres who are eager to join the Party and to study the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. All this we must use in the coming struggle.

A. G.

Changes in the Work of Party Branches in Cuba

CHANGES in the methods of building the primary organizations of the ORI (Integrated Revolutionary Organizations) in Havana province are described in the June issue of the journal *Cuba Socialista*.

General meetings of workers are convened at the enterprises and cooperatives and on the nationalized estates with the participation of representatives appointed by the organizational commission of the National Leadership of the ORI. At these meetings the names of the best workers, those considered worthy of being members of the United Party of Socialist Revolution, are announced. These are workers who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the Cuban revolution by their self-sacrificing work, their direct participation in the defense of the republic and by the constant endeavor to heighten their political consciousness.

Although conscientious work is the main criterion by which they judge whether a person is qualified for membership in the ORI, the workers themselves, the journal declares, do not consider it enough. An exemplary worker is one who is fired with revolutionary fervor, who is ready to defend the socialist revolution at all costs, whose morals are irreproachable, whose past is unblemished by collaboration with the tyrannical regime, and specifically, by participation in the election farce staged by Batista in 1958.

By June more than 400 such general meetings had been held at most of the key enterprises in Greater Havana. Some 3,000 exemplary work-

ers were nominated for membership of the Party and more than 40 per cent of them were accepted.

The journal notes that the meetings were remarkable for the activity shown by the workers. They were unsparing in their criticism of sectarian mistakes, censured careerists and idlers, exposed hostile elements, revealed shortcomings in the work of enterprises and of individual comrades and called for greater activity and political vigilance.

Such meetings, the article emphasizes, confirm the correctness of the new line of policy on Party building, which consists in enlisting the direct participation of the masses and in mass control of the composition of the Party.

Discussion of the candidacy of the workers deemed worthy of belonging to a Marxist-Leninist party, the article continues, not only gives the working masses an opportunity to participate directly in building up their own political vanguard, but destroys sectarian conceptions concerning the methods of building the Party.

These meetings do not complete the task of reorganizing the work of Party branches. They merely begin the process. Active revolutionary branches must reorganize themselves, replenishing their ranks mainly with workers who have won the confidence and respect of their comrades. As for those who are already members of previously established ORI branches but who were not nominated at meetings as exemplary workers, their candidacy must also be

examined at general meetings of workers after discussion by the branches and by the organizational commission of the National Leadership of the ORI.

The general meetings, the article concludes, are a splendid political school, demonstrating the high level of consciousness of the working people and their loyalty to the revolution.

Meetings of Central Committees

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

The role of the intellectual in the Party's struggle was discussed, with prominent scientists and cultural workers taking part. The meeting also discussed a report of the activities of the Political Bureau. Assessing the significance of the successful strike in the metallurgical industry which involved more than 200,000 workers, it noted that the strike dealt a serious blow to the theory and practice of "social partnership."

COMMUNIST PARTY OF BULGARIA

A report on the fulfilment of the tasks set by the conference of Party, government and economic workers was discussed. Reports were considered of the work of the conference of representatives of the Communist parties of the member-countries of the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance and of the visit of a Party and government delegation from the Soviet Union.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

Concrete measures were outlined for implementing the resolutions of the Twelfth Congress of the Party, and the question of the Party's participation in the coming municipal and presidential elections was discussed. Representatives of the Socialist and National-Democratic parties present at the meeting supported the Communist Party's appeal for the consolidation of the Popular Action Front.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

The growth of the fascist danger in France, the struggle for the economic demands of the workers and the question of educational work in the Party were examined. The meeting outlined a program of struggle for genuine democracy and for a higher living standard for the working people. Demands were advanced for a guaranteed minimum wage of 220 francs an hour, a 40-hour week, a four weeks' paid holiday, democratic reform of the tax system, nationalization of the monopolies and democratization of nationalized enterprises.

SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

The meeting heard a statement by Walter Ulbricht on international problems and the report

of the Political Bureau, adopted a decision on measures to ensure a further improvement in the work of the Council of Ministers, and approved the draft of an "Outline of the History of the German Working-Class Movement," which is to be submitted for discussion to the working class of the GDR and West Germany.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

The meeting discussed the document entitled "The Historic Task of the GDR and the Future of Germany," which had been adopted by the National Council of the National Front of the GDR. An appeal to the people entitled "End the Adenauer Era," setting forth the policy of peace and democracy proposed by the Communist Party for the Federal Republic, was adopted.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

The meeting discussed the political situation and the work of the Communists in the trade unions. It addressed an appeal to the opposition parties to join in a common struggle against the Karamanlis government. The appeal points out that the intensification of the popular struggle to cancel the results of the elections would enable all the opposition forces to secure the dissolution of Parliament and the establishment of a government supported by all parties.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GUADELOUPE

A resolution on the report of the Party delegation to the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU was endorsed and the solidarity of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe with the CPSU recorded.

HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

The results of the conference of the member-countries of the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance, the situation in the machine-building industry and its further tasks were examined. The plan of work of the Central Committee for the second half of 1962 was endorsed. A decision was taken to hold the next Party congress on November 20.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

A resolution "For Peace and General Disarmament" was adopted. Other resolutions dealt with the tasks in the fight for peace in the Middle

East and condemned the discriminatory policy of the government toward the Arab population.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF JORDAN

The meeting approved the conclusions drawn by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. Its resolution dealt in detail with the Party's tasks in fighting for the unity of all the patriotic national forces and for the establishment of a government of national democracy.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO

The draft of a new Party Program was discussed and approved. A decision was adopted to call the Fourteenth National Congress of the Party. Besides the report of the Central Committee, the Congress will discuss the draft Program and changes in the Party Rules.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE NETHERLANDS

The political situation in the Netherlands following the elections to the Provincial States and the Municipal Councils was discussed.

Short Notices

Austria

The future of the youth was the subject of an animated discussion at a mass youth conference arranged by the Communist Party in Vienna. Some of the topics examined were "Youth and Politics," "Profession and Wages and the Possibilities of Finding Work," "The Young Family," "Education, Science and Culture," and "Sport and Tourism."

Belgium

The *Drapeau Rouge*, central organ of the Communist Party, has held its annual fete at the sport stadium in Wavre. The gathering, attended by friends and readers of the newspaper and guests from other countries, was addressed by the leaders of the Party.

Colombia

The Communist Party has held its first national conference on agricultural problems.

France

The Communist Party enrolled 33,500 new members between January and May of this year. In the same period, 1,251 new branches were formed, including 802 at industrial enterprises.

The first issue of *Tribune du Peuple*, a new Communist Party monthly, came out in Strasbourg in June. It is published in French and German and is intended for the population of the three eastern departments.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU

The meeting discussed the participation of the Communists in presidential and parliamentary elections and the strengthening of the principles of democratic centralism within the Party. A resolution was adopted on the report of the delegation to the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU expressing full agreement with the line of the CPSU.

WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY OF VIETNAM

The meeting discussed the condition and perspectives of industry, the general direction and concrete measures for the socialist industrialization of North Vietnam. Directives were outlined covering the first stage of the establishment of the material and technical base of socialism and industrial development in the first five-year plan.

Great Britain

The Communist Party has published a statement appealing to the British people not to allow Britain to be drawn into the European Common Market. This act of national betrayal, it states, would mean higher prices for food and the prime necessities which Britain usually imports from the Commonwealth countries.

Italy

The agricultural committee of the Communist Party has drawn up proposals for establishing government bodies for the promotion of agriculture which would have the right to expropriate the land belonging to the big landlords with a view to implementing the agrarian reform.

Mongolian People's Republic

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has decided to teach social sciences in higher and specialized secondary schools. Beginning with the next school year, the history of the international Communist and Workers' movement will be included in the school curriculum.

Polish People's Republic

Some 200,000 people joined the Polish United Workers' Party last year. Most of them (69.4 per cent) are engaged in production. In all, there are 524,000 workers in the Party, or 40.1 per cent of the total membership.

Rumanian People's Republic

The Rumanian Workers' Party has a membership of 900,000. Of these 51.13 per cent are workers and 22.69 per cent peasants.

West Berlin

A conference of the West Berlin organization

of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany addressed an open letter to the population of West Berlin calling on them to fight for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and for turning West Berlin into a demilitarized free city.

Exchange of Views

The Role of Women in Modern Society*

Anezka Hodinova-Spurna (Czechoslovakia)

IN bourgeois Czechoslovakia the equality of woman was formally guaranteed by the Constitution. In reality, however, women held a subordinate position in the family. They had little or no access to education, scant possibility of learning a trade, and some professions and public positions were completely closed to them. Their wages in the factories and the fields were half the wages of men. Expectant mothers were dismissed so as to avoid paying them maternity benefits. Motherhood care was virtually non-existent. Something like compulsory celibacy for women existed in the civil service. Mothers of children born out of wedlock were humiliated and dismissed. Women were particularly hard hit by the economic crisis and the consequent unemployment, of which they were the first victims.

The whole of our revolutionary experience has shown that women's fight for equality can succeed only if they join forces with the men in the common struggle for the victory of socialism. The very first policy document adopted on the eve of the complete liberation of our country—the Kosice Program of April 1945—clearly proclaimed that "equality for women will be consistently carried out in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life." These words were soon followed by deeds with the nationalization of industry, the land reform and the establishment of national committees as organs of people's power. Our new Constitution, which came into force in July 1960, sets forth: "Men and women enjoy an

equal position in the family, in labor and in public life."

Our ideological opponents — sometimes out of ignorance but more often with malicious intent — judge the equality of women under socialism by their own philistine standards. They claim that socialism places excessive demands on woman, entirely disregarding biological facts. But the cornerstone of the Marxist concept of social equality is the abolition of classes, the socialization of the means of production, and freedom from exploitation for each and every member of society. In this sense the women's problem has been solved in our country. Socialism, in its legislation and in practice, takes into account woman's biological peculiarities, and does everything to enable her, without unduly taxing her strength, to combine labor and public life with her important social mission—motherhood.

As a result of the new political and social conditions which emerged after 1945, and especially after February 1948, our country repeated the "miracle" performed in Russia: woman, but recently a "second-rate" member of society with no rights, is today an active figure in the life of the country. Between 20 and 30 per cent of all the deputies elected to various organs of state government are women. We have two women members in the government; thousands are working as judges, and more are active in trade unions and other organizations. Women comprise 16.5 per cent of the members of district Party committees and 17 per cent of the regional committees.

The number of working women is constantly rising: from 37.8 per cent in 1948 to 42.7

*Continued from No. 7, 1962.

per cent at the beginning of 1961. During the past three years approximately 110,000 working women have been added to the labor force. There is an especially large number of women in such branches as the consumer goods industry, in the distributive trade, health, education and cultural institutions. Women make up the majority of the workers in the agricultural cooperatives (about 60 per cent). But they are also to be found in the machine-building, chemical and other industries.

The emancipation of women is, however, not an altogether smooth process. For example, women still earn less on the average than men. This is particularly evident in the fact that the share of women among the higher paid workers is small as compared with the overall participation of women in the economy. The chief reason for this is the low skills of large numbers of women. To some extent it is part of the legacy inherited from bourgeois Czechoslovakia. The conservative notion that women are unfit for some trades, that they are not sufficiently capable still exists. On the other hand, it must be admitted that women do not yet take full advantage of such facilities as free tuition at all levels, the state, regional and factory educational grants, the extensive network of schools in which people can study without leaving their jobs.

At present the principal means of learning a trade is by attending evening school, but with all our achievements this still presents major difficulties for women, particularly since working women have still to devote much of their time to housework.

We are constantly increasing the number of nurseries, kindergartens, extended school groups and clubs, public catering, the production of semi-prepared foods, and other services designed to lighten the burden of women. But though the figures are imposing there is still a shortage of nurseries and kindergartens, the standard of the catering and other services are not always as high or the cost as low as could be wished, and the laundries, shoe repair and similar establishments do not fulfil orders quickly enough.

How can this situation be improved?

Socialism gives women extensive opportunities for displaying initiative. Women comprise 29.4 per cent of the total number of active trade unionists. Besides the workers' assistance funds in the factories, there are financial and other possibilities which, if added to the funds of the national committees, could be used to build factory nurseries and kindergartens, to open laundries, shoe-repair and other such services, directly at the factories.

In the countryside the change that has taken place in the social position of women is even more striking than in industry and in the cities, inasmuch as the social and economic oppression of peasant women was particularly grim. Moreover, women take more readily than men to new forms of labor organization and new methods of work. But these changes are not taking place as quickly as one might wish. This can be attributed to the as yet inadequate mechanization of agriculture (especially of work done by women), to the low standard of organization of work in some cooperatives, and to the departure of young people from the villages. Mechanization of agriculture will be substantially increased within the next few years, a prospect which makes technical training of peasant women more urgent.

I should like to dwell on the question of the family. We know that in the capitalist world many people still have a completely distorted conception of the socialist family. Yet it is precisely socialism, and only socialism, that places the family on a truly sound foundation, inasmuch as with exploitation and economic oppression gone, material considerations need no longer play any part in marriage. The economic equality of woman has created the conditions for her full equality in the family. Free medical services, nurseries, kindergartens and prolonged school-day groups which are paid for according to income, wage bonuses for men and women with families, cheap meals in schools, free textbooks, grants, low prices for children's clothing and footwear—all are designed to facilitate the maintenance of families, and especially big families. Thanks to this the family in our country is playing an increasing role as an important factor in the upbringing of the new generation.

At the same time, of course, we endeavor to make the family part of a combined educational front together with the schools and public organizations, primarily the youth organizations.

However, we still encounter some negative facts.

For example, there has lately been a drop in the number of births and an increase in abortions. True, under a law adopted in 1957, artificial termination of pregnancy is effected in hospitals free of charge. The chief thing, however, is that our society cherishes motherhood. We have a broad network of children's clinics, and prenatal consultation centers. Maternity hospitals, like all other hospitals, are free. Our women have 18-weeks maternity leave, and they receive a grant of 650 crowns on the birth of each child; labor laws protect the rights of women during pregnancy and

motherhood and guarantee their jobs on return to work.

The data on the relation of the number of births to abortions compel us to make a serious study of the reasons for this regrettable situation and to seek to remove the causes without delay. In order to strengthen the socialist family we proposed to make arrangements to enable young people to learn something about marital problems (through

medical institutions, schools, youth organizations, etc.) before marriage.

We are well aware that socialism cannot fully solve the woman's question all at once. This can only be achieved under communism. But we also know that the higher the consciousness of the working women, the nearer we shall be to communism. The women of Czechoslovakia regard the awakening of this consciousness as their international duty toward the working women of the whole world.

Maasje Siwi (Indonesia)

THE problem of the political, economic and cultural equality of women can be solved completely only under socialism. In the building of the new society, our sisters in the socialist countries are making a great contribution, and their example is a powerful stimulus to the women who still have to fight for their equality.

The semi-colonial and semi-feudal set-up of Indonesian society is reflected in the status of Indonesian women. Conservative traditions and conventions weigh heavily upon them. They still suffer from such forms of discrimination as forced marriages, arbitrary divorces, no guaranteed equal rights in marriage with regard to children and inheritance, child marriages and polygamy. The absence of a just and democratic marriage law puts them at a serious disadvantage in the family.

Working women are subjected to direct exploitation and oppression by the capitalist system and suffer from the remnants of colonial and feudal relations whether they work in factories in the towns or as agricultural laborers in the villages. There are several forms of discrimination against women. Women workers who marry are dismissed from their jobs; women have fewer opportunities of promotion than men; women are forbidden by law to occupy the post of village elder, however well qualified they may be for the position. There is also discrimination in wages, social insurance, etc.

The struggle for the genuine emancipation of women in Indonesia has two aspects. On the one hand, it is a struggle for women's rights, for equality before the law and in practice. On the other hand, it is a struggle for economic demands, against discrimination caused by the prevailing capitalist and feudal relations. It cannot be separated from the struggle for democracy, national independence, socialism and peace.

The Indonesian women's movement emerged along with the national awakening of the In-

donesian people, amidst the misery and suffering brought about by Dutch colonialism and the feudal system. The August revolution of 1945 improved the position of Indonesian women to some extent. For example, there are now 45 women members of the Provisional Consultative People's Congress, the highest organ of the state, which has a total of 500 members. Moreover, 24 of the 260 members of Parliament are women. There are approximately 100 women members of local legislative councils, five women members of the National Planning Board, two women on the Supreme Advisory Council and nine women on the Central Board of the National Front.

But our people have not yet won all the demands advanced by the August revolution of 1945: the final eradication of imperialism, colonialism and all the remnants of feudalism. That is why the women's organizations continue to take an active part in the struggle for the emancipation of women. Almost all the political parties are setting up women's organizations.

The Communist Party of Indonesia has always attached the greatest importance to the women's movement and to the establishment of progressive women's organizations. It was thanks to the efforts of the Communist women that the Gerwani, which has developed into a mass revolutionary organization with a membership of over a million, was set up. Basing itself chiefly on women workers and peasants, the Gerwani unites in its ranks all women who are still suffering from colonialism and feudalism. It is affiliated to the Congress of Indonesian Women, the central body which unites about 30 women's organizations, and is a member of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

The Communist Party has always regarded work among women as one of the most important aspects of its policy, work which

demands specific methods and organizational forms. Hence the Party devotes particular attention to questions of propaganda among women, the training of special cadres responsible for work in the women's movement as a whole, as well as the question of women's cadres and women's groups inside the Party itself.

In his report to the Seventh Congress of our Party in April of this year Comrade Aidit underlined the significance of the national seminar of peasant women held in December 1960, and the national seminar of women workers held in May 1961. He recommended holding a national seminar of young women, stressing the need to promote the all-round education of women Communists, in order that their "intellect, aspirations and sentiments develop as broadly and as deeply as possible." This, Comrade Aidit stressed, is a question that is often ignored by many Party committees and consequently maximum effort must be made to remedy this situation. To this end he proposed that special lectures on improving Party work among women be held in Party schools at all levels, that the number of special Party schools be increased and that district conferences of women Communists be held more frequently.

At the present time, in the face of the

mounting economic difficulties, women at the risk of arrest and persecution are organizing mass actions demanding lower prices for daily necessities.

Supporting the Party's slogan—"a rifle in one hand and a spade in the other!"—the women are insisting on being allowed to join in military training in preparation for the struggle for the liberation of West Irian.

In conclusion I should like to stress the following points:

1. Women today are taking an increasingly active part in the struggle of their peoples for democracy, national independence, socialism and peace.

2. In countries where the problem of women's equality is not yet solved, powerful revolutionary mass women's organizations must be established as a prerequisite for strengthening the women's movement in general and the revolutionary movement of the people as a whole. Women Communists should be the backbone of this movement.

3. In countries still suffering from colonial and imperialist oppression, and particularly from American imperialism, the struggle for the emancipation of women should be linked primarily with the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for national independence, democracy and world peace.

Alicja Musialowa (Poland)

THE socialist changes have radically transformed the position of women in our country. The number of women engaged in production has more than doubled compared with prewar. In the old Poland there were 400,000 women domestic servants (over 30 per cent of working women), over 500,000 women farm laborers and 338,000 women industrial workers. Today domestic servants account for only 0.5 per cent of all working women.

Over 900,000 women are engaged in industry (some 45 per cent of working women). In 1961 the number of women and men workers was respectively: in trade 421,000 and 323,000, in the health service 246,000 and 82,000, in education, science and culture 296,000 and 183,000. If we exclude peasant women, one out of four women is engaged in production. In the prewar period it was one out of ten and, excluding women domestic servants, one out of 18.

Compared with 1936-37 the number of young women graduating from higher educational establishments has increased more than four times, and young women with a specialized secondary education—more than twice. In 1960

women accounted for 30 per cent of all workers with higher education. What is especially important is that the percentage of young women from working-class and peasant families among them has shown a particularly sharp increase.

Women in our country are prohibited by law from employment on heavy work. Technological advance, however, and especially automation, makes many formerly prohibited trades accessible to women. Today they are becoming even easier than the so-called "traditional" women's trades.

The political activity of women is steadily growing. In 1957 there were 19 women M.P.s in the Sejm, today there are 60. The number of women members of the people's councils has increased by 10 per cent since 1957. Women account for 40 per cent of the membership of the People's Unity Front committees, over 50 per cent of the housing committees, and over 70 per cent of the school committees.

Maternity and child welfare is guaranteed by law (maternity leave, shorter hours for nursing mothers, etc.). Ninety per cent of all

children born are delivered by trained personnel, and there is a growing number of welfare establishments.

The number of women's consultation centers has increased many times over. In the rural areas it has risen from 189 in 1958 to 1,135. Before the war there were only 30 crèches in our country, in 1960 we had 952. The kindergartens are now catering for 400,000 children (the prewar figure was 80,000). Schools with an extended day, which were totally nonexistent before the war, are attended by over 200,000 children.

Household chores are being increasingly lightened and modernized. We are establishing centers in the countryside (today there are about 5,000) at which housewives can borrow appliances and implements needed for housework and work on the family plot.

Our social system itself assists the development of a sound family life. According to the present law the woman has equal rights with the man in the bringing up of children. The economic position of either party is not, as a rule, the decisive factor in marriage.

Such, briefly, are the achievements of our Party in tackling the women's question. The Party conducts its work among women mainly through the Women's League which, as was pointed out at the Third Party Congress, should become a school of civic education for women. The aim of the League is to draw all women into socialist construction, catering for their everyday needs and interests. It studies closely the position of the various groups of women and passes on their views and demands to the Party and state bodies, and makes proposals for the solution of various problems. In this way it rallies the masses of women around the Party.

However, women are not everywhere taking full advantage of the benefits made available under the socialist system. There is still a serious lack of highly qualified women. Women have yet to catch up with men in holding leading posts in the various fields of public life. For instance, there are only 108 women directors of industrial enterprises out of a total of 5,000. Although equal pay for equal work is enforced by law in our country, very few women are engaged in highly-paid industries such as iron and steel, some branches of the chemical industry, precision engineering. As a result the average wage rates of women are generally lower than those of men.

It is very difficult for women to combine work in production with motherhood. The number of married women workers has increased 4.5 times since the war, and the increase in the number of working women

exceeds the rate of nursery school building. The kindergartens, particularly in rural areas, cannot cater for all who need them. Alongside the efforts of the state in this direction, the Friends of Children Society is seeking other ways of helping mothers. The League branches organize mutual assistance groups among neighbors and devise other forms of care for children.

A balanced allocation of the woman's working day is our constant concern. And here we are trying to find at least partial solutions. With this aim in view, for example, several thousand part-time jobs have been created for working mothers of large families.

There is a shortage of ready-to-eat and ready-to-cook foodstuffs in our shops. The public catering establishments can only cater for 25 per cent of those who would like to use them. Public laundries based on the self-service principle are still scarce.

The Women's League is constantly analyzing these problems and finding solutions to them. In this job it is assisted by the domestic economy committee attached to it, and also by its regional and district sub-committees. It maintains close contact with women deputies.

Our organization pays serious attention to problems of family life. We work in the clubs for families, in legal advice bureaus, we run courses helping women correctly to organize and lighten their domestic work. These courses are annually attended by some 200,000 women. The fact that young people often marry without having the necessary experience of life, does not make for the establishment of a lasting family life. Quite often young parents try to unload the entire care of their children onto the state. Furthermore, some forms of public life, recreation and entertainment do not provide for the participation in them of a family as a single entity and do not consolidate relations within it. The Women's League in conjunction with trade union and youth organizations is seeking solutions also in this sphere. One such solution it sees in the clubs for families, another—in family holiday homes.

It is our task to work with the trade unions to release and encourage the public initiative of women first in the solution of their day-to-day problems and then of more far-reaching economic and social issues.

People's rule in Poland guarantees the solution of the women's problem, but this requires a still closer connection between the Party (particularly through active women members) and the masses of women, and knowledge of their problems and needs. This calls for the working out of practical solutions based on Marxism-Leninism and combining theory with practice.

Julieta Campusano (Chile)

THE Communist Party of Chile has always attached great significance to drawing women into the revolutionary movement. We never forget Lenin's words that the success of any revolution depends on the degree of women's participation in it. The great gains won by the people in the socialist countries provide simultaneously a powerful stimulus to and a bright perspective for our struggle.

The fact that women have begun to take part in production has enhanced their militancy and raised the level of their organization. As a result a new development arose in the life of the country—the women's movement, a new force fighting for their rights.

Today women account for 34 per cent of the factory and office employees. The greater role women have begun to play in production has also brought about essential changes in their family and legal position. A woman can now herself dispose of the money she earns. Simultaneously she has also received the right to own property. The equality of both "illegitimate" and legitimate children, and of single and married mothers, has been recognized. In the event of a divorce, a woman is entitled to demand a fair division of any property, and if she works she can use her property in her own way even without the husband's consent. The attitude to woman in society is also changing. She is acquiring the consciousness of human dignity.

But for all that women are subjected to discrimination both in legislation and in everyday life. They are not guaranteed equal pay for equal work in most enterprises. Women farm laborers are brutally exploited. The position of women working at home is hard indeed—besides being totally at the mercy of the employers, they must also bear the burden of domestic work. Women as a rule cannot take advantage of their right to education.

In 1949 women won equal political rights with men (although even today the electoral law raises every kind of obstacle to women's participation in elections). Since then women have been taking an increasingly greater part in the voting, as can be seen from the results of the last two presidential elections. Whereas in 1952, 287,794 women took part in the elections, the figure in 1958 was 434,561. Women's political consciousness is developing in a quite definite direction, as can be seen from the following fact. In 1952, 13,375 women voted for the Popular Action Front candidate supported by our Party, in 1958 this figure rose to 97,084.

Women's votes are energetically sought in our country. But the representation of women in administrative bodies is restricted. There are today only 81 women among the 1,595 members of city councils, and only five women among the 17 deputies and 45 senators in Parliament.

All political parties have special departments for work among women. But only the Communist Party provides real opportunities for women to hold responsible and representative posts. At present there are five women members in the 45-member Central Committee of our Party and one woman in the 7-member Political Commission. Women also play an important role in national commissions and in the regional and district committees.

The women's commissions of the Popular Action Front carry out important political work, advancing their own demands and drafts of laws which are then incorporated in the program of the democratic movement as a whole.

Under the Gonzales Videla government neither repression nor petty handouts were able to split the women's democratic movement or win it over to the government. On the contrary, qualitative changes took place in the movement, a result of the work carried out by our Party in the mass organizations, particularly in those controlled by the reactionary governments. While giving their main attention to women workers, Communists are at the same time striving to carry on their work among women from all walks of life. For example, housewives who comprise 80 per cent of the women in the country, can and must become an active political factor. The establishment and the activities of housewives' committees, which successfully employ new methods of struggle, are evidence of this. One of these is the so-called cooking-range strike when the committee resolves that housewives should not cook dinner in protest against some arbitrary act of the companies controlled by imperialists. Not infrequently these actions develop into general strikes.

Women are often to be found at the head of trade union actions, replacing the arrested leaders. During the strikes in the coal, manganese and saltpeter mines women organized "public kitchens" which provided food for all the strikers. Together with their children they take part in protest marches, meetings and demonstrations. If the strike is protracted, the children of the strikers are sent to towns where they are cared for by women's organizations.

A new factor has emerged in the struggle of Chilean women. It has been joined by peasant women who together with their husbands participate in the actions sponsored by the National Federation of Peasants and the Indian population. The Indians, both men and women, are demanding the return of their confiscated lands.

It is far from easy to maintain and enhance the Party's influence among women, since many of them are the captives of all kinds of prejudices. The ruling classes let loose an avalanche of propaganda upon women. It is imperative to combat such powerful adversaries as reaction and the church and expose those who say that women should keep out of politics.

There are as yet few women activists in our Party. Some of our women members underestimate work in this sphere in the belief that politically it is less important than other spheres of Party work. Contacts between the national and provincial women's organizations are loose.

We do not find women holding leading posts in the big trade unions. In some unions women's specific interests are not taken into account in drawing up a program of demands.

Much effort was needed in order to activize women members in the Party. The result of this work was that the Eleventh Congress provided, in the Party Rules, for the setting up of branches composed mainly of women and also for holding meetings at a time convenient for women.

The Party has auxiliary organizations — women's commissions attached to all leading

bodies. Their day-to-day activities help to educate the necessary political cadres. These commissions combine their work with the activities of groups of our women activists in the various fields of mass work.

In order to find the new forms and methods of work among women our Party had to make a thorough study of their conditions. A long and stubborn struggle was needed in order to overcome the sectarian tendencies which prevented us from reaching out to those sections of women which kept out of political activities.

The Communists see their main task in uniting the women in a nation-wide revolutionary struggle. The ways of drawing them into this struggle may be different—through classes and discussions, through taking part in town development projects and in building playgrounds for children, through strikes and the agrarian movement and particularly through actions for peace, actions that unite women of various religious beliefs, supporters of various political parties.

With each passing day increasing numbers of women are joining in the discussion of national and international problems. And they realize more and more that on the way these problems are solved depends not only the country's future but their own future and the future of their children.

Our Party tells the women that their struggle does not end with the satisfaction of one or another democratic demand. In order to consolidate the gains won it is imperative above all that the people should take power into their own hands.

Manigee Mehregan (Iran)

THERE has been little improvement in the hard lot of women in Iran in the past 50 years. They are still denied the right to elect and be elected even to the municipalities, to say nothing of the Majlis. And this despite the fact that the Majlis has subscribed to the Declaration of Human Rights.

Formally women are free to join any political party. But in fact they are denied this opportunity. Only in the People's (Tudeh) Party do they enjoy equality with men.

Women are discriminated against in the factories, and are compelled to do the heaviest work. Although we have a labor code which was adopted under pressure from our Party and the democratic trade unions, women are paid much less than men for the same work. The law providing for maternity leave is not observed in practice. The slightest protest

against this flouting of the law results in dismissal. Teenage girls have to clock up to 10-14 hours a day in the carpet-making factories.

Women are allowed to work in government offices, in the health and education bodies. But no one has yet seen a woman occupying any sort of responsible post; when the staffs are cut down women are the first to be dismissed.

As regards their family position women are deprived of all rights as they were under feudalism. Only in exceptional cases can a girl marry a man of her own choice. Generally speaking, marriage has been, and still is, a market transaction: nobody ever pays regard to the wishes of the girl.

Economically, women are still in bondage. They are denied the right to divorce. There is no law that can protect a woman from any

violence on the part of her husband who virtually has the right of life and death over her. A news item which appeared in the newspaper *Keihan* in September 1961, is typical in this respect: "Reza Musavi," it said, "upon learning that his wife had attended a wedding ceremony without his permission, flung her, before the eyes of their five-year-old son, into the fireplace and burnt her alive." The court sentenced him only to ten years' imprisonment.

The position of women is particularly hard in the countryside and in the nomadic tribes. Semi-slave labor, lack of rights and complete ignorance are their lot.

The women's question therefore is very acute in Iran. The People's (Tudeh) Party, paying close attention to this problem, regards as its primary task the raising of the political consciousness of women up to the point where they would realize the tragedy of their oppression.

Since the Party had to go underground in 1949, it has successfully combined illegal with legal work. With the assistance of the Party, a Women's Democratic Organization was set up with the aim of building a broad front of struggle. This organization, admitted into the Women's International Democratic Federation, has done much to awaken women's political consciousness and draw them into the struggle for peace.

Sectarian mistakes, however, which were expressed in the mechanical application of the forms of Party work to the activities of this organization, resulted in its isolation from the masses. After the Zahedi coup of 1953 it could no longer continue its legal existence.

The fact that the working-class party, despite the successes it scored at various periods of its work among women, has not been able to achieve any tangible results, should make us ponder seriously over the reasons for our failures.

The Party was quite right to establish special women's branches and, in addition, a special women's organization (attached to the Party) which was intended to become a kind of center with the task of rallying the women in the fight for their rights. But the Party was unable to avoid stereotyped methods in its propaganda work. There was no differentiated approach to women from the various sections of society. The general slogans of the women's movement were not always combined with the concrete demands advanced by these sections. For example, the general demand to abolish the veil could not inspire and mobilize peasant women in the same way as it did urban women. It is easier to draw women workers into the struggle if the slogan "equal pay for equal

work" is given top priority among other general demands.

There are now about 20 legal women's organizations in Iran. True, some of these have not yet emerged beyond the limits of their "boards" or "constitutional committees." But there are also numerically strong organizations, and among them a 5,000-strong body built around the journal *Ettelaat Banovan* and influenced by the reactionary semi-official newspaper *Ettelaat*; the Women's Council, also with a Right orientation; the Women Lawyers' Union affiliated to the Democratic Lawyers' International Association; the Rahe Nou (New Road) Society. The two latter put forward more or less progressive slogans.

Fearing that the legal women's organizations might fall under the influence of the democratic movement, the Shah's court has established—under the "supreme surveillance" of the Shah's sister Ashraf—a so-called council which includes representatives of these organizations. But these actions should neither be the reason nor the pretext for the Communists to abandon work among all sections of women. It should be stressed that any women's organization, even the most conservative, is obliged to put forward some demands however moderate (such as the right to take part in municipal elections, etc.). Support of these slogans and the struggle for their implementation will gradually extend the sphere of the Party's influence.

The work in legal organizations will not of course bear fruit if we advance slogans too Left for the given organization. But it will also be fruitless if we tail behind the spontaneous movement of the masses. We should never miss a chance to combine the struggle for the specific women's demands with the general national-liberation struggle of the people as a whole.

Our country is confronted with the tasks of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. The majority of Iranian women have a stake in seeing these tasks implemented. Therefore at the present stage of the national-liberation movement the women are fighting for their basic rights: the right to elect and be elected to Parliament and the municipalities, for equal pay for equal work, the right to divorce and for equality with men in other rights. The unity of all the patriotic and national forces of the women and their participation and cooperation in the nationwide anti-imperialist front of the Iranian people must become the essential issue of this struggle. Only in this way shall we be able, when the conditions ripen, to pass over to the next stage of the struggle—the struggle for socialism, for the complete emancipation of women from all forms of oppression.

Anti-Communism, the Enemy of Mankind

An international theoretical conference devoted to the exposure of modern anti-communism was held at the end of May, in Liblice (near Prague) under the auspices of the World Marxist Review and the Institute of Philosophy of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

The public and political leaders, scholars and journalists from more than 20 countries who took part in the discussions included: W. Hollitscher (Austria), Abdelkader el Ouahrani (Algeria), P. Kerrigan (Britain), N. Iribadzhakov (Bulgaria), P. Motta Lima (Brazil), E. Albrecht, G. Bayer, R. Goguel and H. Hemberger (GDR), C. Lopez (Guatemala), I. Gupta (India), Aziz al-Hajj (Iraq), A. Avanesyan (Iran), W. Kashtan (Canada), Ulises R. Urbina (Mexico), V. Mac Lorin (Senegal), Ernest Henry, S. M. Menshikov, A. I. Pashkov and E. P. Sitkovsky (USSR), H. Winston (USA), E. Tuominen (Finland), G. Cogniot and V. Joannes (France), S. Schultz (FGR), L. Stol, A. Kolman, E. Menert, M. Prucha, A. Sirackij, V. Sojak and J. Srovnal (Czechoslovakia), I. Yonehara (Japan), and others. A. M. Rumyantsev and A. I. Sobolev represented the World Marxist Review. The journal also received the written and recorded texts of speeches, documents and other materials from E. Guidici (Argentina), G. Machado (Venezuela), V. Gerratana (Italy), Joaquin M. Diaz (Colombia), K. I. Gulian (Rumania), P. Tlale (South African Republic) and other comrades who for one reason or another were unable to attend the conference in person.

We are commencing publication in this issue of the (abridged) materials of the conference. The complete stenographic report of the conference will be published in book form.

LADISLAV STOLL, Vice President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, who opened the conference, greeted the participants on behalf of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the *World Marxist Review*.

"We all appreciate the timeliness and significance of this international symposium," he said. "Imperialist reaction today is mobilizing all its material and intellectual forces against us."

"The ideologists of anti-communism have the temerity to invoke the great ideas of liberty, humanity, democracy and progress, distorting their real meaning. These ideas in their truest sense are emblazoned on our banners."

"We are deeply conscious of this fact as we read the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the most inspiring document of our time. The Program is the blueprint of the future not only for the Soviet people but for all mankind, it reveals the nobility of our

aspirations and the humanity of the social system we are building. World reaction has no alternative to offer to this grand program of social justice and lasting peace and has nothing that could strike a responsive chord in the hearts of the peoples."

"The ideologists of anti-communism," Stoll continued, "having no convincing or positive answers to give to the question as to what future lies in store for mankind, can do nothing but deny the truth (although they scrupulously conceal it from the masses), and invent false, pseudo-scientific arguments against communism. This sort of 'inventiveness' is generously rewarded nowadays by the monopoly oligarchy. It is the duty of all progressive people, the urgent task of all who work in the social sciences to follow carefully and systematically the political and ideological machinations of anti-communism and expose them to the people of the whole world."

After the introductory address, the discussion was opened.

A. M. Rumyantsev:

ANTI-COMMUNISM IS DOOMED BY HISTORY

ANTI-COMMUNISM in our times comes in a multiplicity of forms.

In this connection I believe that it is of particular importance to take into account the following:

1. Anti-communism as a definite act of practical politics which often takes the form of governmental policy, as for instance, in the United States, Federal Germany and elsewhere.

2. Anti-communism as a form of bourgeois ideology and a "science." The attempts at "scientific" refutation of communism made by the "theoreticians" of anti-communism are closely linked with practical politics and serve its ends.

3. The variety of anti-communism cultivated by the imperialist bourgeoisie among the broad masses. It must be noted that the influence of anti-communist policy and propaganda makes itself felt among rather considerable sections of the population of the capitalist countries, including the workers. Moreover, many people form their opinion of communism solely on the basis of the distorted, repulsive picture painted by its enemies. Besides, a corrupting ideological influence is exerted on the masses, and in particular on the working class, by reformist illusions and the hatred of Communists cultivated by the Right-wing Social Democrats.

These three basic forms of anti-communism are closely interlinked, but for all that I believe it is important to examine them separately, for this will enable us to differentiate our efforts, make them more concrete and purposeful.

Anti-communism is no new invention; it came into being as a reaction to the ideas of communism from the moment of their birth and in the course of their subsequent development and spread among the masses. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, anti-communism became an integral component of the official policy of many capitalist countries, a policy directed against Soviet power, against the socialist achievements of the working people of the USSR. In our time anti-communism casts its sinister shadow on the policy of many capitalist states, and primarily of the USA, the principal bulwark of international reaction, the world gendarme who has assumed the role of "savior" of the historically doomed capitalist system. Anti-communism has become the ideological

foundation of the cold war which imperialism is waging against the socialist camp.

Why has the imperialist bourgeoisie today made anti-communism its principal ideological and political weapon?

This question can be answered correctly only by taking into account the great changes which have taken place in the world and which have determined the nature and content of our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. From the socio-economic standpoint, there is a causal connection between anti-communism becoming the main ideological and political weapon of contemporary imperialism and the fact that world capitalism has entered a new — the third — stage of its general crisis. The basic symptom of this stage is the fact that capitalism is no longer a global system. Now "the main content, the main trend and main features of the historic development of mankind are being determined by the world socialist system, by the forces fighting against imperialism, for the socialist reorganization of society".*

Capitalism is searching for ways to postpone its downfall. In the economic sphere, it resorts to state-monopoly forms; in the political sphere, it falls back on reaction all along the line; in the sphere of ideology, state-monopoly capitalism gives free rein to rabid anti-communism.

I should like to stress in this connection that anti-communism is not only a negative reaction to communism. It is the ideological and political smokescreen concealing the true ideological and political intentions of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

Anti-communism is an indirect, camouflaged admission on the part of the ideologists and politicians serving the monopoly bourgeoisie that capitalism is in a bad way. At the same time it is an attempt to persuade people that the reasons for this are not inherent in the inner laws of the development of capitalism itself, but are due to an "external factor." To exonerate the bourgeoisie of all blame for the injustices of the capitalist world and to place the responsibility at the door of the socialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie takes cover behind anti-communist ideology.

The bourgeoisie is creating a whole series of myths inseparably connected with anti-communism with the aim of whitewashing capitalism, making it attractive to the masses,

*Program of the CPSU.

giving it, so to say, a more respectable look. This aim is served, for instance, by Galbraith's "affluent society" theory, Rostow's theory of economic development by stages, the "technocracy" and "managerial revolution" theories developed by a number of bourgeois ideologists, etc.

Anti-communism is one of the insidious means of suppressing even the limited democracy and freedom existing in capitalist society. It is the midwife of fascism and of all the abominations fascism stands for. It should be borne in mind that, as is stressed in the Program of the CPSU, "fascism begins everywhere and always with vicious anti-communism to isolate and rout the parties of the working class, to split the forces of the proletariat and defeat them piecemeal, and then to do away with all the other democratic parties and organizations and turn the people into the blind tool of the policy of the capitalist monopolies."

The imperialist bourgeoisie declares every liberation movement that undermines their domination a "communist conspiracy." Militant anti-communism in its extreme form represents the most rabid reaction, labelling as Communists or pro-Communists all who do not openly share its "crusades" against the socialist countries.

But besides these forms of extreme anti-communism there are a good many, so to speak, "cautious anti-communists" in the ideological and political arena. In order to delude the masses of their own countries and to win over world public opinion, they pose as noble-hearted champions of democracy and progress who are deeply disturbed by the threat of "totalitarianism" and are anxious to see justice and peace prevail. While fully sharing the aims of the extreme anti-communists, the "cautious" variety, being more careful in the choice of means, have not yet fully exposed themselves in the eyes of the people everywhere, still wield some power and influence and enjoy some prestige. Hence their grave danger.

Anti-communism is an expression of the interests primarily of state-monopoly capitalism and constitutes the latter's political and ideological weapon against the liberation movement of the masses. Consequently, the exposure of anti-communism is inseparably linked with the struggle against state-monopoly capitalism. For this struggle to succeed broad democratic alliances are essential.

In the struggle against anti-communism, the Communists *cannot adopt sectarian positions*, for by so doing they would merely be isolat-

ing themselves. It is necessary strictly to differentiate between the various forces opposing us, to take advantage of the contradictions in the camp of the adversary. At the same time it would be a mistake to regard every instance of disagreement with us — unless, of course, it affects the basic principles of our ideology and policy — as anti-communism, for this would be vulgarizing the struggle against anti-communism and would only serve to alienate many people *who as yet* do not agree with us.

At the same time, the Communists *naturally cannot share the views of the revisionists and opportunists* who recognize only the more virulent and extreme forms of anti-communism, such as the John Birch Society, etc. Such views lead to anti-communism being dismissed as "harmless," would demobilize the masses and in the end bring grist to the enemy's mill.

For the Communist parties and the liberation movement of the working people it is as dangerous to underestimate the strength and influence of anti-communism as to overestimate them. Our task is to *persuade* the masses in the course of the daily economic, political and ideological struggle that in the modern world it is impossible to fight for just immediate demands, for peace, democracy and progress, while persecuting the Communists, who always and everywhere are to be found in the front ranks of the fighters against the domination of the monopolies, against imperialist wars, for national liberation, for a better life for the working people, and for genuine freedom.

Our propaganda aimed at broadening the mass democratic basis of the movement should proceed from the premise that the struggle against anti-communism does not yet mean fighting for communism or even its recognition in any way. This was the case with the anti-fascist movement and it is the same with the peace movement today. What is in question is the fight for democracy and progress, for all that which is being trampled down by the imperialist bourgeoisie on the pretext of combating communism.

Anti-communism by its very nature cannot be anything but a system of lies and deception, slander of socialism, falsification of the policies and objectives of the Communist parties, of Marxism-Leninism. But life gives the lie to all anti-communist fabrications. More and more working people in the capitalist countries are ceasing to pay attention to the hysterical cries of the anti-communists, their vile slander of the socialist countries and their peaceful policy.

Symptomatic in this connection is the fact that today, after the epoch-making technical

and scientific achievements of the socialist countries, and primarily of the USSR, the indisputable superiority of socialism in economic and scientific development has forced the anti-communists to redirect their propaganda fire over to the field of ideology. In his pamphlet on "what communism means to Americans," Nixon states frankly that in his opinion the outcome of the contest between the two systems will most likely be decided not in the military, economic or scientific fields, although they too are important. It is mainly a contest of ideas, he declares.

But the fact that the capitalist system has no future inevitably defeats any ideological and political apologia, any active defense of capitalism.

This objective socio-historical process is accelerated by subjective factors, and particularly by the active ideological and political offensive against anti-communism. It would, however, be wrong to conclude that it will decline in step with the decline of capitalism and eventually give up the ghost. To defeat anti-communism, it is necessary to act, to fight the poison of anti-communist ideas and the anti-communist actions engineered by the reactionaries.

We are naturally confident that we shall win in this struggle, that the ideas of communism will triumph. But I believe we will all agree that the struggle is not an easy one. For anti-communism today, although it does not eschew the crudest forms, is nevertheless becoming more and more ingenious and

flexible, more and more "scientific." Moreover, it seizes upon our slightest shortcomings and mistakes to discredit the theory and practice of the communist movement.

Hence the achievement of complete and final victory over anti-communism depends first and foremost on how consistently we ourselves, in theory and practice, pursue the Leninist line, which was developed and elaborated at the Twentieth and subsequent congresses of the CPSU, and in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The more exacting we are of ourselves, the more jealously we guard the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionist and dogmatist distortions, and the more solid and indestructible the unity of our ranks, the more successful our struggle against anti-communism and the closer final victory over it.

Anti-communism can be overcome by the coordinated efforts of the various detachments of the international Communist movement—taking into account the concrete situation in each country.

The tasks of this struggle are clearly defined in the documents adopted by international Communist conferences, documents which are for us a guide to action.

The 1960 Statement says: "Effectively to defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, a resolute struggle must be waged against anti-communism — that poison weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism."

W. Kashtan:

ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE SERVICE OF STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITAL

PERHAPS nowhere is the combating of anti-communism more important than in the North American continent where anti-communism has reached a high degree of intensity and where, with this weapon, state-monopoly capital and its agents in the labor movement have been able to isolate the Communist movement. It is important too because U.S. imperialism is the source, the fountainhead, the inspirer and financial backer of anti-communism in the world today. It is important because under this smokescreen U.S. imperialism prepares for aggressive and preventive war, intervenes in the national-liberation movements of the peoples and works to undermine the independence of advanced capitalist states. Not least is it important because anti-communism

is the smokescreen under which monopoly attacks the working class and tries to keep it tied to capitalist ideology.

As we know, anti-communism has many faces. There isn't an area in the capitalist world untouched and unpoisoned by it. It is an integral and official part of government policy both in the USA and Canada. It permeates the press, radio, television. It penetrates the educational system, particularly its treatment of history and current affairs. It even finds reflection in advertisements in the commercial press.

Government policy does not restrict itself only to ideological struggle against communism. In the USA legislation is adopted to serve a two-fold purpose — one, to restrict the

democratic rights of the working class and the American people; two, to hamper, restrict and illegalize the Communist Party while maintaining the pretense of upholding democracy.

In Canada while there is no open legislation directed against communism and the Communist Party, indirect and covert measures are pursued to achieve the same general aim. An example of the indirect and covert methods used to combat communism is the continuous efforts of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to intimidate progressive and left-thinking workers, including Communists, with the aim of either forcing them to leave organizations of which they are members or become paid stool pigeons for them in these organizations. The efforts of the RCMP have spread into the high schools as well as the universities. The peace supporters in Canada are also subject to interrogation. The RCMP cooperates with the FBI in the USA and similar agencies in other capitalist countries in stimulating anti-communism and in persecuting progressive people. It should be pointed out that the Criminal Code which was amended a few years ago, has sections in it under the general heading of treason and intimidation of Parliament which the government could use at a moment suitable to it.

In addition to this, neo-fascist and reactionary movements have emerged in North America and developed widespread anti-communist campaigns. Moral Re-Armament, for example, spends money like water in the form of advertisements in the press, through books and pamphlets. In Canada we have some overflows from the John Birch Society. However they have no mass base. What has developed recently in our country is a campaign under the sponsorship of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, a businessmen's organization, and lavishly financed by it, under the specious name of "Operation Freedom." One of its aims is to "protect" the Canadian people from communism.

These two facets of anti-communism, legislative measures and public campaigning, are actually closely allied. One feeds upon the other. Government policies, legislative and otherwise, stimulate these reactionary currents and in turn are influenced by them.

Anti-communism has, in the postwar period, become the main weapon of the Right wing in the trade unions to maintain their positions and control over the labor movement. This is to be seen in the ideological field, in their support of the cold war policies of state-monopoly capital and its governments, which they have brought into the trade union movement

and in the organizational measures they have taken to ensure that control.

Communists have no democratic rights in the trade union movement either in Canada or the USA. Union constitutions have been amended to eliminate the class struggle. In its place most of the unions have preambles which uphold the basic cold war policies and prohibit Communists from holding office. Many unions that have Communists as part of their leadership have been destroyed or raided out of existence. Red baiting and anti-communism has become a principal weapon with which to confuse and divide the workers.

For example at the last Convention of the Canadian Labor Congress (the main trade union center in Canada) a resolution was adopted to organize "an all-out war on corruption and on Communist unions." In opening that Convention the President of the Congress, Mr. Jodoin, declared that "no one in this country has fought communism harder than has our labor movement. We will continue that fight." At that Convention too, the delegate from the AFL-CIO, a Mr. Raftery, in presenting greetings declared that America's foremost need is to "maintain military supremacy against the threat of communism" and that "this need takes precedence over the need for better education, housing and power."

These are only a few examples but there are thousands more.

To what extent have the inspirers and instigators of anti-communism been successful in their efforts? In the USA and in Canada it must be said that anti-communism has sunk some deep roots among wide circles of people, including important sections of the working class. It is a temporary phenomenon, true enough, and it is also true that opposition to it is rising, but we would be making a serious mistake if we saw anti-communism as the manifestation of crack-pots. To do so would be to seriously underestimate the scope of the problem and the ways and means of controlling it. Such a superficial approach arises from failure to understand that anti-communism is an integral and decisive weapon of state-monopoly capital in this stage of its development, a necessary weapon with which to maintain its rule, pursue its adventurist policies and intensify its struggle against all democratic and progressive forces. As imperialism suffers defeat after defeat, the anti-communist reactionary drive is intensified a thousand-fold through all the means state-monopoly capital has at its disposal. This is the experience in the USA and in Canada and it may well apply throughout the capitalist world today.

One must not overlook the effects of systematic efforts by state-monopoly capital and its governments all through the postwar years, in the USA and elsewhere, to poison the thinking of people by the threat of alleged Soviet aggression. Neither must one overlook the objective conditions in which the anti-communist offensive has flourished. A fertile soil has been created for it by the ability of imperialism to some degree to make concessions to the working class and thereby blunt its class consciousness, particularly in the USA and in Canada, and tie it ideologically to an acceptance of capitalist thinking.

There is a view that an easing of international tension will automatically undermine the strength of anti-communism. Our experience does not bear this out. Nor is this the case in the USA. State-monopoly capital is fighting for its life in every capitalist country and it will intensify the anti-communist offensive. Anti-communism today, with due regard to differences in various countries, has shifted its ground to some degree and tends to be more subtle in its character. The press cannot ignore any more the magnificent achievements of socialism in the field of science and education. It is compelled to deal with them and comment on them. It cannot downgrade socialism in the way it did before, nor say that socialism doesn't work. Today it does not publicly proclaim that the issue is the defense of capitalism against socialism and its ideas. What is posed is that we must defend "our way of life" from the threat of socialism. That way of life is not defined as capitalism but as "freedom," "democracy," "liberty," the "rights" of the individual. By contrast the capitalist press and the propagandists of capitalism develop a smokescreen of prejudice against the alleged lack of freedom, democracy, liberty and the rights of the individual in the socialist world. The essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat is distorted and perverted and the contrast made of "our way of life" where the state supposedly operates above classes.

Thus state-monopoly capital, its governments and various agencies have shifted their ground to some degree in the ideological struggle against communism while at the same time they utilize temporary difficulties in socialist construction, in the building of socialism and the extension of socialist democracy, to bolster confidence in "free enterprise" and capitalist methods of rule.

What helps them in this is the political immaturity of the working class in the USA and in Canada, where reformist ideas are rampant

and where bourgeois democratic illusions are widespread. What helps them too is the distorted image which state-monopoly capital, its governments and the Right wing in the labor movement have created about the Communist Party as a conspiracy, and advocates of dictatorship—all directed at isolating our Party from the broad masses of the people. An ideological road-block has been built up over the postwar years so that even though wide masses of the working class and the people will accept our slogans and our positions on many questions, they at the same time do not as yet trust the Party which raises them and fights for them. And that ideological road-block has so far prevented our Party from becoming a more decisive force in the affairs of the nation.

One important way of helping the masses to overcome illusions is to go over to the counter-offensive ideologically on the issues of freedom, democracy and the democratic processes under socialism. This may well be decisive in isolating and defeating anti-communism in this period. In fact it may be correct to say that in this period of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, in the period of the growth of the power of the world socialist system, not only the material superiority of socialism but its humaneness and profoundly democratic character needs to be brought forward in the strongest possible fashion. Socialism will defeat anti-communism by virtue of its material superiority, scientific advance and educational progress which has already stirred millions; it will also do so by showing to the world that it is in the socialist countries that genuine democracy, liberty, freedom and the rights of the individual really operate. The more this is done in our propaganda, the more it will expose the hollowness, the sham and pretenses characteristic of the false picture which state-monopoly capital and its governments presents of the realities of capitalist rule.

I have tried to deal with some aspects of the anti-communist offensive and its effects on the people, including sections of the working class. There is no doubt that the anti-communist offensive in all its many-sided ramifications has been one of the main causes, if not the main one, of the difficulties of the Communist movement, particularly in North America, as it has been a major obstacle to the development of the mass work of our parties. It indicates the necessity for a more intensive, systematic and sharper struggle against anti-communism in all its manifestations by all parties, for anti-communism is not only directed against the Communist parties and social-

ism but at all democratic forces. The way to isolate and defeat it is *by unity of all democratic forces*.

We have all sorts of "experts" on communism in North America who are given the means to advance their distorted picture of communism, but throughout the postwar years, that right was not given to Communists. Thus anti-communism has prevented a democratic discussion about communism. Our Party has made it clear that it is ready at all times, and with anyone, to discuss communism in an objective, scientific and principled way; that we do not expect people to suddenly embrace the Communist point of view, but that we do demand a hearing and the right to be heard; to be judged on all the issues we advance including Canada's road to socialism.

In the approach to this problem we need to differentiate between bellicose anti-communism and the masses of democratic-minded people who are temporarily misled and con-

fused by anti-communism and its lies. Here is where patient, explanatory work is decisive combined with continuing efforts to unite around those questions which unite us — the struggle for peace, for democracy, for independence, for liberation and the economic well-being of the people. I am of the opinion that it is essential for the Communist parties of Canada, the USA and, perhaps, a number of other countries, to seek the way to improve their work in this regard in order to repulse the attacks of anti-communist propaganda, but not to make the full agreement on ideological questions the only condition for unity between us and the sections of the population which are poisoned by anti-communism.

As we pointed out, the anti-communist crusade is the crusade of a doomed social system. The anti-communist offensive has taken place in conditions unfavorable to the imperialists, and it will certainly fail provided that our parties are equal to the tasks they are confronted with.

C. Cogniot:

OFFENSIVE AGAINST DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE

ANTI-COMMUNISM, which in France has been the ideological thesis and standard of behavior for all bourgeois and opportunist parties ever since 1947, has today become the official policy of the state. Enemy No. 1 in the eyes of the Gaullist regime is the people and its Communist Party. Having from its inception trampled upon freedom this regime treats the existence of fascist forces in France with a certain indulgence, a sort of paternal tenderness. And, thinking of the anti-communist OAS, its spokesmen might well be telling themselves: "The enemies of our enemies may at any moment become our friends."

The experience of France clearly shows that under the cover of anti-communism a major offensive is being launched against democracy in general. The authorities choose as their target not only the Communist Party, as they would make us believe, but all parties, the whole democratic way of life. The future of the Communist movement is tied up with the future of democracy. Experience is bringing this basic truth home even to the least discerning.

The man who rules France is at the same time a representative of the top military bureaucracy.

On the face of it this military bureaucracy seeks to play an independent role. But such

claims to political independence are, of course, illusory; they are intended mainly to deceive the army. In reality everything is decided by the class interests of Big Business. And these interests demand that the army should, above all, be subordinated to a very definite policy, that it should be seized with anti-communist hysteria. That is why the generals depict all national-liberation wars as the work of secret conspiratorial forces, the rebellion of the minority diabolically contrived by the Communists.

Colonel Argoud, one of the OAS leaders, writes in his pamphlet *The Algerian Problem, a French Solution*, that "the war in Algeria is an episode in the struggle between the Communists and the Western world." Hence the first task of the army is to perform an anti-communist mission in Africa. The army's second mission is to prepare for war against the socialist states. To fight the working people of France on the pretext of "maintaining order" is the third mission of the army. Official literature has combined all three tasks into the single conception of "ideological warfare" or "war against subversion." Under these circumstances one can understand the changes that have taken place in the character of the French army and the preference given to special troops, the only force that can be relied upon

when it comes to carrying out the three missions referred to above. Popular songs, films and a mass of pulp literature glorify the exploits of army units like the Foreign Legion which has grown into a vast and uncontrollable machine in the service of fascism.

French anti-communism draws its forces partly from without. It maintains active contact with the West German revanchists. But, naturally, the main support comes from the United States. A glance through the French-language journal *Information and Documents* put out by the American Embassy in Paris, leaves no doubts on this score. This is where the anti-communist slogans originate. This year the journal published a series of articles "proving" that communism is out of step with history and that, on the contrary, history favors "free enterprise."

The most rabid anti-communist American circles are busy trying to find disciples in France. The weekly *National Review* is known to be the mouthpiece of these particular circles. Its contributors include the former "Leftist," James Burnham, and the fascist Thomas Molnar. Both are foundation members of the Committee of Aid to the OAS set up recently in New York. Thus, the most anti-communist organization in France enjoys dual support: from the German neo-Nazis and the American McCarthyites. It takes as its model that phrenetic variety of anti-communism which has become as irrational an emotion among the reactionary bourgeoisie of the United States as anti-Semitism was among the adherents of the "Third Reich."

Another anti-communist organization in France which is extremely active, though less known, is Moral Re-Armament.

The Catholic hierarchy in France is the sworn enemy of communism. The Catholic MRP Party, which in 1944-1945 served as a sanctuary for defeated fascists, is conducting a reactionary policy in all spheres—on a social, political and cultural plane as well as in foreign policy. The French Confederation of Christian Workers is a yellow organization which splits the trade union forces and directs the anti-communist struggles in the industrial enterprises. Similar work is being done by the Christian Rural Youth and the Christian Student Youth organizations.

The anti-communist publications put out by the Catholic Church are too numerous to list. The Church in France has assigned whole squads of priests and monks to the task of making a special study of communism, the USSR and the Russian language. It has established research centers for the study of these

problems, and the Church fathers who work there have produced thick volumes of slander on the revolution, the building of socialism and communism and Marxist-Leninist teaching. Churchmen who resist the anti-communist hysteria, men like Canon Kir, who wanted to receive Khrushchov during the Soviet Premier's visit to France, are forcibly prevented from acting according to their convictions.

In the anti-communist struggle, the Church, and especially its Vatican-supported Integrist wing, combines its forces with those of the fascist elements in the army, changing its tactics according to the circumstances. It can be savage and violent or ingratiating and resourceful as the need arises. In some cases it indulges in the crudest language. Theoretical publications and books approved by bishops do not mince words: "Bash the revolution between the eyes and kill it outright," is the slogan.

Nevertheless the number of people who are deceived by this propaganda is steadily diminishing. Everyone can see that the anti-communism preached by the Church is part and parcel of the general anti-democratic line of obscurantist reaction. The clerical laws concerning education, for example, which were adopted in recent years strike a heavy blow at all republicans, at all champions of freedom and progress.

The two most widely circulated Paris morning dailies, the *Parisien Libéré* and *l'Aurore*, under the guise of important news and sensational reporting, support the OAS and militant anti-communism. The one-man rule in France shamelessly uses the state monopoly of radio and television for the propaganda of Gaullism and anti-communism. Independent radio and TV journalists are hounded and dismissed. The censorship blacks out any expression of free thought, even if it is two hundred years old, as for example quotations from the writings of Montesquieu. The most lying and slanderous reports are deliberately circulated against the socialist camp. School TV programs about the greatest French poets of our time have been banned simply because these poets happen to be Communists.

During the recent cantonal elections the Communist Party was unable to appear either on television or on the radio, although these facilities were granted to many spokesmen from other parties. Information has been replaced by misinformation. Moreover, a downright McCarthyite atmosphere reigns in the theatre, the arts and culture in general. There have been instances when artists, writers and cinema people have been victimized and been

debarred from work for opposing the war in Angeria.

The savage brutality of anti-communist repressions in France is notorious. Workers' and democratic newspapers have been confiscated time without number. Public demonstrations of workers and republicans have been banned. The right to strike is now threatened. The recent institution of so-called "urban districts" run by a bureaucratic leadership means further cuts in local freedoms; it is aimed at excluding electoral colleges from the local government and, specifically, at paralyzing the activity of the Communist municipal councils which serve the interests of the people.

Anti-communism has struck also at the electoral law, turning Parliament into a crude farce. A systematic smear campaign is being conducted against political parties. This is one of the methods used by big capital to weaken the democratic spirit of the masses, and to keep them away from political life and prevent them from bringing pressure to bear on the establishment.

The anti-communists are finding it increasingly hard to deny the unquestionable economic successes of the socialist camp and its social and cultural progress. Hence they concentrate their main attack on problems of "freedom." All of them, from the official Gaullist sociologists like Raymond Aron down to the Social Democratic leaders harp on one and the same theme: the economic and social victories of the socialist countries are, allegedly, achieved at too great a cost, the cost of freedom. This sophism is arrived at by equating freedom and democracy with the formal and hollow democracy and the abstract freedoms of the bourgeois system.

Along with the "freedom" campaign there has been launched another and more subtle type of propaganda: it asserts that the chief virtue of the capitalist system is its political democracy, while that of the socialist system is its economy; and that France with its economic "plan," and its diverse forms of nationalization, seasoned with "freedom," represents such a wonderful amalgam of the two systems, that this happy land has no need of a socialist revolution.

In this connection special emphasis is laid on the Big Lie concerning the integration and collaboration of the classes. In the opinion of the leaders of the French Confederation of Christian Workers, for example, there is no longer any class struggle, but simple "corporate actions with limited objectives." One enterprising newspaper remarked: "One can

imagine a time when the class struggle will cease owing to the absence of a proletariat."

The best reply to the anti-communist inventions about "class harmony" is the labor movement itself. The struggle is at its height. There has been a succession of major strikes of railway, postal and other workers caused by intensified exploitation and the impoverishment of the working class under the Gaullist regime, a fact which is denied by the opportunists but which the working people feel all too keenly.

The anti-communists, especially among the Social Democrats, would be happy if they could prove that in preaching peace between classes and adapting themselves to the interests of the bourgeoisie, in a word, in joining the anti-communist chorus, they are prompted solely by noble and humane considerations. But the truth is exactly the opposite: they are preaching anti-communism because they flaunt their contempt for human rights by standing for the preservation of the sordid system of capitalist slavery.

Fearing to damage the interests of the bourgeoisie, many political leaders who call themselves democrats continue to ignore the detailed program for the regeneration and restoration of democracy and the life of the nation submitted by the Communist Party to all democratic groupings with a view to discussing it together today and implementing it jointly tomorrow.

Fear of the people explains the attitude of those who are seeking to resurrect the phantom of the "third force," stubbornly extolling the notorious "democratic assembly" without the Communists. But any assembly which calls itself republican and which seeks to keep the Communist Party and the reactionary parties at an equal distance is doomed to impotence, inasmuch as it deprives itself of the decisive cooperation of the Communists and is bound to end up by pursuing a reactionary policy. We are witnessing the rape of democracy in the name of "protecting" democracy from communism.

The Communists are fighting tirelessly for the unity of the working class, for the alliance of all democratic forces, which is essential for the restoration and extension of freedom for the French people, for a policy of social progress and peace. In this struggle they are scoring victories which are forcing anti-communism to retreat.

Of course, the anti-communism of the Socialist Party leaders has not yet been defeated. During the recent by-elections they once again allied themselves with Gaullist reactionary parties against the Communists. They make

deals with the most inveterate reactionaries in an effort to elaborate a future political regime for the country. But the Socialist workers are finding it increasingly hard to understand why the "differences of views" so frequently referred to by Guy Mollet as hindering the Socialists and Communists from negotiating and forming an alliance are no impediment either to negotiations or alliance with reactionaries connected with the OAS or with the clerical MRP. Why should Socialist workers come to terms with the capitalists

and quarrel with their brothers, the Communists?

Socialists and Communists, workingmen of all political views and religious faiths participate together in big strikes. Socialists and Communists march together in street demonstrations in Paris and other parts of France; they meet at conferences and seminars and consider together the political means of replacing the Gaullist regime and restoring democracy. United action is increasing among all democrats fighting for peace, democratic freedom and social progress.

Reviews

Herostratos

IN July 1960 Edward Teller resigned from his post as director of the government nuclear laboratory at Livermore (California). "There were many things I wanted to say," he explains, "things I was convinced needed saying, that could be said effectively only if I were free of any official restraints. They could be said only if I divorced myself from government work . . . My immediate purpose was to write the book you hold in your hand."

The book, which I now hold in my hand with the deepest repugnance, is *The Legacy of Hiroshima**.

Teller wrote it in collaboration with a facile journalist named Allen Brown. Had Brown been the sole author, the book would have been no more worth reviewing than the jottings of a lunatic. But Teller's name lends it a false weight. The Western press calls him the "father of the hydrogen bomb," but this is a typical publicity exaggeration. Teller himself admits that the hydrogen bomb was far too complicated to have been devised by any one scientist, however brilliant, and was the product of the collective efforts of a large group of scientists.

I am familiar with Teller's published scientific works. They are not above average. His fame has little to do with science, it has been artificially created. For if he is not the father of the bomb he is at any rate its most solicitous guardian. There is a malevolent purpose behind the high-pressure campaign associated with his name: his alleged paternity of the bomb lends the stamp of authority to his public pronouncements. His name is used for

unsavory political purposes. His book has not merely been published, it is being praised to the skies. Excerpts have been published in magazines with huge circulations like *Saturday Evening Post* and *Readers' Digest*. Roscoe Drummond, the *New York Herald Tribune* syndicated columnist, declared that every American is in duty bound to read Teller's book. Let everyone hearken when the "father of the hydrogen bomb" speaks!

The book opens with a brief account of how the first American atomic bomb was made, a story that has been told countless times before. Teller informs the reader that it was his job at the time to find out whether the first atomic explosion would not set off some unknown chain reaction that could destroy the whole world. Such a reaction was highly unlikely, but the scientists wanted to check up once more to make sure that they had not overlooked anything. Teller ascertained that the first atomic explosion with courage and the first atomic explosion would not cause the world to perish. Teller met that explosion with courage and foresight: he donned two pairs of dark glasses, encased his hands in heavy gloves, smeared his face with sun-tan lotion and withdrew to a distance of 20 miles from the danger spot.

Many scientists that day were filled with horror at what they had created. And since the war with Japan was nearly over, they were opposed to the atomic bomb being used against an enemy city without due warning. Teller was not among them. He still believes that a scientist cannot be held responsible for the use of scientific achievements to the detriment of mankind. Generally speaking he agrees that

*Edward Teller with Allen Brown, *The Legacy of Hiroshima*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1962, 375 pp.

Hiroshima ought not to have been destroyed but not because he has been visited by some belated twinges of remorse. He has simply figured out that the bombing of Hiroshima did the United States more political harm than good. This act of barbarism was condemned by the peoples.

Teller tells us that America was actually overcome by a sense of guilt and that the work of perfecting the atomic weapon was continued without enthusiasm. That is what he means by the "legacy of Hiroshima," the negative reaction of world public opinion. It is to this legacy that he attributes what he considers to be the exaggerated commotion over nuclear tests in general and the fate of the Japanese fishermen who were the first victims of the first American hydrogen bomb, in particular. Had it not been for Hiroshima, he maintains, this trifling incident would not have been blown up to such proportions. Teller deplores the fate of Hiroshima not because of the wanton destruction, according to his own estimates, of 78,150 human lives, but because Hiroshima awakened the vigilance of the peoples.

The purpose of his book is to dull that vigilance. And to this end he inveighs against what he terms "certain exaggeration." For example, he assures the reader that radioactive fallout is harmless. "Our custom of dressing men in trousers," he says "causes at least a hundred times as many mutations at present fallout levels" (p. 181). Trousers, it appears, increase the temperature of the reproductive organs and thus can have a negative effect on unborn generations. This would be laughable were not the subject itself scarcely a cause for hilarity. When Teller tries to be funny he merely succeeds in being inhuman. He substitutes this type of "argument" for serious scientific data on the effects of radiation. Since the results of research on the subject disprove his assertions, Teller shamelessly omits all mention of them, indulging instead in false optimism based on questionable comparisons.

Another "exaggeration" Teller fulminates against concerns the results of a nuclear conflict. Reactionary circles in the West have latterly been asserting that a thermonuclear war is not much worse than any other war. It is Teller's job to substantiate this insane view. In his book he takes issue with those who warn that military weapons have undergone radical changes in quality, and that there can be no shelter from nuclear bombs. Teller promises the Americans both survival and a tolerable life after the war provided they follow his advice now and start at once to burrow into the ground. He calls the building of shelters "our most urgent need" (p. 247).

His recommendations on this score go much farther than the official recommendations of the Pentagon, or the advice given by Professor Herman Kahn, another modern cannibal. In his book *On Thermonuclear War*, Kahn only discusses shelters as such. Teller, on the other hand, tackles the subject with great gusto. What he proposes in effect is that Americans should turn themselves into moles. He insists that schools should be built underground. This, it appears, would even have certain advantages—on the surface above the underground schools children could have "a really adequate outdoor playground" (p. 250). Supermarkets, warehouses, hospitals—all should be built underground, Teller urges. And every burrow should be stocked with a two-weeks' supply of provisions. Business firms, he declares, should be encouraged to keep machinery and equipment in underground warehouses. And so on. In this way, he predicts, "we can dig out of the ruins" (p. 244).

This sort of advice is criminal irresponsibility on Teller's part. No one knows better than he what megatons mean. Yet he has no compunctions about deceiving the American people by upholding and elaborating the official lie that it is possible to sit out a nuclear war in a shelter. At the same time he displays complete unconcern for the fate of all other peoples. After all, the inhabitants of the United States are not the only people on earth. Teller is well aware that one hydrogen bomb is enough to wipe his native Budapest off the map. But that bothers him not at all. His defense program—apart from its complete illusoriness—is limited to the United States of America. Europeans can die by the millions for all he cares.

Teller's proposals for life underground do not reduce the danger of a war breaking out, as he tries to assure the reader. Far from it, the provocative character of the scheme for underground evacuation has already been commented upon by that section of the American press which is conscious of its responsibilities to the reader. Such plans can only increase the temptation to start a "preventive war" by fostering the illusion among the proponents of "nuclear initiative" that they can do so with impunity. Some madmen may indeed believe that it will be possible to hide underground from a retaliatory blow. Teller himself discusses hypothetical cases which suggest that the measures he proposes are by no means defensive. He advises giving the American President the formal right to declare limited nuclear war without reference to Congress. He suggests, further, that the President should present the Soviet Union with an ultimatum on some concrete question. Simultaneously with the ultimatum, the President

would issue orders to the nation to take to their shelters. This would show the Communists, Teller says, that their atomic attack on the United States would be largely ineffective, and, being now threatened with an atomic blow from the United States, they would accept the terms of the ultimatum.

This sort of abstract reasoning, completely divorced from reality, is more like playing with tin soldiers than the serious thinking of an adult, much less of a scientist. For Teller it is simply a form of mental exercise. That oceans of blood may be involved means nothing to him.

He indulges in the same sort of dangerous game in other parts of his book. Take, for example, his imaginary war in space. The United States sends an armada of "spy" satellites into space. The Russians commence to shoot them down. The indignant USA rallies to the defense of . . . the "freedom of space." We learn that this will be "a limited war in the best possible sense" (p. 133). It will be a war of equipment and apparatus, of satellite and anti-satellite, of remote-controlled machine against machine, all without loss of human life. The author is so carried away by his own flights of fancy that he fails to explain why America demanded freedom for espionage to begin with. Is it not clear that there is no such thing as espionage for the sake of espionage, and that the American militarists need space espionage for extremely earthly purposes?

Teller's game of war is accompanied by a set of illusory rules by which the game is to be played. This is another attempt to legalize nuclear war and with it the annihilation millions of human beings. He assures the reader that a limited nuclear war is possible. For example, he says that in the event of an armed conflict over Berlin, a limited nuclear war could be fought within the confines of Germany, since it could not—alas!—be limited to the boundaries of the city. He naturally does not say what would be left of Berlin and Germany as a result. Nor does he give any grounds for his *a priori* conviction that the use by the United States of the nuclear weapon in a limited war would give it the decisive advantage. As if the adversary would not have the nuclear weapon! Besides which, limited nuclear war is possible only on paper, and, having once started, would swiftly develop into a global conflict. At any rate, the illusory "rules of the game" invented by Teller would certainly not prevent it. Perhaps the Bundeswehr could clear up that point for him.

"The main purpose of this book," Teller piously declares, "is to make my contribution to the cause of peace." But *The Legacy of Hiroshima*

lacks the most elementary requirement of any contribution to peace, namely, the desire to understand the world situation, the cause of world tensions, in order to suggest some means of removing these causes.

Teller's contribution boils down to boosting America's nuclear power and attempting to accustom Americans to the idea of a thermo-nuclear war, in other words, to creating something like a nuclear-war cult. That is what his war games are all about. His proposal to organize mobile groups of the Commando type, equipped with nuclear weapons and ready to be dispatched to any part of the globe (p.



The above cartoon, which appeared in the Baltimore Sun, pokes fun at the American fallout shelter program. The caveman greets his 20th century counterpart who crouches in his shelter with his gun at the ready to keep out any neighbor who might want to encroach on his property. This is the sort of future which atomaniacs like Teller, ready to blot out the thousands of years of human progress, are holding out to mankind.

288); his tirades against the termination of nuclear tests, and against disarmament; his reluctance to make any sort of analysis of the present world situation — are all part of the same pattern. He rejects the very idea of a possible peaceful settlement of international disputes. "There is little point at present to discuss how we ever could agree with the Communists," he says (p. 297).

Teller's book has aroused the legitimate anger of many honest-minded Americans. In a reply to the atomaniac published in the *Saturday Evening Post*, eight prominent scientists

warn that "to let Doctor Teller's proposals go unexamined, and thus to increase their chances of adoption, might cost an incalculable number of lives."

Examining Teller's arguments further, the scientists show them to be "a combination of factual error and emotionalism." His program of civil defense, in their opinion, is "arrant nonsense." His propositions concerning limited wars, they declare, are based on the assumption that "our opponents will behave in a most improbable way." His disinclination to discuss anything with the Russians and his arguments against disarmament and in favor of piling up more destructive weapons, they declare, "are the way not to survival but to disaster."

How could such a monster have appeared in the world of science? I have met Teller and I believe that his behavior can be explained to a large extent by his overwhelming vanity. And it is on this trait of his that the U.S. ultra-reactionaries are speculating. They maximize his ego and he propounds their ideas: indeed everything he says is what the Pentagon and the monopolies who batten on the arms race want him to say. This explains his behavior, but it does not justify it one iota. What

is particularly painful for me is that this warmonger should be a Hungarian. Teller is a disgrace to the Hungarian nation. He has dishonored his exalted calling as a scientist. An honest scientist works for humanity not against it. Teller brings mankind darkness — first the darkness of shelters, and then the darkness of the grave. And lastly, Teller disgraces the name of man. For he is a heartless machine that calculates in terms of millions of human lives, utterly impervious to human tragedy, a machine so "programmed" by the U.S. military that it automatically rejects the possibility of searching for alternatives to nuclear war.

Inasmuch as any step in the direction of peace dims the lustrous aureole of the "father of the hydrogen bomb," inasmuch as any step toward war adds to that lustre — then let the world perish, but long live the nuclear weapon! Thus, in ancient Greece, did Herostratos set fire to the Temple of Artemis in order to ensure himself a paragraph in the encyclopedias of the future. The contemporary Herostrati are more ambitious — they are out to set fire to the whole world. The vigilance of the peoples must frustrate their insensate plans.

Lajos JANOSSY

Communications and Comment

Apropos of the German Social Democratic Congress

(Letter from Western Germany)

THE Congress of the West German Social Democrats held in Cologne at the end of May might have been an important event had it drawn the right conclusions from the crisis of the dangerous policy of Adenauer — that it is necessary to pursue an independent peaceful policy in accord with the interests of the workers. But this was not the case. And because of this the Congress did not make any great impact.

The staging of the spectacle was handled by the "Wehner bureau," in other words, the ultras and adventurers in the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany who, trying to outdo one another in anti-communist zeal, are working in league with Adenauer, Strauss and the old Nazi generals at the head of the Bundeswehr.

The congress was prepared and managed in

a way designed to afford as little outlet as possible for the growing dissatisfaction in the ranks of the party. No opportunity for discussion was given at the plenary sessions which only heard the reports of the Right-wing leaders. The only opening for debate was in the working committees, but unlike previous congresses, the Cologne meeting had no such committees on foreign or military policy. The few dissident delegates who nevertheless tried to take the floor were silenced by threats. Young Social Democrats who stood in front of the building where the congress was held and distributed leaflets quoting August Bebel on the need to combat militarism were arrested by the police at the request of the Right-wing leaders. A demonstration for "freedom of conscience and opinion in the party" was staged by a group of students and profes-

sors who had been expelled shortly before from the Social Democratic Party. Such was the atmosphere in and around the Congress.

The Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party are, of course, fully aware of the anxiety felt by the people generally and the growing dissatisfaction among their own rank and file. This explains why Erich Ollenhauer, the chairman of the party, conceded that "the policy of the Federal government has never been so vague and confused, so completely lacking in leadership, as since the autumn of 1961." But what conclusions did the Congress draw from this? The Right-wing leaders reduced the bankruptcy of Adenauer's policy to a matter of physiology. They avoided any analysis of the reasons why this aggressive policy has reached an impasse and is doomed to failure. For them "Adenauer's tragedy" is his age. In reality, from its inception 15 years ago, his policy was obsolete and without a future, stemming as it did from a completely false conception of the balance of forces in the world and in Germany with no regard whatever for the actual trend of historical development. It is in effect the fallacious reasoning of aggressive West German monopoly capital and imperialism which is now being repeated by the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders. Because of this they had no answer at the Cologne Congress to the burning problems of our time, and merely reiterated the stereotyped arguments that "there is no alternative to NATO" (Carlo Schmid) and that "for the opposition the field of activity has shrunk." (Fritz Erler).

To paraphrase a leading Right-wing Social Democrat of the Weimar period, the producers of the Cologne spectacle could well have called it "Doctor at the Bedside of the Dying Adenauer Regime," although there is no medicine capable of saving this regime.

Summing up the results of the Congress, it may be safely said that the process of differentiation among the West German Social Democrats is definitely continuing. There is the Wehner-Brandt group, who strictly speaking are not even Right-wing Social Democrats but ultra-reactionary adventurers prepared at any moment to split and wreck the Social Democratic Party itself if its rank and file insists on an independent policy in accordance with the interests of the workers and aimed at preserving peace. Then there are the Right-wing leaders who, though committed to monopoly rule, are beginning to see that the "Adenauer era" is nearing its end and that one must proceed from more realistic positions. And, finally, there are those reformist leaders

who under pressure from the workers, primarily from the trade union rank and file, are compelled to do something to uphold the workers' economic and social interests and in doing so are constantly coming up against the resistance of the dominant aggressive monopoly circles and the militarist dictatorship.

Latterly the West German workers, above all the Social Democrats, have been relying more and more on the trade unions in their struggle for political, economic and social demands. This new trend, manifested mainly in the trade unions but also in the Social Democratic Party itself, was only dimly reflected in the Cologne Congress. It is symptomatic, however, that a conference of young trade unionists held on the eve of the Cologne Congress almost unanimously urged that the political influence of the working class on the state and in public life generally be made more strongly felt, that joint working-class demonstrations against atomic weapons and for disarmament be organized, and called for the defeat of the extraordinary laws, if need be by means of a mass political strike (incidentally all these demands were turned down in Cologne). A women's trade union conference held at the same time adopted decisions similar to those of the youth. A sharp struggle has developed around the question of trade union policies. Moreover, cooperation between the Communists, Social Democrats and Christian workers is developing in the factories and in trade union branches. This growing unity of working-class action has been reflected most clearly in strike struggles and the growing demand that the ultra-reactionaries in Bonn and West Berlin who are thirsting for bloodshed and war be curbed.

Nevertheless the importance of the growing opposition to the Right-wing leaders within the Social Democratic Party should not be underestimated. Already before the congress, local branches and district organizations, as well as speakers at and resolutions submitted to area conferences, demanded that the "policy of getting together" with Adenauer be rejected and an independent program be advanced on the principal issues, above all in the spheres of foreign policy and defense. The need for an alternative to the bankrupt policy of Adenauer is thus being posed more and more sharply in the Social Democratic Party itself. Voices have already been heard urging the election to the party leadership of members and functionaries opposing the armament drive and supporting disarmament, understanding among nations and a purge of the state machine to rid it of the militarists.

In the course of the preparations for the Social Democratic Congress and the struggle against soaring prices and for higher wages, democratic rights and social justice, cooperation between the Social Democrats and the Communists developed further. The lines along which this cooperation is bound to develop were indicated in an open letter on the Cologne Congress which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany addressed to all Social Democrats.

"The insane policy of Adenauer and Strauss," the letter says, "can only lead to the burdens they have imposed on us becoming unbearable, and there is an increasing danger that they will embroil us in war. It is impossible to remain for long 'on the brink of war'

without any hope of security and peace, under the constant threat of atomic death. The working class and the entire population must protect themselves against such a prospect. We therefore urge you to join with us in a common effort to end the cold war, for a policy of *detente*, mutual understanding and businesslike relations with the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries. Let us work together all-out to repulse social and political reaction and support the struggle of the trade unions against the emergency legislation and to safeguard and improve the living standard of industrial and office workers.

Fritz MEYER

Against the Persecution of Democrats

ARRESTS AND TORTURE WILL NOT BREAK THE SPIRIT OF THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE

THE military dictatorship of the fascist-corporate type which recently seized power in Argentina against the will of the majority of the people is endeavoring through arrests and torture to crush the wave of strikes and other popular actions in protest against its policy of unconditional subordination to U.S. imperialism, a policy which threatens the country with the loss of the last remnants of freedom and democracy, the prospect of mass unemployment and a high cost of living.

On June 18 the worker Hector Mendoza, the Peronist leader in San Martin, who had been arrested several days after the coup d'état, was tortured to death in prison. Scores of workers and students are being tortured and maltreated by the police.

Wholesale arrests are carried out by special detachments of troops who break into private homes at night and drag their victims from their beds. At dawn on April 19 and 20, some 160 persons were arrested in this way in several cities. Among them were some leading political and public personalities and many intellectuals. Several days later troops raided a meeting of a Buenos Aires society which was discussing measures to combat the rise in electricity rates, and hauled 25 people, both men and women, off to jail after brutally beating them up.

At dawn on June 14 the SIDE* arrested

more than 100 people throughout the province of Cordoba. Among those taken into custody were the dean and several lecturers of the philosophy and literature department of Cordoba University.

In protest against dismissals, lock-outs and withholding of wages, the workers have been occupying factories and mills. Clashes occur when the police using tear gas and truncheons try to drive them out. Many workers have been imprisoned and no one knows where they are. With the connivance of the police, bands of fascist rowdies from the Tacuara organization operate in the universities where students and teachers actively oppose the dictatorship. These thugs, who have been trained by professional soldiers, set fire to student hostels and clubs and shoot at students. One girl student was killed and five others were severely wounded in an attack on the Law Department of the Buenos Aires University on June 11.

But the reactionary militarists and their U.S. bosses are mistaken if they think they can stem the tide of popular indignation by these means. Protest actions are no longer confined to economic demands or demands for democratic liberties. From day to day they are merging more and more with the struggle for a genuine democratic people's government. The campaign that has been launched in Argentina for the release of the hundreds of political and trade union leaders who are now filling the jails all over the country is part of this general movement. On the initiative of the Argentine Human Rights League, a ten-day solidarity campaign was conducted from June 5 to

*Servicio de Informaciones del Estado, virtually the Argentine branch of U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation. The military dictatorship has given it jurisdiction over the agencies carrying out anti-communist repressions—the military and civil police.

15. At the end of May a collection of funds in aid of the prisoners and their families was started at a plenary meeting of the General Confederation of Labor. Thanks to the solidarity of the working people, the strikes, the movement against repressions and the demands for the release of the prisoners, the government has been forced to free many of the arrested persons.

Having failed to undermine the unity and militancy of the people, the reactionaries are daily becoming more savage and violent. They have gone so far as to use once again the old dungeons of the Special Department for Com-

bating Communism, now functioning under the name of "Department for the Investigation of Anti-Argentinian Activities."

But the solidarity of the people, who are forming committees everywhere to fight for the liberation of all the arrested political and trade union leaders, will check the frenzied wave of repression and rescue from the clutches of the reactionaries the gallant fighters who have been thrown into jail for having fought for freedom and democracy, for social well-being, for national independence and peace.

Silvia PEREZ

THE IMPERIALISTS ORGANIZE TERRORISM

IN Cyprus in recent months there has been a marked increase in acts of terrorism engineered from abroad. Those responsible for many of the crimes committed in the past few years are still at large. Political murders have become more common. On April 23 a Turkish lawyer and a journalist, Ayhan Mustafa Hikmet, 33, and Ahmet Muzaffer Gurcan, 35, publishers of the Turkish weekly *Cumhuriyet* (*Democracy*), were murdered by unknown criminals.

This foul deed aroused the indignation of the Turkish community and the whole population of Cyprus. The murdered men were democrats and patriots, leaders of the movement for friendship and cooperation between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus. They were planning to publish a daily newspaper.

The Political Bureau of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) issued a statement in connection with the murder in which it says: "This barbarous crime was perpetrated by the dark forces of fascism and imperialism in order to stifle the voice of truth, the voice of *Democracy*, the voice of brotherhood and cooperation between the two communities in this country . . . The hand of imperialism and its agents can be clearly seen behind this foul deed . . . Imperialism is seeking to undermine peace and democratic progress in our country, to incite Turk against Greek, Rights against Lefts . . . The Progressive Party of the Working People will hold aloft the banner of anti-imperialist unity and joint struggle of the Cypriot people against the common enemy — imperialism."

The AKEL appeals to the Cypriot people to build an impregnable wall against imperialism and fascism, terror and political murder and

to carry on the fight for the full independence of Cyprus.

On June 14 assassins in the pay of the imperialists perpetrated another heinous crime. Comrade Jannis Ioannou, an active member of the AKEL and Assistant General Secretary of the All-Cypriot Union of Auto Transport Workers, was killed in the village of Aherits; Dimitrios Christodoulou, an active member of the people's organization in the village was seriously wounded. There is no doubt that this too was a political murder.

The entire Cypriot people have angrily condemned the murder of Jannis Ioannou. Mass meetings and demonstrations of protest were held in all the main cities. The workers in Famagusta province where the murder was committed held a one-day strike.

The people are demanding that the government take effective measures to put a stop to these crimes, to disarm and disband the terrorist gangs operating among the Turks and Greeks in Cyprus and to arrest and punish the murderers.

All these criminal elements are directed by imperialist agencies and financed by American, British and West German imperialists in order to fan the flame of fratricidal war which would give imperialism the opportunity to entrench itself in Cyprus.

Broad sections of the Cypriot people are realizing more and more that imperialism alone stands to gain by conflicts and bloodshed, that the most effective means of foiling the treacherous schemes of the imperialists and their agents is for the people to unite their forces and fight imperialism, the main enemy of the Cypriot people.

PERICLES

THE PEACE MOVEMENT CANNOT BE HALTED

NO nuclear weapons for the Bundeswehr!", "For General Disarmament, beginning with Germany!", "No nuclear weapons and death for the peoples, but disarmament and peace among nations!" These were the slogans of many May Day meetings sponsored by the trade unions in the Federal German Republic, including a meeting of 120,000 workers in Hamburg. A conference of trade union youth passed a resolution on behalf of over 700,000 people against nuclear weapons for Federal Germany. Delegates to a women's trade union conference, representing nearly a million women, demanded peace, disarmament and an end to American nuclear testing. One hundred and fifty prominent West German scientists, political leaders, churchmen and intellectuals sent a message to the Geneva Disarmament Conference stating that to give the Federal Republic nuclear weapons "would mean the end of any security in Europe!" People of the most diverse political views in Federal Germany have come out in support of the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace.

The peace movement in West Germany is still rather diffuse in character. But, as distinct from past years, the situation in which it is now developing is marked by a worsening of the economic situation and a sharpening of the social struggle, at a time when the crisis of Bonn's policy of international provocation and revenge is growing more and more obvious.

The ruling circles in West Germany are exerting every effort to weaken and halt the movement for peace. Reaction is directing its attacks primarily against the Communist Party of Germany which has proclaimed 1962 a year of struggle of all patriotic and peace-loving forces against atomic weapons for Federal Germany. The persecution of the Communists is assuming more savage forms in West Germany. The old Gestapo practice of "family arrests," which victimizes the family and relatives

of political opponents of the existing regime, is being revived. At the same time the anti-communist hysteria is being used by the reactionaries for a general offensive against all the democratic and peace forces in the country.

During a trial of the Independent Association of Voters of Langenselbold, the court ruled that the association was a camouflaged Communist organization and should be dissolved on the grounds that its statements opposing the remilitarization of the Federal Republic coincide with those of the Communist Party of Germany.

Four activists of the women's democratic movement in West Germany were sent to jail in June for "seeking to introduce GDR practices into the Federal Republic," as the Prosecutor charged. The defendants' plea that they had fought for a policy of peace and equality for women went unheeded.

Persecution of peace supporters in the FRG has long since assumed the character of mass political repression. At a meeting of the Committee for Political Amnesty, held in the latter part of 1961, Dr. Amman, a West German lawyer, announced that no fewer than 200,000 political prosecutions and investigations were instituted in Federal Germany in the past ten years. Nearly all of them involved several persons.

The selfless struggle waged by the peace forces of West Germany is supported by progressive people the world over. One example of international solidarity is the broad campaign in defense of Oskar Neumann, the well-known peace champion. His immediate release has been demanded by more than a million people who have sent letters and petitions of protest to the President, the Minister of Justice and the Prosecutor General of the FRG.

Notwithstanding the resistance of reaction, the struggle of the peace forces in West Germany is growing and becoming more and more a national movement.

W. SCHULTZ

THE PEOPLE WILL SMASH SALAZAR'S FASCIST REGIME

"... Thirty years of dictatorship under Premier Salazar have left Portugal as the poorest and worst administered nation of ... Europe ... There is the dangerous social evil of a small and wealthy upper class and a very poor mass of people ... a very low standard of living ... The riots by students and other

agitators in recent days are symptomatic of a grave national illness ... The inexorable trend of historic forces in our day will make it impossible for Portugal to hold Angola and Mozambique much longer."

The above lines are taken from an editorial in the *New York Times*. That this mouthpiece

of U.S. Big Business should recognize the crisis of Salazar's fascist regime is symptomatic. It will be recalled that for years the capitalist press sang the praises of the Portuguese dictator. Now it is forced to admit that his regime is far from stable and to predict its imminent collapse.

The Salazar regime has come under severe attack both from the anti-fascist movement in Portugal and from the national-liberation movement in the colonies.

In May clashes occurred in many towns between thousands of working people and the police. On May Day workers in Lisbon, Oporto, Almada, Tortozendu and other towns demonstrated their hatred of the fascist regime. The police used tear gas and hosed colored water on the demonstrators in order later to identify them. But when this proved fruitless and the demonstrators began to chant "Down with Salazar!", "Assassins!", "We Are Hungry!", the police opened fire from machine-guns installed on the roofs of houses. Twenty people were killed and over a hundred wounded.

On May 8 hundreds of patriots again came out on to the streets of Lisbon and Oporto in demonstrations against the dictatorship and

demanding an end to the war in Algeria. This time, too, there was shooting and bloodshed.

Students were to the fore in the May struggles. Demonstrations of the youth took place in Lisbon and Coimbra. Students and professors of Lisbon University assembled on the campus to demonstrate their solidarity with the 86 students who had declared a hunger strike. The police raided the campus during the night and arrested over 1,000 students and several professors.

The student actions assumed such proportions that Salazar had to send police to the University. But even though surrounded by police, the students decided to continue the strike they had started two months before. Their decision was supported by 70 lecturers and professors who demanded that the police be withdrawn from the University.

Salazar is trying hard to save his regime from its inevitable doom. And once again the blame for all the trouble is placed on the Communists. Another group of Communist Party members has been put behind bars. Salazar would throw into prison all the opponents of his regime if he could. But he cannot; their numbers are too great. I. SUMAR

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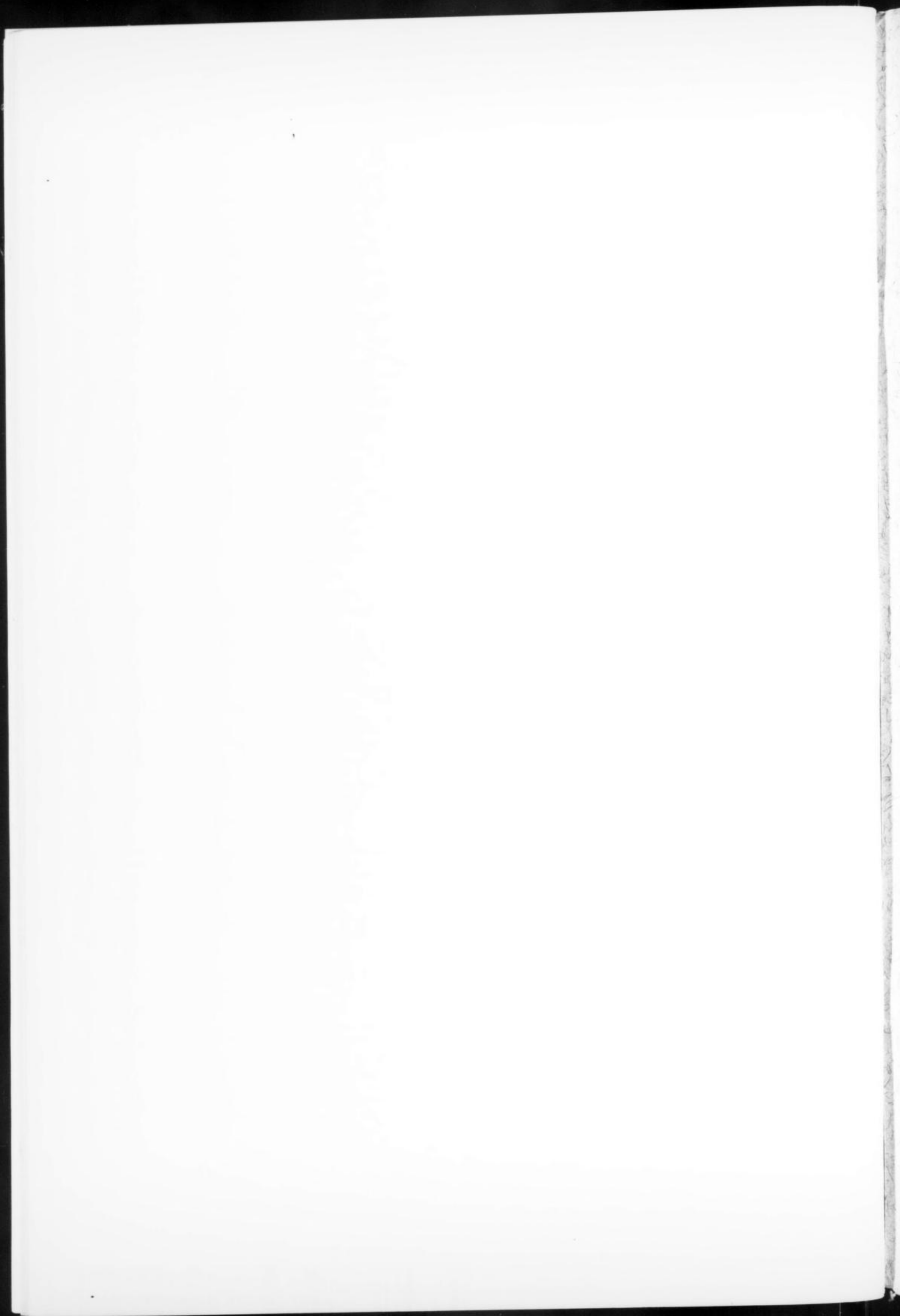
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