

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

PROBLEMS
OF PEACE AND
SOCIALISM

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To People of Good Will
Everywhere

The U.S. military are preparing another crime against humanity — nuclear explosions in outer space, the harmful consequences of which can hardly be foreseen. The safety of the peoples is in jeopardy. People of good will everywhere should act against this evil design. Protest against it! Brand it with shame, and demand a stop to all nuclear tests! Address your protests to the U.S. Congress and to President Kennedy.

World Marxist Review:

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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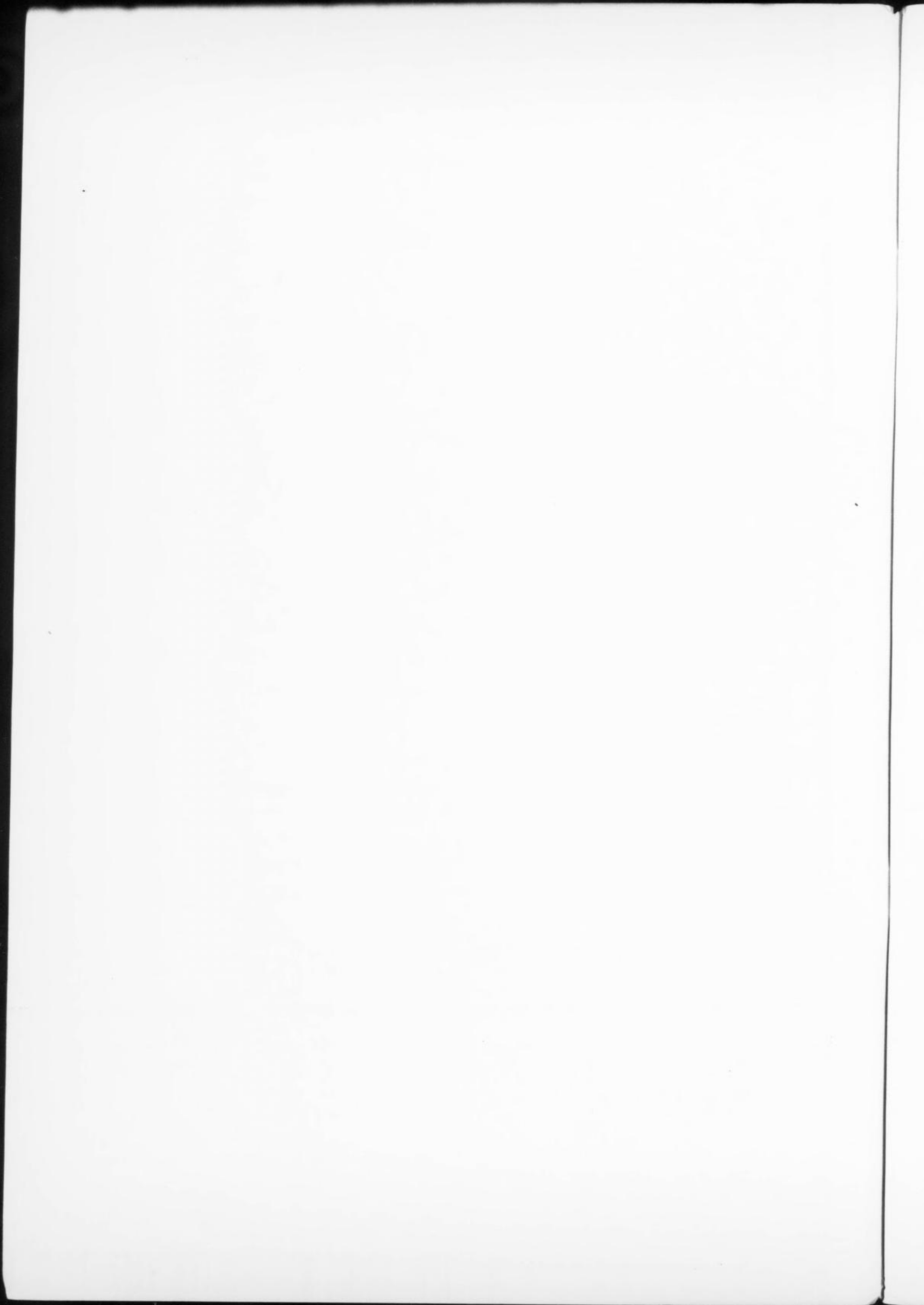
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The Historical Task of the GDR and the Future of Germany

Walter Ulbricht

SEVENTEEN years after the Second World War, Germany is again a powder keg threatening peace in Europe. There still are remnants of the war to be eliminated. The West German government is advancing revanchist demands, which it hopes to realize with the aid of resurgent German militarism and the Atlantic pact system of alliances. West Berlin, located in the heart of the German Democratic Republic, is still an occupied city, with U.S., British and French troops ruling the roost. Clearly, such a state of affairs is a source of anxiety not only to the neighboring countries whom the aggressive policy of German imperialism plunged into the ordeals of two world wars, but also to all other countries who stand in danger of being embroiled in a war arising from the gambles of the West German militarists. The situation is, unquestionably, a complex one. So much so that many people—and not a few Germans among them—have lost their bearings.

1.

The defeat of Hitler's armies by the Soviet Union and its allies in the Second World War gave the German working class and the nation an opportunity to take a new, peaceful way and to eradicate German imperialism and militarism. The two world wars had proved that imperialist policy could spell only misfortune for Germany. As a result of the deepening of the basic contradiction of capitalism, the class interests of the German imperialists and militarists had come into irreconcilable conflict with the national interest. After the surrender of the Nazi armies in 1945, when the first steps were taken toward meting out punishment to war criminals, transferring large-scale industry into the hands of the people and stripping the big landowners of their power, the way was opened for solving this basic contradiction through democratic action. This opportunity was provided by the Potsdam agreement, which explicitly called for the extirpation of militarism and Nazism. But it was realized only in East Germany; only in this part of

the country was a democratic, anti-fascist system, a democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants, established, and, after Germany had been divided by the Western powers and the West German reactionaries, a people's democratic state — the German Democratic Republic — set up.

Today there exist the German Democratic Republic, a state dedicated to peace, and the Federal Republic, which is dominated by the imperialist forces. The two states are following completely different paths. Two diametrically opposed social systems stand face to face within the bounds of Germany. One state, ruled by the working class in alliance with the peasants, intellectuals and other sections of the working people, pursues a consistent policy of peace, of friendly cooperation with all countries and, in particular, a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union. In West Germany, on the contrary, Hitler generals, war industry magnates and hangmen in the robes of judges are in the saddle and, aided and abetted by the Western powers, are pursuing a revanchist policy similar to Hitler's.

What next? Can it be that a new disaster is in the making on the Rhine and in the Ruhr? These questions are occupying the minds not only of the citizens of the two German states, but also of other countries who in the past suffered most from the savagery of German imperialism.

The government and the overwhelming majority of the people of the GDR are guided by the elementary truth that peace is as essential to the German people as the air they breathe. Another war might mean the end of the nation. The historical mission of the GDR, its policy and its goal derive from a realization of this truth. One thing is clear — the Adenauer government's dream of annexing the GDR to the Federal Republic, which is a member of NATO, by means of provocation and force of arms never will materialize.

In these circumstances it was essential to make a sober assessment of Germany's history over the past hundred years, the historical task of the GDR and Germany's future for

the benefit of all Germans. This assessment is contained in the document "The Historical Task of the German Democratic Republic and the Future of Germany," which the National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany put before the general public at the end of March. This document may well be called the national program of the German people. By throwing light on the complex issue of socialism versus imperialism and elucidating the national question in Germany, it helps all Germans to clarify their stand. Hundreds of thousands took part in discussing the program which for a long time to come will form the cornerstone of the policy of the GDR and the political aspirations of its citizens.

The impact of this document is not confined within the frontiers of the GDR. It is a source of strength to the peace-loving and democratic forces in West Germany in their struggle to abolish imperialism and militarism, for the vital demands of the people and a democratic and national policy. Lastly, it helps other peoples to understand what is happening today in the two German states, how the present complex situation came into being, who is right and who is wrong, and to see the perspectives of the German people.

To understand the march of events in Germany, it is essential to examine the contents of this document in greater detail.

2.

The timing of the document was not accidental. It appeared when a number of decisive questions of principle had been fully clarified.

For one thing, the events of the past years have shown that there can be no revision of the outcome of the Second World War. There no longer is any doubt that the two German states pursue fundamentally divergent policies. What the GDR stands for and what it aspires to is clear. What the Federal Republic is and what the imperialist and militarist forces dominating it are striving for is equally clear.

The policy of the Bonn government is essentially a policy of imperialist expansion which began with the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community and the achievement of political, economic and military preponderance over the other West European countries as expressed in the growing influence of German monopoly capital and the German militarists in NATO and in the European Economic Community. Adenauer's party and the Bonn government have declared that the purpose of West Germany's member-

ship of NATO and the transfer to the latter of questions pertaining to German reunification is to ensure allied assistance to German imperialism in its expansion eastward.

With the change in the world balance of forces in favor of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, the failure of this design became obvious.

All the attempts to overthrow the power of the workers and peasants in the GDR were foiled, with the support of the socialist countries. The world could see that the Adenauer policy had foundered. Indeed, even the Bonn government conceded this by renouncing every semblance of national policy and steering a course toward West-European federation, and even federation with the USA.

The measures taken on August 13, 1961, to ensure the security of the GDR frontiers and the subsequent events dispersed the fog which had blinded many people to the real state of affairs.

On the other hand, it also became clear that the GDR could not — indeed, had no right to — delay the building of socialism in the expectation, say, of the rule of the imperialists being swept away in West Germany. On the contrary, it was essential to strengthen the GDR to the maximum, i.e., to secure the final victory of socialism in the first German state of workers and peasants.

And it is not only in the GDR that a national balance-sheet is being drawn up. In West Germany, too, many people from all sections of society are sincerely trying to get at the root of things, to visualize the road ahead and the goal it will lead to. There is a growing awareness among all sections of the population that the policy of the Adenauer government is leading farther and farther away from the ideas of peace and reunification, and that this policy of revenge and nuclear armament is jeopardizing the very existence of West Germany and its population. Our national document will no doubt accelerate this process of awakening.

The document sets forth *the principal items of the German national balance-sheet* as it was in the spring of 1962. What is the overall picture?

First, the *debit* side: West Germany is again under the heel of monopoly capitalism, clerical obscurantists, Hitler war-industry magnates, experts in seizing and plundering other countries, Nazi generals, judges and genocides. With the backing of the USA, Germany has been divided and its Western part incorporated into NATO. The Bonn government holds that there is no need for a

national policy and that NATO policy is good enough for the Germans. Its spokesmen invite the U.S. monopolies to enter into an aggressive U.S.-West German confederation and to reject any peaceful national confederation with the GDR and all other offers of agreement and cooperation. Bonn, feverishly arming, is clamoring for nuclear weapons. Democratic rights are being abolished. The Communist Party has been outlawed. Organizations of the victims of Nazi persecution are banned or suppressed, and the democratic forces generally hounded.

What does the *credit* side of the balance sheet show? In the GDR heed has been taken of the lessons of history — the forces of imperialism and militarism have been stripped of power forever. The workers and peasants, in alliance with all other anti-fascist and democratic forces, have laid the foundation for a peaceful and prosperous life for the people. They are building socialism. The GDR has demonstrated its stability, and it has good and reliable friends. Its alliance with the USSR and its affiliation to the socialist camp, which represents the future of the world, and also the shift in the world balance in favor of socialism, have deprived the West German militarists and imperialists of any possibility of undermining its positions.

A process of reappraisal has begun in all sections of the population in West Germany.

The West German working people and other peace-loving and democratic forces are opposed to the revenge-seeking policy of the Bonn diehards. On the other hand, the peace policy of the GDR and its perspectives are clear for all to see. The peaceful coexistence of the two German states steadfastly advocated by the GDR and also the idea of a German confederation are acceptable to the vast majority of West Germans. Lastly, the credit side includes also our proposals on neutrality and disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-free zone taking in both German states. These proposals accord with the views and hopes of many West Germans.

The foregoing are weighty items in our national balance. The scales, clearly, are tipping in favor of peace and socialism, in favor of the peace-loving and democratic forces of the German people.

In the GDR the people, irrespective of their political views, realize that the imperialists and militarists have brought the Germans nothing but misfortune. Though endowed with organizational and technical talent and skill in amassing vast profits by exploiting their

own and other people, these gentlemen have, nevertheless, proved themselves completely incapable of leading the nation. Grossly misjudging the correlation of forces, they unleashed two world wars, seeking to conquer the world at the expense of the German people who paid a heavy price for the adventurist policy of their rulers. Nor are these gentlemen willing to learn from the defeat in the Second World War. This is patent from their present policy. Thus the big bourgeoisie, which has so grievously damaged the interests of the German nation, has forfeited the right to lead it.

At all crucial periods in the past century it was the class-conscious workers and their leaders who advocated policies serving the national interest. Germany's tragedy was that the working class was unable to take power into its hands immediately after the First World War and to establish, together with all other democratic and progressive forces, a state dedicated to peace, democracy and friendship with its neighbors.

Today these forces — the finest of the nation — are in power in one part of the country, the GDR. They are building up this peaceful German state as the model for all Germany.

The task of the GDR is complicated by the fact that in their drive to create a nationalistic psychosis the Bonn rulers are capitalizing on the widespread dissatisfaction with the consequences of the Hitler war, and whipping up anti-communism. Moreover, Germany's principal heavy industries are located in the West, while the GDR, cut off from the traditional raw material suppliers, has had to establish a new base for its economy. These difficulties, however, are being overcome thanks to socialist planned economy. Economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, furthermore, provides a guarantee that the planned targets are achieved. That gross industrial output in the GDR increased by 35.4 per cent between 1957 and 1960 and that the gradual transition from capitalism to socialism, though requiring the maximum effort, is being effected step by step despite the complex conditions existing in the republic is a major success for the working people of the GDR and for the Socialist Unity Party and the other parties cooperating with it in the National Front (the National Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Peasant's Party).

3.

Some people in Germany and in other countries think that the division of the country as such—the very fact of the prolonged existence of two German states—is a threat to peace in Europe. They believe that it is essential to unite the two states at whatever cost, since this, they aver, would abolish a most dangerous seedbed of war.

Needless to say, we are working steadfastly to overcome the division. As a matter of fact, our efforts for a united, peace-loving and democratic Germany began before the separate West German state was established.

From the outset the democratic, anti-fascist forces wanted to wage the struggle to uproot militarism and imperialism by democratic means within a single German state. This, however, was made impossible by the Western powers, which, in alliance with German monopoly capital and with the aid of the Right-wing of the Social Democratic Party and the West German trade unions, split the country. Consequently, this struggle proceeds today, on the one hand, in West Germany, and on the other, at governmental level as a collision between the GDR and the West German state of the imperialist monopolies.

Since 1945 we have repeatedly advanced constructive proposals aimed at ending the division of Germany. But the Bonn imperialists and militarists, supported by the Western powers, do not want a peaceful and democratic reunification. Their aim is to extend their rule and to expand the NATO base of aggression all the way to the Oder-Neisse frontier. Clearly, this would not lessen the danger of war in Europe, it would, on the contrary, increase it.

It would be wrong, then, to assume that the unity of Germany in itself would ensure peace and security for its people and their neighbors. The united Germany of the Kaiser, it will be remembered, was one of the powers chiefly responsible for the First World War. Similarly, the united Hitler Germany unleashed the Second World War.

It would, of course, be a mistake to conclude from this that the division of Germany secures peace in Europe. For the fact is that the rule of the imperialists and militarists in the Federal Republic has made it a dangerous breeding-ground of war.

It is not the unity or the division of Germany that is decisive for European peace. The decisive thing is who rules Germany—the peace-loving democratic forces of the people or the imperialists and militarists who

would doom them to disaster. Everything depends on what class holds the reins of government—the working class, which has no stake whatever in war and is linked by strong bonds with all the democratic and peace-loving forces of the nation, or the imperialist big bourgeoisie and its revanchist politicians, Nazi generals and judicial murderers.

To understand political developments in Germany it is important to remember this particular lesson of history so cogently discussed in the above-mentioned document. It leaves no doubt that so long as the big concerns and banks and the militarists rule over even a part of the country not only is European peace in jeopardy but the German people stand in danger of physical destruction and the unity of the nation is impossible.

Both the past and the present have shown that rule by imperialists and militarists is incompatible with the vital interests of the German people. These interests, as well as the maintenance of peace in Europe, demand that the domination of the big concerns and banks and the Hitler generals in West Germany be abolished. At the same time both the past and the present show that socialism and peace are in perfect harmony with the interests of the German people.

The victory of socialism in the GDR, therefore, accords with the national interests of all Germans as well as with the interests of European peace, and at the same time it is the decisive prerequisite for solving our national question. The victory of socialism in the GDR, and eventually in the Federal Republic, would release the nation from the grip of the deadly “war-crisis-war” cycle, and would end capitalist exploitation for all time in all parts of the country. Strengthening the GDR to the maximum, i.e., full-scale building of socialism in this part of Germany, is the best way we can help the peace-loving and democratic forces in West Germany in their struggle against imperialist and militarist rule.

Some people think that the two German states could be brought closer and their unification facilitated by a blending of their two fundamentally different social systems. This is an erroneous view. A revenge-seeking policy and a policy of peace cannot merge. Indeed, can one visualize a policy consisting partly of imperialism and militarism and partly of socialism, peace and democracy? Clearly, this is unthinkable. Peace and socialism must not be corrupted by imperialism and revanchist policies.

The people of Germany, the national docu-

ment shows, can be reunited only when the peace-loving forces in West Germany prevail over German imperialism. The socialist GDR and an anti-fascist, democratic West Germany delivered by the efforts of the people from German and foreign monopoly rule will then join hands in a reunited, peace-loving Germany which will be a guarantee of tranquility in Europe.

The historical task of the GDR is, by completing the building of socialism, to set an example that will help the working people of the Federal Republic to find the correct path, to break away from the stranglehold of the militarists and big capitalists, win genuine democracy and, on the basis of their own experience and in keeping with West German conditions, take the road of socialism.

4.

From the national balance of the German people for the period since 1945 it follows that we must face—much as we regret it—the prospect of the two fundamentally different and independent German states existing side by side, perhaps for a long time. And not only existing, but coexisting, for we cannot change the geography of Europe.

At present the two German states are hostile to each other. This is a painful fact, but, unfortunately, that is how things are. The National Front of Democratic Germany, the people of the GDR and, we can safely assume, the majority of West Germans, want neither a fratricidal war nor a permanent cold war between the two German states. Hence the possibility of their peaceful coexistence is a very real one, although to realize it no little effort is still required.

The two German states, then, should learn to live at peace with each other, to place their intercourse on a business-like footing, to settle problems of mutual interest jointly and, as the aforementioned national document puts it, to cooperate to a somewhat greater extent than is usual between neighbors. Despite the different social systems their relations can be normalized.

The absence of a peace treaty, however, is a formidable obstacle to this. The fact that there is no such treaty helps the West German militarists and reactionary politicians to foster among part of the West German population the illusory notion that the results of the Second World War can be annulled, existing frontiers changed in favor of the German imperialists and the territories once seized by Hitler partly regained. A peace treaty

would to a considerable extent deprive this revenge policy of the soil on which it feeds. At the same time it would remove the dangerous hotbed of war which has developed in West Berlin under the abnormally prolonged occupation regime, and turn it into a demilitarized, free and neutral city.

To facilitate agreement between the two German states on peaceful coexistence and at the same time prevent war from being plotted again on German soil, we suggest general and complete disarmament for both, irrespective of a world disarmament settlement. We believe that this would be a valuable contribution to the cause of world peace. We suggest, further, that both German states renounce all claims to atomic weapons, ban these weapons on their territories and denounce their use, and that both states should take part in creating in Europe the widest possible nuclear-free zone.

In the conditions of a Germany split by the imperialist Western powers, the most suitable form of peaceful coexistence between the two German states would be confederation. West Berlin, which is located on GDR territory, could enter as a demilitarized, free, neutral city. Confederation would make it possible to achieve the maximum measure of agreement on international and national issues, preclude the danger of armed conflict, and prevent the gulf between the two German states from widening. We believe that this is in the interests of all Germans in both East and West. Naturally, this confederation would not be designed to last forever. As the working class in West Germany, in alliance with the peasants, handicraftsmen and some sections of the bourgeoisie, gains in strength over imperialism and militarism, the confederation would evolve into an instrument of the progressive unification of the two German states and West Berlin.

To many Germans the idea of confederation between the socialist GDR and capitalist West Germany, i.e., between states with diametrically opposed social systems, seems altogether far-fetched. They find it hard to get accustomed to it saying that there has never been anything of the kind in world history.

This, of course, is true: there has been nothing like it before. But so is the entire epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism unique. There has never been such an epoch before. And this transition poses new problems and new tasks the rational solution of which cannot be evaded on the plea that there are no precedents.

The ideas set forth in the program-docu-

ment of the National Front of Democratic Germany are being grasped by growing numbers in all sections of the population of the GDR and among the people of West Germany. The Bonn rulers at first tried to ignore this important document with its summary of our national development and conclusions arising

therefrom. Today, however, even the press in the Federal Republic can no longer evade the issue. The historical truth set forth in the document is capable of revitalizing West German political life which Adenauer's clerical-militarist state has paralyzed.

Champion of Peace and Socialism

Apropos the 80th Anniversary of the Birth of Georgi Dimitrov

B. N. Ponomaryov

THE name of Georgi Dimitrov is inscribed in many of the finest pages of the annals of the struggle and victorious march of the Communist movement, of the cause of socialism. Under his guidance the Bulgarian Communist Party led its people onto the socialist path. By his famous duel with the Nazi regime at the Leipzig trial, Dimitrov raised the banner of struggle against fascism and war. As one of the leaders of the Communist International he played a prominent part at the turning point in the history of the Communist movement associated with the Seventh Congress of the Comintern; the Seventh Congress, it will be recalled, prepared the Communists for the great liberating mission they were to perform in the Second World War and paved the way to the postwar triumphant advance of socialism.

Marxism-Leninism, while stressing that it is the people who make history, and emphasizing the guiding and organizational role of the party of the working class, gives due recognition to the leaders of the Communist movement—men in whom the Party and the people repose their trust, men boundlessly dedicated to communism, to the struggle for the happiness of the people. The world Communist movement has produced many leaders of this kind, true continuers of the cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin. And among them a place of honor belongs to Georgi Dimitrov.

The name of Georgi Dimitrov is surrounded by an aureole of glory and heroism. Profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, ability to apply that teaching creatively to the changing conditions, faith in the righteousness of the noble cause of communism, steadfast adherence to the Party's policy combined with a flexibility of tactics, boundless loyalty to proletarian internationalism, devo-

tion to the cause of the working class, fearless struggle on behalf of the working people and for their happiness, superb courage in face of the enemy, close ties with the people, and last but not least, the warmth and deep humanity of the man—these were the qualities which made Dimitrov the universally recognized leader of the Bulgarian people and one of the most distinguished figures in the international Communist movement, a man whose memory is cherished by the world working class and its Communist vanguard.

I

Georgi Dimitrov became a leading figure in the Communist movement at a time when the need arose for a new policy, one which would ensure the further development of our movement and cement and rally all the forces of the working class and all working people.

What were the features of the world situation at that time? What was it that demanded of the Communist parties a new approach to the tasks of the day and a change in their general orientation?

The world economic crisis of 1929-1933 had aggravated to the extreme the contradictions of the first stage in the general crisis of capitalism. Imperialism sought to solve these contradictions in its favor by smashing the revolutionary movement. In this situation international reaction advanced fascism to the foreground of world politics, with the object of using it to destroy the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the world revolutionary movement, and at the same time to crush the Communist movement and the progressive forces in the capitalist countries. Fascism plotted its crimes against humanity to the accompaniment of hysterical anti-communist propaganda. International reaction supported fascism political-

ly, financed it in building up a powerful military machine, and assigned to it the role of a shock force spearheaded against the USSR.

Such, in rough outline, was the situation at the time, a situation brought about by the objective operation of the laws of monopoly capitalism, which was already creating a tangible threat to mankind. Only the Marxist-Leninist parties, and the Comintern — then the embodiment of their ideological and political unity — were able to perceive the true significance of what was happening and to gauge the full magnitude of the danger menacing civilization, to devise means of struggle and to organize the forces capable of defeating fascism and leading the peoples along the road of democracy and socialist reconstruction of society.

And it was precisely at this crucial moment in history that Dimitrov made his signal contribution to Marxist-Leninist thought, to the consolidation of the forces of the international Communist movement against fascism and war.

The whole of his past activity had fully prepared him for this role. The Bulgarian Communist Party, one of whose leaders he was, had become a mass party by the early 'twenties. It was one of the first — in September 1923 — to lead the people in armed struggle against fascism. Dimitrov personally led the uprising. And when it was defeated he, together with the rest of the Central Committee of the Party, made a Leninist, profoundly self-critical assessment of the reasons for the defeat and arrived at conclusions which were later to have international significance for the struggle against fascism. While working in leading bodies of the international trade union movement and on the Executive Committee of the Communist International, he combated the illusion, then widespread in the working-class movement, that fascism was an isolated, chance manifestation of reaction peculiar only to some countries in South and South-eastern Europe. In speeches and articles he returned again and again to the subject of unity, the unity of the broad democratic masses as an indispensable condition for halting and defeating fascism.

In 1933 Dimitrov was destined to become the living symbol of the anti-fascist struggle then beginning to gather momentum on an international scale. His titanic encounter with Hitler fascism in Leipzig was an example of the indomitable spirit and courage of a Communist who embodied the strength and confidence of the class to whom the future belongs.

The courtroom duel with Goering, which demonstrated the strength of communism and the impotence of its enemies, stirred the whole world.

Speaking of Dimitrov's fight at the Leipzig trial, Khrushchov has said: "It was as if he had been thrown into the tigers' lair. It is impossible to read what he said there without being deeply moved. He spoke not as the accused but as the accuser of Goering, Goebbels and Hitler, of the fascist butchers, of the entire fascist regime.

"Whence came his courage? From his convictions! He could hardly have hoped to escape the clutches of the fascist monsters. Yes, defying death, he accused — fearlessly accused — his enemies, the enemies of the working class, and of all progressive humanity."

The Leipzig trial helped to enlighten the people. It opened the eyes of many to what fascism really meant and what it held in store not only for Germany but for all other peoples as well. At the same time, this trial in which Dimitrov exalted the ideas of communism, the aims of the Communists and their methods of struggle with consummate skill and superb courage, showed the working class, all the working people, all democrats, that in the Communists humanity had its most reliable defenders against fascism. Dimitrov's exploit at Leipzig brought home to world public opinion the need for united action against fascism and war. At the same time, the mass movement in defense of the Leipzig prisoners gave rise to new forms of united action in the international working-class movement, prompted a new approach to the establishment of a united front. It sowed the first seed, as it were, of the broad, anti-fascist people's front.

Wrested from the fascist clutches by the powerful international solidarity movement and at the demand of the Soviet Union, Dimitrov threw himself into the work of exposing fascism and rallying the people to combat it. While giving every support to the newly-emerging forms of united mass action for concrete demands (primarily in defense of Ernst Thaelmann), he took an active part in the theoretical generalization of the substance of world developments, and in elaborating the new strategy of the Communist movement.

This work, in which the collective thinking of the leaders of the Communist parties of many countries played its full part, was rounded off at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, which

ushered in a new stage in the world Communist movement.

What were the main features of this theoretical and political contribution which characterized this stage and which bore such rich fruit in the subsequent epoch-making victories of communism?

Primarily the exposure of fascism — the creature of moribund capitalism—as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialist elements of finance capital. This struck a blow at all the illusions about the allegedly petty-bourgeois, even anti-capitalist and “popular” nature of fascism. Dimitrov’s report to the Seventh Congress showed why the imperialists needed fascism, and the overt and covert forms assumed by it to adapt itself to national conditions while in all circumstances constituting an instrument for suppressing the progressive forces and unleashing war in order to preserve capitalism.

These profound propositions remain to this day an invaluable weapon in the hands of the Communist parties, the working class and the democratic movement of all countries. Whatever the guise fascism might assume today—be it the OAS, the John Birch Society, or the Franco or Salazar regimes—the peoples, guided by the Communist assessment of fascism, can readily discern what lies behind these fronts and alert their forces to repel this monstrous product of a decaying system.

Proceeding from an analysis of the new world situation, Dimitrov called for a new approach to the problem of the proletariat versus war.

“Gone are the times,” Dimitrov wrote, “when the working class did not take an *independent and active* part in solving such vital problems as that of peace and war.” He took a firm stand against the “left” doctrinaires who claimed that war was inevitable. These people, he wrote, declare that “since the root cause of war is capitalism, it is impossible to avoid war and it is hopeless and senseless to fight to preserve peace so long as capitalism exists. They see the raging forces of war everywhere, but are totally blind to the mighty factors of peace.”

Dimitrov pointed, above all, to the Soviet Union, the country of the victorious proletariat, with its consistent and resolute peace policy. The other factors: the proletariat of the capitalist countries, the broad working masses, the non-aggressive capitalist states.

He saw in the creation of a worldwide peace front extending “from Tokyo to Lon-

don and from New York to Berlin” the *central* task of the entire international proletariat. “The struggle to preserve peace in the present conditions,” he wrote, “is a struggle against *fascism*, an essentially *revolutionary struggle*.” This broad interpretation—prompted by the new situation—of revolutionary tasks requiring the united action of the working class and the working people generally, presupposed also a broader approach to the question of the means, methods and principles of struggle, an approach which completely ruled out dogmatism, sectarianism and phrasemongering.

Many of the principles advanced a quarter of a century ago by Dimitrov remain valid to this day. “It is not enough to *want* peace,” he said. “It is necessary to *fight* for peace. General propaganda against war is insufficient. . . .”

Dimitrov held that the Communist parties, while guarding against any drift into bourgeois positions, should intervene actively in foreign policy, advancing proposals capable of rallying the masses and helping them to understand the need to exert unflagging pressure on their respective governments and to keep a watchful eye on the actions of the latter on the international arena.

Even the League of Nations, Dimitrov insisted, should be used in the interests of peace. “Those who refuse to bring mass pressure to bear on the League of Nations and the various capitalist governments to secure the adoption of measures to safeguard the peace,” he said, “such people are windbags and not revolutionaries, not proletarian politicians.”

The working class bore the main burden and the chief responsibility in the struggle for peace. To carry out this mission, it had to achieve unity in its own ranks also on an international scale. This unity, as Dimitrov saw it, should be expressed above all in a “united international policy of the working class in the interests of preserving peace.” Such a policy presupposed “full support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the proletarian state standing firmly on guard for peace among the nations.”

And although at that time, owing to the actions of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders who had split the working class and pursued a shortsighted, anti-Communist policy, the united peace front advocated by the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties could not be achieved and world war was not averted, Dimitrov’s views on the possibility of safeguarding peace were perfectly correct.

At present, when there is a mighty socialist world system and the peace forces have grown in all countries, the Communist movement, creatively applying the ideas expressed by outstanding Marxist-Leninists on the issues of war and peace, has elaborated a clear-cut policy for protecting humanity from a global nuclear disaster. The statement of the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties declares: *"The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the socialist world camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces."* Marxist-Leninists say this not because imperialism has ceased to be aggressive by its nature, but because there now exist forces capable of foiling its aggressive plans provided they wage an active, all-out struggle.

Today, when the fight for peace is so vitally important, Dimitrov's views on "the united international policy of the working class" are particularly timely. These views were comprehensively elaborated in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties.

When the finance oligarchy openly turned to fascism as its salvation, it was imperative to unite all detachments of the working class with the utmost speed. The Communists came forward as the standard-bearers of the united front, of united action by all workers. The only condition they set was that the united actions should be directed against fascism, against the capitalist offensive, against the war danger and the class enemy. Dimitrov severely criticized sectarian views and tendencies in the ranks of the Communist parties. Pernicious under all circumstances, sectarianism was particularly dangerous in face of the frenzied fascist offensive. It had ceased to be an "infantile sickness" and became, as Dimitrov said, a deep-seated "canker" which had to be removed if the united front was to be built.

Dimitrov was irreconcilable toward sectarian doctrinaires who quoted ready-made formulas learned by rote and failed to see the changing situation. He ridiculed the sterile propaganda stemming from a dogmatic approach to Marxism-Leninism and to Party programs and resolutions. At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International he cited an instance he had witnessed at a meeting of unemployed workers in Germany. A fascist speaker who addressed the meeting

with an impassioned "exposure" of capitalist exploitation and oppression, was followed by a Communist. The Communist speaker wanted to tell the workers about a recent decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. But how did he go about it? He told them that "the chief task it puts before you, comrades, is 'to win the majority of the working class....' The Plenum pointed out that the unemployed movement must be 'politicized.' The Plenum calls on us to raise it to a higher level. . . ." Could such a speech, Dimitrov asked, appeal to the unemployed? "Could they find any satisfaction in the fact that first we intended to politicize, then revolutionize, and finally mobilize them in order to raise their movement to a higher level?"

Based on the principles set forth by Lenin and an analysis of the facts, Dimitrov's criticism of every manifestation of sectarianism and dogmatism is as valid today as it was then.

The struggle for a working-class united front, Dimitrov held, would lay a firm foundation for uniting all the democratic forces, for organizing a *broad popular movement—the anti-fascist people's front*. The idea of the people's front, which he elaborated in his report to the Seventh Congress, as well as the new approach to the question of the united front, was the fruit of a profound generalization of the political and theoretical experience gained by a number of Communist parties, the French Communist Party in particular. Here, as in all of his activity, Dimitrov remained true to himself, proceeding from the realities of life, subjecting them to keen Leninist analysis, supporting and fostering all the new and positive features emerging from the practical struggles of the working-class and the Communist movement. The concrete forms of the people's front which took shape in the 'thirties in France, Spain and Chile are now a matter of history, but the part they played in the development of the revolutionary movement, in the struggle against imperialist reaction, is an invaluable contribution to Marxism-Leninism.

The ideas underlying the people's front yielded fruit in the Resistance movement during the Second World War, when the Communists took the lead in building the unity of all patriotic forces in the fight against fascist slavery, for freedom and national independence. Under diverse names (National Front, Democratic National Front, Patriotic Front, National Democratic Front, National Independence Front, etc.), the anti-

fascist people's front, comprising the most varied groups of society and political parties, came into being in China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Korea, Yugoslavia, France, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Greece, and, later, in Germany and other countries. In each case its core was the working class, and everywhere it emerged from joint action by the patriotic forces and became the organizer of the people's armed struggle against the imperialist and fascist invaders, against the collaborators and all other reactionaries. In a number of countries the anti-fascist national front developed into a mass organization of the people's democratic and, subsequently, socialist revolution, and its committees formed the embryo of the new, people's government.

Highly important was Dimitrov's analysis of the conditions, expediency and methods of building a *united Marxist-Leninist workers' party* by uniting the Communists and Social Democrats. His ideas were developed by the Communist parties in keeping with their specific national conditions at the time of the liberation from the fascist yoke and formed the basis for the establishment of united Marxist-Leninist parties; and this played no small role in giving proper direction to the people's democratic revolutions, in ensuring the triumph of people's democracy in a number of countries of Central and Southeast Europe, as well as in guiding these countries onto the socialist road.

Equally fruitful was the new formulation by Dimitrov of the question of Communist support for anti-fascist governments—popular front governments — and for Communist participation in such governments. Based on a profound analysis of the balance of class forces which had taken shape in the 'thirties, on a critical reassessment of the previous postulates of the Communist International concerning the "workers' government," these ideas stood the Communist parties in good stead both in the prewar struggles against fascism and in the postwar period of democratic regeneration.

The principles on which the struggle for a people's front was based in Dimitrov's time have, in many respects, retained their significance for the present struggle waged by the Communist parties to build up a *broad democratic and anti-monopoly movement* comprising the most diverse sections of society. These principles include patient explanation to all working people, to all who suffer from the monopolies, the real reasons for the plight of the oppressed, showing them

that their interests coincide with the fundamental interests of the working class; they include vigorous support by the working class and its party for the struggles of the non-proletarian strata of working people for their demands, and the ability to find points of contact and to ensure joint action with the organizations catering to these sections.

The broader view taken of *the importance of democratic freedoms* for the working-class movement and *the indivisibility of the workers' struggle for democracy and socialism* was bound up with the foregoing principles, whose validity remains unquestioned to this day. Fascism glaringly laid bare the fact—already established by Lenin—that capitalism in its last, imperialist stage denies democratic freedoms and tramples on them, that its concomitant is reaction all along the line aimed at abolishing all the rights won by the people in long and bitter struggle. Dimitrov was implacable toward those who feared "positive formulations of democratic demands." This fear, he said, "only shows how far our comrades still are from having mastered the Marxist-Leninist approach to such vital questions of our tactics."

The experience gained in the struggle for democracy, against fascism, in the Resistance movement and the epoch-making postwar victories of socialism confirms that the political line laid down at that time in keeping with the specific features of the period is, in principle, equally valid under the present conditions.

At present monopoly capital is out to abolish democratic rights altogether or to curtail them to the minimum and to restore fascism in new forms. The working-class movement, therefore, directs its main blow against the monopolies as the chief cause of the arms drive and the bulwark of reaction and aggression, against the entire system of state-monopoly capitalism. Enriched by experience, the international Communist movement put forward at its Moscow conferences a broad program for uniting all forces vitally concerned in abolishing monopoly rule, a program for the fullest democracy in economic and cultural organizations and institutions. The Communists regard the fight for democracy as an integral part of the fight for socialism.

At the time when fascism was on the rampage, only the working class — the protagonist of the civilization of the future — proved capable of saving man's cultural achievements from destruction. The Communist parties, which from their inception had worked to be-

come a national force in politics, were put to the supreme test as the true champions of democracy and *the national culture*. This required of the parties an even more profound examination and assessment of their activities in the light of the specific national conditions and an extension of their struggle on the ideological front.

Dimitrov vigorously opposed any sectarian tendency to belittle the historical past of the nations. Those who held that this past had no bearing on the working class and its struggles, he said, had understood nothing of Leninism and were unfit to be leaders of the people.

The leaders of the Communist parties, Dimitrov among them, restored the full revolutionary significance of the Leninist principles concerning the danger of national nihilism, the duty of the Communists to cherish the revolutionary past and traditions of the people, the national pride of revolutionaries, respect for the national feelings of the people — in a word, the whole body of ideas which combines in an indissoluble alloy the proletarian internationalism of the Communists and their patriotism.

In the complex and critical international situation of the time it was imperative that all Communist parties (and many of them were just getting onto their feet) should act as *true political parties of the working class*, that they should really play the role of a *political factor* in the life of their country. But in the new conditions, to fulfil the role of the vanguard and organizer of all progressives in the struggle against fascism and war and prepare the masses to fight for the socialist reorganization of society, the Communists had first to break once and for all out of the isolation in which the bourgeoisie had been at such pains to doom them for more than ten years. In the light of this general task Dimitrov urged the Communists to make a more profound and thorough study of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, to spare no effort to assimilate the wealth of the Leninist teaching on the Party, to forge close bonds with the masses and help the working class assume the leadership of the nation. Dimitrov worked to ensure that all Communist parties should develop and consolidate their ranks as parties of a new type, the principles of which were delineated by Lenin.

In conformity with the urgent tasks confronting the world revolutionary movement, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International laid particular emphasis on the need to carry out Lenin's ideas concerning the

linking of the revolutionary efforts of the working class in the metropolitan countries with the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples. "World imperialism is bound to fall," Lenin said, "when the revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers in each country, overcoming the resistance of petty-bourgeois elements and the influences of the tiny upper crust of labor aristocracy, combines with the revolutionary onslaught of the hundreds of millions who have hitherto not been part of history and were regarded merely as its objects."* Lenin elaborated the fundamentals of Communist policy in relation to the national and colonial movement and taught the Communists to support this movement, insofar as it is revolutionary and directed against imperialism.

In the 'thirties these ideas found embodiment in the struggle waged by the Communist parties to build an *anti-imperialist united front*—an all-embracing association of the progressive forces of the oppressed nations fighting for freedom and the social revolution. At the same time this was a connecting link between the national-liberation movement and the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, a link based on their common interest in defeating fascism and preventing world war. In his report to the Seventh Congress, Dimitrov posed the question of the national-liberation movement as a decisive problem of universal significance. He held that fascism had created a situation which made it imperative to steer the colonial and dependent peoples into the mainstream of the anti-imperialist struggle in order to ensure the successful development of their own liberation movement.

The idea of an anti-imperialist united front helped these peoples to play their part in world politics, a situation which Lenin had foreseen and which he regarded as a paramount factor in the world revolution. Together with the Soviet Union and the world proletariat these peoples fought against the most reactionary and most aggressive forces of imperialism, in a movement that subsequently developed into a mighty battering ram which is sweeping away the colonial system.

These ideas, in the elaboration of which Dimitrov played so great a part, have passed the test of time and are today valuable weapons in the arsenal of the world Communist movement. The past quarter of a century has been replete with momentous events: the

*V. I. Lenin, *Report on the International Situation and the Basic Tasks of the Communist International*, July 19, 1920.

Second World War and the defeat of fascism, a new mighty wave of revolution and the establishment of the socialist world system, the disintegration of the colonial empires and the acceleration of the revolutionary process, completion of the building of socialism in a number of countries and the transition in the USSR to building a communist society, and, finally, the emergence of socialism as the decisive factor in world development. In the light of these events the significance of the ideas of working-class unity, the unity of all working people, all democrats in the struggle against fascism and war cannot be over-estimated. History teaches that had the united action for which the Communists have always worked been achieved in time and steadfastly pursued, the working class and the peoples of many countries would have been spared the fearful consequences of fascism and the devastating world war unleashed by it, the grave setbacks and the bloodshed of the past 25 years.

The Communist movement, which has taken these lessons deeply to heart, holds aloft the banner of united action as an indispensable condition of success in the fight for disarmament and peace, in the struggle for democracy and socialism, against colonialism, for a happy future for all peoples. United action assumes particular significance at the present time when the monopolies are trying to combine (in the Common Market and other forms of integration) against socialism, against the working class and national-liberation movements.

II

The Communist International was a necessary stage in the development of the world Communist movement. It played an exceptionally important role in spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in steeling the Communist parties and their leading cadres and in rallying the working class in the struggle against fascism and war. But after the Communist International had fulfilled these functions, this form of association between the Communist parties proved inexpedient; leadership from a single center became an obstacle to the further development of the international Communist movement, to strengthening the national parties and their fulfillment of their tasks at the new stage. Hence at the suggestion of the parties affiliated to it, the Communist International was dissolved.

The defeat of fascism enabled Georgi Dimitrov to devote his energies to the regeneration of his native Bulgaria. As the leader of his

people, he steered the country to the people's democratic and socialist revolution.

Placed by the Party members and by the people at the head of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers, Dimitrov maintained the closest ties with the masses, carefully studied the processes at work and made important theoretical generalizations concerning the paths of development of people's democracy. His talents as a creative Marxist-Leninist, his ability to apply theoretical principles in complex situations — this Leninist trait was manifested more cogently than ever in this period. "We Marxists," Dimitrov said at the Sofia Regional Conference of the Party in 1946, "must . . . realize fully that each country will advance to socialism in its own way, depending on its historical, national, cultural and other conditions, and not by following the same stereotyped pattern, by taking precisely the same path as the Soviet Union."

To Dimitrov and other eminent Marxist-Leninists, we are indebted for the elaboration of the problem of people's democracy as one of the forms of the state of proletarian dictatorship, which is essential for building socialism. The theory of people's democracy is a major contribution to the doctrine of revolution.

This was a striking illustration of the application of Marxist-Leninist analysis to a completely new historical situation, a classical example of the creative development of our theory on the inviolable foundation of its basic principles. The conclusion that people's democracy fulfils the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat rested on the fact that the countries of people's democracy in Eastern and Southeastern Europe possessed all the attributes essential for building socialism. They were states of the vast majority of the people, with the working class playing the leading role. They successfully coped with the tasks of the transitional period, directing the class struggle of the working people toward the complete elimination of private property and its social roots. These countries developed in close friendship and cooperation with the land of socialism — the Soviet Union — and, with it, formed a closely-welded democratic anti-imperialist camp. Their policy was built up on the principles of proletarian internationalism and determined struggle against nationalism in any form. The guiding and directing force in the people's-democratic states were the Communist parties.

Speaking of the need to take account of historical and national peculiarities, Dimitrov at the same time strongly emphasized that: "The

specific form of transition from capitalism to socialism in our country does not and cannot alter the basic laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism common to all countries."

Dimitrov's strength lay in his excellent grasp of the Leninist teaching, in his ability to use Leninism as a guide to action. "As Party members, as Communists," he said, "we should be inspired by the lofty striving to be good and faithful disciples of Lenin in every respect." Dimitrov exhorted his comrades to study not quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, but their substance. He castigated the dogmatists, who learn one or another postulate by heart, but are unable to apply it to a changing situation. "We have people," he said in a talk with members of the Workers' Youth League, "who have learned something of Marx's writings, but have learned it by heart, like parrots. They approach Marxism not creatively, as a guide to action, but as a dogma . . . If we grasp the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory, it will serve as a guide to action . . ."

Dimitrov's strength lay in his uncompromising attitude to all brands of revisionism, for he held that, like sectarianism, revisionism distorts, undermines and emasculates the creative power of Leninist thought. Hence the truly Leninist passion with which Dimitrov upheld the Party line, the purity of Marxism-Leninism, drawing on his rich theoretical and practical experience; hence the constructive character of his criticism, however harsh it may have been.

Dimitrov was endowed in the highest degree with that quality which betokens the true Communist — a harmonious blending of patriotism and internationalism. A true son of his people, he exalted the Bulgarian nation which is now proud to call itself the nation of Georgi Dimitrov. But at the same time his name has become a symbol of Communist proletarian internationalism.

Like the true internationalist he was, Dimitrov devoted much of his time to studying the experience of other fraternal parties, and primarily the experience of the CPSU. The more the Bulgarian people "draw on the rich experience of the struggle to build a socialist society in the Soviet Union," he wrote, "the sooner and more successfully will they be able to build a free, cultured and happy life."

Dimitrov was a true friend of the Soviet Union. He stressed time and again the international, world-historical significance of the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR, and its decisive role as the

motive force of modern history. His leadership of People's Bulgaria was a shining example of the application of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the relations between socialist states. And of these principles he attached the greatest importance to friendship with the Soviet Union. ". . . Without the Soviet Union," he wrote "there is not nor can there be freedom and independence for the peoples. Only those who consciously betray the interests of their people, only hopeless adventurers or people blinded by ambition could try to divert their peoples from the only safe road for the development of people's democracy and the building of socialism—the path of sincere, indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union."

With the emergence of the socialist world system the concepts of patriotism and internationalism have broadened. The socialist patriotism and internationalism of the citizens of a socialist state are expressed in loyalty and devotion to their country, to the commonwealth of socialist states, and in proletarian solidarity with the working class and the toiling masses of all countries. Dimitrov always regarded close unity with the CPSU and with all Marxist-Leninist parties as the prime attribute of the true internationalist.

* * *

The international Communist movement which owes so much to Georgi Dimitrov, has become the most influential political force in the world today, the major factor of social progress. Its militant contingents are to be found in nearly all countries of the world, and its ideas have captured the minds of hundreds of millions. Although the Communist movement is still encountering no few difficulties, the basic trend is an irresistible urge forward, growing unity on the Marxist-Leninist foundation, proletarian internationalism, a steady advance from success to success. The Soviet Union has entered the period of the all-out building of communism. Dimitrov's native Bulgaria is completing the construction of socialism. All the socialist countries have made good progress in building the new life. Millions of new fighters have joined the international Communist movement whose ranks now number 41,600,000 members. And to all the achievements of the Communist, workers' and liberation movements Georgi Dimitrov contributed a major share.

For the future generation of Communists the works of the true Leninist, his life and struggle will be an example of peerless heroism and boundless dedication to the cause of communism and proletarian internationalism.

“Integration” of Monopoly Capital —Some New Developments

I“NTEGRATION” and matters associated with it now occupy a central place in imperialist policy. A state-monopoly association of the finance oligarchy of six West-European countries (Federal Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg) known as the European Economic Community (Common Market) already exists. The expansion of this imperialist bloc to include Britain and a number of other West European countries is now on the order of the day. Besides, U.S. monopoly capital has put forward a plan for still broader state-monopoly associations under its aegis and taking in Western Europe, the USA and Canada.

What is the socio-economic essence and political purpose of this monopoly “integration”? An analysis of the subject will provide a key to a number of practical problems posed before the revolutionary forces by the new situation.

1.

Monopoly “integration” is an objective process stemming from the development of contemporary capitalist production, a process which bears the imprint of the basic contradiction of our time. At the present stage, with socialism becoming the decisive factor of human progress and with the national-liberation movement accelerating the disintegration of the colonial system, senile capitalism seizes on integration as a drowning man clutches at a straw. Lenin foresaw the possibility of monopoly capital, which partitions the world economically, combining not only through international monopolies but also in the form of agreements between the capitalist countries. “In this sense,” he said, “a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists . . . but what for? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty. . . .”*

Herein lies the key to an understanding of the essence of the projects for West European “integration.” The class strategy of the top groups of monopoly capital in general and

the American monopolies in particular now gives priority to consolidating the forces of imperialist reaction. The finance oligarchy sees in this a “constructive reply” to the growing strength of world socialism, a means for retaining the former colonial and semi-colonial world within the imperialist orbit. The initiators of “integration” regard it as a new “holy alliance” for combating socialism and the working-class, general democratic and national-liberation movements.

However, there is more to it than the class strategy of imperialism. Monopoly “integration” reflects the most deep-seated processes in modern capitalism. The growth of the productive forces has engendered a trend in the direction of inter-linking national economies, of breaking down national insularity. But this trend conflicts with the imperialist forms of its realization. For while the domination of the monopolies and finance capital tends to unify the capitalist world economy, the capitalist division of labor divides this world into imperialist plunderers and the plundered.

The economic “integration,” then, is a matter of devising new state-monopoly forms of carving up and recarving the capitalist world market. In the present conditions, when concentration of production and capital has cut across national frontiers and reached an exceedingly high degree, when monopoly capitalism has developed into state-monopoly capitalism, international associations become the typical form of imperialist domination of markets. This is the reaction of imperialism to the objective laws governing the development of the world’s productive forces, a development which makes transition to socialism an imperative of the day.

Monopoly “integration” is a new form of monopoly offensive against the vital interests of the people, a new outgrowth of the inter-imperialist conflicts.

“Objectively, there are two trends that operate and intertwine in the imperialist camp,” N. S. Khrushchov said at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. “One is the trend towards joining all its forces against socialism, and the other towards an aggravation of the contradictions between the imperialist powers, and also between the imperialist powers and the other countries of the

This article has been compiled by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Affairs.

*V. I. Lenin, *The United States of Europe Slogan*.

capitalist world. The United States has not succeeded, and will not succeed, in overcoming the latter trend. The American financial oligarchy does not have the strength or the means to implement its claims to the role of savior of capitalism, to say nothing of its claims to world domination."

In recent times the trend toward "integration" has taken a new turn due to the changed balance of forces both within the imperialist camp and between capitalism and socialism. Feverish activity is now under way for a new "leap forward" in pushing "integration" in breadth and in depth. The purpose is to overcome the economic cleavage of capitalist Europe, to make the Common Market an effective and permanent organization of "collective colonialism," and to combine the effort for an economic counter-offensive against the socialist world with military-political consolidation and military build-up of the Atlantic Pact countries. Monopoly "integration" is clearly entering a new phase.

2.

In the four and a half years since the Rome Treaty came into force, the six Common Market countries have reduced their reciprocal tariffs by 40 per cent for manufactured goods and by 30-35 per cent for agricultural produce. Moreover, steps have been taken toward establishing a common external tariff for imports from other countries, import quotas for manufactures have been abolished, foreign-exchange restrictions eased, currencies partly made convertible, and certain restrictions removed on the free circulation of capital and manpower inside the Common Market.*

These measures have had their effect on business activity in the Common Market countries.

The Common Market is not merely the sum of the national markets of its members. Even in its distorted capitalist forms, economic integration undoubtedly tends to give more room for the productive forces to develop. The very establishment of the Common Market was accompanied by redoubled efforts on the part of the monopolies in the member countries to enhance their competitive power. Investment for modernization of production was increased and the drive to penetrate neighboring countries intensified; organization, management and technology were all geared to expansion. The result was an "investment race" which marked the initial stage of West European "integration."

Concentration and centralization of production and capital have assumed proportions without precedent in Europe (the European Coal and Steel Community is an example). International cartel arrangements of a new type have come into being, providing, as one of their principal elements, for specialization and coordination of production, investment and research. Such agreements, implemented with government support, help to reduce cost of production and circulation, facilitate mass and large-scale serial production and expand the market.

In the period from 1957 to 1961 industrial production in the Common Market countries increased by 30 per cent, while foreign trade went up 50 per cent. The rate of industrial output growth in "integrated" Europe was double the rate for the capitalist world as a whole.

Nevertheless the expansion of production and the market in the Six can hardly be explained by the establishment of the Common Market alone. The fact is that when the Rome Treaty came into force the world economic crisis which had begun in 1957 was on the wane. The capitalist countries, irrespective of processes connected with "integration," were on the eve of a new cyclical upswing. And even if "integration" contributed to a certain extent to the upswing, there is no doubt that the new cyclical phase laid its imprint on the measures undertaken within the framework of the Common Market.

The Market was set up by countries whose economies were then developing at a relatively rapid rate. The factors underlying the West European economic advance both before and after the establishment of the Common Market were large-scale renewal and expansion of basic capital as part of the general technological revolution, structural changes in the economy and the opening of new branches of production. The rapid economic growth in West Germany and in some other members of the Six was due, in particular, to the fact that by the time the Common Market was set up they had considerable accumulations to draw on—the result of comparatively low wages, especially when unemployment was widespread, and the fact that at the time they did not have a heavy burden of military spending. Moreover, enormous sums were invested in these countries by the USA.

This, then, was the basis of the postwar industrial expansion in Western Europe. But the Common Market, while it added another stimulus, could not annul the laws of capitalist reproduction and prevent the maturing of

*For details concerning the Rome Treaty see elsewhere in this issue.

the pre-conditions for a new economic crisis.

Today the rate of industrial growth is slowing down, and business activity is showing definite signs of a turn for the worse. "Integration" has proved powerless to prevent a deterioration of the economic situation or to offer a solution to that most acute economic problem of contemporary capitalism—the problem of markets. The contradiction between production and effective demand, having spilled over the national boundaries, is making itself felt on the wider arena of the Common Market.

3.

The top monopolies have turned to their own profit whatever progress has been made in socialization of production as a result of the "integration." If a fall in prices might have been expected to follow the lowering of tariffs, the monopolies saw to it that this did not happen. On the contrary, the growing power of the trusts has sent up the cost of living. In the period from 1957 to 1961 retail prices in France rose 30 per cent, in Italy and Holland seven per cent, in Federal Germany 6.5 per cent, and in Belgium 3.7 per cent. Monopoly profits soared. The net profits of the 35 biggest trusts in the Common Market countries increased 2.7-fold during this period.

The merger of trusts and the formation of international super-cartels on the present scale and at the present rate places the working people in onerous conditions, which the monopolies seize upon to crush the workers' economic and political struggles and to intensify exploitation.

"Integration" and the measures connected with it are indeed spearheaded against the working class. The further the process goes and the greater the concentration and rationalization of production accompanying it, the more intense exploitation becomes. Increased speed-up is the rule everywhere, as can be seen in the growth of industrial accidents and occupational diseases.

Using the state mechanism, the monopolies are out to worsen working conditions, to cut wages and social benefits. The Rome Treaty provides for the gradual "equalization" of wages and working conditions throughout the Common Market countries, which, in monopoly parlance, means reducing wages and social benefits to the lowest level. But since working-class resistance prevents the monopolies from lowering the wages and social gains of, say, the French worker to the level of the Italian, in practice this means a drive to freeze the present wage and social security levels and, if possible, to reduce them in

those countries where the working class has won a higher standard by persistent struggle.

It was not fortuitous that by the time the Common Market came into being, a series of legislative measures were implemented in France which raised the cost of living, increased taxation, curtailed social security, and reduced real wages, which now are lower than they were in 1957. In Belgium the *Loi unique*, which imposed a heavy burden on the working people, was promulgated by the Eyskens government in 1960. In Federal Germany social benefits are being assailed. In Britain a wage pause, higher indirect taxes on consumer goods and reduced expenditure on social security were announced in July 1961 as part of the preparations for entry into the EEC. The wholesale closing of small and medium-sized enterprises also has grave consequences for the working class.

But for all that, working-class pressure in the initial period of the "integration," which proceeded in boom conditions, forced the monopolies to make concessions to some sections of the workers. By means of these crumbs the big capitalists hoped to facilitate the realization of their master plan and pave the way to a new and intensified offensive against the rights of the working people.

The first to suffer from the "integration" were the small producers. The decline of the farm population in the Common Market countries has acquired massive proportions. In Italy more than 500,000 peasants and farm laborers have left the land in the last five years. In Federal Germany the number of farms of ten hectares or less declined by 28,000 in 1956-57, by 30,000 in 1958-59, and by 64,000 in 1960-61. And the expropriation of the peasants will become still more ruthless when the monopolies embark on the next series of measures. Mansholt, Vice-President of the EEC Commission and author of the plan for the "integration" of European agriculture, believes that eight million peasant households will be wiped out within the next few years in the Common Market countries.

When they organized the offensive against the working people, the monopolies of course anticipated active resistance on the part of the masses. Nor were they mistaken.

As "integration" proceeded, there was a sharp rise in the economic and political struggle of the working class, and the peasant movement gained impetus. The monopolies replied by intensifying political reaction.

The alliance of the clerical-military dictatorship of Adenauer with the authoritarian regime of General de Gaulle has become the

Number of participants in economic and political strikes (in millions)

	All capitalist countries of Europe	Common Market countries
1956	4.2	2.9
1957	6.0	4.6
1958	4.1	2.7
1959	10.8	8.0
1960	22.8	20.8
1961	37.4	35.6

backbone of the Common Market. Neo-fascist organizations are raising their heads and rallying under the "European" banner. And the Common Market bodies are steadily encroaching on the prerogatives of representative institutions, giving the people less and less say in deciding vital economic and political issues.

Monopoly "integration" is being used as a lever to accelerate the armaments drive in Western Europe and to prepare for new military gambles. Military spending by the Common Market countries is steadily increasing, and they have agreed to shoulder a still bigger share of the military expenditure of NATO in the future. A number of agreements have been concluded among them on coordinating armaments production and pooling technical know-how in this sphere. Euratom, the nuclear organization of the Six, serves as a research and organizational center paving the way to the production of nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

The basic shock forces of NATO are stationed on the territory of "integrated" Europe. A so-called military "infrastructure," i.e., a unified strategic transport and supply system, missile bases, etc., are being built at top speed. "Integration" has become a component of the military-political schemes of the Bonn militarists, who are seeking, with U.S. support, to establish their absolute predominance in the armed forces of capitalist Europe and to use this advantage to further their revanchist ends. Turning the Common Market countries into the second most important (after the USA) war-industry base of NATO places a heavy burden on the working people and aggravates the tensions in Europe.

4.

The Common Market, far from abolishing the old contradictions, has deepened them and has led to new clashes of interests in the competitive struggle. The historically conditioned structure of the economies of its members as producers of the same range of manufactures — machinery, electrical equipment,

automobiles, textiles, etc. — makes them natural competitors. Hence each of the Six retains in a veiled form diverse safeguards designed to protect its domestic market against its Common Market partners. Constant controversies are raging in the EEC concerning the rate at which internal tariffs should be reduced as well as the deadlines for equalizing external tariffs, and conflicts follow from the overt and covert discriminatory actions taken against one another.

The strongest position in this bloc is occupied by the West German monopolies, which are out to establish their leadership on the world markets. Already now Federal Germany's industrial output equals that of France and Italy taken together. Moreover, its lead over France is considerably greater than in 1937. West Germany accounts for 45 per cent of the industrial production of the Common Market countries, its share being 46 per cent in steel, 40 per cent in cement, 42 per cent in electric power, and 51 per cent in automobiles. Of the 43 leading trusts in "integrated" Europe 22 are West German, and of the 10 top monopolies, eight have their head offices in the FRG. West German attempts to establish absolute domination over the Common Market are resisted by France and other countries—a contradiction which is exacerbated by political rivalry as manifested, in particular, in the controversy over the forms of political association.

Share of Imperialist Countries in the Industrial Production of the Capitalist World (in per cent)

	1937	1953	1957	1961
Common Market countries	20.9	15.6	18.2	20.1
Including:				
FRG	9.0	6.7	8.2	8.95
France	6.0	3.9	4.6	5.02
Italy	3.0	2.9	3.3	4.05
Holland	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2
Belgium	1.8	1.0	1.0	0.9
Britain	12.5	10.1	9.5	9.04
USA	41.4	51.6	46.9	43.3

The contradictions between the Common Market countries and other imperialist powers, above all Britain, have also become sharper. In 1959 Britain set up the European Free Trade Association in order to prevent the monopolies of the Six from gaining the upper hand on the West European market and to strengthen its own economic and political positions in that area. This bloc under British tutelage was joined by Austria, Por-

tugal, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland. Western Europe was split into two opposed economic alignments. But Britain lost out, as was inevitable considering the balance of strength.

In 1961 Britain moved toward entry into the EEC. The result was a new tangle of contradictions. Anxiety was voiced by a number of Commonwealth countries. The members of the EFTA whom Britain had abandoned found the Common Market impinging on their economic and political interests, and some of them also evinced a desire to join the EEC. And this despite the fact that for the small countries membership in the Common Market clearly spells subordination to the leading powers which have the decisive say in the bodies of the community.

Thus, inter-imperialist struggle has not been attenuated, on the contrary, it has been aggravated and carried over to the wider arena. And from this stem the imperialist projects for overcoming the economic division of Western Europe.

5.

The initiator of the moves to unite the imperialist forces is the United States. It proposes measures of a dual order.

First, there is the project to expand the boundaries of the Common Market. Frantic efforts are being made to overcome the division of Western Europe before the next economic crisis sets in and puts the stability of the Common Market to a severe test. A still weightier factor is fear that economic disunity might eventually lead to a political split and the collapse of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc. But apart from these considerations, the Kennedy administration has even more far-reaching plans, in pursuance of which it has put forward a program for the establishment of broader state-monopoly associations with the participation of the USA and under its aegis.

At the root of these projects is the striving on the part of U.S. imperialism to consolidate its dominant position in the capitalist world and to unite the reactionary forces under its leadership for struggle against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as against the working-class and national-liberation movements. These schemes are dictated by the changed balance of forces both inside the imperialist camp and in the world generally.

It will be remembered that already in the early postwar years the policy of European "integration" was part of the "grand strategy" of U.S. imperialism. But the U.S. rulers

failed to foresee all the consequences of the Common Market they helped to create. What emerged was more than a mere instrument of U.S. policy, especially in the economic sphere.

As a result of the introduction of a unified external tariff and reduction of internal customs duties in the Common Market countries, the United States found it harder to sell many of its goods in Europe.

It should be borne in mind that the share of the USA in the industrial production, trade and gold reserves of the capitalist world dropped sharply and is continuing to decline. When the entry of Britain and a number of other countries into the Common Market seemed likely, the prospect arose for the first time since the war of the formation in Western Europe of an imperialist "power center" approximating to the United States as regards manpower and material resources, industrial production and foreign trade. At the same time Federal Germany and France, and to some extent Italy, want a bigger share in shaping the global policy of NATO. France and Federal Germany, moreover, are clamoring for their own "strategic nuclear striking force."

The U.S. imperialists are out to consolidate the military-political Western alliance under their leadership. They regard European "integration" as a military and political bulwark against world socialism and national-liberation revolutions, and, proceeding from this strategic concept, are trying to overcome the cleavage of Western Europe. To this end they are pressing Britain and a number of other West European countries to join the Common Market and are implementing a whole complex of military-political, economic and organizational measures designed to stop the centrifugal trends in the North Atlantic bloc and increase the complicity of all its members. It is for this reason in particular that they are in a hurry to make NATO the "fourth nuclear power."

Moreover, the U.S. ruling circles are anxious to form closer economic ties with the Common Market. The first step in this direction is the bill now before the U.S. Congress empowering the President to reduce or annul import duties on West European goods in exchange for corresponding concessions on the part of the Common Market countries. In this way Washington hopes to ensure the U.S. monopolies freer access to the markets of the West European countries and their former colonies.

Needless to say, there is no hard and fast dividing line between the economic and poli-

tical aims of the USA. In both cases it is a matter of U.S. imperialism trying, under cover of "integration," to strengthen its political and economic hold on Western Europe. While pressing Britain and other capitalist countries to join the Common Market, the USA wants the role of arbiter between the West European countries as well as between these and the rest of the capitalist world. At the same time it hopes to divert the resources of the Common Market countries from being used to produce goods competing with American exports to the manufacture of armaments by dunning them for bigger contributions to "free world defense." Lastly, the USA expects Britain's entry into the Common Market to deal the death blow to the British Imperial Preference system, and looks forward to markets once dominated by British monopolies falling into the lap of U.S. trusts.

The inherent contradictions of the new U.S. doctrine are glaringly apparent. On the one hand it is anticipated that the class solidarity of the monopoly capitalists will impel them to embark on joint international political and economic actions aimed at preserving the capitalist system, that this solidarity will, at least for a time, prevail over the disunity and division. On the other hand, a program for extending "integration" primarily in the interests of one imperialist power inevitably intensifies rivalries.

The logic of things make it impossible to eliminate the root causes of inter-imperialist contradictions by means of capitalist "integration," which can go only so far but no farther. At present the imperialist system of states can, in the economic respect, be divided into three distinct parts:

1) The United States, which has no intention of joining the Common Market but which, in order to retain its leading position, will cooperate with "integrated" Europe on certain conditions; 2) "The integrated Europe of the trusts," headed by Federal Germany, Britain and France, all competing with one another; 3) Japan, which, standing outside the European set-up, aims at uniting around itself a number of Asian capitalist countries in order to strengthen its hand against European and American competition. Accords and compromises may be achieved between these rival forces, but each is sure to fight tooth and nail for a place under the capitalist sun.

6.

Economic strife between imperialist states cannot be eliminated. The monopolies also regard "integration" as a means for organizing

the joint exploitation of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by modernized methods.

Some of these countries are now faced with the need to decide whether to join the Common Market or not. The problem is particularly acute for the former French and British colonies in Africa whose economy is largely dependent on their former masters.

The Rome Treaty discriminates against the underdeveloped countries, which are accepted into the Market not as full and equal but as second-rate, "associate" members. Their agricultural exports to the Common Market are duty-exempt, but in a situation when their foreign trade is controlled by the imperialist monopolies, this only tends to perpetuate the lopsided, often monoculture character of the economy of the former colonies and semi-colonies. At the same time the low duties on imported Common Market manufactures are bound to play havoc with unprotected national industries and seriously impede industrial development in the associated countries.

A tariff system of this kind benefits not the associated states but the monopolies controlling the foreign trade of the underdeveloped countries. Far from being a boon to the latter it is a typical manifestation of neo-colonialism. For the place allocated to economically underdeveloped countries in the Common Market is that of agrarian raw-material producing adjuncts, no longer to any single imperialist power, but to a coalition of imperialist powers.

Monopoly "integration" also hits the underdeveloped countries outside the Common Market. Producing and exporting the same types of raw materials and foodstuffs as the associated Market members, they will find it harder to sell their products in Western Europe and, consequently, will be faced with the prospect of serious overproduction. This, clearly, is an instance of discrimination against the new national states which are pursuing an independent economic policy. Imperialism is bringing pressure to bear on them in order to prevent their industrial development, to undermine their still feeble economy, to cause economic chaos and political tension with a view eventually to bringing them back into the colonial orbit.

The imperialists likewise count on using the entry of some underdeveloped countries into the Common Market system to cause a rift between them and the rest of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The aim is to weaken the joint struggle waged by the peoples of these

countries against the aftermath of colonialism and for economic independence, and to undermine the political anti-imperialist solidarity of the newly emerged sovereign states. Afro-Asian unity is thus imperilled.

In drawing some of these countries into the EEC, the imperialists also pursue the military-political aim of compelling them to renounce neutrality and to join aggressive military blocs.

Realization of the plans of the Common Market sponsors would have dire consequences for the underdeveloped countries, ruining their young industries, dislocating the state sector, perpetuating semi-feudal relations in the countryside, preserving the old colonial economic structure and opening new pipelines for foreign capitalists to pump out surplus value. Abolition of protective tariffs would spell disaster for these countries.

It will be no surprise, then, if the underdeveloped countries take steps to protect themselves, in particular, by establishing their own regional economic organizations independent of and opposed to the imperialist forces. A policy of this kind could be based primarily on building up the state sector. In the underdeveloped countries now building an independent economy and emerging from the stranglehold of the foreign monopolies, the state sector differs fundamentally from state-monopoly capitalism. The establishment of anti-imperialist regional trade and economic organizations would play a progressive role in advancing the economy and promoting the most efficacious non-capitalist methods of overcoming backwardness and ensuring national regeneration.

At a later stage the economically underdeveloped countries which are experiencing the pressure of the imperialist monopolies could introduce a strict system of state control of foreign trade and currency operations, including a state monopoly of foreign trade. This affords the nascent industry the best protection against imperialist economic intervention.

The Common Market is aimed against the interests of both the socialist world system and the new sovereign states in Asia, Africa and Latin America. So that the very development of events calls for greater economic cooperation between the socialist world and the newly emerging countries as a counterweight to the imperialist policy of plunder.

7.

The latest phase of monopoly "integration" confronts the anti-imperialist forces with

many new problems. In particular, there is a need for new forms and methods of struggle.

The revolutionary working-class movement is in the van of this struggle. The most dedicated fighters against the new monopoly conspiracy are the Communist parties. Under their leadership the working class is elaborating, step by step, its own alternative.

In the Common Market countries the working-class movement is advancing economic and political demands arising from problems engendered by the "integration." In particular, it has put forward a rational program for the reconstruction of enterprises, and whenever small enterprises are closed as "unprofitable," it demands that the "redundant" workers be fully compensated for the whole period of unemployment and provided with jobs without any cut in wages. The working class is fighting also for a shorter working week without reduction of wages, wage increases corresponding to the growth of labor productivity, and an end to all discrimination against immigrant workers. Demands are also advanced for more radical solutions, such as nationalization of industry and democratic control over the state sector.

While fighting for its own interests, the working class is standing by the peasants and other sections who are being ruined by the monopolies in the Common Market set-up. It demands that the land be given to those who till it, tax exemptions for small producers, a new policy of state investment in agriculture aimed above all at modernizing peasant farms lacking resources of their own for effecting improvements, and subsidies and cheap credits to small producers and to the various producer, marketing and consumer cooperatives.

"Integration" as carried out by the monopolies is a conspiracy of a handful of trusts against the overwhelming majority of the people. Hence it is in the vital interests of the sound forces of the nations concerned to foil the conspiracy and abolish the tyranny of the monopolies. This community of interests broadens the social basis of the anti-monopoly movement to embrace the working class, the farmers and the urban middle strata.

At the same time the march of events creates the objective conditions for coordinated action by the national detachments of the working class. To the international conspiracy of the imperialists the working class counterposes its international unity.

Political and economic demands are closely intertwined in the actions undertaken by the

European working class against state-monopoly "integration." The Communist parties are upholding the economic interests and sovereignty of their countries, combating the designs of West German militarism to step into leadership in Western Europe, fighting U.S. monopoly *diktat*, and working for closer economic contacts between the capitalist and the socialist countries.

Marxist-Leninists, being steadfast supporters of economic and political cooperation, seek to bring the European countries together in every possible way. But they know that only under socialism will the peoples be able to unite of their own free will, on a footing of equality and brotherhood. Hence to the "European policy" of de Gaulle and Adenauer, of the Right Social Democrats and clericals, to the "Europe of the trusts and NATO," they counterpose the socialist fraternity of the peoples of Europe.

A socialist Europe is not a *utoipa*. It already exists. The socialist system, which has triumphed in the greater part of the continent, is an example of truly equal and mutually advantageous international cooperation.

The latest phase of monopoly "integration" is an attempt on the part of the imperialists to forestall their defeat in the economic competition of the two systems by stepping up economic development in the principal capitalist countries. It would be a mistake, of course, to underestimate the potentialities of imperialism and think that it is no longer able to mount a counter-offensive or to achieve some transient, partial successes. But at the same time the adversary should not be overrated. The socialist countries are fully capable of repulsing this counter-offensive.

The objective laws of building socialism, the rapid development of the productive forces of socialism, and the identity of the vital interests of the peoples of the socialist countries tend to bring the various national economies closer. Realization of the grand designs involved in building socialism and communism calls for closer economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the socialist countries, steady development and improvement of the socialist international division of labor based on coordinated economic plans, specialization and cooperation in production, and on enhancing the role, authority and responsibility of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance and its bodies.

The indissoluble unity of the socialist camp and utilization of all the advantages of the socialist system are the "ultimate weapon" against which the imperialist reactionaries

are powerless. "Our countries," Khrushchov said, "have become too powerful a force to be endangered by any 'common market'".

Chalking up success in the economic competition with capitalism, the socialist countries are working to foil the imperialist attempts to prevent the normal development of international trade. Exclusive economic groupings of European imperialist states are harmful to normal intercourse between the nations. Monopoly "integration" is an attempt on the part of the imperialist powers to wall themselves off economically from the socialist countries and to an exclusive trade bloc as an instrument of economic war against socialism.

Such a policy, however, is built on sand, for it runs counter to the objective laws of worldwide economic intercourse. Lenin said: "There is a force more powerful than the wishes, will and resolve of any hostile government or class; this force is the general worldwide economic relations which compel them to take the path of intercourse with us."* History has proved the truth of these words. The policy of economic discrimination and trade boycott has no future.

The socialist countries are successfully expanding their trade with those capitalist states outside the exclusive economic alignments. Planned socialist economy provides them with the means to safeguard themselves against the discriminatory practices of these alignments. Moreover, by combating the pernicious policy of economic blocs, they are winning as their allies all other countries whose interests are affected by this policy, especially the economically underdeveloped countries.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have put forward a comprehensive program aimed at radically improving the international situation and promoting mutually advantageous economic relations. Recall, for example, the Soviet project for an all-European agreement on economic cooperation submitted in 1956 at the 11th session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe; the Soviet proposals of March 16, 1957, concerning mutually advantageous European cooperation; the proposal to set up a European regional trade organization made by the Soviet Union at the 14th session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, and the declarations of 1960-1961 announcing the Soviet Union's readiness to participate in elaborating the principles and defining the func-

*V. I. Lenin, Report to the IX All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

tions of an organization of Economic Cooperation and Development. The same aim was pursued by the proposal to conclude an agreement on reciprocal tariff reductions by the countries represented in the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, which the Soviet Union made at the Commission's recent, 17th session.

On May 30, 1962, Khrushchov reaffirmed the proposal of the Soviet government to convene, under United Nations auspices, an International Conference on Trade to discuss the establishment of an International Trade Organization embracing all areas and countries of the world and precluding every form of discrimination. The conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the member countries of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance, held in Moscow on June 6-7, unanimously supported this proposal as expressing the common desire of the socialist countries to trade with the capitalist states.

The policy of extending economic contacts which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are pursuing corresponds to the fundamental interests of all the peoples of

the world inasmuch as it provides a reliable guarantee of progress, prosperity and peace for all.

* * *

The course steered by the Western rulers toward mustering all the forces at their command for an economic and military-political counter-offensive against socialism is an attempt to overcome or at least to check the general crisis of capitalism.

Imperialism, torn by acute, irreconcilable contradictions, is in a bad way. Any counter-offensive mounted by the imperialists has the effect of strengthening the forces of social progress opposing it. Such is the dialectics of contemporary development. All detachments of the world revolution — the mighty socialist camp, the working people of the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the former colonial periphery of imperialism — are acting with growing unity and resolve. In our time — the era of the triumph of communism all over the world — the imperialist attempts to stem the tide of history are doomed to fail. Socialism marches ahead confidently; capitalism cannot escape defeat.

European Economic Community

(An Outline)

The Rome Treaty and Its Implementation

THE European Economic Community (EEC for short) is a state-monopoly association of the finance oligarchy of six West European countries, established on the basis of a treaty signed in Rome by the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

The aim of the Rome Treaty is to establish a Common Market embracing the national markets (economies) of the member countries. The Treaty provides for the gradual elimination of all trade barriers between the member states, the free movement of services and capital, a common customs tariff towards third countries, common policies for agriculture, transport, labor mobility and wages, including remedying the discrepancies in the national wage levels and labor legislation. It is intended to implement these measures in the course of a transitional period of 12 years which, in its turn, is divided into three stages of four years each.

The Treaty also provides for an association

with the "overseas countries and territories," i.e., the colonial possessions or ex-colonies of the member states.

In May 1960 the Council of Ministers of the EEC decided to accelerate the Common Market program — to abolish all tariffs on imports between member states and to establish a common tariff towards third countries by 1966 (instead of by 1970). By January 1, 1962, internal tariffs on manufactured goods had been cut by 40 per cent, and on agricultural products, by 30-35 per cent. The quota restrictions in regard to import and export were abolished at the end of 1961. The approximation of tariffs of the EEC countries was undertaken at the beginning of 1961 as a first step towards a common external tariff. In May 1962 an agreement was reached for further reduction of customs duties inside the Market as of July 1 this year. Tariffs on manufactured goods are expected to be reduced to the 50 per cent mark this year, instead of January 1966 as laid down in the Treaty.

The EEC bodies have taken steps towards abolishing some of the national restrictions on the movement of capital and labor between the Community countries, and a program for extending this to restrictions on the setting up of agencies, branches or subsidiaries in the territory of any member state has been approved and is expected to be completed before the end of 1963. Decisions have been taken concerning the general principles of regulating EEC transport policy. Anti-cartel regulations have been enforced for all member countries with a view to preventing small and medium-sized enterprises from joining in cartels.

Formation of a joint organization of agricultural markets will begin on July 1, 1962. Solution of the decisive questions of agricultural policy—import-export regulations and regulation of the national markets for agricultural products as well as state subsidies for agriculture—will pass from the competence of the national governments to the Community organs: the Council and the Commission. The setting up of a common farm market will be a step-by-step development to cover a transitional period of seven and a half years (until December 1969).

On January 1, 1962, the EEC countries entered on the second stage of the transitional period which will continue until 1966. This signifies a further restriction of the national sovereignty of the member countries since at this stage the adoption of important decisions by the Community's supreme organs will no longer require a unanimous vote but a qualified majority vote. The principal measures scheduled for the second stage include: a program for evening up tax levels and unifying certain provisions of civil and trade legislation and the working out of unified legislation with regard to applying economic sanctions.

EEC Institutions

The principal bodies of the European Economic Community are the Assembly, or European Parliament, the Council, the Commission and the Court of Justice. Also within the framework of the EEC are the Economic and Social Committee, the Monetary Committee, the European Investment Bank, the Overseas Development Fund and the European Social Fund.

The Assembly consists of 142 members elected by the national Parliaments of the member countries and comprising 36 members each from West Germany, France and Italy, 14 each from Belgium and the Netherlands,

and six from Luxembourg. The Assembly supervises the general affairs of the Community, its recommendations require an absolute majority of votes. But it has the power to enforce resignation of the Commission, for which a two-thirds majority is needed.

The Council (usually called the Council of Ministers) ensures coordination of the general economic policies of the national governments. This body consists of one representative from each government of the member countries. The office of President is exercised by each member in rotation. Decisions are adopted in one of three ways (depending on the significance of the question): either unanimously, by simple majority, or by a weighted majority. In the case of a qualified majority, West Germany, France and Italy each have four votes, Belgium and the Netherlands two each and Luxembourg one. At present more significance is attached to the qualified majority, which signifies that a decision binding on all Six countries can be passed even if opposed by one or two states.

The Commission is the chief administrative body of the Community. It ensures the functioning of the EEC, supervises the application of the provisions of the Treaty and of the provisions enacted by the institutions of the Community. It also formulates recommendations on matters affecting the policy of the Community, and is empowered to issue regulations and take decisions binding on both the EEC member countries and particular companies and individuals.

The Commission has the decisive say in negotiations between the EEC and third countries. The members of the Commission act on behalf of the Community and are formally independent of their governments. The Commission takes its decisions by simple majority vote, and these decisions cannot be amended save by the Council. It has nine members appointed by the governments of member states acting in agreement. The office of President of the Commission is held by Professor Hallstein (FRG). The headquarters are in Brussels. The Commission has a number of departments. By the beginning of this year it had a staff of about 2,000.

The Court of Justice ensures observance of law and justice in the interpretation and application of the Treaty, and considers the complaints of the member states and of the EEC bodies on all questions pertaining to implementation of the provisions of the Treaty.

The Economic and Social Committee with consultative status consists of representatives

of employers, landowners, traders, professional people, and reformist trade unions. Its members are appointed by a unanimous decision of the Council.

The Monetary Committee is designed to promote coordination of the monetary policies of the member states, and to keep under review their monetary and financial situation. It has 14 members, two of whom are appointed by the Commission, the remainder, by the member countries—two from each. Estimates are drawn up for each financial year for all income and expenditure of the Community. The revenue side of the budget comes from the financial contributions of the member states.

A number of credit organizations have been established within the framework of the Community with a view to financing measures bearing on its general economic and social policy.

The European Investment Bank finances projects in less developed regions and other works of interest to the Community as a whole or for individual members. Its capital, equivalent to \$1,000 million, is contributed by the member countries. The Bank can also borrow in the private capital market.

The Overseas Development Fund, established with the aim of providing "aid" to the economically backward countries associated with the EEC, draws its finances from the contributions of member countries. The right to determine the projects to be financed out of the Development Fund rests with the Commission. The bulk of the Fund's capital is used for financing "infrastructures" (development of road, rail and sea transport) which should make it easier (at the expense of tax-payers in the Six) for the monopoly capitalists to exploit the people and plunder the natural resources of the associated countries.

The European Social Fund, established, in terms of the Treaty, "to improve opportunities of employment of workers in the Common Market," among other things, shall have "the task of promoting within the community . . . the geographical and occupational mobility of workers." The Fund's finances come from the budget of the Community.

EEC CHRONICLE

1958

January 1. The Rome Treaty on the founding of a European Economic Community, signed on March 25, 1957, went into effect.

1960

February 14. The Council of Ministers of the ECC fixed a common tariff on imports from non-Community countries.

May 12. The EEC Council of Ministers decided to accelerate the Common Market program.

December 19-20. The EEC Council of Ministers decided that agricultural products should also be included in the accelerated development of the Common Market.

1961

February 10-11. The Paris summit conference of the Six discussed the question of "closer political cooperation" between the member countries.

June 25. The EEC Council of Ministers adopted two regulations concerning a common trade policy.

June 29. The European Parliament adopted resolutions on political cooperation between the EEC countries and to accelerate formation of the Common Market, and approved the decision of the Commission to cut the internal tariff another 10 per cent before the end of 1961.

July 9. The Foreign Ministers of the EEC countries, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece and the Chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers, meeting in Athens, signed an agreement on Greece's association with the Common Market.

July 18. The Common Market summit discussed political and cultural cooperation among the EEC countries, the Berlin issue and military matters, as well as common policy with regard to Africa and Latin America. The meeting adopted a statement on political cooperation (known as the Bonn Declaration).

July 31. The government of Ireland applied for full membership in the EEC.

August 10. Britain and Denmark officially announced their decision to seek membership of the EEC.

October 10. Negotiations commenced in Paris between representatives of the EEC Commission and Britain on the latter's entry into the Common Market.

October 31. The Fouchet Committee drew up a plan for closer political cooperation within the framework of the EEC (the Fouchet Plan).

December 7-8. The first ministerial-level meeting of the governments of the African associated countries and the EEC Council of Ministers took place in Paris.

December 15. Austria, Sweden and Switzerland officially applied for associate member-

ship of the European Economic Community.

December 15-16. Foreign Ministers of the EEC countries held talks in Paris on establishing a European political union.

December 29-30. The EEC Council of Ministers discussed in Brussels transition, as of January 1, 1962, to the second stage of the Common Market, but reached no decision owing to the failure to come to any agreement on agricultural policy.

1962

January 14. The EEC Council of Ministers announced the transition to the second stage beginning with January 1, 1962, and reached accord on a common farm policy.

March 7. Agreements on 20 per cent lowering of tariff between the USA and the EEC were signed in Geneva.

March 20 and April 17. The Foreign Ministers of the Common Market countries met in Luxembourg and in Paris to discuss a European political union, but failed to reach agreement.

May 2. Norway decided to apply for full membership in the EEC.

May 7-8. Ministers of the EFTA neutral countries — Austria, Sweden and Switzerland — met in Stockholm to discuss their countries' entry into the Common Market.

May 15. The Council of Ministers of the EEC decided to speed up the lowering of tariffs within the Common Market beginning with July 1 — tariffs for some non-farm products are to be cut by another 10 per cent and for agricultural products ("not liable to liberalization") by five per cent.

May 29. A ministerial-level meeting between Britain and the EEC countries reached agreement on the specific problem of Britain's entry into the Common Market. According to agreement, imperial preferences with regard to imports into the expanded Common Market of manufactured goods from Canada, Australia and New Zealand will gradually be abolished and replaced, by 1970, by the regular Common Market external tariff.

Britain and the Common Market

J. R. Campbell

THE negotiations on Britain's entry to the Common Market have now reached a crucial stage. Hitherto the various problems have been studied by the experts of Britain and of the Common Market Commission and of the Common Market states. All the necessary statistics have been assembled. The questions which remain to be solved relate to the extent of the concessions which the Common Market states are prepared to make to Britain, for unless some concessions are made Britain will not go in.

Organization of the Market

Britain's application to join the Market has come at a time when there is a difference of opinion amongst the Market states on some of the basic questions relating to the Market organization. The three components of the organization are that (i) it is a Customs Union; (ii) an Economic Union; and (iii) a Political Union. The development of the Customs Union aspect of the Market is going steadily forward. Tariffs between the Market states are being reduced, while the

external tariff which will separate the member countries from the outside world is being developed. On the other hand, little progress has been made with regard to the development of the Market as an Economic Union, which would have a common policy with regard to monetary questions, European transport, common standards in relation to social services and equal pay for men and women throughout industry. These aims have been laid down in the Rome Treaty, the Commission has been studying them but many controversial questions will have to be solved before agreement is reached. The differences on the forms of the Political Union are also considerable. The Rome Treaty provided for the setting up of supra-national organizations which would control Market policy. There is a European Parliament elected from the various Parliaments and ultimately to be elected by universal suffrage, the Council of Ministers elected by the governments, and the Common Market Commission, which, in effect, is the civil service of the organization. The original concept was that the respective

Parliaments would be subordinate to the European Parliament, and the national governments to the Council of Ministers. General de Gaulle, however, has made it clear that he is not in favor of supra-national organizations. The main political body in the Market, in his opinion, should be a Council of Government representatives rather like the present Council of Ministers.

The French and German bourgeoisie suspect that Britain would like to keep the Market at the stage it has now reached, namely, that of a Customs Union, and that it is not interested in the Economic Union, or the Political Union. They fear that if Britain joins the Market, it will seek to impede its further political and economic development. And it may well be that they are right in this.

The British Commonwealth

It will be remembered that Britain stood aside from the negotiations which led to the Treaty of Rome, because of its obligations to the Dominions — Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Ghana and Nigeria. Under the arrangement known as Imperial Preference, the commodities produced by these countries are admitted to the British home market free of tax or on the basis of lower tariffs than those imposed on countries outside the Commonwealth. In return, the Commonwealth countries admit British goods at a lower level of tariffs than those imposed on foreign countries. The Americans have always disliked this arrangement and have from time to time put pressure on Britain to abandon it. If Britain enters the Common Market, however, it will have to admit the goods of the member countries into the British market, free of tariffs, and will have to tax all manufactured goods and foodstuffs coming from its Dominions. If this were to happen the Dominions, naturally, would withdraw the special privileges which they now give to Britain. The British government tried to make special arrangements for itself and a number of other countries to associate with the Common Market, without becoming full members. It formed the European Free Trade Association (consisting of Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal) as a group which among other things endeavored to bring pressure to bear on the Market states with a view to obtaining special concessions. It failed in this and found itself confronted with the choice between remaining as it was, in close economic association with the Commonwealth, or going into the Common Market even if this meant

loosening its economic ties with the Dominions.

It is an open secret that the decision to apply for membership of the Common Market was taken under pressure from the United States, for the decision reversing all the recent propaganda came very suddenly indeed.

In the winter of 1960 it became evident that Britain was moving into a severe financial crisis. Foreign money which had come to London in 1958 because of the high interest rates, began rapidly to move out again, and the City was on the brink of a financial crisis which, if it had been allowed to develop, would have shaken the whole of capitalist Western Europe. In order to avoid this, the government and the Bank of England obtained credits from the Western European banks and then proceeded to request a loan from the International Monetary Fund, partly to repay the credits from the European banks and partly to enable it to surmount the financial crisis. U.S. support was needed to get the loan from the International Monetary Fund, and it is widely believed in Britain that Washington insisted on the government imposing a wage and salary pause on the workers and on opening negotiations to enter the Common Market. It is a fact that quite suddenly, those Conservative politicians and economists who for years had argued that Britain simply could not go into the Market and abandon its economic ties with the Dominions, now decided that she should go in. So British monopoly capitalism opened negotiations to enter the Market from a position of grave economic weakness.

Monopolies and the Market

The large monopolies or near-monopolies in industries like steel, chemicals, electrical engineering, motors, at first expressed their confidence that they could grow and expand more rapidly if they entered the Market. These firms did not fear the situation that might arise if the Commonwealth governments withdrew the special privileges they now give to British exports, as a reprisal for Britain, on entering the Market, being forced to tax Dominions exports to Britain. Many British monopolies have already established subsidiary companies in the Dominions. In recent months, however, they have displayed a certain anxiety. Some of them are beginning to doubt whether they will be as successful inside the Common Market as they once thought.

The financial houses in the City think that once Britain joins the Market, they will be

able to attract more money capital from Europe for investment in the British Dominions. They believe that their worldwide financial connections and knowledge can be placed to an increasing extent at the disposal of the larger capitalist firms in Western Europe once the monetary barriers between Britain and Western Europe disappear as they will in the event of Britain joining the Market.

Smaller firms, however, are more cautious. They are confronted with the twofold danger of losing their sheltered markets in the British Dominions and of meeting intensified competition on the British market from large foreign firms. They could swing rapidly against joining if the agreement secured by the British negotiators seems unfavorable to their interests.

The Present Negotiations

The negotiations have now reached a stage when it is becoming clear that to enter the Market, British capitalism will have to abandon its special economic relations with the Dominions. The Macmillan government has already agreed that, when it enters the Market, the special tax preference enjoyed by the Dominions will disappear—they will pay the Common Market tariff on all their manufactured goods sold to Britain. Thus a situation will be reached when goods from West Germany, France, Italy, Holland and Belgium will be admitted to Britain free of tariffs, while manufactured goods from the Dominions will be taxed.

With regard to Commonwealth agricultural products, the British government is seeking to negotiate a longer transitional period, to give the Dominions time to adapt themselves to the loss of a large part of the British market. Here it is necessary to differentiate between the agricultural products of countries like Canada, Australia and New Zealand, which compete with those of European farmers, and tropical products from the African Dominions and Colonies and the West Indies, which do not. The British government proposals are that the preferences accorded the temperate zone products of Canada, New Zealand and Australia will be gradually reduced over a period of five or six years and replaced in the British market by the products of France, Holland, West Germany, etc. This will be a big change for the Dominions. A large part of the British market for foodstuffs will be allotted to the West Germans, French, Italians, and Dutch, and only during periods of shortage will Dominions foodstuffs be sold at all, and then only when the Do-

minions have paid the Common Market tariff. In order to compensate the Dominions for the loss of the British market, the Tory Government is trying to persuade the Market countries to enter into an agreement for a period of years to buy more Dominions foodstuffs. It is difficult to see why the European monopoly capitalists controlling the Market should agree to this, and it is likely to be bitterly opposed by the U.S.

When the Common Market is in full operation, there will be free movement of workers and of capital between the member countries. At this moment British capitalists can freely export their capital to any part of the Commonwealth, but government permission is needed to export capital to Western Europe. With the Market in full operation they will be free to export their capital to Europe and, in some cases, will find it very profitable to do so. If Europe begins to attract British capital, there will be less available for export to the Dominions. This fact alone will undermine the monetary and economic relations between Britain and those countries.

The two economic arrangements which held the Commonwealth together were (i) the Imperial Preference system, and (ii) the monetary arrangements of the Sterling Area. The Dominions orbited around Britain because it was a guaranteed market for their goods and a source of funds for their economic development. If Britain goes into the Market those two arrangements will gradually disappear, and the Dominions will be drawn into other orbits, particularly that of the United States. Thus a major aim of American policy in the last 28 years will be achieved. The Imperial Preference system, which aimed at binding Britain and the Dominions closer together in an economic sense, will be dismantled. Undoubtedly the U.S. imperialists anticipate favorable political consequences from this. However, the Sterling Area may not just wither away. Its disappearance could be accompanied by a series of financial crises shaking capitalist Britain and the Dominion interests most closely allied to it.

Britain and Europe

What effect could Britain's entry into the Common Market have on her economy?

Even those who argue that in the long run entry into the Market would be beneficial, have to admit that at first there will be grave economic difficulties leading to a high degree of insecurity. The Westminster Bank, one of the Big Five, divides British industry into three groups, those which should, on balance,

benefit from entry into the Market, those whose position is doubtful, and those which would most certainly lose. The industries which the Westminster Bank thinks will expand are "sports cars, commercial vehicles, woollen textiles, electrical and general engineering, rubber manufactures, knitwear and clothing." It has been noted and not without astonishment that three of Britain's most highly monopolized and most technically efficient industries are not mentioned on this list at all, namely, chemicals, iron and steel, and motor cars. A year ago those industries were talking about the wonderful prospects they would have in the Common Market. Now, after further investigation, they have become decidedly more cautious. The industries whose position is doubtful are: "non-ferrous metals, aircraft, oil refining, building materials, glass, scientific instruments and sports goods." It will be noted that two of Britain's most modern industries, namely, oil refining and aircraft, are amongst the doubtful. Among those who are expected to do badly are "cotton, rayon, leather, watches and clocks." Under the general title of rayon is included the industry producing man-made fibers, an industry which Britain pioneered, but which has not been standing up well to foreign competition in recent times. It is noteworthy that shipbuilding, one of Britain's most famous industries, is not mentioned at all.

British supporters of the Common Market point to the possibilities which will be open to British industries in European markets when tariffs are abolished. They forget to mention, however, the opportunities open to European capitalists in the British market. Here the Westminster Bank makes the admission that British tariffs are significantly higher than European tariffs. "It is not generally realized how high British tariffs are on imports of many manufactured goods. The lowering and eventual removal of the U.K. tariff wall between us and our fellow members (of the Market—J.C.) will provide a very considerable stimulus to many continental manufacturers, and British manufacturers in the sectors affected will have to face severe competition in what has hitherto been a well-protected home market." It is obvious that if British tariffs are in general higher than West European tariffs, then when all tariffs are removed, the West European capitalists will be able to reduce the price of their goods in British markets to an extent greater than the British capitalists will be able to do in West European markets. In these circumstan-

ces, the British balance of trade with Western Europe will be adversely affected. Hence the Westminster Bank insists that "if Britain joins, some of our existing industries may decline, and may even disappear while others will expand." What is certain, however, is that initially there will be much uncertainty, insecurity of employment, and a situation that will be used by the capitalists to attack the trade unions. British wages are still markedly higher than those obtaining in West European countries, but the supporters of the Common Market, particularly in the Labor movement, argue that in recent years wages in West European countries have been rising faster than in Britain, and that if one adds to wages the contributions which the employers in Europe pay to social insurance, the difference is not great. This is entirely wrong. *The Times Review of Industry* for March, 1962, published figures showing the average wages earned annually by an unmarried worker in manufacturing industry, to which was added the employer's contributions to social insurance on his behalf. The result showed the quite considerable gap between British and Western Europe wages as follows:

Britain £647 per annum; West Germany £539; Belgium £582; France £449; Italy £454; Netherlands £390.

The government and the employers are preparing for Britain entering the Common Market by imposing what is called an "incomes policy" on all workers, by which they try to limit increases in wages to one or two per cent per annum. The British Employers' Confederation, which comprises the most powerful employers in the country, has warned the unions that competition inside the market will be severe and that therefore they need not expect frequent wage increases. It is widely believed that if Britain enters the Market and competition is severe, the government will be prepared to devalue the pound. So there is no automatic benefit to the mass of the British people from entry to the Market, and whether there is gain or loss to the capitalists, will be decided only after an exceedingly severe competitive struggle.

Political Union

Not much has been said by the government and the Opposition of the political implications of the Market. The mass of the people, anxious to safeguard their independence, do not like to see the freedom of action of the government or Parliament restricted by American interference in British affairs or by the

decisions of the NATO war alliance. They would resent very much the action of the British government being limited by the Council of Ministers of the Market or by the so-called European Parliamentary Assembly. Whenever the Macmillan government has been forced to deal with this question it has argued that the political institutes of the Market have not yet been armed with extensive powers, and that if Britain enters, it can influence the permanent form of these institutes. Government spokesmen have noted the resistance which General de Gaulle is putting up to supra-nationalism in the Market. They have argued that de Gaulle's concept of a Council of Governments is what they would like to see. The resistance of the British people to entering the Market would be lessened if there was no open subordination of the government to European political institutes. However, the main question is not the outer political form of the Market, but its actual political content, and most British observers are beginning to note the alliance of de Gaulle and Adenauer. Few people in Britain want to be associated with a European political grouping which is opposed to an agreement with the Soviet Union on the question of Berlin and which is in favor of building up West European nuclear power by developing the nuclear capacity of the French government and by securing for West Germany the right to have nuclear arms of its own. Clearly, the British government is in a dilemma. If it opposes the de Gaulle-Adenauer policy, it will not get the minimum economic concessions from the Market states, and without these concessions it cannot join. If it supports the de Gaulle-Adenauer policy in order to get the necessary concessions, it will provoke hostility amongst the mass of the people. In these circumstances the attitude of the Labor Party and the trade unions will be decisive.

Labor and the Market

There are three trends in the Labor Party on the question of entering the Market. An extreme "European" trend is led by Mr. Roy Jenkins, M.P., which would be prepared to enter almost at any price. This group holds that the advantages of entering are so great that the British government should not insist too strongly on concessions. There is, however, another group of M.P.s who usually support Right-wing policies and who are opposed to going in, partly because they believe that the economic losses will be greater than the economic gains, and partly

because they believe that the rules and regulations of the Market would prevent a British government "managing" the monopoly capitalist economy in a Keynesian, Right Social Democratic way. This group includes two close Gaitskell supporters, namely Mr. Douglas Jay and Mr. Dennis Healey. The Left M.P.s, who include Mr. Anthony Greenwood, Mr. Sydney Silverman, and Mr. Konni Zilliacus, regard the Market not only as an economic institute, but above all as a reactionary political body which will be directed against the socialist world and against the working class and popular forces in Europe. A large group of members of Parliament and trade union officials have taken up an indefinite position. They declare that it is desirable that Britain should enter the Market, if the economic position of the Dominions can be safeguarded, if concessions can be given to Britain's associates in the European Free Trade Association, and if political sovereignty is not unduly limited. This formula was drawn up very largely to keep the Labor Party united. There are people subscribing to it who would be prepared, on the basis of the tiniest concessions, to go into the Market. There are others who would not be content unless the French and the West Germans were prepared to offer very considerable concessions indeed. In a few weeks the extent of the concessions, if any, offered by the Market states will be known and the Labor Party will be confronted with the need to make a more clear-cut basic decision. A decisive consideration will be the character of the safeguards offered to the Dominions. If the safeguards are of a short-term character, helping the Dominions through a transition period of a few years, at the end of which their special privileges in the British market will be liquidated, there will be very considerable resistance. Yet it is difficult to imagine the Common Market states agreeing to allow the Dominions to maintain special privileges in the British market or to give them special privileges in their own.

The decision of the Labor movement on whether to support entry to the Market on the terms offered will depend on (1) public reaction to the terms; (2) the attitude of the Dominions; and (3) on crude electoral considerations. There will be an exceedingly strong reaction on the part of the rank and file of the movement if the safeguards for the Dominions are as mean and trivial as seems likely. If, in addition, the Dominions which are due to assemble in conference in London in September, also display resentment, the

Right-wing leaders of the Labor Party may pluck up courage and oppose entry into the Market. But before they do so they will very carefully scan the public opinion polls, which are supposed to reveal the opinions of the mass of the people. In Britain, the press (with the exception of the *Daily Worker* and Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express*) lauds the Market as a great and a progressive institution which will help the British economy to overcome its difficulties. If after the full terms are disclosed the powerful monopoly groups maintain their drive to enter the Market at any price, and should the bulk of the press maintain its support, the Right-wing Labor leaders will, of course, continue to waver. The decisive question will therefore be, whether the Communist Party and the Left in the labor movement who have opposed entry to the Market, will be able to rally mass support against a policy which is detrimental to the people.

In the trade union conferences held up till the end of May the position was that resolutions expressing unconditional opposition to entering the Market received between 20 and 30 per cent of the votes cast.

At the beginning of June the annual conference of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers voted against joining. The conference of the Scottish Miners Union, the Paper and Tobacco workers and Natsopa (Printers) also registered a vote against the Market. These unions total about 500,000 members. The delegate who moved the resolution at the Scottish miners' conference described the Market as an "association of European cartels banded together for the common good not of the working class, but their own monopoly." Joining the market, the delegate continued, would signify "partnership with the most intransigent, anti-socialist forces in Europe."

The resolutions carried at some of the T.U. conferences advocated entry if satisfactory conditions could be negotiated for the Dominions and for British agriculture, and if the national sovereignty was not undermined. The Market states can never fully agree to these conditions, and the bulk of the trade unionists can, therefore, be won for opposition to Britain's entry.

In the party of the monopolists, the Conservative Party, there is the latent opposition amongst those capitalist interests who fear the loss of their profitable trade with the Dominions and who are attached to the notion of the "civilizing mission" of the British Commonwealth in the world. If Mac-

millan is not able to get what they believe to be substantial safeguards for the Dominions they will certainly rebel and get a good deal of support within the Conservative party. The monopolists' power in the party is sufficiently strong, however, to drive it into the Market almost at any price. The Conservative revolt against going in will only be significant if the Labor Party and the unions can be brought out in solid resistance to the Market.

In recent by-elections the Liberal Party, the party of a section of the middle bourgeoisie, has been gaining votes at the expense of the Tories, and, to a lesser extent, of the Labor Party. This swing is mainly due to the discontent with government policy on the part of small capitalists, traders, and farmers and professional workers (i.e., the lower administrative grades in capitalist industry, and in the state bureaucracy). In a constituency in Wales, for example, where small farmers and their families form a very considerable proportion of the electorate, the Liberals recently registered a big gain of votes. Yet both supporters and opponents of the Market had to agree that the position of the British small farmer, who is mainly a dairy farmer, will be greatly undermined by the dairy products—milk, dried milk, butter and cheese—from the Common Market countries.

To sum up, the chances of powerful opposition to the Market on economic grounds are steadily growing.

No decision on Market political institutes will be taken until the question of entry is decided one way or another. In the meantime France and West Germany will seek to bring pressure on Britain, by granting or withholding economic concessions, to agree to their concept of the future political structure of the Market. It is therefore imperative that the real political content of the Market, as desired by West Germany and France, including among other things, opposition to agreement on Berlin and the demand for Western Europe to have its own nuclear forces, should be made clear to the British people.

The conflict around the Market will grow in intensity in the concluding months of this year, and there is still time to rally the main forces of the people to defeat the entry into this utterly reactionary monopoly capitalist political and economic organization, which is against genuine European unity and is a danger to world peace.

In a statement published on June 9, the Communist Party called on the people to challenge what it characterized as the "policy of national betrayal embodied in the Tories"

decision to enter 'the Common Market."

The Tories, the statement went on, "are bartering away the right of a British Government to control its own economic, political and foreign policy. In foreign policy Britain would be subordinate to de Gaulle and Adenauer with their policy of no agreement on Berlin and their demands for nuclear arms

for the West Germans."

The people should take action, said the Communist statement, to force the Rights in the Labor Party and in the Trade Unions to abandon the disgraceful policy of "wait-and-see." The statement ended with the call "Speak out now. Act now against this betrayal of Britain."

THE ECONOMIC INDICES OF BRITAIN AND THE EEC COUNTRIES FOR 1961

	Unit	Britain	F.R.G.	France	Italy	Belgium	Holland
PRODUCTION							
Steel	mn. tons	22.4	33.5	17.6	9.1	6.99	1.97
Electricity	1,000 mn. kwh	142.5	122.0	76.5	59.0	15.0	17.5
Motorcars	1,000 units	1,464	1,987	1,203	759	250	54.4
Coal	mn. tons	193.5	142.7	55.2*	0.7	21.5	12.6
Percentage of total export of the capitalist world		8.8	10.2	6.1	3.3	3.3**	3.6

*Including lignite.

**Together with Luxembourg.

Some Aspects of the Development of the Italian Communist Party

Enrico Berlinguer

IN the 17 years that have passed since the end of the long period of underground anti-fascist struggle and partisan war for national liberation, the Italian Communist Party has grown into a mass party. Already in the final phase of the armed struggle it numbered more than 100,000 members, and the extensive campaign for the recruitment of new members launched immediately after liberation brought into the Party most of those who had fought in the Resistance, as well as large numbers of workers, peasants, youth, women and intellectuals who saw the Communists as active fighters against fascism and initiators of democratic regeneration. Within a few months the membership rose to 1,500,000, then to 1,700,000 and later to two million, at which level, with some slight vacillations in recent years, it has remained ever since.

The Party became a mass party thanks

above all to the consistent implementation of the general line of Party policy, and to the role the Party plays in the life of Italy. When, after liberation, the Leninist character of the Party was reaffirmed and Comrade Togliatti urged the need for "a party of a new type," a party of the Italian working class and all working people, it was stressed that in the contemporary historical and political conditions the Communist Party could not limit its activities merely to denouncing the defects of capitalism and to the general propaganda of socialist ideas, or confine itself to defending the vital interests and elementary freedoms of the working masses and their organizations pending the onset of a revolutionary situation. The whole of the Party's activity should reflect the new position which the working class had won as a positive force in the life of the nation, and the vanguard role which it played in the struggle against

fascism and which it is playing today in the struggle of all progressive social forces against the domination and reactionary policy of the big capitalist monopolies, for the extension of democracy, for social progress, peace and national independence.

The Party and its organizations should, then, be able to advance positive solutions for the problems that arise in all spheres of life, to carry on a political struggle from day to day to ensure that these problems are really solved in the interests of the masses and of the entire nation, in the interests of democratic progress and the advance towards socialism; it should be able to unite the majority of the people around its program and the movement for the regeneration of the country. This role, however, if we do not want to limit ourselves to mere declarations, can be fulfilled only by a party whose entire activity is founded on the ideological and organizational principles of Leninism, a party firmly and organically linked not only with a small vanguard minority, but with the broad masses of the workers, with all sections of the population. This means that the Party, through its organizations and members, should be represented and participate in all the principal spheres of industrial, political and cultural life of the country. And this in turn presupposes a widely ramified organizational structure and a large membership.

On the other hand, the need to impart to the Party a mass character and to preserve this character is dictated by the peculiar trends of the socio-political struggle in Italy throughout this period. Ours is a country of bitter and continuous social strife and permanent political tensions, a country whose people are becoming increasingly active in democratic life, in political debates and in the political struggles.

The main reactionary and conservative forces in Italy also have big parties and a strong, widely-ramified system of mass organizations, and they conduct a constant ideological, political and practical struggle in an effort to wean the laboring masses away from the peoples' parties and organizations, dampen their revolutionary ardor, retard the growth of their political and social consciousness and in this way retain their influence over some sections of the working people. The Christian Democratic Party, for example, the biggest bourgeois party, unites substantial sections of the workers and small bourgeoisie. Around this party, and under the guidance of the Catholic Church, a whole complex of organizations functions in all spheres of public

life, exerting a strong influence on all sections of the population.

Under these conditions the working-class movement can effectively counteract and defeat the enemy only if it is able to stimulate and sustain the activity of the masses in the political struggle, to create and develop a network of progressive organizations all over the country and among diverse sections of society. The vanguard party of the working class must itself be something new, a numerically strong party which not only rallies the masses in the struggle but educates and organizes the vanguard of the people. Any retreat from this position, any compromise, would mean a retreat for the working-class and democratic movement and a gain for the reactionary forces in the struggle for the masses.

In calling for a mass Communist Party we realized of course that the achievement of this aim and the job of guiding the activities of such a party would involve a host of complex ideological, political and organizational problems, most of them new to the Communist movement and for which there could be no ready-made and final solutions. This task necessitated, in addition to the Party's multifarious practical activities, much constructive thinking and study.

In the first place it should be remembered that the bulk of the membership consists of working men from whom one cannot expect that they acquire overnight, along with their membership cards, all the qualities of a Communist Party member including the necessary ideological and political training. These workers cannot be made into real Party militants merely by opening a large number of political schools and classes, although these too are important. The Party itself, through its day-to-day struggle, must be an ideological and political school for its members.

In organizing such a mass party we could not but depart from the traditional pattern. As before, strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism remains the basic element. Party branches at the place of work, chiefly in the factories, retain their significance as the primary organizations. At the same time, the Party organizations formed on the territorial principle (which we call "sections" and which include the members and Party groups of a definite administrative district, village or city neighborhood) also play an important role.

This latter type of organization maintains good premises and conducts activities which keep it in constant touch with the members,

sympathizers and the general public. Much has been accomplished in this respect: thousands of such clubs where the Party and often other mass organizations (trade unions, cooperatives, women's organizations, club circles, etc.) have their premises, have been built by funds donated by the people, thus affording an excellent opportunity for extensive political, recreational and sport activity.

It is essential for all Party organizations to lead an active political life, vigorously to combat all bureaucratic abuses which hinder the implementation of Party democracy, the participation of the membership in the life of the Party organizations, the holding of explanatory discussions and the necessary replacement and continuous advancement of Party cadres. Experience has shown that any weakening or restriction of inner democracy tends to weaken the Party's ties with the masses and even with a large part of the membership.

It should also be borne in mind that the mass character of the Party is not something that is acquired once and for all; a constant renewal and enrichment of the cadres is necessary in order to cement the bonds with the people and to ensure a steady influx of new forces, bearing in mind the changes taking place in the economy, in politics and in the living conditions of the people.

Every year something like 80 or 100 thousand members fail to renew their membership cards. For a party with a membership of close to two million this figure is not excessive. It is due not only to natural factors (death), but also to social factors, such as migration (in the past few years alone hundreds of thousands of Italians have been forced to emigrate and thousands more have moved from one part of the country to another). The bitter class struggle rending Italy today is another cause of members leaving the Party. Although as a rule most of the workers who drop out in this way remain under our political influence and vote for us in elections, we must recruit at least 100,000 new members every year to preserve the numerical strength of the Party.

The need for mass recruitment and for a more consistent renewal of the membership is particularly urgent at the present time in the light of the rapid and deep-going changes that have taken place in recent years in the industrial and social structure of the country, in the distribution of population and in its way of life as a result of the swift monopoly expansion. Italy today is indeed vastly differ-

ent from what it was a bare ten or twelve years ago.

In recent years the Party has not always been able to discern the scope or the nature of these changes and to draw the necessary conclusions with regard to its political and mass work, the structure and methods of Party activity and the composition of the membership. Moreover, some Party sections have shown a tendency to turn inwards, to adopt a defensive position of conserving their forces, and have failed to understand the necessity of winning new supporters and the possibilities that have opened up in recent years in this respect.

In general the Party has been somewhat tardy in adapting itself, both organizationally and in its practical activity, to the social changes — a deficiency which we are now striving to remedy but which has laid a certain stamp on many aspects of the life of the Party organizations and, above all, on the composition of the membership.

The considerable technical and industrial progress of recent years has resulted in the opening of many new enterprises, causing a marked change in the composition of the working class. Hundreds of thousands of women and youth are now working in industry. Today, according to statistics, over 50 per cent of Italy's workers are under 30 years of age. Nevertheless we do not find any reflection of these changes either in the composition or numerical strength of the Party organizations. Our influence in the working class is still very strong. We have a solid organizational base there. The percentage of industrial workers in the Party is still quite high—around 40. However, there are many new factories which have no Party organization as yet, and in many others where we have branches, the membership consists exclusively of workers who joined our ranks either during the liberation struggle or immediately after it. Attracting to the Party the new generation of workers is an exceedingly slow process despite the fact that these young people have of late displayed a high degree of militancy in trade union struggle and many of them are in sympathy with socialist ideas and with our policy.

The process of monopoly expansion has sparked off a mass migration in recent years, particularly from the South to the North and from the countryside to the towns. Several million people have changed their place of residence and moved from one social group to another. The rapid growth of urban population continues. However, we cannot say

that the strength of the Party and its organizational ties with the masses, especially in some of the bigger cities and important industrial centers, have increased in proportion to these changes in the social life, class composition and distribution of the population. And one of our urgent problems is to establish contact with those who have come to the cities in recent years and, on a broader plane, to renew, reinforce and augment the number of our organizations in the urban centers.

In this situation — a situation marked by industrial expansion, growth of the active population, and growth of the cities — it is especially important to draw into the Party the women and the young people who have been pouring into industry in recent years. These newcomers have taken an active part in major trade union conflicts and, to some extent, in recent political struggles as well, displaying a fighting spirit that surprised many. But progress in drawing them into the Party and into the other mass organizations is so far very slow. This is evident if only from the fact that the average age of Party members in some organizations has risen somewhat.

Similar tasks confront our organizations in the countryside. While the Party's position is still very strong among the agricultural laborers and sharecroppers (although part of them have been excluded from the agricultural production process and have poured into the towns, into industry or emigrated abroad), our position is considerably weaker — especially in some districts — among the producers proper (the smallholders, tenant farmers and others).

It will take much effort, understanding and painstaking work before all of these problems can be solved.

Above all it is essential for the entire Party to have a clear understanding of the social changes that are taking place and to make a careful study of them. It is also necessary to put an end once and for all to the sectarianism that still exists in some Party organizations — the result of a failure to understand the very nature of the Communist Party. The position adopted by those comrades who in the first years after liberation were opposed to imparting a mass character to the Party ("fewer, but better" was their motto), has long since been defeated in the course of a sharp political struggle. However, it cannot

be said that there is everywhere a proper appreciation of the importance of adding to the numerical strength of the Party if we are to carry on the fight in a situation which demands greater flexibility and initiative, more persistence and vigorous action by the Party in all spheres of life in order to advance the fight for a turn to the left in Italian politics.

All efforts must, therefore, be concentrated on recruiting new members, on conducting explanatory work among the masses in order to awaken the political consciousness especially of those workers who have recently entered industry.

To fulfil these tasks, however, the correct orientation within the Party and extensive propaganda work outside of it, are not enough; persistent efforts are essential to ensure that the Party take cognizance in all its activities of the changes now underway in all spheres of public life, in the conditions of the masses, in their growing consciousness and in their cultural needs.

This means, for one thing, that the structure of the primary organizations must be still broader and more flexible; that the Party's presence should be felt wherever the masses are to be found, in the densely populated areas, in the new enterprises, in new urban districts, etc.; that more primary organizations should have premises and the most modern and effective material means for carrying on this work. Inner-Party democracy, political discussions and ideological education should be developed to the full to raise the political and educational level of the new members and to ensure that every Communist acts as a conscious and active fighter. There should be less hesitation in promoting new people to leading posts at all levels—vigorous, dynamic young people who are quicker to respond to the new in the life around us and better able to establish close contact with the new social strata.

Such, then, are the lines along which our Party is working today, prompted by the desire not only to maintain the substantial positions already won, but to consolidate and expand them, always to be the exponent of everything vital and progressive in the life of our country, and to organize, educate and lead with still greater success bigger sections of the people in the fight for peace and for the democratic and socialist regeneration of Italy.

Peace and the People

K. Oesterling

There is no task more pressing today than the struggle against the menace of a nuclear-missile war, for general and complete disarmament, for the maintenance of peace.

From the Appeal of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties to the Peoples of the World.

THERE have always been wars and there always will be," "eternal peace is a beautiful thought but it is utopia" — this is what capitalist propaganda, invoking "experience" and "common sense," is trying to make the people believe. But common sense tells the people that no war can be waged and, even more so, that lasting peace cannot be ensured without their participation.

Yes, there have always been wars, but there need not always be. For together with the development of society the role of the masses in deciding issues of war and peace also changes. From voiceless cannon fodder, the abject victims of war, the masses are becoming conscious builders of peace.

* * *

The destructive power of modern weapons is such that only yesterday it defied the imagination. The difference between front and rear is disappearing. Bomb shelters, oceans or mountain ranges no longer offer safety. If there is another war it will inevitably be a global war. The people have realized this, even in those places where the voice of reason has been weakest and driven deep underground.

The very nature of modern weapons gives rise everywhere to mass resistance to war, or at least to a growing realization of the need for such resistance. In other words, it creates the objective prerequisites for mass action for peace. Experience, however, has shown that *unless the peace forces take conscious action* the threat of annihilation contained in modern armaments is capable of causing passivity and fear which at times sustain illusions justifying the "balance of terror" and similar theories. And this only plays into the hands of those who are hatching war.

The growing consciousness of the people in the capitalist countries, while it is very important, is not enough. Lasting peace is a tangible possibility not only because the people have the will to peace, but because over

a large area of the world they also possess *the material means* with which to uphold it. The change in the balance of forces in favor of the socialist camp is the decisive factor ensuring the success of the struggle for world peace.

The Sure Way to Peace

The strength of the peace movement derives from its *mass nature*, from its *objectives* and its *immediate tasks*, not to speak of its level of organization and militancy. Since the threat to peace comes from definite sources and each situation has its own decisive problems, it is impossible to give proper *direction* to the struggle without posing concrete tasks.

Hence it would be incorrect and pointless to try to rally the people to fight for peace *in general*. The struggle should be waged around concrete, *thoroughly substantiated* tasks and the solutions to these tasks should be *active*. Defense of peace will then be more effective and the blows dealt at the instigators of war more powerful. Best of all can this be done through diverse alliances and joint actions objectively interlinking all the mass movements.

The immediate aim of the struggle for peace today is general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Since much has already been said on this score, suffice it to recapitulate only a few of the basic considerations.

Disarmament would provide a simple, effective and all-embracing solution of the problem of peace — a fact which is obvious to the working people from their own experience. For if society had no instruments of labor at its disposal, people would have to work with their bare hands. Similarly, with the abolition of the means of waging war, war would be ruled out altogether.

Complete disarmament as the overall solution would, of course, take care of all partial measures, such as dismantling military bases on foreign territory, creating nuclear-free zones, and withdrawing armed forces from

foreign territory. But in the meantime realization of the partial solutions would facilitate total disarmament.

Disarmament is an issue around which a flexible and comprehensive struggle can be waged and mass movements for diverse demands organized, cemented and directed to the achievement of common goals without their losing their specific, independent character. Hence disarmament is feasible politically as well inasmuch as it unites the widest range of forces.

The economic results that would accrue from disarmament are obvious. It is not difficult to estimate the number of schools, hospitals, homes and cultural and scientific establishments that could be built and the tax reductions that could be effected if the money now swallowed up by nuclear bombs, intercontinental ballistic missiles, superbombers, etc., were channelled to these purposes. This is urgently needed. The peace forces should *show concretely*—for example, on the basis of the prospects of expanding East-West trade as well as trade with countries recently delivered from colonial rule—that disarmament need not reduce employment and incomes but would, on the contrary, improve standards of living. At the same time terminating the armaments drive would mean ending the danger of world war.

The peoples are fighting for disarmament, and welcome every step toward its realization. The key to success in this struggle, experience has shown, is concentration on issues which at the given moment and in the given country are closest to the masses. Such an issue is the abolition of mass destruction weapons; this is the demand of the day. For nuclear weapons, on which imperialism pins its hopes, spell disaster for the human race.

"General and complete disarmament, i.e., complete abolition of all armaments, and especially of nuclear arms, is a task of vital urgency, it is the task of tasks," Soviet Premier Khrushchov said in his message of February 1, 1962, to President Kennedy concerning the disarmament negotiations in Geneva.

This is not a chance phrase in a diplomatic communication. It is a program for peace and progress, a program setting forth the demands of the peoples.

The Greatest Mass Movement of Our Time

One-third of the world's population lives in the socialist countries. These people give

full and active support to the peace policy of their governments. Moreover, hundreds of millions of people in the countries which recently won their freedom from colonial oppression are working for peace. This alone is *a movement for peace that ranks among the greatest mass movements in history*. But besides this, actions for peace have acquired a massive character also in the highly developed capitalist countries as well as in the dependent countries.

The international working class is consolidating its anti-militarist traditions despite the defection of many Right-wing Social Democratic leaders to the jingo camp of nationalism and militarism.

The most diverse democratic mass organizations, cooperative associations, small peasants' organizations and trade unions are playing a growing part in the struggle for peace. Religious trends, too, have become more active in this work.

An upsurge in sentiment for peace is evident also among students, for example in the USA and Britain. In general, notable changes are taking place in the attitude of young people in many countries of the capitalist world. Freeing themselves from the passive scepticism of the "Korean war generation," they are displaying increasing activity and enthusiasm in the fight for peace. The women's anti-war movement is gaining strength. New groups and forces opposed to war are springing up. The peace movement is gaining in breadth and depth.

All this opens additional opportunities for safeguarding the peace and at the same time raises new problems. New, too, is the fact that the movement has broken out of the narrow bounds of the pre-Second World War peace groups, which were mostly pacifist in character.

The World Peace Movement, headed by the World Peace Council as its permanent coordinating center, was able, in cooperation with other anti-war forces, to collect 500 million signatures to the Stockholm Appeal and to play a decisive role in preventing the use of nuclear bombs in Korea and Vietnam. And the campaign conducted for a summit meeting compelled the imperialists to change their tactics and helped to deal a number of major defeats to cold-war policies.

Taken together with other peace factors, primarily the untiring efforts of the Soviet government, the struggle for peace and above all for disarmament conducted by the World Peace Movement and many other trends and organizations is exerting a growing impact.

The movement, of course, is not developing at an equal rate everywhere. In Japan, whose people experienced the horrors of nuclear bombing first hand, the struggle for peace takes more vigorous forms than in the USA and Canada, which have not experienced war on their own territories in the lifetime of the present generation. In countries like France and Italy, where there are mass Communist parties and the fight for peace is conducted unremittingly, the movement has progressed faster and has embraced far more people than in Scandinavia. In some areas of the world, in Latin America for instance, where the peace movement broke out of its chrysalis in the stormy reaction to the invasion of Cuba, a longer time was required to accumulate strength. Similarly, the French nuclear tests in the Sahara evoked a wave of indignation among the African and Arab peoples.

After the success of the Stockholm Appeal and the summit meeting in July 1955, a certain relaxation of international tension set in, accompanied in a number of countries by a slackening of the popular peace effort. At the same time, however, the initiative of the governments of the socialist countries, often vigorously supported by public opinion all over the world, had a powerful impact in the sphere of foreign policy.

All the peace factors thus complement one another. Whenever one set of factors by virtue of the circumstances proves unable to solve the tasks confronting the peace movement, other factors must be brought to play. It is for this reason that the Soviet government took vigorous action to stop the imperialist aggression against Egypt in 1956, and compelled the USA to withdraw the forces sent to the Lebanon in order to threaten Iraq. The unequivocal warning issued by the Soviet government to the USA in connection with the Cuban events likewise helped the people of Cuba defeat the mercenaries of U.S. imperialism at Playa Giron. The resumption by the Soviet Union of nuclear testing should be seen in the same light.

All the mass movements are bound by internal threads. They support and lend strength to one another. The struggle for peace restrains the imperialists from employing armed force against national-liberation movements. And conversely, the struggle for national liberation, against foreign military bases and for neutrality greatly strengthens the positions of the peace forces.

Imperialist war preparations are directed not only against the socialist countries and the states which have recently won freedom

from colonial oppression; they are aimed *no less against the people of the capitalist countries.*

The danger of "accidental" war has grown immeasurably. Blips on U.S. radar screens in Greenland caused by atmospherics or a flock of wild geese flying over Turkey may plunge the world into disaster. A global holocaust may be sparked off by merely a phone call from one official to another.

By fighting for social progress and democracy, the people can influence the foreign policies of their respective countries to one or another extent, or at least create the prerequisites for changing these policies. A striking example of this is afforded by the struggle waged by the people of France for peace in Algeria.

The interlinking of mass movements does not follow automatically from the growing solidarity of the masses. For imperialism stops at nothing to divert the popular struggles on to false paths, and, in particular, to disorganize and suppress the peace movement.

The imperialists claim that the cold war is a struggle waged by "genuine democracy and freedom" against a totalitarian regime. Their slogan of "no appeasement" is designed to play on the national sentiment of the people. War preparation is blatantly declared a means of raising living standards, and a campaign of slander and terror is unleashed against all who expose this propaganda sleight-of-hand.

The intertwining of the forces working for peace presents a complex and at first glance often contradictory picture. Public figures who in general stand aloof from any struggle for social progress begin to speak up for peace. People who do not openly oppose NATO or other imperialist blocs defend national freedom and democracy by their practical activity. Such examples are numerous in the countries where movements for solidarity with Cuba have developed. Other cases in point are the anti-fascist actions in France, the struggle for national independence in the Arab countries, and the movement against entry into the Common Market in Scandinavia. And the participants in last year's conference of non-aligned countries in Belgrade included the envoys of both revolutionary Cuba and states where feudalism still survives.

But for all that the intensity and the scope of the struggle for peace do not always correspond to the objective possibilities. This point was made, for instance, by Professor Bernal at the National Peace Congress in

Britain last November. "We have still got to win the key section of the British people," he said. "We still have to win the trade unions, the Labor Party, the working class of this country, not to an understanding — I think they understand the situation as well as anybody else — but to action in this field."

Unity Is Strength

The broad scale of the struggle, the multiplicity of organizations and trends championing peace, the wide range of aims and motives they represent and the diversity of the forms of their activity make unity the cardinal tactical issue, all the more so since this affects not only the peace movement proper but also its links with the other mass movements.

The World Peace Movement is independent of governments and political parties. Uniting non-governmental national organizations, it consists of men and women of the most diverse religious and political views.

It is the most consistent of all the movements working for peace. Its activities are based on a concrete and comprehensive analysis of the problems and tasks. Hence it sees the link between peace and the struggle for national freedom and democracy and against fascism. But it is not, nor can it be, the leader of the national-liberation struggle. For the fact remains that there are many people in the capitalist countries who, though ready to join in defense of peace, are not yet prepared to give their full support to the national-liberation movement. However, since the struggle for peace weakens imperialism as a whole, to exclude these people from the peace movement would be detrimental to the national-liberation struggle as well. The question is not of subordinating one type of mass movement to another but of combining them with maximum efficacy.

How this works out has been shown, for instance, in Holland where the national peace congress held last January called for vigorous action for neutrality and against nuclear and missile weapons, and at the same time urged negotiations between Holland and Indonesia on freedom for West Irian. The importance attached by the World Peace Movement to supporting the national-liberation struggle can be seen from the decisions of the Stockholm session of the World Peace Council held in December 1961. These include a series of resolutions on support for the just struggle waged by the people of Cuba, Laos, Algeria, the Congo, Angola, South Vietnam, South Korea and Puerto Rico for national independence and peace.

The World Peace Movement is by its very nature a democratic movement and hence does not set itself any socialist tasks, although, from the socialist standpoint, democracy and socialism are facets of one perspective. It is not to the motives that impel people to join it but to the effectiveness of their contribution that the movement attaches prime importance.

The movement has long and fruitfully cooperated with a number of pacifist organizations and also conducted joint activities with religious associations. The importance of disarmament and the urgency of the fight against nuclear weapons provide the broadest possible basis for joint action. The Consultation set up in Italy after the Florence peace assembly held last January is a case in point; it consists of the National Peace Movement, Non-Violence Movement, War Resisters, Movement for Reconciliation, the World Citizens organization, Young Women's Christian Association, World Federalists, Danilo Dolci's Study Center, etc. Similar broad cooperation between diverse forces working for peace was achieved in Norway on the initiative of what is known as the Movement of the Thirteen.

The new groups and trends combating the threat of nuclear war which have sprung up in recent years in the USA, Canada, Britain, Holland, Scandinavia and to some extent in West Germany have brought fresh forces into the peace movement. These organizations have become widely known throughout the world for their ban-the-bomb marches, sit-down demonstrations and other actions which have helped to rally public opinion far beyond the bounds of their respective countries.

Although these groups cannot be classified as pacifist in the traditional sense, they nevertheless suffer to one or another extent from the limitations of pacifism. For instance, they isolate the problem of nuclear armaments from the general problems of peace. "Nuclear weapons are the greatest danger, overshadowing everything else," runs their general line of reasoning. "Hence something must be done at once. To avoid fruitless discussions, we reject everything extraneous."

The activities of these groups have unquestionably added impact to the campaign against the imperialist preparations for nuclear war and have helped to broaden the peace movement. Nevertheless, their narrow approach tends to confuse the issue. This was the case, for example, when, in the interests of peace, the Soviet government was compelled to resume nuclear tests last autumn, at the same

time making it clear that its aim was abolition of all weapons, including nuclear weapons.

Unable to see the overall issues, the aforementioned groups placed the Soviet tests on the same plane as the U.S., British and French tests conducted in preparation for war. Reactionary propaganda seized upon this to impel these groups, contrary to the wishes of the majority of their followers, to actions aimed at disrupting and weakening the peace movement.

Such efforts undertaken by the reactionaries, however, can be foiled. In Italy, France and Japan this was done thanks to the timely steps taken by the forces consistently fighting for peace. As a result, some of the biggest united actions of recent years took place in these countries. In Italy 30,000, 60,000 and even 100,000 took part in joint actions, whereas the biggest demonstration against unity drew roughly 3,000 participants.

The reactionary propaganda generally speaking missed the mark. Although here and there some anti-Soviet sentiment was whipped up, far more people were alerted to the growing danger and the need for all-out struggle against the warmongers. Such is the dialectics of the struggle for peace.

The latest successes registered in the struggle for disarmament open new opportunities for joint action. The anti-nuclear marches at Easter this year — the biggest of their kind ever held—clearly revealed a tendency toward overcoming the narrowness of some of the peace groups and trends. There is indeed a growing awareness of the need to link the struggle against nuclear weapons with the struggle for general democratic and national demands.

The National and International Character of the Struggle for Peace

The struggle for peace goes on all over the world, but the conditions in which it is waged differ according to countries. At the same time the national consciousness of the masses has risen to a new and higher plane. Everybody can see the importance of specific national features and the opportunities they afford for stimulating national initiative with a view to rendering all-round help to the international peace movement and cementing its unity. The independence of each national peace movement is an effective answer to the anti-communist arguments aimed at fomenting nationalism.

The struggle for peace presents a many-faceted picture which varies according to country. The Peace Committee in Austria

links the mass struggle for disarmament with the defense of neutrality; in Japan peace supporters work to expose the so-called "security treaty"; the Scandinavian peace movement is naturally interested in making the Baltic a "sea of peace"; in West Germany the fight is against nuclear armaments for the Bundeswehr, etc. All this is reflected in the slogans, forms of cooperation, etc.

Nothing is more important for any nation than defense against destruction. Does not disarmament and any step towards it, therefore, serve the interests of every nation? Is there a nation which would not gain if the Balkans, Central or Northern Europe or the Far East were made nuclear-free zones of peace? Here both the national and the international aspects of the question are as one.

Neither the overall program of the peace movement nor its separate components run counter to the interests of the peoples. Consequently, the enemies of peace are compelled to resort to lies to combat the movement.

The imperialist claim is that the peace movement is "dominated" by the Soviet Union, that either consciously or unconsciously it is an "instrument of Soviet foreign policy." The usual "proof" is that a number of its aims happen to coincide with the foreign policy aims of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Actually, however, not only the socialist countries but also the non-aligned and neutral states demand the abolition of all nuclear weapons. The United Nations resolution on disarmament, for instance, was adopted unanimously, with even the imperialist powers voting for it so as not to antagonize world public opinion. And this despite the fact that the initiative came from the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, if the views of the World Peace Movement coincide more often with those of the socialist countries than with the stand of the U.S. government, who is to blame for this? Is it proof of any kind of "domination"? Does it run counter to the interests of the nations?

The plain truth is that nobody in the socialist countries wants war. Since it is the masses that are in power in these countries, they naturally pursue a foreign policy corresponding both to their own interests and to the interests of all other peoples.

The peace movement supports the proposals advanced by the socialist countries, not because they are associated with the socialist perspective and instrumental in defending the developing socialist system, but because

they serve the cause of peace — peace for Communists as well as non-Communists.

Let the governments of the USA, Britain or any other capitalist country advance equally effective proposals aimed at preserving the peace and, what is most important, let them work as steadfastly as do the USSR and the other socialist countries for their realization, and they will ensure themselves the support of the peace movement.

How could the peace movement support anyone who persists in a policy of endless obstruction of all positive proposals, insisting on the priority of control and failing to offer any realistic solution to the problem of disarmament? How can anyone pursue such a policy without giving rise to perfectly justified suspicion that the object is the official recognition of espionage and not disarmament? Why is it that the initiative in matters pertaining to the preservation of peace always belongs to the Soviet Union? Why is it that in the West, as the *New York Times* said, nobody has a plan for peace? Why has the West produced so many plans for all kinds of wars, big and small, with or without the use of nuclear weapons, but not a single realistic program for peace?

Some people say that the fact that the peace initiatives of the socialist countries and the demands of the peace movement coincide may damage the latter and that therefore it should stand somewhere "halfway between socialism and imperialism."

Clearly, if the strongest military power in the world has thrown all its weight behind the demand for disarmament, this cannot harm but, on the contrary, benefits the cause of peace. This fact removes all reason to suspect that in advocating peace it is prompted by "ulterior motives" or seeking advantage for itself in the event of a possible conflict. Moreover, those who oppose disarmament, even though they may seize upon temporary interruptions and hitches in the negotiations in order to aggravate the situation, cannot but give serious thought to whether it is worth the risk to embark on a war against a superior adversary.

Where does the "halfway" viewpoint lead? Take this fact, for example: West Germany is making territorial claims on the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia (not the other way around). Coming from a member of NATO, these demands are clearly fraught with the danger of aggressive war. What prevents this possibility from becoming reality is the solidarity of the socialist countries sealed by the Warsaw Pact.

Would it be in the interests of the peace movement to oppose, in conformity with the "halfway" view, both NATO and the Warsaw Pact, to set itself against both West Germany and the German Democratic Republic? And, conversely, has any section of the peace movement ever insisted that the other sections support the Warsaw Pact? No, for peace supporters see in disarmament a way to abolish both blocs; moreover, they propose measures to facilitate this, such as the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the two alignments, etc. Would it be reasonable, then, to renounce disarmament—as the votaries of the "halfway" theory would have it—only because the demand is supported by all the members of the Warsaw Pact but not by West Germany, the NATO member?

The advocates of the "halfway" stand and others like it take a *mechanical* view of a key principle of the peace movement — the principle that *its unity is founded not on a common ideology but on common aims and agreed methods of solving concrete tasks capable of effectively safeguarding peace.*

Peace is in the interests of all peoples. Any, even limited, war may spread over the whole world. A global conflict can be prevented only if each nation makes its contribution to the cause of peace.

The Communists and Unity

The Communists are selfless, steadfast champions of peace and a better life for all people. Better than anyone else, they envisage both the opportunities which peace and social progress would open to humanity and the disastrous consequences of a nuclear world war.

The Communists know full well that peace and a happy future can be ensured only by steadfast, *united* mass struggle. Therefore, as active participants and as the vanguard of the peace movement, they are aware of their responsibility for the future of the movement, for the unity of its ranks. Equipped with a knowledge of the laws of social development, and systematically analyzing the processes which impel diverse classes, groups and trends to take a hand in solving the issues of war and peace, the Communists are playing an important role in the struggle to build and cement the unity of the peace forces.

Although the various mass movements of our day are bound to come closer together as time goes on, the achievement of unity nevertheless necessitates prolonged all-out effort. It would be a mistake to advance

premature slogans or to ignore national differences, to overlook any possibility of utilizing the objective conditions for united action if only on limited issues and for brief periods of time.

Consequently, to say that inasmuch as imperialism is the root cause of war, peace can be ensured only by destroying imperialism at all costs does not facilitate an effective solution of the problem. Actually the issue is *how to extend the struggle for peace at the present stage, how, by what practical actions*, are the masses to be rallied for objectives capable of preserving peace today, when imperialism still exists and when many people are still, directly or indirectly, influenced by its ideology.

Preventing imperialism from unleashing a world conflict in *these circumstances* means dealing it a decisive defeat on a global scale. It means rallying the masses against imperialism, enriching their experience and fortifying their confidence in their own powers — all of which would strengthen the anti-imperialist mass movements. And intensification of anti-imperialist actions in turn facilitates the struggle against war.

Preserving the peace *today* not only means saving the lives of hundreds of millions of people and the fruits of man's century-long labors. It also paves the way for the next stage of the struggle to do away with imperialism, to secure genuine freedom for the peoples, social progress, democracy and socialism. With the lives of hundreds of millions and the fruits of their labors saved from destruction, progress toward these goals will be greatly accelerated.

Only by persistent *day-to-day* struggle in which no detail is overlooked can the grand battle for peace be won. Only if the vast variety of national features and shades of opinion are correctly assessed and understood, only if due account is taken of the varying levels of consciousness and organization, can the unity of the mass peace movement be cemented.

Mass Struggle Is the Guarantee of Peace

Disarmament can be achieved only by the joint efforts of all who cherish peace. There is no other way, for the imperialists have too great an economic and political stake in the armaments drive and in war preparations to give them up. It is imperialism that prevents disarmament. Technical obstacles there are none. The general principles are universally known and have been approved by many. Plans for the implementation and control of

disarmament have been worked out and substantiated. And considerable research has been done on how to convert war industry to peaceful purposes without any decline in production or employment.

The fact that disarmament is still to be achieved is no reason for pessimism. Like any other struggle, the struggle for peace has its ebb and flow. The imperialists are resorting to one maneuver after another. And when machinations are of no avail they turn to provocation. A case in point is the resumption of nuclear tests by the USA, with British backing. But the struggle for peace is not at a standstill. For the peoples of the world the problem today is not *whether* disarmament is necessary, but *how* to achieve it.

Imperialism has been *compelled* to concede that disarmament is a way out of the impasse of the cold war. It has had to subscribe to the general idea of disarmament, to admit the need for negotiation, and to accept at least part of the general principles set forth in the draft agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control submitted by the Soviet Union at the Geneva conference in March this year. True, so far the word has not been matched by the deed. Nevertheless this adds up to a political victory for the champions of peace, all the more so since the struggle for disarmament is proceeding on the basis of a platform proposed by the peace forces, not the forces of imperialism. In most cases the initiative belongs to the peace camp, and this holds out the possibility that the imperialists may have to concede in practice what they have already partially admitted in words.

The masses, which are striving for progress and regeneration, are coming to see imperialism more and more clearly as a conservative, negative and destructive force, and this leads to the growing isolation of the aggressive imperialist circles. *Imperialist propaganda is losing its appeal and more and more often it is defeating its own ends.* Recall, for example, the difference between the tone of this propaganda during the first U.S. nuclear tests in the Pacific and the present tests at Christmas Island. In the first case there was nothing but boasting. Now an apologetic note has crept in. But even these apologies are a self-indictment. If the imperialists are engaged in nuclear testing because "no agreement has yet been reached on disarmament," the peoples have every right to ask how long this state of affairs is to go on and who is it that is preventing agreement.

Needless to say, the imperialists will do their utmost to continue the policy of war preparation even though the situation is increasingly turning against them. They are stepping up the armaments drive and resorting to new provocations. Consequently, it would be a mistake to underestimate the threat they present to peace. On the contrary, every step taken by the aggressive forces must be countered with redoubled effort to intensify the popular struggle for peace. The countless imperialist maneuvers and provocations by no means signify that peace cannot be ensured.

Disarmament requires struggle, struggle for

the unity of the peace forces, struggle to awaken and galvanize into action those who still are taken in by imperialist propaganda.

Disarmament is the platform and the watchword of the people. And the people, impelled to the struggle by their vital interests, are the guarantors of peace. Disarmament, therefore, is the sure way to peace.

There is no doubt that the convocation of a world congress for general and complete disarmament and peace in Moscow over July 9-14 will help to alert people everywhere and to find new ways of broadening the struggle to solve the task of the day—the task of removing the danger of nuclear war.

Role of the African Working Class in the National Liberation Movement

Jack Woddis

THE working class in tropical Africa* has played a leading role in the anti-colonial struggles of the African people, and will play an even more significant role in the new phase of struggle now opening out in the territories of Africa which have ended direct colonial rule.

The origins of the African working class can be traced to the birth of the imperialist epoch. To exploit the resources they had stolen from the people, the imperialists were driven to create conditions for the growth of an African wage-earning class. The division of Africa was completed in about 1900 — and it is significant that in territory after territory in the first few years of the 20th century the occupying powers introduced different forms of the poll tax, hut tax or direct labor tax, together with land seizures and various forms of forced labor, for the precise purpose of compelling Africans to leave their own subsistence agriculture and to take up wage-labor in European-owned enterprises.

At that stage an African bourgeoisie had not yet emerged; and even though this class later appeared in the different African territories, nowhere in Africa, south of the Sahara, has it become a powerful force. By the time

it appeared on the scene it found that nearly all the decisive sectors of the economy — mining, transport, banking, insurance, trade, building, public utilities, and usually major cash crops — were in the hands of the big European companies.

This resulted in a situation in which the African working class appeared on the political scene before the African national bourgeoisie.

In its formative stage the African working class consisted mainly of laborers, employed within the sphere of a colonial economy and scarcely touched by the breath of industrialization.

Throughout the continent the devastation and ruin of the traditional agriculture brought about by the colonial system has transformed millions of African peasants into migrant workers who stream across frontiers from territory to territory in search of work and wages. Only an insignificant part of these peasants settled down in cities and towns.

It is only in the last years, now that many of the African colonies have gained political independence, that the African workers have won the possibility to change their status, to organize themselves fully as a class, to assert their demands without let or hindrance and to bring about radical changes in their economic and social conditions.

*The remarks in this article are mainly confined to tropical Africa and do not, as a rule, apply to the North, where conditions and problems are generally different.

The African working class has grown considerably, especially in the last two decades, and, taking account of the inadequacy of official statistics compiled by colonialist authorities, one can estimate that it now numbers probably 15 million. It is significant that its growth is proportionately more rapid than that of the population as a whole. Furthermore, in a number of territories there has been a growth of industry and of manufacturing, and the corresponding emergence of an African stratum of semi-skilled and of skilled workers, too.

One can gain some idea of the rapid pace with which the working class has grown in recent decades by the following figures:

Growth of the African proletariat in a selected group of countries

	1938 to 1960 (thousands)	
	1938	1960
Angola	315.5	800.0
Congo (Belgian)	522.5	1,200.0
Ghana	63.8	350.0
Kenya	172.8	560.9
Nigeria	227.4	700.0
No. Rhodesia	152.2	268.8
So. Rhodesia	107.5	700.0
Tanganyika	207.1	439.1
Uganda	72.7	310.0
Total:	1,841.5	5,328.8

These figures are only approximate. They do not always include women. They often ignore large numbers of seasonal agricultural workers. And they take no account of those workers employed by small African undertakings. But they do reveal the rate of growth and show that in nine African territories the size of the working class almost trebled in 22 years. In South Africa, where there is by far the greatest concentration of industry in the African continent, there are now some 3,000,000 wage workers.

As far as the African peasantry is concerned, colonialism has dealt it devastating blows. In parts of Africa indigenous agriculture has to be carried on largely by women, children and old men, while the younger men are away in the mines and other European enterprises. And in territories such as Kenya or Southern Rhodesia, where in recent years British imperialism has deliberately tried to foster a small stratum of African capitalist farmers, with individual title to land, thousands of peasants have been driven off the land through this policy, and now flock to the towns in search of work or sustenance.

While most of the African labor up to the present time has been migrant labor, labor-migration has had a twofold effect. On the one hand it has delayed the emergence of a stabilized, permanent, skilled modern proletariat and this has meant a weakening of the working-class movement — but on the other hand it has resulted in possibly the majority of the African males, in most parts of Africa, having experience of wage labor. The previously estimated total of 15 million workers refers to the number employed at present at any given moment; but this labor force is not a stable one; millions more abandon wage labor, for good or for a period, while millions leave the land to take up wage employment, many for the first time in their lives.

In the mines, on plantations, in railways, in factories and on construction sites, African workers have met migrants from other African territories. They have exchanged experiences, found that they suffer the same common exploitation at the hands of the same masters, and that they have the same aspirations. This has helped to develop a feeling of all-African solidarity.

In many cases the workers have joined trade unions, taken part in strikes, become members of political parties, and marched in political demonstrations. Thus in the busy market-of-ideas of the urban centers they have become new men, with enlarged horizons and an awareness of class interests and class solidarity, and with a new national consciousness. On return to the villages they have taken with them their new-found knowledge, experience and political consciousness that has grown up in the towns.

One is reminded here of Lenin's observations regarding the influence of the Russian workers on the peasants in the period leading up to the Russian revolution of 1905:

"... a 'striker' was of the people; he belonged to the exploited class; when deported from St. Petersburg, he often returned to the village where he told his fellow-villagers of the conflagration which had broken out in the cities, and which was to destroy the capitalists and nobility. A new type appeared in the Russian village — the class-conscious young peasant. He associated with 'strikers', he read newspapers, he told the peasants about events in the cities, explained to his fellow-villagers the meaning of political demands, and called upon them to fight against the big landlords, the priests and the government officials.

"The peasants would gather in groups to discuss their conditions, and gradually they were drawn into the struggle."*

A similar process of workers revolutionizing the outlook of those left behind in the rural areas has taken place in Africa. While there are obvious differences between Russia in 1905 and Africa in 1962 (both as regards the type of revolutionary development and in relation to the stage reached in each case), yet, fundamentally Lenin's observations have a significance for Africa, too.

Here labor migration exists on such a large scale that millions are involved in a cycle of movement from countryside to town and back to the countryside, which brings with it a heightening of class and national consciousness and becomes the basis for a powerful national-liberation movement.

* * *

The conditions under which African workers lived acted as a most rapid educator. The absence of large African companies, of African-owned mines and large factories, — a natural consequence of colonial oppression — turned the African workers in an anti-imperialist direction. The European colonialist became the enemy of the African worker. It was European monopolies who paid them starvation wages and resisted their demands for a better life. It was European rulers who daily insulted them and humiliated them in a thousand and one ways. It was European government officials and advisers who backed up the employers against the workers and their trade unions. When the workers went on strike against their shameful conditions, it was European-run newspapers which distorted their case and European-led police and troops who fired on them, and arrested their leaders. European warders controlled the prisons, and if the arrested worker was lucky enough to come up for trial, it was a European judge who passed sentence. All the laws which rendered the Africans impoverished and denied them justice and human dignity were the laws of the European rulers' governments.

Thus the politics of national independence were driven into the heads of the African workers by their everyday experience. Starvation wages, national humiliation, batons, bullets, prison — this was a commonplace experience for so many workers that inevitably they were compelled to realize that no fundamental change in their lives, no social and economic advance was possible without

political change, and that the essence of this political change had to be *national freedom*, and the placing of power in the hands of the African people.

Consequently the African working class is extremely anti-imperialist in outlook and well experienced in anti-imperialist struggle.

* * *

The struggles of the African working class have a long history. There was an important railway strike in Sierra Leone in 1919, and another railway strike in Nigeria in 1921; a major strike wave in the Union of South Africa, notably amongst the dockers and railwaymen of Cape Town, in 1919-1920; general strikes in Kenya, in 1921 and 1922; a strike on the French-Niger railways in 1925, and on the Sierra Leone railways in 1926; a strike in Uganda in 1929; one involving seamen in Bathurst, Gambia, in the same year; and another by miners in the Gold Coast in 1930.

These battles of the workers frequently spilled over the confines of purely economic conflicts and became part of the general struggle of the people as a whole against the colonial system and its consequences.

But it was after the Second World War, with the defeat of fascism, the weakening of imperialism, and the emergence of the powerful socialist camp, that the African working-class struggle reached its greatest heights. It was precisely in the period 1945 to 1960 that it built its trade union movement which now numbers some two million, and that Africa witnessed its biggest strikes — the general strike in Nigeria in 1945, the powerful miners' strike in South Africa in 1946, the lengthy railway strike in Mali and Senegal in 1947, the general strike in Mombasa, Kenya, in 1947, the Gold Coast miners' strike in 1947, the dockers' strikes in Tanganyika in 1948 and 1950, the series of powerful miners' strikes in the Northern Rhodesian Copper Belt, especially in 1952, 1955 and 1956, the miners' strike in Nigeria in 1949, the general strike in Sierra Leone in 1955, the big strike wave on the Tanganyika plantations in 1957 and 1958, and the series of strikes, demonstrations and other actions by the working class of former French Equatorial and West Africa in the 1940's and 1950's, especially for the Labor Code.

One need only examine official strike statistics, inadequate as they usually are, to see how powerful were these struggles which swept over the African scene in the 17 years following the end of the Second World War.

*V. I. Lenin, *Lecture on the 1905 Revolution*.

There is no doubt that these strikes which lasted a week, two weeks, even up to three months and more, helped to give a new impetus to the mounting struggle for national independence. In Nigeria, for example, the actions of the workers against the powerful British trading monopoly, the United Africa Company, undoubtedly made a decisive contribution to the national movement. In Ghana, too, there is no doubt that the general strike of 1950 played a decisive role in the election victory of the Convention People's Party in 1951, the achievement of internal self-government, and the eventual formation of the Republic of Ghana in 1957. In other African territories, too, the struggles of the workers, even when they originated around a single economic or social demand, had wide repercussions and aroused the people as a whole.

In describing the struggles that shook Ghana in 1950 Kwame Nkrumah, in his autobiography, stresses the significance of the workers' actions. "All the stores were closed, the trains were stationary, all Government services had closed down and the workers were sitting at home. The whole economic life of the country was at a standstill." And again, in describing the reaction of the workers to the call for a general strike, he writes: "The response of the people was instantaneous. The political and social revolution of Ghana had started."

The miners' strike in South Africa in 1946 opened a new page in the national struggle in that country. The strike waves on the plantations of Tanganyika in 1957, 1958, 1959 and 1960, helped to strengthen the Tanganyika Africa National Union and to break open the door to independence in December 1961. In Sierra Leone and Gambia, too, the general strikes in the past five years have been one of the main forms of the people's struggles against colonialism. Significantly it was the action of the unemployed African miners demonstrating against their plight on the streets of Leopoldville and supported by tens of thousands of workers, which sparked off the surge forward in the movement in the Congo at the beginning of 1959. Similarly the strikes of African plantation workers were an important factor in the revolt against colonial rule which broke out in Angola in 1961.

The experiences of the African working class, the growth of its understanding and organization, and the struggles it has waged, have, in a very real sense, been the forerunners of the present national movements now sweeping like storm clouds across the African

continent. It is above all the workers who, by their strikes and demonstrations, reveal to all Africans the system of imperialist exploitation under which they suffered for so long, and who, by their courage, determination and self-sacrifice, inspire all the people.

* * *

But the role of the African working class in the national-liberation movement has not been limited to these struggles. Workers have also been the main force of the national and political movements. Efforts have been made by agents of the ICFTU, by the General Council of the British TUC, by "trade union advisers" and others to isolate the African workers from the political struggle, to persuade them that they should confine their trade union activities to "economic questions."

It is, of course, impossible for trade unions to try to ignore political questions without weakening their fight on behalf of their members. There is no such thing as a "non-political" trade union: the question is *whose politics* shall the union follow. In the conditions of present-day Africa, in which the workers and their union organizations are compelled to face every sort of opposition from the imperialist powers and the big foreign monopolies, there can be only one answer — *the politics of national liberation*.

This close and indispensable connection between the workers' struggles and the national struggle has been repeatedly stressed by the most advanced national leaders in Africa. Speaking at the All-African Trade Union Preparatory Conference at Accra in November 1959, Kwame Nkrumah declared:

"The trade union movement in a colonial territory cannot divorce itself from the national struggle for political independence.

"Indeed, in a colonial territory, the struggle for freedom and independence is inextricably bound up with the success of the trade union movement. . . .

"It is only under genuine conditions of political freedom that the workers can have the opportunity to assert themselves as human beings and defend their rights for better conditions and for a better way of life."

Similarly, Albert Luthuli, President of the African National Congress, addressing a meeting of South African Trade Unionists in 1959, said:

"There is a Zulu saying that if you are pricked by a thorn you also have to use a thorn to get it out. Workers are oppressed

by political action: they must take political action in reply."

Such appeals have not gone unheeded by the workers and trade unions in Africa. To one degree or another, the unions have played an important part in the national movements of their countries, and in practically every territory the unions maintain close association with the national organizations and political parties, often providing cadres for the national movement. The big role played by George Nyandoro and Joshua Nkomo (Southern Rhodesia), Siaka Stevens (Sierra Leone), M. E. Jallow (Gambia), Sékou Touré and Abdoulaye Diallo (Guinea), J. B. Marks and Moses Kotane (South Africa), John Tettegah (Ghana), Ruben Um Nyobe (Cameroun), who was killed in 1959, and many other African national leaders who were reared in the trade union movement symbolizes the important participation of the African working-class movement in the struggle for emancipation.

But the African working class has provided not only many of the leaders of the national movement. It has also provided the mass membership of the national organizations and parties, and done most of the battling, both through its own class struggles and strikes as well as in the general demonstrations and activities of the broader movement.

No one would deny the patriotic and self-sacrificing role played by other classes in Africa's struggle for independence. One cannot ignore the struggles waged by the peasants in Zeerust, Sekhukhuniland and Pondoland in South Africa, in the countryside of Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia during the recent struggles against the Central African Federation, in the guerilla forces of Angola and Cameroun, in the armed battles in Kenya after 1952, or in the anti-tax struggles in Uganda and Sierra Leone. Nor should one forget the contribution made by the African intelligentsia and national bourgeoisie which, though numerically small because of the colonial system, provide most of the active forces in the national movement and in the struggle for independence. Yet it has been notably the urban centers, mining areas, railways, docks and plantations which have generally been the scenes of the sharpest battles against colonialism in Africa during the past two decades, and the working class in particular which was engaged in these struggles.

It is the working class of Africa which is the growing class, and, through its trade

unions, the best organized class. Its activities, especially those against the foreign monopolies, have often pressed forward the struggle of the whole people and heightened national feeling; and in its demands for the nationalization of imperialist companies (for example, this has been a traditional demand of the miners of Ghana and Nigeria) it has usually acted as a pace-setter for the entire movement.

* * *

In those territories in which political independence has been achieved and new states established, new tasks face the working class. In statements, articles and resolutions, as well as in their actions, African working-class organizations and leaders are showing their ability to look ahead, to see beyond the immediate stage of ending direct foreign rule and to envisage the steps which must be taken to uphold the new sovereignty, to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism, and to reconstruct the economies of the new states so that the working people inherit the full fruits of their endeavors.

The workers are not content merely to have an African government, African members of Parliament, and African civil servants. They do not regard the spectacle of African ministers and African businessmen driving in large cars as being the climax of their national resurgence, especially if such ministers and businessmen tend to display a reluctance to dig up the imperialist roots still deeply embedded in the national soil. The workers fought and sacrificed not simply to end the outward forms of colonial rule but to end exploitation, oppression and poverty.

But how to do this? This is the question now occupying the minds of many national and working-class leaders. The majority of the organized workers in Africa hold the view as expressed in the Charter adopted at the foundation conference of the All-African Trade Union Federation, that they, together with the peasants, "are engaged in an implacable struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, feudalism and reaction. They are fighting alongside all workers of the world in their common struggle against all forms of human exploitation."

There is no doubt that just as the African working class acted as the decisive fighting force and pace-setter in the battle for political independence, so now, in the new stage facing the new states, the working class is coming forward as the decisive force in the struggle to destroy the remnants of colonial-

ism and neo-colonialism and to build the new Africa.

Some leaders in the new states, that is to say, representatives of the national bourgeoisie and small bourgeoisie, would prefer that matters be left to them, to their sole guidance. They believe that the working class should become the quiescent tail of the new bourgeois forces, do simply what it is told, work harder, tighten its belt and make no demands. On the other hand, some workers think—and there are plenty of imperialist agents ready to take advantage of this—that the morrow of political independence is the signal for an immediate direct clash between the workers and the national bourgeoisie.

African working-class leaders, therefore, have a complex task. They have to defend and advance their own class interests—both present and future—and yet do this in a manner which does not upset the national unity of all patriotic forces so vital to complete the task of national liberation, to fight off the encroachments of neo-colonialism and build stable, independent, national democracies.

To maintain the unity of the people for this purpose is no easy task. The national bourgeoisie, with all its weaknesses, has taken part in the struggle for national independence mainly because of its own class interests. There may be members of this class who are sincere patriots, striving genuinely on behalf of their people; but it is these same class interests which largely dominate the thinking of the national bourgeoisie, giving rise to a striving on its part to retain its domination over the national movement in order to ensure that the workers and peasants are kept under control. This thinking is determined by the profit motive, profits being a major aim of the national bourgeoisie.

The African working class is striving for an alliance with the national bourgeoisie, since such an alliance is essential for the defeat of colonialism and the uprooting of imperialism. But the working class will take care that such a relationship between itself and the national bourgeoisie does not deteriorate into class collaboration, with the working class submitting to the domination of the national bourgeoisie, accepting its outlook and its policy even in spite of its own working-class interests. In taking part in an alliance with the national bourgeoisie the working class is called upon to play an independent role, putting forward its own policy on all questions affecting the national

struggle and the workers' interests and seeking to win majority support for this policy.

In particular, it is working for a firm alliance with the peasantry, which is, numerically speaking, the main force of the national movement. Only if the national revolution embraces this vast peasant mass, releases its initiative by ensuring that adequate material incentives are provided for it will the way be open for the changes so urgently needed in the African countryside.

But the attempt on the part of the working class in the new states to assert its own identity, to put forward its own demands and defend its own class interests, as well as its activity to safeguard national independence against the intrigues of neo-colonialism and to reconstruct the national economy, is not at all to the liking of the national bourgeoisie. The latter is prepared to let the workers fight and die for the national cause, but once the national flag has been run up and the new state formed, it quickly takes special measures as soon as it feels that its domination of the national movement is threatened. Frequently one finds the national bourgeoisie in the new African states trying to use the bugle-call of nationalism to divert the workers from their own class interests, or even utilizing "socialist" slogans to mislead the workers. In certain territories the national bourgeoisie goes further and strives to subordinate the working class by bringing the trade unions under the control of the government and the ruling party. And when these efforts fail, then the national bourgeoisie, or sections of it, turns to repression and violates the workers' trade union and political rights in the name of "the national interests." Thus, during 1960, when the "French Community" African states acquired formal political independence, the trade unions came under fire from a number of governments, and top trade union leaders were arrested or deported in Congo (Brazzaville), Senegal, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Upper Volta, and Dahomey.

* * *

The African working class, which, as pointed out above, has endured imperialist exploitation for decades, is, of all classes in modern Africa, the one which has been most tested in anti-imperialist struggle, and is the most anti-imperialist in outlook. Together with the peasants it has made the greatest sacrifices in numbers killed, wounded, exiled and imprisoned. It has provided the main forces of the national organizations, of those who took part in the mass processions

and demonstrations. It has provided many outstanding cadres for the wide anti-imperialist movement of which it has always considered itself a part. Yet, in no African country which has won independence is the working class the dominant force in the new government and states. It naturally has some influence in the new states, especially in Ghana and Mali, but nowhere does it enjoy undisputed leadership.

In most of the independent African states the leadership of the movement and of the government is in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, or of intellectuals and a petty bourgeoisie whose outlook is largely influenced by the national bourgeoisie.

The working class cannot establish its leadership of the national movement merely by demanding the right to this role; nor can this leadership be seized by conspiracy. Leadership is won by hard work. The working class stands out as the most consistent, self-sacrificing, patriotic and far-sighted class in the national movement. It is fighting for and championing the rights of the peasants, the intelligentsia, the artisans, and even the national bourgeoisie, where these interests do not conflict with the national interest. At all times it will be in the van of the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and will act with care and courage to enlarge the arena of democracy so that the masses can be mobilized for the struggles ahead.

And to carry out these complex and essential tasks the African working class, like any other working class, needs Marxism-Leninism, the science of working-class leadership. If the African working class is not yet the leading class in the new African states, that is because it is not yet politically organized as a class, with its own distinct working-class ideology. Marxist ideas are spreading rapidly in Africa, are, in fact, "being lapped up as the dry earth drinks the rain." But other ideas are also circulating in the African working-class movement, ideas of bourgeois nationalism, of "African exceptionalism" and the search for a road which is "neither capitalist nor communist."

One exponent of these ideas is Mr. Gbedemah, the recently dismissed Finance Minister of Ghana. In response to Kwame Nkrumah's "dawn speech," calling on Ghana government ministers to wind up their private business interests, Gbedemah protested that "Marxist ideas" were not wanted in Africa, since they were "European" ideas and what Africa needed was an "African" ideology. It is common knowledge, however, that Gbedemah

enjoys the support of financial circles in London and Wall Street.

Rejecting the "African exceptionalism" ideas, the working class is turning to the ideas of communism, seeing in them the answer to Africa's problems. It is significant that towards the end of 1961, at a time when the world was becoming acquainted with the inspiring new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a Communist Party was established in Northern Rhodesia, and the Communist Party of Lesotho (Basutoland) was born. In its program, the latter party explains that "to meet the complex and difficult problems of today, it is essential that the Basuto should have a party of a new type, a party representing the most advanced class, the working class, a party guided by the most advanced political and economic theory, which offers hope of peace and prosperity to the people of the whole world."

Similar considerations motivated the setting up of the Communist Party in Northern Rhodesia.

These new Communist parties take their places alongside the older established Communist parties on the African continent—in South Africa, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Sudan and with other parties like the Party of African Independence in Senegal. All these parties are fighting in unison with other national forces in their respective countries to rid their lands of the last relics of imperialism and to establish independent national democracies. For many historical reasons Marxism has appeared relatively late on the African scene. The late growth of the African working class, its migratory character, the widespread illiteracy, the virtual absence until the last decade of an African radical élite which could bring socialist ideas to the masses, and the ruthless suppression by the imperialist powers of all Marxist thought and writings—these factors have combined to delay the spread of communist ideology and organization in Africa.

But communist ideas are all-conquering. In this epoch, which is witnessing the end of the colonial system and the transition of the whole world from capitalism to socialism, Africa, despite the different forms it will adopt in keeping with its own traditions and circumstances, will undoubtedly take the same road—not the long, painful and crisis-ridden road of capitalism but the road to socialism and communism.

WMR Commentaries

Lessons of the Stock Market Slump

THE stock-market slump which hit the leading capitalist countries at the end of May and beginning of June came as a shock to most bourgeois leaders. Now, however, they are trying to dismiss it as something inconsequential, averring that a "healthy shake-out" can but benefit the stock market and the economy generally and that the flurry will soon be over and things will again come back to normal.

There are scant grounds for this claim. In order seriously to assess what happened, the slump in stocks should be examined against the background of the state of capitalist economy as a whole. What sparked off the decline and what lessons does it offer?

Above all it should be noted that this was the biggest stock market panic since the early thirties. This explodes the myth that capitalism has undergone a "transformation" and that therefore there can be no repetition of the great 1929 crash. It also offers striking confirmation of the Marxist view that mature state-monopoly capitalism with its high degree of monopolization of credit, legislative regulation of stock market speculation, etc., while affecting the dynamics of the capitalist cycle, by no means ensures stability of the stock market or of the capitalist economy generally.

The ague spread out to the whole capitalist world. Not a single leading stock market, not to speak of minor exchanges, escaped the tremors. The Paris newspaper *Monde* described the events as a crisis and noted that even the Paris stock market, which usually reacts with considerable delay to world developments, this time gave up its "lone knight" position. In a word, the world cycle, at least in the sphere of credit, revealed a rather high degree of synchronization.

Spectacular though it was, the panic was by no means the most important manifestation of the general stock market decline. In most of the leading capitalist countries stocks began to fall in December, and to the end of May industrial quotations in New York fell 16 per cent, in London 11 per cent and on the West German markets 19 per cent. As distinct from 1961, when these trends emerged in the different countries at different times, they are now part of a single process affecting the entire capitalist world.

The tumble, understandably, began in the USA and from there spread to other capitalist

countries. For some years now the economy of the leading capitalist power has shown signs of ill health, and it was here that more explosive material had accumulated than anywhere else. It should be borne in mind that the USA has had four crises of overproduction since the war; moreover, the intervals between these crises have been steadily diminishing. The last of the four, during which industrial production declined by eight per cent, ended only in the spring of 1961. Subsequent events have shown that the recovery was far from complete. After exceeding the pre-crisis peak last summer, industrial production came to a virtual standstill, topping the previous maximum by only 3.4 per cent in the spring of this year. In other words, the usual cyclical upswing did not set in; instead there was only a short-lived revival which soon gave way to stagnation and now threatens to burgeon out into a new crisis. This is conceded by bourgeois writers. Walter Lippmann, for instance, says that "as things are going the stagnation which is overtaking the recovery will be followed by another recession." And Leon Keyserling holds that the USA is headed for an economic decline which will probably begin in 1963.

Protracted stock market slumps usually begin before industry is stricken by crisis. In fact, they are harbingers of production crises. This was the case not only in 1929 but more recently—on the eve of the economic crisis of 1957-1958. While drawing this parallel, it should be remembered that stock market crises never develop in a steadily ascending curve. Even the crisis of 1929-1930 took the form of a series of convulsions with lulls in between during which stock prices shot up. Hence any temporary halt in the decline can hardly be regarded as an indication that the capitalist body economic has been cured of its recurring fever.

But this is not all. There are other signs of the gathering storm in the USA. Unemployment, according to official data, is about 5.5 per cent of the total work force—more than is officially considered "normal." Under-employment of capacity in manufacturing runs to 17-20 per cent. A crisis has again gripped the iron and steel industry, which produced one-third less at the end of May than at the end of March; less than 55 per cent of steel capacity is in operation. Corporation investments not only have failed to reach the 1957 peak, but are 17 per cent less than expected last year.

Since spring, orders for machine tools have been dwindling. All this is an indication of a turn for the worse in business activity. The stock market fever was a reflection of these processes.

The USA no doubt was the epicentre of the stock-exchange upheaval but it would be a mistake to think that the repercussions in the West European and Asian markets were simply an echo of the American drama. In these countries too a multitude of danger signals have appeared. Last year the rate of growth of industrial production dropped sharply in nearly all West European countries. For months Federal German, Belgian and Dutch industry has been in a state of stagnation, while a considerable part of British industry has been in the throes of a crisis. The steel industry in the Common Market countries began curtailing output last autumn. For the first time since the Second World War "excess" production capacities have appeared everywhere.

The tide, then, is turning also in the capitalist world outside the USA. It is in this that the cause of the general fall in stock prices during recent months should be sought. The fact that "Black Monday" (May 28) in the USA was followed by a "Black Tuesday" in Western Europe and Japan is a measure of the instability of the overall economic situation. The gravity of this situation is evident also from the list of firms whose stock suffered the most. In Federal Germany, for instance, this list includes Volkswagenwerke, Daimler, AEG, Siemens, Hoechst (one of the successors to Farbenindustrie), Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank. These are the hard core of West German finance capital. That they were hit is in itself symptomatic.

One can also trace another link between the events in the USA and Western Europe. The Wall Street slump was aggravated by a sudden flight of foreign capital from the USA which cut not only into bank deposits but into funds invested in U.S. stock. The result was a new outflow of gold, a drop in the exchange rate of the dollar in relation to West European currencies and a deepening of the U.S. balance of payments crisis.

The market collapse has also had its repercussions on the U.S. political scene, at least as regards the rivalry of the two parties of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Nixon, and later Eisenhower, laid the stock market gyrations at the door of the Kennedy administration and declared that the alternative for the public, if it wishes to avoid a crisis, is to vote Republican in the congressional elections in November. The

Republicans, naturally, are trying to make political capital out of the present economic difficulties, even though these are part of the legacy of their own eight-year incumbency in Washington.

At the same time it is obvious that the policy of the Democrats now in the saddle has not helped to make the economy any sounder. Less than a year ago the Kennedy administration, using the "Berlin crisis" as a pretext, increased military appropriations by \$6,000 million. The intensified armaments drive, the government claimed, would lead to "unprecedented prosperity." Even in his January message to Congress Kennedy declared that the U.S. economy was rolling along the highroad of recovery and growth.

But, as can be seen, the big increase in military spending has not only failed to revitalize the economy, it has led to quite the contrary results. Implementation of a number of economic reforms promised during the election campaign has been put off indefinitely. The huge budget deficit has undermined confidence in the dollar. And the administration's empty promises caused a completely unjustified stock market boom which could not but lead to a crisis. This shows once again that militarization is not a reliable means for stimulating business activity.

The market crisis hit the small stockholders the hardest. For it is this category that rushes to convert their holdings into cash before the next blow descends. The monopolies and banks, on the contrary, buy up the depreciated stock, counting on re-selling when it recovers and thus lining their pockets at the expense of the "small fry" — primarily the small bourgeoisie and the so-called middle strata. This robbery in broad daylight clearly shows what "people's capitalism" is really worth.

For the workers, the overwhelming majority of whom own no shares, the stock market crises has a still more ominous significance, since it is obvious that new economic convulsions offer them nothing but unemployment, lower wages and privation. There is also a growing danger that the ruling circles may seek a way out of the economic difficulties by intensifying war preparations, the cold war and reaction at home. Therefore, for the working class the stock market reports are not only a "temperature chart" by which it can follow the chronic ills of capitalism, but a signal for still more active struggle for its vital everyday needs and political demands.

Michael STANLEY

What Is Behind the Taiwan "Shop-Window"

THE Western and especially the U.S. capitalist press delights in boosting Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan as an island of the blest, enjoying unprecedented "prosperity" thanks, of course, to American aid. It is described as the "show-window of democracy" in the East, and the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa are advised to follow its example. Mr. Harriman, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, has actually called it a symbol of what free men can achieve. According to him, Taiwan's achievements, an example to the world, refute the Communist view that the future belongs to communism.

This is all very bewildering, to say the least. For everybody knows that the United States, relying on the Chiang Kai-shek clique with its army of 600,000 equipped with U.S. weapons and sheltering behind the U.S. Seventh Fleet, has virtually seized Taiwan in defiance of international law and is using it as a military springboard, primarily against People's China. Moreover, the USA has made the island an object of colonial plunder.

The whole set-up on Taiwan has been geared to the aggressive plans of the U.S. colonialists. Two-thirds of the \$3,000 million U.S. "aid" extended to the puppet regime has been used for military purposes. Roy James, a high-ranking U.S. official in Taiwan, has estimated that in 1960 military expenditure there swallowed more than 80 per cent of the budget. Nowhere in the world is military spending as heavy as here, he said, pointing out that it is continuing to increase.

The economy of the island, largely dependent on the U.S. monopolies, is clearly of a colonial character. U.S. capital has penetrated into the key branches of industry, controlling and gradually taking over enterprises. The Chiang Kai-shek gang on its part aids and abets the U.S. capitalists in every way. American investors are granted three to five years tax exemption and permitted to export the profits squeezed out of the local population.

At the same time local businessmen find themselves in a hopeless impasse. The U.S. credits on which they are forced to fall back are not only issued on onerous terms, but can be used only to buy U.S. goods — at prices more than 50 per cent higher than world prices. Most of the local enterprises cannot even pay the exorbitant interest and either have to close shop or pass into the hands of U.S. monopolies. Last year 48 metallurgical and en-

gineering plants were closed because they could not withstand the pressure. The Taiwan Shipbuilding Company has been swallowed by the American Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation and the local electricity company has passed under the control of Westinghouse Electric. Under an agreement concluded in February between a local company and a U.S. oil company, 87.5 per cent of the oil extracted on the island goes to the latter.

The U.S. monopolists have established almost complete control over the main branches of industry, especially the electric power, engineering and cement industries. In electric power they own 74.4 per cent of the invested capital. Through the so-called Sino-American joint commission for rural reconstruction, they are also engaged in economic aggression in agriculture. By investing in the Taiwan Fertilizer Company in the guise of "aid," they have secured for themselves the monopoly in this sphere and have fixed fertilizer prices at double or treble the world prices.

This rapacious plunder of the island's resources has gravely worsened the economic situation. Last year's budget deficit ran to 2,200 million Taiwan yuans, while the foreign-trade balance was more than \$150 million in the red. Chiang Kai-shek's Economy Minister has admitted that the economic situation in the first quarter of this year was "worse than last year" and is bound "to deteriorate further in the future."

As if to confirm these gloomy predictions the Chiang Kai-shek government, on April 30, launched another offensive against the standard of living by decreeing additional levies "for defense." Taxes on a wide range of staple consumer items were increased by 20 to 50 per cent, and the electricity, telegraph and telephone charges and railway and bus fares were increased 30 per cent. This followed a 32-per cent increase in the agricultural tax earlier in the year. Even the Chiang Kai-shek press admits that these "defense" levies will extort from the population an additional 2,500,000 Taiwan yuans, raising the overall taxation 33 per cent above last year's level. At present taxes are nine times and the prices of consumer goods 12 times as high as ten years ago.

No wonder, then, that the working people of this "prosperous" island live in poverty. The number of unemployed exceeds two million — nearly one-fifth of the population. Three out of every four urban families barely manage to

make ends meet. In the countryside more than 60 per cent of the peasants suffer from semi-starvation. In Taipei, the capital, more than 100,000, or nearly 10 per cent of the population, and in Keelung, a seaport, one-eighth of the people live in abject poverty.

These facts come from the Taiwan press, which, needless to say, barely lifts the curtain on the real state of affairs, for to tell the truth in Taiwan means to invite the most ruthless persecution.

Such, then, is the true, if incomplete, picture behind the Taiwan "show-window."

Why then, in defiance of the facts, has U.S. propaganda declared the island a symbol of democracy, progress and prosperity?

Because the United States policy of severing Taiwan from the Chinese People's Republic is being increasingly condemned all over the world. Faced with this rising tide of public opinion the U.S. rulers are searching for ways and means of preserving and consolidating

their positions. This is the purpose of the "two-China" theory advanced to justify Taiwan as a separate sovereign state which—if this sleight of hand were to succeed — would of course be an "ally" of the United States. The myth of the "prosperous island" is also designed to bolster up this theory, to deceive world public opinion and create an impression that Taiwan is now an independent and prospering economic entity, the sovereign statehood of which lacks only international recognition.

But if we speak seriously of the Taiwan example, it could really be instructive for the Asian and African peoples who have broken away from colonial dependence and begun building a new life. These states can derive from it the valuable lesson that American imperialist "aid" to underdeveloped countries is far from disinterested. Its purpose is to restore colonial rule in a new form.

O. BROWN

40th Anniversary of the Japanese Communist Party

ON JULY 15 the Communist Party of Japan celebrates its fortieth anniversary.

Founded by Sen Katayama, Masanosuke Watanabe, Shiochi Inohara, Kyuichi Tokuda and other prominent leaders of the working-class movement, the Party was illegal until 1945 and functioned in conditions of savage repression and persecution. Many of its best sons fell in the struggle. But the Party continued courageously to expose the predatory schemes of the militarists and to fight for the vital interests of the working people.

In the postwar years the Japanese Party has headed the valiant struggle waged by the people against U.S. imperialism and Japanese

monopoly capital. The Party resolutely combats revisionism and dogmatism, upholding the purity of Marxist-Leninist teaching, the principles of proletarian internationalism and the unity of the international Communist movement.

During the past three years, the membership of the Party has more than doubled and now numbers over 100,000. Circulation of the *Akahata*, the central organ of the Party, has more than doubled.

In conformity with the new Program adopted at its Eighth Congress in July 1961, the Party is concentrating on uniting the people in the struggle for an independent, democratic Japan, for peace and social progress.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

The Common Market— an Instrument of the Monopolies

IN contrast to the capitalist apologists who are singing the praises of European "integration" and calling for a "grand Atlantic community" to counter the growing economic might of the socialist world system, the Communist and Workers' parties point to the consequences which the Common Market bodes for the national economies and the working people of the capitalist countries, as well as for peace and democracy. The fraternal parties stress that while the Common Market has accelerated the concentration of industry and capital, it has at the same time further aggravated the contradictions of imperialism.

"The international state-monopoly organizations springing up under the signpost of 'integration', and mitigation of the market problem," says the Program of the CPSU, "are in reality new forms of the redivision of the capitalist world market and are becoming centers of acute strain and conflict."

It would be wrong to ignore the fact that the Common Market has improved things for some industries in the member countries of the European Economic Community. But this has taken place at the cost of a serious weakening of the non-monopoly branches, intensified cartelization and a sharpening of the competitive struggle.

A joint statement issued by the *French Communist Party* and the *Communist Party of Belgium* says:

"The harmful consequences of the Little Europe policy linked with the European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market, consequences that were noted by our parties and the Communist parties of the other European countries concerned at a conference in Brussels three years ago, are becoming increasingly intolerable. It was against these that the working people of Borinage and Decazeville, supported by the entire population of these distressed areas, took up the cudgels.

"The working people of various categories, peasants and people beginning to non-monopoly circles can now see that the policy pursued by

the cosmopolitan trusts sacrifices the national interests, the right to work, the hard-won gains and the future of the generations to come for the profits of a handful of privileged groups and above all of the American and West German capitalists."

The Common Market menaces especially the smaller countries. The *Communist Party of Denmark*, for example, points out that all the agreements and ties with the Western countries enable the big powers to dictate to the small countries. "The Common Market," says a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Party, "endangers the right of our people to be the masters in our own house. The Rome Agreement opens the frontiers of our country and makes it possible for foreign finance capital to interfere in Denmark's industry and in social and trade union policy, and also grants it an unlimited right to purchase land, factories and mills."

The Common Market is a state-monopoly agreement between the finance oligarchies of Western Europe, an agreement that menaces the vital interests of all peoples and the cause of world peace, inasmuch as the imperialists are using it to strengthen NATO and to accelerate the armaments race.

"The Common Market," we read in a pamphlet issued by the *British Communist Party*, "is the economic and political arm of NATO; it perpetuates the division of Europe and is a further threat to peace. Membership of it would place still more burdens on the working people of this country. Food prices would rise, agriculture would suffer and attacks would be launched on our wages and living conditions."

Noting the political character of the Common Market, the Communist parties maintain that for the European neutral countries to join it would be a blow to their independent foreign policy. A communiqué issued by a meeting of the *Communist parties of Northern Europe* said:

"The participants in this meeting draw attention to the dangers emanating from the EEC political and trade bloc. This meeting is

unanimous that joining the reactionary Common Market by one or a number of the Northern countries would jeopardize the sovereignty and the right to national self-determination of these countries and, in addition, would cause untold damage to peaceful coexistence in the North.

A resolution adopted by a meeting of the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Austria*, held in December 1961, denounced the policy of the government aimed at joining the Common Market. "This policy," stated the resolution, "is fraught with grave dangers for the people. It is dangerous because in the first place any form of *anschluss* with the EEC would be an *anschluss* with a political organization which is one of the pillars of NATO and in which the leading role is played by the militarist and revenge-seeking West Germany. Secondly, because such an *anschluss* would imperil the economic independence of Austria and, thereby, the basis of its prosperity: West German monopoly capital would be enabled, to a much greater extent than hitherto, to interfere in the Austrian economy, while trade with the socialist countries would be greatly handicapped."

The Common Market, however, has another purpose — to perpetuate and consolidate the reactionary regimes in countries like Spain, Portugal and Greece.

Addressing a meeting of the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Spain*, Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Party, said, "for a large part of the oligarchy Spain's entry into the Common Market is seen as the sole means of avoiding a democratic revolution: the international monopolies will exploit our country's resources, and simultaneously the imperialist states will do all in their power to save the political power of the oligarchy against the democratic and revolutionary forces."

The Common Market is a colonialist combination. "The imperialists," said N. S. Khrushchov, "intend through the Common Market to flood the African countries with their manufactures with which, for obvious reasons, the emergent industries of the latter countries cannot compete. Moreover, the imperialist monopolies are striving to erect every kind of obstacle to the new, independent states in the matter of selling their agricultural products on the markets of Western Europe and America.

"Subordination of the new sovereign states of Africa to the Common Market would be tantamount to their agreeing to the role of being agrarian and raw-material appendages to the former metropolitan countries."

Exposing the reactionary content of the European Economic Community, the Communist parties advance positive programs for the development of the economy and trade in their countries. They urge among other things: an independent foreign policy, trade with all countries based on equality and mutual benefit, no exclusive economic and trade groupings, restriction and abolition of the monopoly rule, development of all branches of the national economy, unity of the working-class and trade union movement, and democratic changes in economic and socio-political life. A statement issued jointly by the *Communist parties of Italy and Belgium* said:

"Economic development in the Common Market is characterized by the ever-growing domination of the monopolies. Hence the sharpening of all the new antagonisms, and hence the growing tendency of the ruling capitalist groups to resolve these antagonisms by restricting the rights of the workers and the powers of the elective bodies

"This situation demands from the workers' movements in the respective countries a still more active and more effective struggle for better conditions, to safeguard the rights of the working people and seek their extension, for democracy in economic and political life, for structural reforms and, in particular, for a democratic nationalization with a view to restricting and afterwards abolishing the power of the monopolies.

"The working-class movement will be able to cope with these tasks only if it secures greater unity between the working people and the different organizations—Communist, Socialist and Christian — both in each country and internationally, within the framework of the Six. Any success in building the unity of the working class, particularly on the scale of Little Europe, would be an important step forward. Moreover, if the working class combats the monopolies with its ranks closed, there will be greater opportunity to conclude alliances with all sections of the population whose interests are at variance with those of the monopolies."

The working people, the middle sections and the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie are responding with understanding to the clear and firm attitude adopted by the Communist parties in relation to the Common Market and the problems posed by it. And this is the guarantee that in the final analysis the progressive forces will triumph.

The French Communist Party and the Middle Strata

WORK OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

THE French countryside is in a state of unrest. Beginning with the summer of 1961 France was swept by a series of peasant actions, particularly in Brittany, in the central districts and in the south. Beginning in Brittany, following the drastic decline in demand and the low prices for potatoes, the peasant actions continued to flare up in different parts of the country.

These actions were marked by novel features. In most cases the movement was directed against the government which is responsible for the plight of the peasants. Many demonstrations were held outside the prefectures, i.e., the offices of the representatives of the government. In some places pitched battles were fought with the police. In others, the peasants booed the trade union leaders who had betrayed their interests.

This was above all a striking demonstration of the growing alliance between the working class and the peasantry, expressed not only in joint declarations and appeals, but also—and this is both new and important—in joint demonstrations and rallies in many departments.

In an effort to check the struggle and confuse the peasants, the government announced measures which were described as "unprecedented aid to agriculture." On closer scrutiny, however, this aid turned out to be largely bluff. The big grain producers are essentially the only ones who gain by it. The family farms have received no help to speak of, apart from an increase in family allowances and old age pensions and a slight improvement in the system of sick benefits.

This, of course, cannot satisfy the peasant masses; the paltry concessions will not halt the decline in the living standard of the peasantry. Hence sooner or later the protest movement is bound to burst forth again and this time on a larger scale.

The Monopoly Offensive

We are entering a period when the disastrous consequences of de Gaulle's policy are making themselves more and more strongly felt.

With the key positions in the state concentrated in the hands of the big finance and industrial tycoons and with the entire system of

government falling more and more under their control, the new redistribution of the national income has multiplied the profits of the big capitalist monopolies and worsened the position of the working people of town and country.

The big industrialists and the capitalist companies are prospering. The big landowners, though in a less privileged position than the bankers and manufacturers, continue to enjoy the support of the Gaullist government. As for the working peasants, their conditions are becoming worse owing to the aggravation of the existing hardships: rising taxes, abolition of price controls for agricultural produce, the higher tax on fertilizers, reduction in credits for purchase of machinery by individuals and groups, and the higher prices paid for manufactures.

Moreover, a number of laws have been passed with the overt or covert purpose of increasing pressure on the small peasants in order to speed the process of their ruination in the interests of the big farmers.

Government measures aimed at squeezing out the small peasants serve the interests of the bankers and big manufacturers primarily, for the ruined peasantry will be a source of cheap labor power which will enable them to multiply their profits and at the same time to put up a stronger resistance to working-class demands. This proves once again that the vital interests of the working class and the peasantry are fundamentally the same and that they must join forces to fight the common enemy—the capitalist monopolies and their mouthpiece, the Gaullist regime.

Speaking of the common interests of the workers of town and countryside, it should be emphasized that the decline in the purchasing power of the working class leads to a reduction in food consumption which means a substantial shrinkage of the market for agricultural produce. Added to this is the fact that the domestic production of some items is declining more and more, as Common Market imports flood the country.

It is the duty of Communists to expose bourgeois propaganda and the false solution recommended by the bourgeoisie, its agents and its government, and to oppose to them our own program for the defense of the peasantry.

The Communist Party Defends the Interests of the Peasantry

While it is true that the peasant question can be finally solved in the interests of the peasantry and the entire people only under socialism, this does not mean that the solution of all the vital problems agitating the peasants today can be postponed until socialism is won. To fight now for the urgent needs of the tillers of the soil, to uphold their economic and social demands is one of the most important tasks confronting the Party.

We unreservedly support the demands of the agricultural workers and semi-proletarians of the countryside and defend their interests against the employers. At the same time we defend also the demands of the peasantry, whether small farmers, tenant farmers or sharecroppers, inasmuch as their fundamental interests, both present and future, coincide with those of the working class.

As regards the middle peasants (i.e., those who do not belong to the category of big landowners but who hire labor and seek to enrich themselves), we support those demands which do not clash with the interests of the working class.

And, finally, we adopt an uncompromising position with regard to the big landowners who exploit large numbers of farm laborers, and having seized the leading positions in some agricultural organizations, are deluding the small peasants.

This attitude is in line with the Party's program for restoring and regenerating democracy which calls for united action by all non-monopoly sections of society (workers, poor and middle peasants, intellectuals and urban middle classes). "All these forces," states the resolution of the Sixteenth Party Congress, "are capable of reviving and revitalizing democracy if they merge their efforts in one mighty democratic stream, if they rally their forces and act together under clearly formulated slogans."

The struggle for economic demands is the link that can rally the masses to a struggle of mounting scope and significance, a struggle that will include actions for peace, for democracy and for socialism.

It is precisely in a struggle of this kind that the peasant masses most quickly acquire experience; it is an excellent school, opening their eyes to the need for closer alliance with the working class.

Joint actions by workers and peasants for their urgent demands, actions in which they gain one or another point and sometimes several points at once, prepare the masses for the

broad unity of all democratic and national forces that will put an end to the power of the monopolies.

In the struggle against the de Gaulle regime we endeavor to win the peasants over to the side of the working class. It must be stressed, however, that we give our support first and foremost to the working peasants—the farm laborers, semi-proletarians and small peasants.

Some people—leaders of the United Socialist Party, for example—maintain that we are not right in upholding the interests of the small peasants. "Can't you see," they argue, "that they do not have enough land, that their miserable farms are incapable of feeding them and that they are doomed to disappear?"

Many peasants do indeed have little land, lead a beggarly existence and are in danger of losing out. But if the capitalist system has allowed the big landowners to grab the best land and to crush the small peasant in merciless competition (between 1929 and 1956 the number of small peasant farms dropped by 800,000), this by no means implies that the solution of the question consists in hastening and facilitating the swallowing up of the small farms by the big ones. Those who insist on enlarging the holdings in order to make them more "viable" and "profitable" see only one aspect of the question. Large-scale agriculture has, of course, advantages over small-scale farming. It can make more extensive and efficient use of modern techniques and thereby ensure higher productivity. But the capitalist way of extending agriculture spells poverty and ruin for the small and middle peasants.

That is why our Party proposes measures that are diametrically opposed to those advanced by the government and political spokesmen who support it.

"We, Communists," said Waldeck Rochet at the Sixteenth Party Congress, "say that the correct solution lies not in taking the land away from the small peasants and handing it over to the big landowners, but on the contrary, in transferring, through the medium of agrarian reform, the land belonging to the exploiters and the big land proprietors to the peasants who have little or no land."

To protect the interests of the small peasants is the main line of our Party's policy and it fully accords with the interests of the working peasantry and the working class. As an initial measure, we propose that the small peasants be given priority rights in the matter of leasing and purchasing free land, that they be granted long-term loans at low interest rates for this purpose, and also exempted from the

payment of the tax on the transfer of deeds to the land. Moreover, the big proprietors should be deprived of their privileges (credits, the right to buy fuel at cost price, rebates on the purchase of agricultural implements, etc.)*

The solutions we propose under capitalist conditions fully accord with the agrarian program of the Party which provides for the land being turned over to those who till it.

Naturally, our program of defending the vital interests of the peasants cannot remain static and unchangeable; it must take into account the factors of time and place, the most urgent needs of the tillers and specific local conditions.

Urgent Tasks of the Party

Speaking of the middle sections and, consequently, of the peasantry, Maurice Thorez emphasized the importance of the Party's work in the countryside in these words: "The question of who will finally be able to win them over—the proletariat or big monopoly capital—is one of the most urgent issues of the moment, one that will not lose its significance in the future."

The Communist Party is improving its educational work among the rural population, unmasking the enemies of the peasantry and explaining the Party's program and the solutions it is offering.

The scope of this work depends, and will continue to depend, on the available means and possibilities, and these vary considerably in different departments. Where in one department mass meetings of peasants are the rule, in another, small meetings in the villages are more suitable.

We attach especial importance to the circulation of the *Humanité* as well as the local publications and *La Terre*, the newspaper put out for the countryside. One of the biggest rural newspapers in France, *La Terre* is the most effective means of winning over to our side not only peasants but the rest of the rural population as well.

Many peasants take little part in political life and form their judgement of our Party solely on the basis of what the landowner, the priest, the reactionary press or the government radio tell them. Hence, if we are to attract the peasant to the side of the working class, it is essential first and foremost to acquaint him with the policy of the Party, its program and its tasks.

Communist activity in defense of the peasants is conducted simultaneously along two lines: on

the one hand, the peasant members of the Party actively participate in the work of the various agricultural organizations, and on the other, the Party organizations as a whole draw up a program of defense of the peasants' interests and fight for its implementation.

And if it is true that we are winning the peasants on the basis of our main program in the course of the fight for peace, democracy and socialism, this is largely due to the day-to-day activity in defense of the major and minor demands carried on by the Communist Party, its press, its members who hold elected posts—deputies and senators—and by rank-and-file members.

But the work of the Party as a whole does not of course obviate the need for Communist peasants to take an active part in the farmers' organizations. Activity in these organizations is a means of establishing close contact with the peasant masses of all political views—not in order to align themselves with the reactionary leaders, but to do everything possible, even where the Communists are in the minority, to steer their activity in the right direction. In these circumstances, bearing in mind the specific character of the organization, the Communists, while firmly adhering to their principles, should take care to speak to the members in a language they can understand, avoiding sectarian slogans that are liable to antagonize them. In other words, they must take into account the alignment of forces and their own possibilities, they must be realistic, tactful, possess a sense of proportion and never forget that they are dealing with peasants and not with the working class.

The National Federation of Agricultural Workers is led on a national scale and in most departments by big agrarians and by those small proprietors who do their bidding. As a counterweight to this organization, the Movement for the Coordination and Defense of Family Farms was set up.

The Communist peasants work either in the National Federation or in the Coordination Movement, or in both, seeking the best opportunities for drawing the working peasantry into the struggle against the policy of the government and freeing them from the influence of the big agrarians and reactionary politicians. The program of action drawn up by the local peasant Communists in each department takes account of the structure of the rural economy, the influence of the existing organizations, the attitude of their leaders and their policy, the correlation of political forces and the numerical strength of the Communist Party.

*For a detailed exposition of the program of the French Communist Party with regard to the peasantry see article by W. Rochet in WMR, No. 11, 1960.

Lastly, there are Communists working in some farm associations (for example, corn growers, milk and tobacco producers), in organizations of farmers and sharecroppers and especially in cooperatives uniting the winegrowers, as well as in agricultural machinery pools.

Accent on the Farm Laborers

In departments where the big farms employing wage labor predominate, the Party concentrates its main attention on the farm laborers. It must be said, however, that with the exception of a few positive examples relating primarily to the winegrowing areas in the south, our work in this sphere has been patently inadequate. This partly explains why there are no trade unions for agricultural workers in many departments or why those that did exist have wound up their activities. And even our success in political work cannot compensate for this deficiency, for our failure to help the agricultural workers to organize. Of course this is not an easy task, but it is imperative to remedy the situation.

The Party attaches importance to work among the youth, particularly to helping the young people to build up the organizations of the League of Rural Youth.

We are also trying to render more assistance to organizations uniting peasant women, and above all, to interest them in political life.

Strengthen the Party Organizations

If these tasks are to be successfully carried out it is necessary to work constantly to strengthen the Party, to increase its membership and to create new primary organizations in the rural areas, for even in many villages where

the Communist Party enjoys considerable influence we have as yet no branches.

With the growth of Party membership and the opening of new branches, the Party has charged the district and department committees with the task of rendering greater help to the primary organizations in the countryside, and not only once a year on the occasion of registering membership cards, but regularly. The primary organization can cope successfully with its tasks if it holds regular meetings with a well prepared agenda, if it organizes fruitful discussions of problems and works out practical measures for implementing Party policy.

It is this type of work that will help to develop the cadres which we often and unjustly claim to be short of. After all, cadres do not appear overnight, they grow up in those Party organizations where active work is conducted.

To give new impetus to Party work in the countryside, seminars are being organized on this question in many departments (seminars of this kind were conducted on a national scale in the autumn of 1961). These study circles, which as a rule are attended by members of federation committees, representatives of district committees and village branches, are the occasion for a thorough discussion of the Party's work in the village. They serve not only to raise the political level of the participants but also to activate, and sometimes even to initiate, work among the peasants. From the exchange of opinions and experience there emerges a unity of views and ideas which influences every member to contribute his share to the fulfilment of the tasks in hand.

Fernand CLAUD

POSITION OF THE ARTISANS AND SHOPKEEPERS AND THE POLICY OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

OUR Party has advanced a dual slogan calling for both a united front of the working class and an alliance of the working class and the middle sections.

The middle sections—peasants, artisans, small shopkeepers and others—comprise a substantial section of the population of France. In Paris, for instance, small shopkeepers and artisans make up about one-tenth of the labor force. It is obvious, therefore, that they cannot be disregarded. These sections are being attacked by the monopolies, by the government and by bourgeois economists. And our Party cannot ignore the fact that the monopolies have mounted an offensive against the sector of economy in which these strata are engaged.

Capitalist Concentration and the Monopoly Offensive

According to the data of the Ministry of Finance, some 200,000 handicraft enterprises have gone out of business in the past ten years. The process has not taken the same course everywhere. In production, the handicraft workshops are being rapidly ousted by factory production, while in the service industries they are being replaced by the big service enterprises. In some branches — plastics, for example — handicraft production has risen somewhat, but this is a temporary phenomenon.

The growing dependence of the small producers on the big manufacturers who are their virtual employers, the diminutive scale of handi-

craft production which precludes the introduction of modern technological improvements—are factors hastening the disappearance of the handicraftsmen who are forced either to combine or to sell out.

The process of concentration is proceeding at an accelerated pace in France. The share of monopoly trade throughout the country increased from 4.5 per cent in 1950 to 10.5 per cent in 1959, and up to 14.5 per cent in 1961. Nevertheless the monopolies consider the share of private non-monopoly trade in the trade turnover still too high (85.5 per cent). They have before them the example of the United States where the supermarkets account for as much as 65 per cent of the entire turnover in food products.

Since 1959 when it became clear that the government was determined to eliminate two-fifths of the network of small shops, the process of concentration has gained considerable pace.

Contrary to the claims of the monopolies and their government, the concentration has nothing to do with "regeneration"; it is undertaken solely in the interests of the expanding monopolies which prefer to invest in trade, where they are assured of high profits in view of the growing unreliability of colonial investments and the difficulties involved in extracting profits from some branches of industry. All in all, the big firms are at present enjoying a boom.

Not so the small and middle enterprises which function independently of the big companies. According to published data, up to 70 per cent of the enterprises in some branches—for example, food stores, restaurants, hotels, dealers in beverages of all kinds, etc., have gone bankrupt, while the number of those newly-opened has not exceeded 60 per cent. This is due to the exceptionally difficult circumstances in which these enterprises are placed.

In the cities the monopoly offensive takes the form of a growing network of department stores owned by the big chain store trusts.

The new developments in retail trade are typified by the supermarkets which are being opened in busy neighborhoods and in the new residential areas. The government plan for the "renovation" of Paris provides for shopping centers where all the catering establishments including restaurants will be concentrated. This threatens to squeeze out the private non-monopoly trade completely.

A feature of the monopoly offensive is its cosmopolitan character. For example, a new company, the Société Française de Supermarché, is being set up with the participation of the Mammeuth Lee Corporation, an American

concern. One of the biggest and "most dynamic" U.S. trusts, the Grand Union, with its numerous branches, is about to open 22 supermarkets in the Paris area. Moreover, the Common Market will make it possible to conclude some highly profitable financial transactions along these lines.

With the advent to power of de Gaulle—in itself a victory for monopoly capital—state interference in the economy with the object of accelerating the concentration of handicraft production and small private trade was intensified.

Of particular interest in this connection is the Rueff-Armand plan with its measures designed to facilitate concentration in trade—abolition of the taxation of commercial firms according to the number of branch stores (the equivalent of a gift from the state to the chain store companies); virtual reduction of the turnover tax, simplification of bankruptcy proceedings, etc.

But the most significant aspect of the Rueff-Armand plan is its encroachment on the rights of the small businessman—his right to sell his business, premises, equipment, etc.—an attack on the economic foundation of the small independent businessman.

Measures designed to increase the taxes paid by small shopkeepers are also contemplated. De Gaulle's recent Fourth Plan envisages the elimination, through these measures, of some 50,000 independent shopkeepers between 1962 and 1965, and makes no secret of the fact that "the concentration" will lead to a "general expansion of the enterprises," in other words to expansion of monopoly trade.

The Apologists of Neo-Capitalism and Their Arguments

Reorganization of the system of distribution is a favorite slogan of the reformers of capitalism, particularly of the Socialist Party leaders.

What arguments are adduced in support of this? They admit that wages lag behind productivity. What is the trouble? The evil, it appears, lies primarily in the "structure" of the system of distribution. It is not the capitalists, not the monopolies who are to blame for the high cost of living, but the shopkeeper. Hence it is not production but distribution that must be changed.

What would be the outcome of a reform of the distributive system? Would it return part of the surplus value to the working class? Nothing of the kind. It would merely return to the monopolies that part of the surplus value which they expend in marketing their merchandise!

And this explains why the monopolies are attacking small traders.

Capitalism suffers from a congenital disease: it does not produce in order to satisfy the needs of the population but in order to derive maximum profit. Hence the prices established by the monopolies are not the lowest, as the social reformists claim, but the highest! Of course, thanks to the division of labor, the vast scope of trade and the rapid turnover of capital, the department stores can sell at lower prices. Their prices are sometimes lower than the wholesale prices. But this is true only of the initial stage, immediately after the store opens, and is designed to beat competitors. When the competitors disappear, prices go up until they are higher than those charged yesterday by the small shopkeeper.

The Right Social Democratic leaders are defending an absurd position when they separate problems of distribution from problems of production.

The Policy of the Communist Party

Retail trade in a country like ours, especially in the cities, presents a complex picture. One can say that, influenced by the customers, the shopowners in the more affluent districts think differently from those in working-class areas. But even in a working-class district the shopowners employing four or five assistants form a stratum of businessmen whose outlook is quite different from that of the small shopkeeper who runs the shop himself.

Hence Communist activity cannot follow the one simple pattern: the department stores on the one hand and the small independent shops on the other. Things are more complicated than that, and we have to reckon with them if we want to draw the middle sections into the fight for the fundamental interests of the working people. This is not an easy task by any means.

Anti-communism, particularly when in league with the Poujade movement, has often misled and held back the broad actions engendered by the dissatisfaction among the small producers and shopkeepers. It is here among the elements who are faced with the alternative of surviving or disappearing as a class that a favorable soil for fascist propaganda still exists. But here, too, change is at work. The worsening position of the working class is obvious to the shopkeeper. The latter is forced to pay more and bigger taxes, so that he is less likely nowadays to make disparaging remarks about the workers' demands for higher wages. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly common for shopkeepers to join in demonstrations or to close shop in

protest against lockouts in factories and mines, and in solidarity with strikers.

It is very important for us Communists to reach these sections in order to reply to the attacks of our enemies and to expose those who pose as the defenders of the shopkeepers and small producers. The position of our Party on this question is clear: we believe that it is essential "to respect property that is the fruit of a man's labor and thrift," as Comrade Maurice Thorez has expressed it. The Communists have nothing against the small shopkeeper or artisan. On the contrary, we are prepared to help them to repel the attacks of the monopolies. And we shall never agree with the leaders of the Socialist Party and the United Socialist Party who argue that by protecting the small shopkeeper we are defending an obsolete social form.

True, these sections of the small bourgeoisie often fight for the sake of their past and under slogans which we cannot support. Some of their proposals, for example, if carried out, would strike a blow at such an important working-class gain as social security. On the other hand, we are ready to support, and we do actively support, the just demands of the middle sections — sometimes even advancing these demands to the forefront—and defend their interests when those interests coincide with the interests of the working class. We have the possibility first and foremost of winning over the small shopkeepers and artisans in the proletarian districts. For this we must go to them and talk to them, find out what they think and answer their questions, explain our program to them and the solutions we have to offer. As for their property, our Party calls for its protection.

Realization of the program adopted by the Sixteenth Congress of the Party, which provides among other things for restoring and regenerating democracy, will help to ensure a just and democratic reform of the system of taxation.

To this should be added other demands advanced by the Party, for example, the demand for regulating the cost of leasing business premises; a special system of social security for artisans and small shopkeepers; long-term credits, and a democratic Chamber of Crafts.

One way of protecting the common interests would be to set up committees of shopkeepers, artisans and tenants. Defense of common interests, however, should be conducted on the political plane as well. Recent developments have shown that it is possible to win the support of large numbers of people from these sections on such questions as the fight for peace in Al-

geria, against fascism and the OAS, and for general and complete disarmament. This is evidenced among other things by their participation in the work of the peace, anti-fascist and secular school committees.

The struggle of our Party in defense of the middle sections is not an episodic struggle; there are no differences in principle between the interests of these sections and those of the working class, because the question of the middle sections in a socialist society can be settled not by an antagonistic struggle but through alliance. The experience of some of the people's democracies, the German Democratic Republic, for example, where the middle sections have been drawn into participation in the National Front, with the working class and its party retaining the leading role, is of particular interest in this connection. We always cite this example when these questions come up in talks with shopkeepers and artisans. At the same time, we invariably emphasize that at the present moment in France it is not a question of "personal power or socialism" but of "personal power or the restoration and regeneration of democracy." The objective we are striving for is democratic, namely, to restrict and subsequently end the economic and political domination exercised by the monopolies. This objective can be achieved only through an alliance between the middle sections and the working class on the basis of their common interests.

The Party insists that the Communists among the shopkeepers and small producers should work in their professional associations, even if the latter are reactionary, striving to find a common ground and not to aggravate the differences. The present moment is extremely favorable for this kind of work: the pressure of the monopolies on the shopkeepers is more painful than ever, and they are looking for ways to safeguard their interests. Here and there they have organized cooperative buying associations which are an effective protection against the big wholesalers.

Our Party gives its members among the shopkeepers and artisans every encouragement in their work, it organizes as many small meetings as possible at the place of work, and sees to it that Communist members of the town councils uphold the interests of the various categories of shopkeepers and artisans. And it is precisely through this kind of intervention on behalf of the middle sections that we shall be able to win their confidence more and more. In order better to organize the work of the shopkeepers and artisans who are Party members, the Party publishes a special quarterly bulletin, and holds seminars for them. The Party press constantly deals with problems of interest to the middle sections.

The alliance of the working class with the middle sections — the cardinal condition for restoring and regenerating democracy — is a vital task for all Communists.

Pierre NERON

Communist Party of Venezuela Combats Onslaught of Reaction

PERSECUTION of the democratic parties—the Communist Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement — has been intensified in Venezuela. Ignoring a decision by the Congress, the government has issued a decree banning the two parties. Wholesale arrests of Communists and other progressives have been made throughout the country.

The struggle against the reactionaries is growing. A majority in Betancourt's own party — the Democratic Action — is now opposed to the government. The Democratic Action, the Republican Democratic Union, the Left Revolutionary Movement and the Communist Party have called for the resignation of the government.

Recent months have witnessed two major mutinies in the army: a rising of marines in Carupano and of the garrison in Puerto Cabello. Partisan units are formed in the villages, and self-defense groups in the towns, to counter the violence and lawlessness of the reactionaries.

At the end of May, elections in the student organizations took place in the central University which has a student body of 17,000; government supporters stood against the Left candidates. And despite the persecution and victimization, the Left secured a majority of 1,500. Similar victories were won in the University in Mérida and in the lycées all over the country. This means that the Left have a majority

among students and lycée pupils, who number some 200,000.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party recently issued a call to the people in which it exposes the reactionary intrigues of the Betancourt government.

The Constitution stipulates, the call states, that the government shall be a democratic government and shall respect the law. In fact, however, this is an arbitrary and despotic government. Even at a time when the Constitutional guarantees are in force, the police raids and plunders thousands of homes and arrests thousands of people — men, women and even children. It is torturing political prisoners, killing people by the hundred, closing down the opposition newspapers, seizing and destroying the print-shops of the political opponents of the regime.

The lawlessness and violence of the government have resulted in "the emergence of a new element in Venezuela — the armed answer of the people . . .

"The armed gangs of government supporters and the governmental forces of coercion began their operations long before October-November 1960* . . . This called for self-defense, the units of which first appeared in the cities and subsequently spread to the villages in the form of partisan groups."

As for the charges of terrorism levelled at the Party, the Political Bureau states: "We declare once again that we are not terrorists. We are revolutionaries, and we denounce individual

*When the people protested against the policy of the Betancourt government the struggle was crushed by armed force.

terror. But we also say that we approve the armed self-defense of the people. We call on the people to arm and to protect themselves against attacks. Once again we call on patriots in the armed forces who do not want these forces to become forces of coercion, not to shoot at the people but to side with them, to demand that the Constitution be observed and democratic liberties respected."

"Whether or not there is a decree prohibiting the Communist Party," the call continues, "the Party will carry on its revolutionary work with the emphasis on organizing the mass struggle: legal or illegal, peaceful or non-peaceful. It will continue to popularize its democratic and patriotic program which, on many points, coincides with the demands contained in the program of the entire opposition. It will concentrate on forming self-defense groups in town and countryside, organize and rally the workers, peasants, the youth, women and professional workers. It will continue to summon the progressives among the national bourgeoisie and the armed forces to join in the struggle against the present government of national betrayal, for the formation of a patriotic and democratic government."

In face of the common danger, the appeal concludes, it is essential to overcome the differences in the opposition movement and to consolidate its unity. "The military and civilian, the revolutionary and democratic opposition form a single patriotic bloc united by the common goal — that of restoring in our country the democratic norms of life and putting an end to the crimes perpetrated by the Betancourt-Briceno government."

National Conference of the Irish Worker's Party

THE Fourth National Conference of the Irish Workers' League was held in Dublin in March at a critical moment in the affairs of the Irish people. The Irish Government has applied for full membership of the EEC. The two main bourgeois parties—Fianna Fail and Fine Gael—are united on surrendering the political and economic independence of Ireland to the Common Market; the Labor Party, while expressing misgivings about possible involvement in military alliances and the inevitable increase in unemployment which must result from membership of the EEC still does not oppose Ireland joining. Membership of the Common Market will see the final abandonment of the traditional Irish policy of neutrality and non-alignment, and a military tie-up with the imperialist

NATO powers, which, far from solving the national question, can only serve to tighten the grip of imperialism on both parts of the country.

The Political Resolution adopted by the Conference declares: "The Irish Workers' League sets itself the task of forging a movement which will include all the forces which suffer from the imperialist policies which are being forced on the country through those sections which see their interests as being tied up with imperialism." In his report to the Conference, Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the IWL, outlined an immediate program which must be put before the people as a positive alternative to Ireland's entry into the EEC, a program which can unite the entire labor move-

ment, the Republicans, farmers and small and medium businessmen. The immediate demands include the development of the economy through more state industries, increased trade with the socialist and newly-independent countries, higher wages and a 40-hour week, and the keeping out of military alliances.

The key to the development of a progressive movement in Ireland is the organized working class. The workers have shown militancy and solidarity in the recent wage struggles, but "there has yet to emerge a Labor Party with deep roots and support among the working people of town and country, guided by a militant socialist policy in the tradition of Larkin and Connolly. The Irish Workers' League and all progressive forces in the working-class movement have the responsibility to work for this necessary political development; without it, the two capitalist parties will continue to have the bigger influence among the mass of the people." First and foremost a sharp struggle must be waged against all ideas of class collaboration which have deep roots throughout the labor movement.

The issue of the Common Market has only served to pose with greater urgency the more long-standing problem facing the Irish people: how to achieve the unity of the country and end the chronic unemployment and emigration which have been a permanent feature of both parts of Ireland since the country was divided by British imperialism forty years ago. The way forward is charted in the Draft Program of the IWL which was unanimously adopted by the Conference, and was presented as a program to be fought for by the entire working-class movement.

The Draft Program is put forward with the conviction that "the successes of the socialist countries and the achievement of independence by many former colonies have weakened imperialism to such an extent that Ireland is now in a much more favorable position than she was 40 years ago to build an independent economy which could provide secure jobs and a bright future for all her people."

Our long-term perspective is that of a socialist, united Ireland. But our Draft Program takes into account the fact that the country is at the moment divided, and "the division of the country represents one of the issues which the movement for independence, under capitalist leadership, could not solve." There is, however, no division of interests between the workers North and South, as their membership of the same trade union movement shows. "This com-

munity of interests extends to the majority of the people. It is on the basis of this unity of interests that the unity of the country can be won . . . on the basis of a coming together of movements for progress in North and South."

As a first step towards uniting Ireland the Draft Program proposes the strengthening of the economy of the 26 Counties and of its political independence. The interests of the national bourgeoisie clash more and more with the interests of the majority of the people, the workers, small farmers, intellectuals and small businessmen, so that "only a force representing the interests of this majority, led by the most highly organized and dynamic class, the working class, can carry through the radical measures necessary to end Ireland's position as a backward country." For the working class to assume the leadership of such a force it must have the perspective of socialism, which can only be given by a working-class party, based on Marxism-Leninism. Such a party is the IWL, whose aim is "to unite the entire labor movement behind a socialist program."

The Draft Program raises the perspective of a progressive government in the 26 Counties, and outlines a minimum program for such a government, which would result in an independent, developed economy. The IWL "represents the nucleus of the leading working-class party in a progressive government" which would implement such a program and lay the basis for a united, socialist Ireland.

The production of the Draft Program of the IWL is a major contribution to the Irish labor movement, and an indication of the degree of political experience and maturity gained by the IWL. It marks an important stage in our organizational development, as is indicated by the unanimous decision of the Conference to change the name of the organization to the Irish Workers' Party. In the period ahead, our major task is to win the widest support for our program and a rapid and significant increase in our Party membership, particularly among industrial workers. Here a vital role will be played by our monthly newspaper, the *Irish Socialist* which celebrated its first birthday on May Day.

The Irish Workers' Party will cement and extend its link with the masses. It will continue to champion the vital interests of the working people, to fight unremittingly for the unity and independence of the country, for the extension and solidarity of its ranks and for the unity of the international Communist movement.

George JEFFARES

The Program of Struggle of the Communists of Tunisia

AT ITS Seventh Congress held last March, the Tunisian Communist Party made a thorough analysis of the home and international situation of the country and defined the aims and tasks of the Communists in the struggle to further the independence of the country, to build up a national economy, and also for revolutionary changes in public life and for socialism.

The resolution adopted at the Congress assessed the Party's policy since the previous Congress (December 1957). "While resisting the selfish interests of the privileged sections," it says, "the Communist Party has sought every opportunity to build up a truly national alliance of the patriotic classes, including the national bourgeoisie, for persistent anti-imperialist struggle and for carrying forward the independence in the direction of democracy and progress."

In its political activity, the Party has "supported and continues to support all actions of the government directed against imperialism or aimed at consolidating the gains won by the people; at the same time it has exposed and resisted anti-democratic and reactionary actions, all that hinders the growth of national independence or endangers it."

The reactionaries are doing everything to hinder the work of the Communist Party. The resolution points out that the Party's legal status is a sheer formality. Contacts between the leadership and the lower organizations, and between the organizations in the different regions, are under police surveillance. Party meetings are prohibited. Members are persecuted by the police, while activists are banned from the lists of candidates in the elections of trade union bodies. In some places Communists have even been put on trial.

The efforts to isolate the Communist Party have failed. It has extensive contacts with the workers, trade unionists, members of the National Students' Union and with intellectuals. Despite the difficulties encountered in the work in the countryside, the Party members are making good progress in carrying out the policy of the Party with regard to the peasants and in fighting for land reform.

"Today," the resolution goes, "the working people in town and countryside have become more experienced. And new opportunities have opened up to our Party for activating and extending its organizational work among the

workers, peasants and students. The question now is to have greater confidence in the masses, to improve the Party organizationally and raise it to the level of its political purport. The job is to turn the Party into a mass party . . .

"The people of Tunisia are confronted with the question: what road to take in order to consolidate independence, extend democracy, develop the country's economy and raise the material and cultural standards of society as speedily as possible . . . The capitalist road it cannot be . . . Socialist ideas are spreading among the masses, and even the Neo-Destour leaders now pay lip service to socialism . . ."

The bourgeois parties, however, have no real program for socialism.

"The Tunisian Communist Party," the resolution stresses, "a party which expresses the interests of the working class and the peasant masses, the supreme interests of the nation, is fighting for socialism which is its main aim . . . It applies the universal principles of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of its country, and profits from the experience of the Soviet Union and other countries of Europe and Asia (China, for example) which are successfully building socialism. But our Party is confident that our people, like all other peoples, will advance towards socialism in their own way . . . The experience of the countries which have built or are in the process of building socialism shows that no matter how varied the forms, the content of socialism and the conditions of achieving it in all countries follow general laws."

"In all cases the building of socialism necessitates the revolutionary reconstruction of society, peaceful or non-peaceful, depending on the specific conditions of the given moment."

Since gaining independence the content of the state has been determined by the national bourgeoisie, and what was done was infinitely more progressive compared with the colonial and semi-feudal content of the state of the time of Protectorate. "Today the need is to impart to the Tunisian state a still more advanced democratic and social content."

The resolution calls for extending democracy, developing an independent national economy, and fighting against the domination of foreign monopolies and new forms of colonialism.

Economic advance presupposes such urgent measures as a radical agrarian reform, indus-

trialization by way of expanding the state sector, nationalization of foreign trade and of wholesale trade, training national specialists, an independent foreign policy, and solidarity of the peoples of North Africa. These tasks, says the Party, can best be solved under the conditions of a national-democratic state, as is pointed out in the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties.

The resolution points out that in order to realize the aims, it is necessary to:

- further strengthen the Communist Party;
- infuse new blood into the trade union movement;
- secure a growing role for the poor peasantry;
- develop the progressive trends;
- work for genuine national unity.

"The forces interested in achieving the aims set by the Communist Party will be able to do so depending on their measure of unity, on how they are agreed in their actions to shape the destinies of the country, and on their political activity . . .

"Hence the Communist Party holds that it is its duty tirelessly to carry out organizational work among the working class and the poor peasantry, to head their struggle and extend their alliance as a basis for the unity of all the national democratic forces, of all those who, regardless of their class and party affiliation, would like to see a free Tunisia advance along the path of democracy and progress."

The resolution elucidates the principles to which the Party strictly adheres with regard to the international Communist movement.

"Applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country," it says, "the Tunisian Communist Party draws on the experience of the other fraternal parties and takes an active part in the international Communist movement."

"In all its international activity the Party has always been loyal to the principles of solidarity of all fraternal parties, while recognizing that each party independently determines its own policy on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party abides by the principles of proletarian internationalism . . ."

Meetings of Central Committees

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

THE meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, which took place over April 23-29, reviewed the results of the recent general election and drew the following conclusions:

The process of the weakening of the position of the Congress among the people, which started at the time of the first general election and was maintained at the second general election, has continued. But what is disturbing is that the forces of communalism and Right-wing reaction have emerged stronger in the last election. The Swatantra Party, though it failed to emerge as the major Opposition party, won many seats and is now the principal opposition in four states.

The Jana Sangh, a rank communal organization, also increased its strength and is now the principal opposition in two states; it cashed in on the discontent with Congress policy and roused religious and communal revivalist ideas.

The combined strength of these two parties has become sufficiently menacing for all democratic elements to become vigilant against the grip of the communal reactionary trends variously represented by these two parties.

The communal forces represented by the Akalis in the Punjab and the separatist Drawida Munnetra Kazhagam trend in Madras have also acquired new strength, which should be a matter of concern to all who stand for national unity. Hence the strength of the broad democratic forces must be mobilized against these communal and separatist trends and the correct democratic solutions found to ensure the country's future.

The efforts of the Congress and other political parties to discredit the Communist Party and dislodge it from the position of the principal Opposition group in Parliament and in the State Assemblies of Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal have failed. The Communist Party not only maintained its position, it increased its representation in Parliament and in a number of State legislatures.

With its bankrupt banner of anti-communism, the Praja Socialist Party which had hoped to become the main opposition party failed miserably. Its policy of anti-communism and disruption received a shattering blow.

While the situation calls for the most determined efforts to prevent the growth of reactionary and communal forces or separatist trends in the country, the Congress is, by its policy,

actually facilitating their rise and growth. Furthermore, the deterioration in the standard of living together with widespread corruption in the ruling party is giving rise to discontent among the masses. The discontent is fertile soil for all sorts of demagogic and adventurist elements who spell ruin to the country's future and who are trying to gather new strength and new bases for their operations.

The National Council, therefore, reached the conclusion that the general line of the Sixth Congress of our Party of striving to build the unity of all democratic and popular forces in the struggle against the Right reaction and of directing into the proper channels the discontent of the masses with the policies of the government which hit the people, rather than allowing the forces of the Right to take advantage of this to consolidate themselves, should be carried forward.

In this context, naturally, the struggle to rally the popular forces against the attempts of reaction to push government policy in a reactionary direction, on the one hand, to uphold the interests of the working people, and for the adoption of a progressive policy, on the other, assumes great urgency.

Having taken into account the various aspects of the situation in the country as a whole and the rise of the communal, reactionary, pro-imperialist and disruptive forces in particular, it is all the more necessary to devote the energies of the Party to uniting the democratic, secular and progressive forces, including those in the Congress Party, in common struggle. The situation emphasizes the need for vigorous efforts to build a National Democratic Front.

The Council noted that the Congress government has launched further attacks on the living standards of the people. The increasing burdens of indirect taxation, together with the steady rise in consumer goods prices, makes it increasingly difficult for the people to make both ends meet. The Council, therefore, decided to call upon all its units to launch a campaign against the government's tax and price policy.

The Council considered the problems arising from the death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh.

The Council decided to have a Chairman, a General Secretary and seven Secretaries who will together form a Secretariat of nine and carry on the functions and responsibilities on behalf of the National Council and the Central Executive Committee. Comrade S. A. Dange was elected Chairman of the National Council, and Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad — General Secretary.

ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, held over April 26-28, discussed a report by Luigi Longo on convening the Tenth Congress of the Party, and a report by Pietro Ingrao on the municipal elections.

"It is necessary to convene the Congress," said Longo, "to discuss the changes that have taken place in Italy and on the world plane, and which require analysis and specifying of the general perspectives, the concrete policy and activity of the Party, and the aims and tasks arising in the new situation."

Speaking on the first point, Palmiro Togliatti stressed the need to fight for peaceful coexistence. "Peaceful coexistence," he pointed out, "is not limited to the diplomatic formula of reaching accord between the governments. It is something much greater than that. When we speak about peaceful coexistence, we have in mind a definite perspective: this formula corresponds to the specific viewpoint on the possible ways and perspectives of development for national societies at the present time, in the immediate future, and in the more distant future . . . Hence the need for struggle on the international arena which, on the one hand, should expose imperialist policy, but, on the other, should also have positive aims, such as achieving definite results in changing the relationships based not on peaceful coexistence but on cold war, on extreme exacerbation of the relations between states, and also in seeking to change the balance of class forces within particular countries.

"International solidarity of the working people is the principal element of the struggle for peaceful coexistence. Without it this struggle is deprived of its most effective driving force and doomed to develop in a spontaneous way.

"Peaceful coexistence by no means presupposes reconciliation of the differing and opposing ideological concepts. We in Italy have cooperated for a number of years with the Catholics, with the Christian Democratic Party—both during the liberation war and immediately after—and together we secured significant and positive accomplishments, but never did we pose the question of ideological reconciliation.

"Another question: does peaceful coexistence preclude a revolutionary explosion, a people's uprising, the sharpest struggle of the peoples for their independence and freedom? The answer should be a straight-forward and unequivocal NO. Peaceful coexistence does not preclude this, nor can it do so. In this respect we

have an example of recent years when the peoples suffering under the colonial yoke were confronted with the need to use all means in order to destroy this yoke. Peaceful coexistence does not preclude these forms of struggle, which are forms of the struggle for independence and freedom."

Comrade Togliatti then turned to the relationships between the Communist parties, relations which should be built on the basis of far-reaching unity which we should affirm and defend. "Naturally," he said, "this unity not only presupposes independence or, as we say, autonomy of parties, but even requires this. (For us the two terms 'independence' and 'autonomy' are identical, so we see no need to discuss whether we should speak of the independence or of the autonomy of the individual parties).

"This independence, or autonomy, exercised within the framework of the unity of the international Communist movement calls for certain norms in the relations between the Communist parties, and at the same time it requires discussion. In my view such a discussion, at a given time and within definite limits, can and even should develop into an open discussion. It goes without saying that what we have in mind is discussion and debate and not mutual insults and anathemas, since the latter

will not benefit the international Communist movement which has become so broad and impressive throughout the world . . . What is needed is to pose, in a clear-cut and, if necessary, public manner, questions which need to be thrashed out and on which there is a difference of opinion, and to pose them in such a way as to demonstrate, in the course of the exchange of views, the grandness of our movement, its inner connections and its manifold character, and at the same time to go forward by drawing upon mutual experience."

The Central Committee meeting adopted the proposal to convene the Tenth Congress on December 2, 1962, and appointed a commission to draft the theses for the Congress; these will be distributed among all Party organizations and will be the basis for the pre-Congress discussion.

Comrade Longo issued a call to overcome dogmatism and sectarian tendencies in the course of the pre-Congress discussion, which will take place on the basis of unity and be consummated by the adoption of unanimous decisions. Longo also called for work to prevent turning the Party into an "instrument for electoral struggle," to build it as a "revolutionary and militant Party."

Among Our Contributors

WALTER ULBRICHT: *First Secretary, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic.*

BORIS PONOMARYOV: *Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.*

JOHN R. CAMPBELL: *Member of the Political Committee, British Communist Party.*

ENRICO BERLINGUER: *Member of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party.*

KJELD OESTERLING: *Danish journalist.*

JACK WODDIS: *British writer.*

Exchange of Views

Paths of Development of Newly Emergent Countries

B. Zacharescu (Rumania)

THE socialist countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union, have rendered all-round political and economic aid to the countries fighting to liberate themselves from the colonial yoke. And the Rumanian People's Republic too has made its contribution.

To consolidate the political independence and eliminate the economic backwardness inherited from imperialism — these are vital matters for the peoples of the former colonies. Once state independence has been won, the struggle for economic independence becomes increasingly important.

The imperialists, who exploited their colonies for centuries, left them in a state of extreme economic and social backwardness. Recruiting allies from the most reactionary sections, the colonialists maintained a backward, tribal and feudal, way of life. They robbed these territories by means of inhuman exploitation of the indigenous population. And they did this in the guise of "civilization."

The young national states now have to choose their path of development — and the choice lies in the capitalist path or the non-capitalist path.

In view of the new balance of world forces, and the fact that the socialist world system has become the decisive factor in the development of society, more countries have the possibility of taking the non-capitalist way, the only way to solve the basic economic problems and thus achieve genuine economic independence.

The basic trends of economic and political development in some of the newly-independent countries were summarized in the statement of the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties (1960). The interests of the peoples, this document says, require that the young national states consistently defend their political and economic independence, fight against imperialism, against old and new forms of colonialism and penetration of imperialist capital, so as to guarantee the people broad democratic rights and freedoms, create con-

ditions for agrarian reform and satisfy other democratic demands. The advance in this direction and utilization of favorable home and international conditions now make it possible to establish independent national-democratic states which will facilitate rapid social progress of the former colonies and enable them to take the non-capitalist way.

The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries shows that economic backwardness can be abolished in a brief space of time and in the interests of the peoples. This experience adds to the attraction of socialism for the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, imbues them with confidence in the prospects opened up by socialism. And their own experience tells them that their problems cannot be solved by entering into deals with imperialism, as the bourgeois writers advise them to do. Radical socio-political changes are not needed in these countries, these gentlemen say; things can be bettered without such changes, they argue. Not only do they oppose doing away with deeply-rooted feudal relations in agriculture, but maintain that they should be strengthened. Property rights in the agriculture of underdeveloped countries, the American economists Buchanan and Ellis write, should be reinforced. Bourgeois ideologists make industrial expansion in these countries conditional on the maintenance of capitalism. One of them, Staily, says outright, for example, that "by encouraging constructive private enterprise, underdeveloped countries can gain profoundly important economic and political benefits and increase their prospects." Similar views are expressed by the journal *New Commonwealth*: the governments of these countries, it says, should not engage in economic activity (July 22, 1955).

Experience and a scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis, however, show that overcoming economic backwardness and rapid growth of the productive forces in countries whose advance has been held back by imperialism are only

possible in the course of a deep-going revolutionary process.

The surest way to complete national liberation of a country is the way of industrialization. This has been proved, for example, by Rumania, where in 1938 industry accounted for only 30.8 per cent of the national income. Output of the machine-building and metal-working industries in 1938 was only 10.2 per cent of the total industrial production; 95 per cent of the industrial equipment was imported.

Now, thanks to our rapid industrial expansion, the gap between Rumania and the technically advanced capitalist countries in Europe is steadily narrowing. Average annual growth of industrial production between 1951-1960 was 13 per cent. In the course of 12 years (1948-1959) our steel output rose from 350,000 to 1,420,000 tons. Austria required 53 years (1900-1953), and Sweden, the classical country for steel production, 69 years (1880-1949) to achieve approximately the same growth. There was a gap of 20 years between Rumanian and Swedish steel production in 1958 (on the basis of Swedish rates); in 1961, just three years later, the gap had narrowed to a mere six years.

Socialist production relations have enabled us to solve one of the fundamental problems of eliminating economic backwardness — that of the rapid accumulation of capital. The economically underdeveloped countries, bourgeois economists affirm, are doomed to permanent backwardness because they revolve in a "vicious circle." Economic backwardness, they say is the cause of their misery and poverty, while misery and poverty are the cause of slow economic development.

This "vicious circle" is cited to justify imperialist domination over the underdeveloped countries. The possibilities for internal accumulation, writes the *New Republic* (January 24, 1955), for example, are limited to what can be obtained by making people already poor do with even less. Most of the necessary capital will have to come from foreign private investments, loans and gifts.

Export of capital, by means of which the imperialist monopolies have been robbing the colonial peoples for years, is recommended as a means of overcoming economic backwardness.

Swedish economist G. Myrdal points out that the gap between developed and underdeveloped countries has widened in recent decades.

Socialist aid helps to develop and strengthen the state sector in the underdeveloped countries, which is an important factor in the struggle against foreign monopolies, and in consolidating economic independence.

The socialist countries are the true friends of the peoples who are fighting for their liberation or have already won independence. Their aid has no strings and rules out any interference in the domestic affairs of the recipient country. That this aid promotes their economic progress and the growth of their productive forces is of extreme importance to the underdeveloped countries. Thus, as far as she is able, Rumania is helping to develop the oil industry in India, Afghanistan and Indonesia, and in common with other socialist countries is training the specialists the young national states need for their economic construction.

Trade with the socialist countries makes it possible for the underdeveloped countries to frustrate imperialist attempts to strangle their economy by refusing to buy their traditional goods.

The problems facing the peoples after the winning of political independence are complex. What path of development they choose is the internal affair of each country. In the present situation, when the socialist world system has become the decisive factor in social development, when the economically underdeveloped countries have every opportunity to receive aid from the socialist countries, when the international communist and working-class movement is growing rapidly and imperialism is losing in its competition with socialism, the former colonies and semi-colonies can take the non-capitalist path of development, the path that will enable them to solve their vital problems in their own interests.

A. Avanesyan (Iran)

THE coup d'état staged in Iran in August 1953 by the reactionaries, with the backing and direct connivance of the U.S. and British imperialists, overthrew the government headed by Dr. Mossadeq and installed an ultra-reactionary regime. Iran today is ruled by 1,000 compradore-landlord families, many of which own hundreds of villages.

What has this regime given the Iranian people? The ruling clique betrayed the national interests by entering into a deal with the International Oil Consortium. The country is flooded with American advisers (more than 6,000 of them). Over 2,000 foreign companies are operating in Iran unhindered by any control. The Bank of Industrial Development founded on

March 1, 1959, with U.S. participation was granted a five-year tax exemption and the right to export both profits and capital from Iran. The government guarantees the bank's capital against expropriation.

During the past eight years imports have been 3-4 times greater than exports. From March 1960 to March 1961 imports amounted to \$600 million, exports to only \$100 million. Loans and credits granted by the capitalist countries — the United States, Britain and West Germany — amount to approximately \$900 million.

The state sector of the economy, which is subordinated to foreign, and primarily U.S. capital, is developing one-sidedly. The lion's share of the budgetary expenditure goes for military purposes — for the construction of highways, airfields and other strategic projects. The entire economy is run by foreigners.

The position of the working people is grievous indeed. Prices are steadily rising; if 1936-37 is taken as 100, the price index for 1961 was 1,700.

Things are moving fast. The colonial system is disintegrating. The oppressed peoples are freeing themselves from the colonial yoke. The tasks we Iranian Marxists have set ourselves at the present time are: to consolidate the democratic and patriotic forces, build a united national anti-imperialist, anti-feudal front, establish a national government and a strong, independent national economy. These tasks can be realized only by relying on the broad masses, only with the support of the socialist camp.

One way to progress for Iran could be the establishment of a state of national democracy — national inasmuch as it protects the interests of an oppressed nation against imperialism, and democratic, inasmuch as it relies on the support of the masses and protects their interests. We believe that this is the type of state that may emerge in the economically underdeveloped countries.

At present the national bourgeoisie head the governments in a number of countries, for example, in India, the United Arab Republic, Iraq and others. These, however, are not national democracies. They are, of course, national, insofar as they are fighting the imperialists and upholding the interests of the nation. As for democracy, each of these countries has its own approach to this question. Here and there some democratic reforms are being introduced, but internal policy as a rule is reactionary. For this reason we can hardly call these countries democratic. Some of them may of course gradually develop into national democratic states. But

in most cases, to my mind, the present regime will have to be replaced by national democracy.

The decisive role in establishing a state of this kind will be played by the most revolutionary class in society—the working class, and its Party. In Iran the working class and its party aim at establishing a state of national democracy. This does not mean that such a state can be established overnight. It will be a long and complex process which may go through several different stages. In order to establish a state which will eventually choose the *non-capitalist* way it is essential first to build a national, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal front which would embrace all the democratic and patriotic forces in the country. With the development of the national-liberation movement the role of the working class will grow. The masses will learn by experience that the national bourgeoisie is neither able nor willing to solve many of the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The further the national-liberation revolution develops, the greater will be the vacillation of the national bourgeoisie and the more it will drift away from the movement. Part of the national bourgeoisie will go over to the camp of reaction. The small bourgeoisie will cooperate with the working class. Some of the more radical members of the national bourgeoisie will continue to side with the masses. As for the latter, they will prosecute the struggle more vigorously. And it is they who will eventually decide the course of events.

The national-democratic state, in my opinion, can assume different forms. It may be parliamentary or non-parliamentary. This is an extremely complicated and debatable question. We know, for example, that the peaceful transition to socialism through Parliament even in the highly developed capitalist countries is not excluded. It is possible that in the countries where national-democratic states will be established the question of the parliamentary road to socialism may also arise.

I should like to say a few words also about the non-capitalist path for the backward countries. This is a question that arose in the era of imperialism and the socialist revolution, with the advent of Soviet power. It is a Leninist theory. Examples of the non-capitalist path in economically backward countries already exist. The trail was blazed by the Soviet republics: Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and others. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat these formerly backward regions rapidly traversed the non-capitalist road from feudalism to socialism. Next came the Mongolian People's Republic, which also bypassed the capitalist stage. True,

in Mongolia the process was rather protracted since the times were different. China, Korea and Vietnam in their turn are developing under altogether different conditions. Today the question of the non-capitalist path arises for many economically backward countries.

Capitalism or socialism? This, broadly speaking, is how the matter stands at present. The Iranian people, in common with other economically backward peoples, are coming to realize

that fundamental changes are needed, not half measures. Our people want to live well, they want to be free, to find radical solutions to the problems facing them. The examples already existing inspire them to search for the shortest, rather than the slow and painful way to effect radical changes. Cuba's experience is a particular stimulus to the peoples of the underdeveloped countries to win their freedom and independence and to build up their own independent national economy.

G. Hansen (GDR)

It has been correctly said here that the economic problems of the newly-liberated countries are much harder to solve than the problem of winning political independence. Building a national economy is a complex process, one that unfolds differently in various countries. In the course of the first Soviet five-year plan from one to 1.5 million new jobs were created in industry annually, and this called for vast capital investments. If things were to go at this pace in India, it would mean that at least three million jobs per year would have to be created in industry. A task of this magnitude, as you will realize, cannot be solved under capitalism, at least not within the lifetime of one generation. Under capitalism, therefore, there is no prospect of a country like India wiping out hunger and poverty, to say nothing of providing a sufficiency of essential goods.

The liberated peoples should understand that their economic development will not come as a gift. To believe this is to foster illusions, and these illusions prevent the masses from appreciating the real state of affairs.

The people will have to set about developing the liberated countries themselves. For even the disinterested aid of the socialist countries, a highly important factor in the young states' evolution, can only be utilized fully if the masses rally to reach the great goals of economic construction. Only if they perceive that their labor helps to solve the national tasks and promotes their own interests, and only if they are in a position to give free play to their creative initiative will they be able to achieve good results in an historically brief period. But this can be done only if the feudal backwardness and the pernicious influence exerted by foreign monopoly capital are overcome.

Clearly the liberated peoples will find the experience of the socialist countries most useful.

We cannot talk of our economic progress without mentioning that an indispensable con-

dition for this was the unity of the country's sound forces. Here is an example: on January 15, 1946, some 23,761 of 40,939 members of the commissions for carrying out the land reform were non-Party people, 10,296 Communists, 6,353 Social Democrats and 529 Liberal Democrats and members of the Christian Democratic Union. Various forms of mutual aid were developed among the peasants. A broad national front emerged in the course of the struggle to build a democratic Germany and against the threats emanating from West Germany. United trade unions were founded already in 1945, and the political unity of the working class established in 1946 by the merging of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party to form the Socialist Unity Party. The united working class was and is the firm core of popular unity.

The decisive role in the GDR is played by the masses, who have liberated themselves from imperialism and built a new life in difficult conditions. We, therefore, feel for and understand the struggles and efforts of the Asian and African peoples. We try to help them politically through our experience, our struggle against the Bonn neo-colonialism, and, as much as we can, also economically. In West Germany imperialism continues its rule, in close association with U.S. imperialism, and is therefore particularly dangerous. In the guise of anti-colonialism, the German imperialists, acting in their own interests and partly on the orders of international imperialism, have become the vanguard of neo-colonialism.

More openly than other governments, the Bonn government favors application of the "industrial restraint" theory to the new national states. Erhard, FRG Minister of Economics, has repeatedly suggested to the governments of these countries that they confine themselves to expanding handicrafts and small industry. Were they to give this theory practical effect, the young states would not even be in a position to solve their food problem.

West German economic "aid" is rendered in keeping with Erhard's concept. The newspaper *Handelsblatt* of July 20, 1961, states that the Bonn Inter-Ministerial Committee for Coordination of Aid to Underdeveloped Countries makes the granting of credits dependent on a number of conditions, among which are the following:

1. Pursuance of "a healthy policy" by the recipient country. A "healthy policy" as Bonn understands it, is for the young states to allow themselves to be used—contrary to their interests—as an instrument in the cold war against socialism, their natural ally, and to adhere to the Bonn line in their economic policy, continuing voluntarily to be dependent on imperialism.

2. In "aiding" underdeveloped countries preference should be given to private capital. In other words the "aid" is primarily designed to secure profitable deals for the monopolies of the advanced countries and to hold back the growth of the state sector—a sector the young countries urgently need for their struggle against imperialism and for building large-scale industry.

3. The projects for which "aid" is given should be "economically and socially expedient." Small-scale industry and handicrafts, i.e., backwardness and primitiveness, are what Bonn believes to be the expedient thing for the young states. It recommends to the emergent states a long-term stage-by-stage development under which they will be able to have a big industry at some time in the remote future. That is in line with Bonn's concept of what is

"socially expedient," i.e., to prevent the establishment of a modern class structure and the growth of the working class.

4. And, lastly, the "completed project should be carried out under the proper industrial-economic management." As the Bonn imperialists, motivated by their race ideology, reject the idea that the young states are capable of effecting this management themselves, the projects, it seems, can be carried out only under the guidance of persons authorized by the foreign monopolies. This is said about as clearly as it can be!

In conclusion a word about the community of views which links us with the young Afro-Asian states. Their struggle is weakening imperialism. We are their natural allies. We should like to emphasize that our struggle for a peace treaty harmonizes with the interests of the progressive forces throughout the world. It is useful to the national-liberation movement as well.

A peace treaty with Germany would mean that West Germany could no longer serve as a base for imperialist intervention against the national-liberation movement, as was the case in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958, or in the war in Algeria. A peace treaty would mean that West Germany would no longer supply arms to the colonialists, to Portugal, for example, for use in Angola.

The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany will heighten the role of the progressive forces in Germany and deal a blow at German imperialism, and this will promote our common interests.

C. Campos (Guatemala)

GUATEMALA, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica became independent of Spain in 1821 and subsequently formed the Republic of the United States of Central America* which came to an end in 1839. Torn by internecine strife the Republic was officially broken up into five small republics where power was seized by the big landowners. The economic backwardness of these small republics and the weakness displayed by their bourgeoisie facilitated intervention by Britain and the United States. A period of what was virtually colonial dependence set in for Central America and continues to this day.

The landowning aristocracy, the big compradore bourgeoisie and the Catholic Church at first invited Great Britain to Guatemala.

Later they opened the doors to the United States monopolies and since 1901 the United Fruit Company has ruled the roost in our country.

The plans now under way for the "economic integration" of Central America—the idea is to establish a common market with a view to "integrating" the economy of the five Central American countries—are not in the interests of independent economic development or the real unity of our countries. In fact these plans are designed to open the doors to U.S. investments still wider and to provide bigger markets for the U.S. monopolies.

Guatemala's economy rests mainly on its coffee production, which accounts for 87 per cent of the value of the total agricultural produce and for 75 per cent of its exports. Bananas rank second in our exports. The coun-

*Panama, also in Central America, won independence later and did not belong to the Federation.

try's dependence on the North American monopolies and its geographic proximity to the USA have resulted in nearly 75 per cent of our foreign trade being done with the United States. Our monoculture, too, explains why our peasants suffer so much from market ups and downs.

The North American market fixes the prices for our produce. There have been a number of agreements on coffee prices, but because the North American market is the most important the terms and conditions are always to the advantage of the USA. Guatemala's trade with the United States has shown a growing deficit for a long time now. A fall in export prices reduces foreign currency reserves. The Ydigoras government, plunging deeper and deeper into debt, is begging Washington for credits. Needless to say, economic dependence is followed by political dependence.

The Party of Labor and other democratic movements have always held that Guatemala should establish trade relations with other countries on mutually beneficial and equal conditions. That is the kind of trade done with the socialist countries. At the time of the Arbenz government, Guatemala did quite a brisk trade with them, especially with Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. The socialist countries' fraternal and disinterested aid to Cuba is an inspiring example for our country.

The Guatemalan anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution was crushed by savage intervention on the part of U.S. imperialism. The economic development in the revolutionary period (1944-1954), based on the national resources and effort, was aimed chiefly at achieving economic and political independence. Despite the imperialist boycott and pressure, we made considerable progress. Agrarian reform was beginning to change the country's semi-feudal image. In under two years 100,000 peasants had received land. Development of capitalist relations in the countryside was accelerated.

The counter-revolution undid the work of the democratic agrarian reform and re-established the age-old state of affairs in the countryside.

The government imposed on Guatemala signed a military aid treaty with the United States, which tied the country to the North American aggressive plans. It passed an oil law under which the North American firms have the right to prospect for oil in almost half the country (4.6 million hectares). It renewed the old contracts with the United Fruit Company which was granted new concessions.

The big landowners, who seized vast tracts of land for coffee growing, are also responsible

for the backwardness of agriculture and the economy as a whole. All their attention is concentrated on growing coffee; they are refusing to go over to a multi-crop agriculture.

Our Party is explaining to the people the reasons for the state of affairs and is suggesting ways and means for improving things. Only a democratic, revolutionary, patriotic government in which the working class, the peasantry, the small bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are represented, can carry out the necessary changes. The first of these should be a radical agrarian reform, for this would enable us to overcome the difficulties and place agriculture on a sound basis; the reform would clear the way for a diversified and more productive agriculture, for industrial development and for raising the standard of living. This people's government would abolish imperialist control of the economy, nationalize the big imperialist firms and expand and reorganize foreign trade. Such is the strategic aim of the Party. Thus we see that in content the revolution in Guatemala should be an agrarian, anti-imperialist, democratic and people's revolution.

But bearing in mind the existing conditions (the need to weather the present economic depression, to combat the reactionary government subordinated to imperialism, defend national sovereignty, win democratic freedoms and well-being for the people), the Guatemalan Party of Labor holds that efforts should be made now, without waiting until all these objectives have been attained, to increase agricultural output, develop cattle-breeding and industry, extend the home market by raising purchasing power, find new foreign markets and restrict the influence of the foreign companies and abolish their privileges. We tell the people that the blind policy of refusing to trade with the socialist countries must be discontinued.

Guatemala's critical position is but another symptom of the general crisis in which the Latin American countries find themselves as a result of imperialist policy. And the struggle of our people is part of the struggle of all the Latin American peoples aspiring to economic independence and social, political and cultural progress.

Y. BOCHKAROV (USSR) spoke of the development of African countries that have won national independence. In the second half of the 19th century, when the African continent was divided among the imperialist powers, the countries south of the Sahara were either in the early stages of feudalism, or in the process of tribal disintegration. As a rule, land was not privately owned; it belonged to the peasant com-

mune whose members belonged to the tribe. There was, then, no large-scale landownership by feudal chiefs or landlords.

For a number of reasons foreign capital in West Africa did not own many plantations. Peasant holdings were and continue to be the main producers of export crops. But the peasants, even their more well-to-do members, were unable to bring their produce to the world market independently, and so fell into the hands of middle-men, agents of the big foreign firms, who dictated next-to-nothing prices. The intermediaries and their firms made fabulous profits. It follows, therefore, that the problem of emancipating the peasants, the chief producers, is posed differently in West Africa than in Asia. If in Asia the principal means of emancipating the peasant is agrarian reform envisaging abolition of large-scale feudal landed property and distribution of the land among those who till it, in West Africa, where in the main the land is already owned by the peasants, abolition of peasant exploitation by foreign export companies is of cardinal importance.

The colonialists took the necessary as well as the surplus product, with the result that the peasants were doomed to semi-starvation, their physical strength was exhausted prematurely and their already low labor productivity declined further. It is clear that only by taking over all export and import transactions will the state be in a position to regulate the export prices of the peasants' produce and so protect them from the foreign companies.

Another measure in this direction is the abolition of the intermediary between the producer and the foreign firm. A condition for abolishing exploitation of the peasants is regulation of the tax system. But this cannot be done without reforming local government bodies.

Another problem is that of accumulation; in solving it internal resources are of the utmost importance. No matter how substantial the foreign aid, or how favorable the conditions on which it is granted, internal accumulation is essential. This problem, common to all economically undeveloped countries, has specific features in Africa.

In the first place the national bourgeoisie is numerically weak in the African countries and almost non-existent in some—in Guinea and Mali, for instance.

In the second, private African capital is so insignificant that it cannot be a basis for industrialization.

And precisely because private capital is so weak, industrial expansion can be achieved only

or mainly by developing the state sector, to promote which the state has a number of possibilities.

Z. MAZYAR (Iran) spoke of the non-capitalist way of development of the former colonies. The only way these countries can achieve national regeneration, he said, is via the non-capitalist path of development. What do we imply by the non-capitalist path? It is a path that will undoubtedly lead to genuine socialist reconstruction of society. But let us clarify: does this signify the immediate transition to socialism, *bypassing capitalism*, or is it a transitional stage towards socialism, a path of *gradually restricting and ousting capitalism*?

Some people believe that it is the way of turning to socialism without going through the capitalist stage. In my view that interpretation does not cover the whole ground. The possibility of bypassing capitalism is conditioned by two factors: first, absence of capitalist production relations in the given country; second, power should be in the hands of the working class in alliance with the peasantry; or in the hands of genuinely revolutionary elements directly supported by a socialist country, as was the case in the Soviet Central-Asian republics and in the Mongolian People's Republic. Capitalist relations already obtain in most of the countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke, although they are not the predominating relations.

With the balance of class forces in the national-liberation movement being what it is, the national bourgeoisie is often in the saddle and owing to its dual, half-and-half nature, its class interests retard development. Thus in the liberated countries where the bourgeoisie is in power, the economic and political conditions for *bypassing capitalism* and going straight ahead to socialism are objectively absent. This does not imply that this transition is ruled out. In those African countries where pre-capitalist relations predominate and the forward-looking intellectuals are in power, the transition to socialism without going through capitalism is, given favorable conditions, quite feasible.

Development of the state sector, agricultural cooperation, nationalization of the enterprises owned by the monopolies (home and foreign), planning, withdrawal from the capitalist world system—these are the main components of the non-capitalist path. For these measures to be given practical effect, the appropriate internal and external conditions are necessary.

First and foremost among the internal conditions are the democratization of public life and broad participation by the working class

in alliance with the peasantry and progressive elements in carrying out a non-capitalist economic policy. Hence what is needed is a national democratic state — a bloc of the progressive and national forces with the task of pursuing the transitional stage policy.

The external condition for the non-capitalist path is outside aid, for the newly independent countries need economic and technical aid in order to achieve national regeneration and solve their vital economic problems.

And so the question arises: Where is the aid to come from—the socialist system or the capitalist system? Aid from the socialist world system is essential for the national regeneration of these countries, for this aid alone is directed to their all-round development, to transforming

them from agrarian backward countries into industrial countries. This aid is based on complete equality and non-interference in internal affairs. Experience has shown that the “aid,” credits and loans given by imperialist states do not promote the economic advancement of the young national states, do not help to build a heavy industry or raise the standard of living. The imperialists are out to exploit the peoples of these countries and to consolidate their own positions. Their aid, credits and loans are given with the idea of achieving political ends. They are a means of intervening in the internal affairs of the liberated countries, of drawing them into military blocs and buttressing the positions of internal reaction so as to keep these countries subordinate to foreign monopolies.

The Role of Women in Modern Society

Last May the Editorial Board of **World Marxist Review** sponsored a seminar on the role of women in modern society.

The seminar, held in Prague, was attended by Marxists from 22 countries: M. Keith (Great Britain), C. Lopez (Guatemala), A. Buller (Canada), A. Hodinova-Spurna (Czechoslovakia), D. M. Siwi (Indonesia), H. Rouget (Switzerland), M. Campusano (Chile), M. Mehregan (Iran), S. Alvarez (Spain), A. Adaya (Honduras), G. Tedesco (Italy), N. Muravyova (U.S.S.R.), I. Lehtinen (Finland), R. Pantaleon (Argentina), R. Schulz (Federal German Republic), L. Berg (German Democratic Republic), M. Colin (France), A. Musialowa (Poland), A. Averink (Holland), A. Karlovskaya (Czechoslovakia), A. Layachi (Morocco), J. Lopez (Spain), A. Amir (Sudan), K. Suleimanova (U.S.S.R.), R. Todorova (Bulgaria), and Z. Staros (Poland).

Beginning with this issue we are publishing the discussion in abridged form. The contributions will be published in full in a separate volume.

IN HIS opening address, A. M. Rumyantsev, Chief Editor of our journal, said:

In discussing the work conducted by Communists among women we still encounter two extreme viewpoints, differing superficially but in reality equally erroneous and harmful. One is that there is no such thing as the women's question, that there are only general political and social problems. It is true, of course, that the emancipation of woman is part of the question of socialist revolution, of the social emancipation of all humanity. But from this one should not draw the conclusion that there is no need for any specific work among women. This would be tantamount to denying the objective fact that woman's position in production has its specific features, not to speak of her status in the family, and indeed in society

as a whole. Hence the women's question stands out as an important problem in itself. According to the other viewpoint, the question is too specific to be solved jointly with the general social problems. This, too, is an incorrect position, one which isolates the women's movement from the struggle for democracy and socialism, and, in the final analysis, leads to its degeneration.

The problem has many aspects. First, it is a pressing *political* problem inasmuch as it is inseparably connected with the class struggle, and it is only through class struggle that the complete emancipation of woman can be achieved. Lenin saw the question thus: “The masses cannot be drawn into political life without drawing women into politics.” These words have lost none of their significance today. Never

before has the need for women's participation in politics been so imperative, or the conditions for this so ripe as now.

Second, the problem is also one of theory, since it is bound up with the fundamental principles of historical materialism. Engels in his *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* wrote: "According to the materialistic conception, the determining factor in history is, in the last resort, the production and reproduction of immediate life." Without production (i.e., without labor) and without reproduction of immediate life (and this is connected with the family) humanity can neither exist nor develop. Both aspects are inseparably interlinked and in this unity of natural and social relations the dominant factor, as Engels noted, is unquestionably *labor*, the development of which determines also the changes in the forms of the family, the primary unit of society.

Lenin carried forward these ideas of Marx and Engels. But during the period of the Stalin cult in the Soviet Union, they were rejected as allegedly inconsistent with the world outlook of dialectical materialism. With supreme disregard for the facts, Engels was charged with having overestimated the importance of the "reproduction of immediate life"; the question of the family was dismissed as a secondary issue and this, in effect, led to its being completely ignored. The second component of Engels' formula — and with it the profound idea of the unity of labor and the family — was dropped. Yet it is precisely this idea that is basic to a correct theoretical presentation of the women's question. And it is this idea that today prompts us to pose the following questions: what at the present time (with labor as the dominant factor) are the specific features of the relationship between labor and the family? In what way are the changed working conditions affecting family life? And conversely: in what way are the new elements in family relationships affecting the position of woman as a worker?

To concretize these general principles, it is essential to note the unprecedentedly rapid growth in the number of women engaged in production. Whereas at the beginning of the century the number of women in industry averaged no more than 20 per cent of the labor force, today in many capitalist countries they account for more than one-third of all the workers. Indicative of the rate of growth is the fact that in the last ten years eight out of every ten new workers in the United States were women. The increase varies according to branches of industry. Moreover, it takes different forms in different countries. These facts

suggest some conclusions. We should establish in what branches of production Communists working among women should intensify their activity, and what specific demands should be put forward in these branches. Needless to say, the main attention will continue to be paid to women in industry, and especially to the category of factory workers, the core of the working class. But is there not, perhaps, a tendency to underestimate work among the women engaged in other spheres, particularly in view of the rapid growth of the numbers of women employed in the non-production sphere? Evidently it will be necessary to establish on the basis of a concrete sociological analysis the likely trends of the participation of women in production and to plan the work of the parties accordingly.

The capitalists regard female labor as the richest source of surplus value. By throwing all members of the workers' family onto the labor market, Marx said, the capitalist use of machinery spreads the value of the man's labor power over his whole family. It thus depreciates his labor power. True, if both the husband and the wife work, the total wages of the family will be somewhat increased. In most cases, however, the woman's wage is only an addition to the wage of the husband, an addition designed to compensate to some extent for the growing discrepancy between the value and price of labor power. Do working women in the capitalist countries always receive equal wages for equal work, even though there is an international convention to that effect? Have they the possibility of acquiring higher skills, of vocational training? Are not women affected by unemployment?

Women's participation in capitalist production, far from solving the women's question, tends to aggravate it. New problems arise. For example, the position of woman is worsened because in addition to working in factory or office, she continues to carry the burden of housework. That is why the women's movement in many countries demands the provision of various services, such as creches, kindergartens, factory canteens, etc.

For Communists the questions of the family, marriage and the upbringing of children, are not secondary or trivial matters; they are questions of first-rate political and social importance. By posing and solving these problems the Communists help the masses to advance to socialism. To consider them "trivial" is to disregard the interests of the people. Work to protect the health of children, the fight for democratic family laws, work among housewives and the defense of their interests may appear "unimportant" and "petty" only to sectarians,

for these "petty" questions are the seed from which the tree grows.

Of course the woman question can be fully and finally solved only under communism. But there is no doubt that even under capitalism (but in spite of it), especially in the light of the new social factors, certain advances toward the realization of some women's demands can be made. The present discussion will most likely afford a clearer idea of the possibilities in this respect.

The participation of women in capitalist production, however onerous the burden, accelerates their awakening to pressing social issues. In our time, as never before, women are being drawn into the class struggle, into the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. The part women are playing in strikes, demonstrations and meetings is growing. Very often it is the women who are the initiators and pioneers in the fight for peace, for example. They are indeed the most irreconcilable opponents of war. The closest attention should be given to the participation of women in the struggles of the economically underdeveloped countries against imperialism, for complete national liberation, for an end to the triple yoke — national, social and family — borne by the women of these countries.

The progress registered in the socialist countries is a powerful stimulus to the struggle for the emancipation of women in the capitalist world. With the fulfilment of the Program of the CPSU a society will be built where Labor, Peace, Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood and Happiness for all will prevail. This has an irresistible appeal for women in the capitalist world, "That means, all these things are possible," they conclude. "Then they are possible for us too . . ."

As for socialism, its record in solving the women's question is indisputable, and its per-

spectives are inspiring. It would be exceedingly interesting to hear what the comrades from the socialist countries have to say concerning their experience in solving the women's question, how they have coped with the difficulties which they have encountered, and, perhaps, still encounter in this field.

The whole of our theory and policy is forged in struggle. But do we always take the initiative in combating the hostile ideology calculated to divert women from the policy of peace, democracy and socialism and make them the instruments of anti-communism? We can say that the events of the past few decades have seriously shaken the old bourgeois-philistine concept of the three K's — Kirche, Kueche, Kinder. That is so. But bourgeois propaganda is being modernized. It is important to know what new devices are employed by that propaganda, what influence is clericalism exerting and what is being done to combat it. What is the contemporary reformist theory and practice with regard to women's emancipation?

At the same time other questions arise—concerning the *united action* of working women of differing political and ideological views. How can this unity be achieved? How is Lenin's idea that *the Communists must work wherever the masses are* — being applied to the women's movement, how are the Communists building contacts with women belonging to non-communist and even anti-communist organizations?

The international struggle for the emancipation of the working people in general and women in particular provides a rich fund of experience for every country and every Party to draw on. The Communists rightly maintain that every effort must be made to ensure that *the highest gains won by the working class, the working women, in some countries, spheres and enterprises be extended to the workers in all countries, in all spheres and in all enterprises.*

Molly Keith (Britain)

THE whole approach to winning masses of women for active struggle for peace, democracy and socialism is based on the understanding of the special place which women occupy in class society. The evils of capitalism fall particularly upon women. They are relegated to a secondary position both in the house and in society.

The legacy of old reactionary ideas—women's place is in the home, all decisions of importance finally rest with men, etc., are still widespread. This breeds a lack of confidence often making women hesitate to accept leadership

and responsibility, or to take an active part in public life.

The struggle to alter the position of women is part of the wider struggle of the whole working class to end capitalism and to replace it by socialism. At the same time it raises practical difficulties in the task of winning women in large numbers for active social struggle. We take this into account in our propaganda and all forms of activity in working with them.

In Britain, for example, over eight million women are engaged in work outside the home. Women now constitute more than one-third of

the labor force. Approximately half this number are married. In one of every three households the wife contributes by her earnings to the family income. It is estimated, for there are no official figures, that half the married women have children of school age.

The married women are the only untapped labor reserve left in our society. To use this reserve in the right way, however, is not an easy thing. A vast number of married women returning to industry are between the ages of 35 and 44, i.e., after the family are off hand. Sixty per cent of these women have no training of any kind and are therefore doomed to manual and unskilled work, which is the most poorly paid. For example, the average weekly earnings for women in industry is just about half of those of men.

There have grown up in British industries the classifications of men's work and women's work. Women have no chance of promotion to higher posts. Apprenticeships in most industries, at least in practice, are open only to males.

There are additional problems which face the women, especially married women. What happens to the children after school hours? What do the children do in the long school holidays? The working day is too long for those who have young children, while the number of nurseries in the country is very small.* True, the demand for part-time women workers has increased of late. Clearly special efforts are needed to uphold the interests of partially employed.

Teachers, civil servants, professional and administrative staffs in a number of industries now receive equal pay after many years of campaigning. Following their example large new sections of women are coming into the fight for higher wages (postal workers, nurses, women engineers, etc.).

The solution of these and other problems is hindered by the fact that women are not too well organized. Although many of the trade unions in recent years have widened their scope and activity on behalf of women, nevertheless only 2,000,000 women, or less than one-fourth, are organized in trade unions. Their number in leading trade union bodies is small. The Trades Union Congress does not campaign in a really big way for equal pay and for extension of the social services.

The unions could enrol thousands and thousands of women, if they really campaigned for these demands.

*In 1945 there were 1,500 nurseries in the country. Today we have less than 500 and the charges have been raised so much that the lower paid working mothers cannot afford to use them.

There are two mass social democratic organizations for women—the Labor Party women's sections and the Cooperative women's guilds. But their Right-wing leadership does not regard the position of the women as a class question.

Nevertheless, despite the influence of capitalist and reformist ideas in these organizations there are thousands of ordinary women who suffer from capitalism. If we could win them, even on a limited scale, for united action, especially in the fight for peace, it would contribute to the advance of the whole working class.

In all there are over 100 women's organizations in Britain. The two largest of these are the Women's Institutes, which caters for women in the countryside, with a membership of 455,000, and the Townswomen's Guilds with a membership of 220,000. While individual members undoubtedly take part in wider democratic issues (in the peace movement, for example), they officially claim to be non-political.

There are still millions of unorganized women in Britain, who can become an important social force.

We have the beginnings of unity on the question of peace, which is still the most unifying of all issues. This is proved, for example, by the National Women's Day for Peace sponsored by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on March 7 this year. At Easter there was the great Aldermaston March. Again women were there in force bringing their children as a symbol of their struggle.

The Twenty-Seventh Congress of the Communist Party called upon the Party members to bring women into active struggle against the Tory government, for peace and socialism; to recruit women into the trade unions, to unite them in joint work to solve the day-to-day problems.

Very often we encounter discrimination against Communists. The Labor Party leaders have listed the National Assembly of Women and the Women's International Democratic Federation among the so-called Communist front organizations, and recommended that the Party members have no contact with them.

At present membership of our Party is over 32,000 of which roughly one-third are women. One of our major tasks is to equip our Communist women with a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. We find that although many of our women do attend general Party education classes and schools, a great number prefer to attend schools just for women members. We have an annual national residential school for women cadres—of one week.

Those who find difficulty in attending branch meetings meet in groups where they plan their activities to fit in with the general campaigns of the Party.

To help plan our work among women we have a National Women's Committee which meets two or three times a year with representatives from all districts present.

We produce leaflets, illustrated folders and pamphlets especially for women for mass sales and distribution. We hold special meetings to

which we invite readers of the *Daily Worker*, women we meet at the shops, clinics, Guilds, etc. They are usually very informal, often with some entertainment. Women ask many questions on Communist policy and on what socialism would mean to us in Britain. Many recruits have been won for our Party from such meetings.

Every success achieved in the struggle for better conditions for working women is a step towards their emancipation, but complete emancipation will come only with socialism.

Carlos Lopez (Guatemala)

THERE are two basic population groups in Guatemala. One consists of the Indians (53.6 per cent of the total) who are the direct descendants of the ancient Maya and Quechua peoples who inhabited these parts before the Spanish invasion.

The other group is made up of the non-Indian population, i.e., whites of European origin (who form a small minority) and half-castes, the product of mixed Spanish-Indian marriages. The non-Indian peasant women take very little part in agricultural work, they are chiefly occupied with household chores. As for the Indian women, they work with the rest of their family on the coffee plantations. This enables the head of the family to earn a little more since he is the only one who is paid. But although the pittance earned by the women goes into the family budget, the men continue to keep them in utter subjection. Moreover Indian women become mothers at a very early age. It is therefore not surprising that the high mortality rate among the Indians, which is much above that of the non-Indian population (the average life span in Guatemala is 36 years), is accounted for chiefly by the women.

The problem of the Indian women can be solved only as part of the problem of the Indian population as a whole. The semi-feudal economic structure of the country is founded to a great extent on the exploitation and social oppression of the Indians. And the question of agrarian reform is one that concerns them most directly.

Thus, in examining the women's question in Guatemala it is essential first and foremost to take account of the difference between the Indian and non-Indian population.

Further, there is a steadily increasing influx of women into the various branches of the economy. To some extent this process is a positive factor in the emancipation of women, since they are no longer regarded merely as

"auxiliary members of the family," but as employees, and hence they receive a certain remuneration for their labor. According to the 1950 census, the labor force in Guatemala totalled 967,000 persons, of whom 843,000 were men and 125,000, women. (Since then the population has increased by nearly one million).

Guatemala has laws guaranteeing equal pay for equal work and better working conditions for women. In practice, however, these laws are violated as a rule not only by the employers but by the government itself. Here is a typical example. The Ydigoras government has debarred from the teaching profession unmarried women teachers who have children. This decision was motivated by the reactionary moralizers on the grounds that a woman whose child is born out of wedlock is unfit to be the mentor of the youth.

Although the number of women students in higher educational institutions is increasing, you will not find a single woman judge or even magistrate. Women of other professions, too, are obliged to content themselves with second-rate jobs.

Women take practically no part in politics. A negligible minority are members of political parties. There is not a single woman member of a municipal council, let alone of Congress.

Political activity is regarded as an exclusive male prerogative. There is still much that is uncivilized in the attitude toward women. In divorce cases the woman can be "allotted" (like a piece of property) to anyone designated by the court. Parental rights are exercised exclusively by the father—the husband is the master of the family. The Constitution states that right of citizenship is granted to men at the age of 18, and to women of the same age provided they can read and write, which leaves illiterate women out of the picture altogether (71.9 per cent of the population is illiterate).

What is the explanation for this? The answer must be sought in the backward social regime.

Nevertheless some changes have taken place. They are the result of the victory won by the revolutionary movement in October 1944. Women have begun to take part in trade union and cultural organizations and some have joined political parties. It was during the revolutionary decade (1944-1954) that some important laws on the protection of women's rights were adopted. The Women's Alliance, founded at that time, fought actively for these rights. When the agrarian reform was started many peasant women received land allotments.

After the imperialist intervention which overthrew the revolutionary regime in 1954, the women's organizations were disbanded, women democrats were persecuted and jailed. But the reactionary regime could not eradicate all the gains won by the women workers. And more and more women (including women from the middle classes) are joining in the fight for their rights.

The achievements of the USSR and the example of the victorious revolution in Cuba have a strong influence on the women's democratic movement.

Despite the persecution, a successful fight is being waged to bring working women into the trade unions and for the right to form new unions. Peasant women, too, are becoming more active (especially in the south).

The Communists are exerting every effort to organize the masses of women and to unite them in the fight for their demands. These demands are contained in the political platform of the Guatemalan Party of Labor adopted at its Third Congress: 1) juridical, political and social equality for women; 2) application of the principle of equal pay for equal work; 3)

implementation of the laws protecting the rights of working mothers; 4) regulation of the labor of domestic servants; 5) granting of land to peasant women, widows or unmarried women; 6) protection of unmarried mothers; 7) concern for the health and improvement of the conditions of Indian women and peasant women; 8) a special effort to put an end to illiteracy among women; 9) encouragement to women to learn trades; 10) concern for the welfare of children.

As was noted by the conference of women members of our Party held at the end of 1961, the job is to unite the different groups of women in a federation or a national organization which would bring the majority of the women into the fight for a common program. The activities of the Dolores Bedoya* women's organization, which was founded in 1960, are limited mainly to the cultural sphere and the women's movement of today has outgrown it. However sectarian tendencies expressed, for example, in an underestimation of the work among middle-class women are preventing the new situation from being properly utilized.

Much has to be done among women Communists as well. When the women's party organizations were dissolved, their members were transferred to the newly-organized Party branches in the enterprises, in residential neighborhoods, school centers, etc.

In conclusion we should stress that to advance the women's democratic movement is the task not only of the women Communists, but of the whole party, of each and every Communist.

*Dolores Bedoya—wife and comrade of Pedro Molino, 19th century hero of the national-liberation movement of Guatemala.

Annie S. Buller (Canada)

SINCE Canadian women began their struggle for the franchise some 50 years ago, great changes have taken place in the status and role of women in society. Important and vigorous as the struggle for the vote was, it was nevertheless limited in scope and vision, feminist in character, and did not touch on the basic causes of that inequality — private property and the exploitation of man by man upon which capitalist society is based and from which both men and women suffer.

While large-scale industry enabled women to take part in production, it did not give them equality with men, did not emancipate them—it only created the possibilities for emancipation. It is not only a question of women being allowed to participate in production, or to be

tolerated in other spheres of public life, but of achieving through struggle together with men such a degree of emancipation where equality for women will be a way of life. This is possible only under communism.

In Canada, while there is equal pay legislation in eight of the ten provinces (and also in the federal civil service), much remains to be done to implement it in practice.

Of the total of women in the labor force, 75 per cent work in the service industries, and as most of these industries are unorganized the women have no union protection and are the most exploited, as these are the lowest-paid industries. In science and engineering, the number of women employed is very small. Their number in universities is generally much small-

er than the number of men, and they are engaged in such fields of study as household science, home economics, education, nursing and in the general arts—fields that are traditional for women. The working women in the great majority hold secondary positions.

To this we should add another example of women's inequality, and that is the field of government. Out of the 265 members of the federal parliament, only five are women (one of the five is a Minister in the Federal Cabinet, the first woman in Canadian history to achieve this rank). In the provincial parliaments with a total of 583 members there are only 13 women. In lower levels of government—municipal and school boards—there is a somewhat higher proportion of women in office.

Compare this inequality of women in Canada with the status of women in the Soviet Union. In the last elections 215 women (27.2 per cent) were elected to the Soviet of the Union out of the total of 791 deputies, whereas in the Federal Parliament of Canada women constitute only 1.9 per cent. In the Soviet of Nationalities, out of 652 elected deputies, 175 are women, or 26.8 per cent. What a difference!

Many women in Canada would welcome information about the socialist woman, and it is our duty to bring it to them, the more so that the Canadian people have been subjected to a long period of anti-communism and cold-war propaganda. Besides exploitation in production the working men and women are subjected to a barrage of alien ideas spread by the propaganda agencies of the monopolies and by the Right-wing labor leaders who preach peace between classes, say that strikes are outdated and don't pay, the line on wages should be held or Canada will be priced out of the world market.

Basing themselves on the fact that many of the working people have experienced close to two decades of a relatively high standard of living, the bourgeois and reformist ideologists are sowing illusions of a guaranteed and prolonged, if not permanent, prosperity for all.

But the armaments drive and preparations for war are helping to dispel these illusions. More and more women come to realize the need to fight for disarmament and peace.

A women's movement for peace, called the "Voice of Women" came into being some two years ago. This movement, cutting across class and political lines, it attracting thousands of women. While its heterogeneity is often reflected in unclarity of action, it nevertheless represents the will of a broad front of Canadian women for peace and the desire to do something about it.

There is the democratic woman's movement, the Congress of Canadian Women, comprised of a number of associated groups. It is affiliated with the Women's International Democratic Federation, it undertakes activity to promote friendship, gathers help for Cuba and Congo, and undertakes patronage of the children of some Spanish families who have suffered from the Franco dictatorship. There are also other women's organizations.

Naturally these organizations and movements do not pursue the aim of socialism, but they perform useful functions in working for one or several causes, and they get the whole-hearted support of our Party. In doing this the Party strives to open up new horizons for those who do not see, as yet, that there is a way out to a better and happier life, namely, socialism.

There are those in Canada who do not see the need for political work among women, who claim that the specific problems facing women can be solved in the general work of the labor movement. If we were to accept such a concept, we would come to the conclusion that we do not need special women's organizations and, to go further, that we do not need any ties with the women of other countries. Such a concept goes far to the extreme and is wrong, just as the other extreme is wrong — the old feminist position that it's a battle between the sexes and the class struggle does not enter the picture. Only by correcting such mistakes in the course of activity will we be able to carry out the line of our Party decided upon at its 17th National Convention in January 1962 and help build the broad people's front for peace, for the independence of our country, for the economic needs of the working people.

We, in Canada, realize that the word of the Party should be heard more often, and that the Party should help to solve the vital problems facing not only women but society as a whole. Such problems are numerous.

Here is one. In Canada only 30 per cent of the workers are organized in trade unions, and very few women workers are organized. Our aim is to make the unions act on behalf of the working women, both organized and unorganized. It should be borne in mind that among those unorganized there are many immigrant women workers (many of them Italian).

A study of the social basis of frequent mental illnesses among working women is badly needed. A seminar or forum would help throw more light on this grave matter.

Guidance to the low-paid women workers, the opening of nurseries and after-school care cen-

ters for the children of working mothers—these too are urgent questions.

Many tasks confront us, but we have many

ways to carry out various campaigns and to create a united democratic front of the working people, including women.

Reviews

Exporters of Counter-Revolution

BY FAR the biggest item of United States export nowadays is counter-revolution. And the trade is very much in the hands of the Central Intelligence Agency, CIA for short.

The CIA dates from 1947, and the date is significant, for it was then that the various organizations engaged in espionage were fused into a single, centralized body. The fusion reflected the alarm felt among the rulers of America at the rising tide of socialism in the postwar years and the sweeping advance of the national-liberation struggle in country after country in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The new spying organization was conceived by Allen Dulles who has behind him a lifetime of spying and who, until his colossal blunder in Cuba, directed, from 1953 onwards, all its multifarious cloak and dagger operations.

These operations, or at any rate as many of them as the CIA wants publicized, are retailed with unfeigned admiration and in no little detail by journalist Andrew Tully in a book entitled *CIA: The Inside Story*.*

Tully's "inside story" contains, it should be said, quite a plethora of blarney, glamorized detective fiction obviously designed for innocents at home, to reassure them and to show them what clever chaps the adventuresome young men of the CIA really are.

His book, however, is not confined to rehashing Conan Doyle. After describing a series of adventures that would do credit even to Sherlock Holmes, it passes on to the seamier and more sinister aspects of CIA activities which, we are told, "have been dangerous enough to threaten world peace."

The avowed aim of the CIA — the adoring Tully calls it a "noble aim" — is to "crush the international Communist conspiracy." This phrase, which recurs on page after page, is the kind of jargon peddled by Hitler and Goebbels when the big German trusts were preparing for the Second World War.

Export of counter-revolution being a strange trade, forces the CIA, according to Tully, "to do business with a strange assortment of characters."

Let's take a look at some of these "characters."

CIA's number one man in Western Europe is Reinhold Gehlen who during the war was one of the chiefs of the Abwehr, Hitler's cloak and dagger outfit. Shortly after Berlin fell to the Soviet Army, Gehlen turned up at the headquarters of the U.S. Counter-Intelligence Corps and offered his services, and the services of his staff, and his archives, to the Americans. The latter never hesitated. Instead of being taken to Nuremberg to stand trial, Gehlen was immediately flown to Washington where he had heart to heart talks with Allen Dulles and other spy-men and, after long negotiations, returned to West Germany, as head of an American spying apparatus. By the early 1950's Gehlen had a staff of 4,000 espionage experts — mostly SS officers — and another 4,000 undercover agents, while his annual subsidy from Washington was running at the rate of \$6 million. And, says Tully, Gehlen still is CIA's "principal eyes and ears in Europe."

So much for West Germany; now for France.

In April 1961, at the time of the revolt of the generals in Algeria, practically the entire Paris press and even Gaullist ministers blamed the CIA for its complicity in the plot.

And when Kennedy's press officer Pierre Salinger complained to Foreign Minister de Murville, pleading with him to do something to ease the situation for the United States, Salinger could get little consolation. "I'm afraid," said the polite de Murville, "the CIA has been rather irresponsible."

While generals, naturally, are big fish for the CIA, lower echelons of the armed forces cannot complain of neglect. In the Congo, Tully writes, the CIA "came up with the right man at the right time." The man was Mobuto — then a sergeant, now, in recognition of his

**CIA: The Inside Story*, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1962, 276 pp.

CIA services, a general. President Kasavubu, too, we learn, "sat at the CIA men's feet," and Kasavubu was acting on CIA counsel when he issued the proclamation "deposing" Prime Minister Lumumba.

Revealing, too, is the story of CIA operations in Iran.

"The time had come," we read, "for the United States to embark on an international gamble." The time was the early 1950's when Prime Minister Mossadeq announced the expropriation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the nationalization of Iran's oil fields. The CIA reacted to this news by plunging into an international gamble. The gamble, of course, was by hook or crook to keep the oil resources in the hands of the imperialists.

Allen Dulles "set the wheels in motion." A General Schwartzkopf, an old American spy in the Middle East, most conveniently happened to be on the spot. In "a period of a few days," Tully tells us, "Schwartzkopf supervised the spending of more than ten million CIA dollars," with special attention to corrupt politicians of the Amini type, police officials and impoverished lumpenproletarian elements.

Teheran's "strange assortment of CIA characters" included what Tully describes as "a long and winding procession . . . of tumblers, weight-lifters, wrestlers, boxers." Then, at a given signal, "the weird procession broke into an organized shouting mob." Onlookers joined in, "some of them keeping one hand tight against pockets where their American wages were secured." The dollar-paid rioters were joined by military units who, likewise, had been suborned. After a nine-hour battle, the counter-revolution could claim victory for the time being. It was, we are told, "an American operation from beginning to end." And true enough, Tully's description of the coup reminds one of the gangster crimes in Chicago and New York during the 1920's and 1930's.

Another example of the gangster methods favored by the CIA is afforded by Burma. When the people of China inflicted the final crushing defeat on Chiang Kai-shek's American-supplied army, several thousands of Chiang's followers fled into Burmese territory. The CIA, ever ready for provocations against the socialist countries, took these cutthroats under its patronage. Dollars were lavished on them, food and arms were parachuted to them and, what is more, CIA men provided leadership. These CIA freebooters drove Burmese peasants out of their homes and seized their best land. Instead of fighting, they found it more profitable to grow opium on the land confiscated from the Burmese peasants, and in typical gangster

fashion settled down to the highly profitable drug traffic, thereby adding considerably to their dollar subsidies.

It was only when the Burmese government threatened to break off diplomatic relations with Washington that the CIA, reluctantly, shipped 6,000 of its mercenaries to Taiwan.

Turning to the export of counter-revolution in 1954 to Guatemala, which resulted in the overthrow of the democratic anti-imperialist Arbenz government, Tully exultantly declares: "The Guatemalan story shows CIA at its very best." That the U.S. government flagrantly violated the United Nations Charter and international law doesn't seem to worry the author. Why should it? After all he is an admirer of the CIA which, he tells us, by virtue of its nature is not "overly concerned with questions of morality."

But while in raptures about Guatemala, he is in the doldrums about Laos and Cuba. In Laos, where the export of counter-revolution swallowed something like \$300,000,000 a year, he glumly records that all the CIA's "frantic maneuverings went down the drain."

But worst of all was Cuba which, he confesses, was, in every respect, a "catastrophe."

He blames the CIA for landing Kennedy in a mess. Only five days before the invasion the President had declared at a White House press conference that the United States would never intervene with force in Cuba. Yet as Kennedy was speaking, and as the journalists were taking down his words, CIA men were busy painting Cuban Air Force markings on the U.S. planes which two days later would drop their bombs and kill Cuban people.

The bombings and the invasion, so painstakingly prepared by the CIA and described in detail by Tully, shocked the whole world. The impact on United States prestige of this treacherous Pearl Harbor type of first strike was shattering.

This time, in his ill-starred attempt to export his cargo of counter-revolution to a neighboring country, Allen Dulles badly burned his fingers. His long career as leader of the U.S. cloak and dagger brigade had ended in monumental failure, followed in due course by a retreat into an unwept and unsung retirement. And Mr. Tully took to his typewriter to restore the gloss to the tarnished CIA image.

Author Tully draws no lesson from his survey of CIA operations, beyond the vague hope that John McCone, its present head, may undo the damage caused by Dulles. The reader, however, will draw his own conclusions. Learning from the "inside story" of this sinister organi-

zation, he will see that far from being a fire brigade for extinguishing international fires, as is claimed by its apologists, the CIA is, as the record shows, a highly dangerous fire-light-

ing organization. This is the only conclusion that can be drawn from all the CIA's operations for export of counter-revolution.

John GIBBONS

The Program of the CPSU and the Poverty of Its Critics

THE Program of the CPSU from 1903 to 1961" is the title of a book which has appeared recently in West Germany. It contains the texts of the three programs of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and a commentary by Prof. Meissner, of the Federal Institute for the study of Marxism-Leninism, on the Program adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress.

In a foreword the author notes that despite the massive literature on the subject, communism "as a world phenomenon" has yet to be adequately studied; there is a definite need, he says, for research based on original material.

Prof. Meissner feels, evidently, that his book fills the gap and that his critique of the CPSU Program is an example of scholarly research in this sphere. One has only to scan the first few pages, however, to see how wide of the mark he is. For the professor doesn't rise an inch above the boulevard press. He, too, bases his reasoning on "Moscow's bid for world domination." True, this leaves the "world phenomenon" aspect of communism unexplained, for how can anyone seriously believe that the movement of the millions who are fighting against capitalism and building socialism and communism is solely the result of "Moscow intrigues."

Meissner devotes much space to questions of war and peace. And this is not fortuitous. Now that prevention of war, peaceful coexistence and general and complete disarmament are the program demands of the international Communist movement, it is not so easy to deceive the masses with the old cock-and-bull nonsense about communist aggression.

"Why accuse the non-Soviet world of being the only source of war," says Meissner, "when it is precisely the Soviet Union that avowedly approves of two forms of war, namely, 'wars of liberation' and civil war" (p. 60). And further: "In voicing its approval of a certain type of war . . . the CPSU is creating a terrible threat to world peace" (pp. 60-61). Thus, by dint of a little verbal sleight-of-hand, Meissner depicts the Soviet Union as the "permanent aggressor." The CPSU Program speaks of support for the national-liberation struggle of the peoples and

of the possibility of non-peaceful forms of revolution. But the causes of both the one and the other lie in the colonial and class oppression by imperialism and not in the wording of the Program.

What subterfuges the ideologists of anti-communism resort to are evident from Heissner's disquisitions on peaceful coexistence. He admits that "no one in the world can object" to the principles of peaceful coexistence outlined in the Program. But in the next breath he declares that "inasmuch as it is a 'specific form of class struggle', it is extremely difficult to distinguish between this 'coexistence on the razor's edge' and the cold war . . . A bigger contradiction than that between this ideological interpretation of peaceful coexistence and the principles set forth in the Program as the prerequisites for peaceful coexistence can hardly be imagined" (p. 63).

Meissner agrees, and his admission is to be welcomed, that the policy of cold war is incompatible with peaceful coexistence. As for his complaints about the class approach of the CPSU to peaceful coexistence, they should be addressed not to the CPSU but to history. It is beyond anyone's power to call off the class struggle so long as antagonistic classes exist. But the choice of the forms and the means of struggle rest with the two opposing sides. In the interests of peace and humanity, the Communists insist that the struggle be waged without resorting to war as a vehicle of policy, without interference in the affairs of other nations, and through peaceful competition. Struggle of this kind, obviously, has nothing in common with cold war, which presupposes an arms race and the danger of ideological disputes being settled by resort to arms.

Meissner argues against the definition of imperialism in the Program. True, instead of facts we are treated to repetition *ad nauseam* of the claim that the Marxist-Leninist concept of capitalism is a "bygone phase," that social development has "upset most of these theses of Marx's teaching about classes." And what the Program says about the domination of the monopolies is dismissed as the "unbridled fan-

tasy" of its compilers. While we have no desire to argue the matter with Meissner, we would point out that these conclusions are by no means the monopoly of "communist fantasy." The leaders of the Socialist International, for example, who can hardly be accused of communist sympathies, have declared that "the concentration of economic power and the growth of uncontrolled monopolies continues."* And such a doughty anti-communist as Eisenhower, in his last presidential message on January 17, 1961, spoke of the danger of a "military-industrial complex" which handles billions of dollars and whose influence "is felt in every city, in every state house, in every office of the Federal government." And finally, in West Germany itself, that is, in the learned Professor's own bailiwick, the official propaganda center, Home Service, in its anti-communist effusions recognizes the obvious fact of monopoly domination.

Meissner's claim that the Soviet 20-year development plan is unrealistic will hardly convince anyone. The Western propaganda failures in the matter of assessing the economic and scientific potentialities of the Soviet Union have, evidently, taught the Professor nothing. He is so happy riding his anti-communist hobby horse that he appears to be blissfully unaware that the more serious bourgeois scholars have long since learned to avoid sweeping statements of

this nature. In June 1961, for example, a conference of West German economists in Bad-Godesberg spoke of the advantages of a "centrally governed economy of the Soviet type" over the "market controlled national economies." Addressing the conference, Professor Friedensburg said: "... We cannot but be concerned at the fact that another economic system with its unquestionable success may turn out to be much stronger for a long time to come and thus prove its superiority . . ."*

Meissner's book is further proof of the sterility of anti-communism. The "experts," unable to think up any new arguments, fall back on the old bogies. There is, however, a sensible section in the book — the supplement with the text of the CPSU Program. This we can recommend to the reader. The West German police have been hunting high and low for this text, conducting searches and confiscating printed matter. Its appearance in this book must be due either to an oversight on the part of the police or to the hope that Meissner's concoction is a powerful enough antidote. In any case the reader will judge for himself which is the more convincing — the Program or the Meissner commentary. In the circumstances, one can but hope that the book will have the widest possible circulation.

Walter SCHULTZ

*Die Zukunft, No. 1, 1962, p. 2.

*Beihefte der Konjunkturpolitik No. 8, 1961, p. 80.

Communications and Comment

New Obstacles on the Road to Independence

(Letter from British Guiana)

WILL our country achieve independence in 1962? Until recently an answer in the affirmative seemed to raise no doubts. Recent developments, however, have again worsened the situation in British Guiana and have provided a pretext to some organs of the U.S. and British press to launch a campaign for preserving "Western control" over this small colony and to postpone independence.

The New York Times (May 4, 1962) in an editorial entitled "British Guiana Must Wait" said bluntly that our country "is not going to be ready for statehood this year."

* * *

The independence movement has been growing in British Guiana in recent years. The movement is headed by the People's Progressive Party whose leader is Dr. Cheddi Jagan. This Party, formed in 1950, initially included members from the two basic national groups — East Indians and Afro-Guianese. It headed the struggle for the Constitution and for universal suffrage, as a result of which the country received a Constitution in April 1953 and a general election was held. As was to be expected, the People's Progressive Party carried the election and Cheddi Jagan became the Premier of the first government of British Guiana. But this government was short-lived. In October 1953 the British colonialists deposed Dr. Jagan's government and suspended the Constitution. This act of colonial violence evoked profound indignation among the people.

But the colonialists did not stop at that. They succeeded in splitting the People's Progressive Party by playing on racial antagonisms between the Indians and Africans. The splinter group — the right (African) wing of the Party — headed by Dr. Forbes Burnham, formed the People's National Congress party in 1955. Whereas the People's Progressive Party advanced the demand for complete independence, the Burnham party only advocated self-government and Guiana's inclusion in the West Indies Federation.

The colonialists hoped to deprive the People's Progressive Party of its majority support, using the splitters for this purpose. But in the

1957 election Dr. Jagan and his supporters again won a victory. In preparation for the 1961 election the Colonial Office in London reshuffled the system of constituencies in the hope that this would prevent the PPP from winning a majority. But this plan, too, failed. The People's Progressive Party won a resounding victory, securing 20 seats out of 35 in the Legislative Assembly — a clear majority. Dr. Cheddi Jagan again became head of government.

The first step of the new government was to introduce a motion to the Legislative Assembly demanding that the Colonial Office arrange a conference in order to fix the date for Guiana's independence in 1962. The motion was passed by a 29 to 4 majority. Even the People's National Congress, aware of the situation in the country and the aspirations of the masses, voted in support of the government's motion.

The four votes against the independence motion came from a rabid right-wing group — the United Force — whose methods of campaign propaganda and organization are completely fascist. Its leader, Peter D'Aguiar, who controls one of Guiana's three daily newspapers, a liquor store and bar and a beer factory, comes from one of Guiana's richest and most privileged families. His Party managed to win four seats but only in remote constituencies dominated by Catholic priests and in elite sections of the capital.

After the country was granted internal self-government, Dr. Jagan's government was faced with the problem of finding the finances for development. Since foreign aid could hardly be hoped for, the main emphasis had to be placed on the internal resources. The government took a number of steps with a view to regulating the country's finances. It, in particular, instituted a currency exchange control to curb the inordinate outflow of the country's capital. At the end of January the government submitted a budget which mirrored the desire of the People's Progressive Party to develop the economy by utilizing the national resources and at the expense of certain sacrifices on the part of the more well-to-do sections of the population.

The aim of the budget, said Dr. Charles Jacob, the Finance Minister, was to raise extra millions for the 1962 expanded development program of \$41 million and to curb economic inequality by redistribution of the wealth.

The following taxes were proposed: a) a property tax; b) a capital gains tax, which takes a slice out of "unearned income" from sale of property; c) increased taxes on insurance companies — from 15 to 30 per cent; d) a gift tax affecting property and income transfers (over the value of \$5,000).

It was also proposed to increase taxes on non-essential luxury goods and items for which there are local substitutes. There were to be slight increases on some of the manufactures and foodstuffs.

The budget also envisaged a compulsory savings scheme that exacted five cents on every dollar over the monthly income of \$100.

The publication of the budget served as a signal for an attack by the opposition parties. It was the United Force that initiated the attack. The merchant class, with Mr. D'Aguiar, mobilized its propaganda and launched a vicious attack on the government and the budget.

Upon the publication of the budget, the merchants immediately upped prices on almost all items, even those not affected by new taxes. Those that were taxed were increased disproportionately with the budgetary increases.

The first sizable demonstration and action against the government came on February 12, when commercial houses were closed down and a "strike" called. Nearly all these firms are owned by United Force businessmen, and so the "strike" was forced on the employees. One had an impression that a well-prepared show was under way with a view to discrediting Dr. Jagan and his government.

In view of the developments the government took steps to help the situation. On Wednesday, February 14, Dr. Jagan announced the withdrawal of the taxes affecting the working man and raised the ceiling on the compulsory savings scheme from \$100 to \$300.

But on February 15, the anti-government demonstrations were intensified. Even a few stores that braved intimidation were forcibly closed, while the TUC now demanded the withdrawal of the whole budget, the U.F. — the resignation of the government, and the PNC — "no independence under Jagan".

On the morning of February 16 the anti-government actions reached the highest pitch. The crowds became practically uncontrollable as the United Force speakers inflamed their emotions by falsely telling them that the police had killed

two children. From then the violence erupted; Freedom House — PPP Headquarters — was attacked; PPP members found in the streets were beaten, and at the same time looting and incendiarism broke out. Sixty buildings were destroyed by fire, including half of the Georgetown commercial center, dozens of stores were left barren after long hours of thorough looting.

The PPP government was dangerously on the verge of forcible overthrow by the fascist elements. Such being the situation, Premier Jagan was compelled to ask the British authorities for help in the struggle against the looting and violence; the request was that the troops stationed only 25 miles away from Georgetown should be moved into the city at 1 a.m. on February 17 — instead they arrived at 3 p.m. Most people here feel certain that had troops been brought in at the time when the Premier requested them the tragedy would have been prevented and the hopes of the fascists dashed to the ground.

There are various views about the inexplicable delay of the British military command. It became known that the British authorities had deliberately delayed sending troops and at the same time exerted pressure on Jagan trying to make him resign.

At present our country is facing serious economic and political difficulties. The government is faced with the necessity of drastically reducing the size of the development program, as a result of modifications in the budget and the loss of revenue on account of the destruction by fires and lootings, which has been estimated at \$40 million. In addition, the unemployment figure has been increased by 3,000. Serious problems have been left in the wake of the disturbances. Racial animosity between East Indian and Afro-Guianese has been aggravated considerably. This animosity is fanned up by the enemies of the government and of the People's Progressive Party.

The delaying tactics of the colonialists with regard to granting independence to British Guiana cannot but evoke alarm. According to reports in the British press, the State Department is exerting pressure on Britain with a view to compelling it not to grant independence to British Guiana, at least in the immediate future. According to these reports, the Americans do so because they fear the emergence in South America of a new sovereign and democratic state pursuing an independent foreign policy and enacting in far-reaching economic and social reforms.

We are now faced with the important task of securing the cooperation of the two leading

parties: the People's Progressive Party with its support in the rural areas, and the People's National Congress with its backing in the urban

areas. This cooperation would be an earnest of British Guiana's successful advance along the road to independence. *P. H.*

The Liberation Struggle Is Growing

(Letter from Aden)

THE fresh breeze of the national-liberation movement is blowing more and more strongly in our country, Aden, which is an old British colony and one of the last colonies in Asia. In 1839 the British imperialists occupied Aden, then a part of Yemen, and since then have been working hard to strengthen their hold over it, for they realize its significance, both military-strategic and economic (particularly so since oil was discovered here in 1950). Small wonder therefore that the imperialist and colonial yoke has its adverse effects in practically every sphere of life in our country.

Aden, it should be recalled, is divided into two parts: Aden, the town, and Aden, the Protectorate composed of 25 small Arab "sultanates." The town of Aden, the colony proper, is ruled by a British governor. There is also a Constitutional Assembly, half the members of which were supposed to be elected. But in fact, since the majority of the population are denied the right to vote, the composition of the Assembly does not reflect the will of the people.

As for the Protectorate, it is governed by Sultans and sheikhs who are agents of the British imperialists.

The latter have established naval and air bases in Aden and, as is evident from the White Book issued by the British government last February, Britain intends to transform Aden into an arsenal for atomic weapons.

The industry and foreign trade of Aden are controlled by the imperialist monopolies which are pumping huge profits out of the country, while the working people barely manage to subsist. Many are forced to migrate to neighboring countries in search of work. The mortality rate is high. It is not fortuitous that a large area is known as the "Hadramaut" which, translated, means "death-stricken."

The plight of the population gives rise to discontent and protests which at times develop into open struggle. In 1955, for instance, an uprising of the Bedouin tribes took place in the Protectorate, and the colonialists had to suppress it by force of arms. The working class organized in trade unions is playing an increasingly active part in the national-liberation strug-

gle. Although most of the union leaders tend to the Right, the workers are distinguished for their militancy. In 1956 a general strike of 5,000 oil workers, over 2,000 dockers, busmen, car drivers and airline personnel lasted for two months. In 1958 a 24-hour general strike took place to express the demand for equal rights for all nationalities.

In 1959 struggles were fought in some of the sultanates against the colonialist plan for the so-called "Federation of the Arab Sultanates in the South." A series of uprisings took place in the villages and towns. The authorities declared a state of emergency and bombed some of the centers of the revolt. In April 1961 a public demonstration was held to protest against turning Aden into a military base, to demand that the colonialists should go, and that the country be granted independence. February this year will be remembered as a month of strikes and student demonstrations against the policy of discrimination pursued by the imperialists. In many instances there were clashes with the police. In March there were more strikes, this time against dismissals (and this despite the fact that strikes are prohibited by a special decree issued in August 1960).

The national-liberation movement is now better organized. A number of anti-imperialist organizations formed recently in Aden stress the need to liberate the "Arab South" of Aden from the imperialist yoke, and to establish unity of action with "the North," i.e., with Yemen.

In its National Charter, the Popular Democratic Federation formed at the end of 1961 declares that "it is guided by the ideas of scientific socialism." The aims of the Federation are: to liberate Aden from imperialism, to prevent the use of its territory as a military vantage-ground, and to achieve the right of the people of Aden to self-determination (the government of Yemen recognized this right in 1957).

Since historically Aden is part of Yemen, the National Charter formulates the tasks facing the peoples of both Aden and Yemen.

The Popular Democratic Federation has denounced the slogan of "immediate unity with the UAR" advanced by some anti-imperialist circles. It is known that the federation between

Egypt and Yemen has disintegrated lately. Besides, the experience of the Syrian-Egyptian union shows that a union which is not built on a solid foundation and which does not serve in equal measure the interests of both sides, is an immature demand. The democratic forces in Aden are working for a broad national front

against imperialism and its agents as the only way to achieve national liberation. Our people are confident that their struggle for national independence will evoke a widespread response, that it will enjoy the support of all peace-loving peoples.

Ahmad HASSAN

Against the Persecution of Democrats

THE SHADOW OF McCARTHY OVER MEXICO

(Letter to the Editor)

ON March 10 the Mateos government condemned David Alfaro Siqueiros, member of the Central Committee of our Party and famous painter, and Filomeno Mata, journalist, to eight years' imprisonment. Shortly before, Demetrio Vallejo, former General Secretary of the Railwaymen's Union, and Roberto Gomez Godinez, another leading functionary of the same union, were sentenced to five years.

Comrade Siqueiros was indicted on the basis of a fascist-type law, the so-called "encroachment on the public system" act. He was put in the dock because of his political views, the ideas expressed in his art. His was the first case of a sentence being passed on the basis of this law. Filomeno Mata was indicted in exactly the same way.

The defense lawyers appealed to the Supreme Court, demanding the repeal of the sentences. They pointed out that the law had been violated

both during the arrest of the two men and during the trial, and stressed the unconstitutional character of the "encroachment on the public system" act.

We ask you to protest against the monstrous sentence passed on Siqueiros and Mata, and to demand its repeal and the acquittal of the other political prisoners arrested in March 1959, among whom, besides Demetrio Vallejo, are J. Encarnacion Perez, member of the Political Commission of our Party, Valentin Campa, Dionisio Encina, Gilberto Rojo Pobles and other trade union leaders and political figures.*

*Yours fraternally,
Central Committee,
Mexican Communist Party*

*The Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party wishes to inform you that all correspondence on this question should be forwarded to: Lic. Adolfo Lopez Mateos, Palacio Nacional, Mexico, D.F.

IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

THE U.S. authorities have been displaying particular zeal of late in applying the McCarran Act and its provisions not only against the Communist Party, USA, but also against trade union leaders, public personalities and organs of the press. Americans have responded to this action by rallying to the struggle for democratic rights and liberties.

The Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties sponsored on June 7 a public meeting in New York to protest against the McCarran Act. The meeting was attended by the first victims of the Act, the working-class leaders Gus Hall and Benjamin Davis, who spoke about the dangers emanating from the McCarran Act which is being used in an attempt to prevent the American people from expressing their views and upholding their rights. Ben Davis said that already now the McCarran Act is serving as a legal basis for fascism in the

USA. Over three thousand men and women who attended the meeting applauded Davis when he said that the time will come when a thousand McCarran Acts will not be able to prevent the growth of socialism and communism in the country.

Gus Hall said that the meeting demonstrated greater unity, greater resolve to fight the McCarran Act, a product of the cold war. The cold war policy, he went on, has brought fabulous profits to a handful of Wall Street financiers and industrialists: during the cold war period military appropriations have exceeded \$600,000 million. But at the same time, he said, 77 million Americans subsist in poverty and privation.

The meeting adopted the text of an appeal to President Kennedy urging him immediately to stop the persecutions based on the McCarran Act and to suspend its operation.

Progressives are indignant at the decision of the authorities to apply the provision of the Act for the labelling of Communist publications. A group of college newspaper editors from Columbia University, University of Chicago, Cornell University, University of Wisconsin, John Hopkins University, Reed College, Antioch College and other universities and colleges have jointly protested to President Kennedy against the application of this provision.

In their letter the editors say that the Act is hardly designed to facilitate the free and objective exchange of new ideas—at the very time when the younger generation must develop new solutions to the problems of international understanding and peace. The label, they say, appears to be designed to discourage youth, many of whom will shortly vote for the first time, from looking into the publications of minority political parties.

They call on the President to stop the harassment and jailings of personnel of *The*

Worker, and not to enforce the labelling provision of the McCarran Act.

The movement of the students in defense of democratic rights is gaining momentum. The *Washington Post*, for example, recently reported that a group of students at the University of California lodged a complaint in court to make the University authorities rescind their order banning Communist speakers from the campuses.

The authorities are again resorting to repressions aimed at preventing the people from freely expressing their views. Early in June they arrested and sent to prison a large number of champions of peace and disarmament who had protested against the nuclear tests carried out by the United States. In response to these measures more and more people are joining in the struggle against the reactionary forces, for the defense of democratic rights and liberties in the USA.

V.M.

FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE KURDISTAN QUESTION

TRYING to mislead public opinion, the Kassem government is distorting the truth about the situation in Kurdistan where, as was the case in the autumn of last year, brutal reprisals are again being taken against the people who are defending their national rights.

The tragic events in Kurdistan have alarmed the public and all progressives in Iraq who know from experience that national conflicts are, as a rule, incited by the imperialists in pursuance of their interests.

In a memorandum submitted to the government, hundreds of prominent personalities, among them Kamil Chaderchi, leader of the National Democratic Party, have urged a peaceful solution to the Kurdish crisis.

The Iraqi Communist Party, too, has appealed to world public opinion to support the demand that the Iraqi government should call off the military operations as a preliminary to a peaceful settlement. "The present popular resistance in Iraq against the measures taken by the Government to suppress the Kurdish national movement," says the appeal, "is gaining mo-

mentum. Nevertheless, there has been no sign up to now which might show that the Government is willing to abandon its current policy, despite the fact that this policy had led and is still leading to the shedding of blood of both Arabs and Kurds, to the widening of the rift in the ranks of the patriotic forces, and to the weakening of the possibilities for safeguarding the country's independence which is continuously being exposed to the threats and intrigues of CENTO and the oil monopolies."

The Communist Party's appeal stresses the aid rendered the people of Iraq in their struggle for democratic rights by the support and solidarity of progressives everywhere. "Fraternal international solidarity," it says, "against the death sentences passed on a number of democrats in Mosul played an important role in forcing the government of Kassem to nullify the sentences and deliver 45 patriots from the gallows. The Iraqi people and particularly the Kurdish people in Iraq, as well as in the neighboring countries, are nowadays looking to an effective international solidarity movement in their ordeal of bloodshed."

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the titles are given in English)

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