

# political affairs

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## AN APPEAL TO OUR READERS

The January, 1961 issue of POLITICAL AFFAIRS is number one of the fortieth volume of this Marxist-Leninist magazine. These have been forty stormy and difficult and glorious years. Through those years, here in the heartland of imperialism's main fortress, this magazine has kept unfurled the banner of Marxist-Leninist theory and analysis.

Our purpose is to keep that banner flying—for another forty years and forty times forty. This magazine's circulation and influence is growing, but it still reaches only a fraction of its potential audience. We want to expand, to advertise, to fight for more readers; and despite fantastic increases in costs, we have not increased the price of this magazine and we do not want to in the future. But to hold the price line, and to grow in readers we need financial assistance.

In forty years of publication history, this is the first time that POLITICAL AFFAIRS has appealed to its readership for money. We do this now because the opportunities for expansion were never better than at this moment and because the duty to reach out with the illumination of Marxism-Leninism here in the United States was never so urgent as it is today. With five thousand dollars from our readers we will be able to continue publication with no increase in price and we will be able to expand our promotional activities and so—without question—considerably enlarge our circle of readers. Please help; please give as much as you can spare to POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

Thank you.

The Editor.

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# political affairs

*A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism*

Editor: HERBERT APTHEKER; Associate Editor: HYMAN LUMER

## Statement by 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties

*Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties consulted together for an extended period of time in November, 1960. On December 5, 1960, these Parties unanimously adopted a Statement; this historic document is printed in full in the following pages in an authorized translation.—The Editor.*

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties have discussed at this Meeting urgent problems of the present international situation and of the further struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Meeting has shown unity of views among the participants on the issues discussed. The Communist and Workers' Parties have unanimously reaffirmed their allegiance to the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted in 1957. These program documents of creative Marxism-Leninism determined the fundamental positions of the international Communist movement on the more important issues of our time and contributed in great measure toward uniting the efforts of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle to achieve common goals. They remain the banner and guide to action for the whole of the international Communist movement.

The course of events in the past three years has demonstrated the correctness of the analysis of the international situation and the outlook for world development as given in the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, and the great scientific force and effective role of creative Marxism-Leninism.

*The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.*

Nevertheless, imperialism, which is intent on maintaining its positions, sabotages disarmament, seeks to prolong the cold war and aggravate it to the utmost, and persists in preparing a new world war. This situation demands ever closer joint efforts and resolute actions on the part of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions, to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces

in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, and for socialism.

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

*It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.*

The strength and invincibility of socialism have been demonstrated in recent decades in titanic battles between the new and old worlds. Attempts by the imperialists and their shock force—fascism—to check the course of historical development by force of arms ended in failure. Imperialism proved powerless to stop the socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia. Socialism became a world system. The imperialists tried to hamper the economic progress of the socialist countries, but their schemes were foiled. The imperialists did all in their power to preserve the system of colonial slavery, but that system is falling apart. As the world socialist system grows stronger, the international situation changes more and more in favor of the peoples fighting for independence, democracy and social progress.

*Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.*

The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction. Socialism has made unprecedented constructive progress in production, science and technology and in the establishment of a new, free community of people, in which their material and spiritual requirements are increasingly satisfied. The time is not far off when socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavor, the sphere of material production.

The consolidation and development of the socialist system exert an ever-increasing influence on the struggle of the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example, the world socialist system is revolutionizing the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries; it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism, and is greatly facilitating that fight. In the capitalist countries the forces fighting for peace and national independence and for the triumph of democracy and the victory of socialism, are gaining in numbers and strength.

The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegrated

tion and decay. Its contradictions have accelerated the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. By tightening the monopolies' grip on the life of the nation, state-monopoly capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of the population.

But no matter what methods it resorts to, the monopoly bourgeoisie cannot rescue capitalism. The interests of a handful of monopolies are in irreconcilable contradiction to the interests of the entire nation. The class and national antagonisms, and the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society, have sharpened greatly. Attempts to prop the decayed pillars of capitalism by militarism are aggravating these contradictions still further.

Never has the conflict between the productive forces and relations of production in the capitalist countries been so acute. Capitalism impedes more and more the use of the achievements of modern science and technology in the interests of social progress. It turns the discoveries of human genius against mankind itself by converting them into formidable means of destructive warfare.

The instability of capitalist economy is growing. Although production in some capitalist countries is increasing to some degree or other, the contradictions of capitalism are becoming more acute on a national as well as international scale. Some capitalist countries are faced with the threat of new economic upheavals while still grappling with the consequences of the recent economic crisis. The anarchical nature of capitalist production is becoming more marked. Capitalist concentration is assuming unprecedented dimensions, and monopoly profits and superprofits are growing. Monopoly capital has greatly intensified the exploitation of the working class in new forms, above all through intensification of labor. Automation and "rationalization" under capitalism bring the working people further calamities. Only by a stubborn struggle has the working class in some countries succeeded in winning a number of its pressing demands. In many capitalist countries, however, the standard of life is still below pre-war. Despite the promises made by the bourgeoisie, full employment was provided only in some of the capitalist countries, and only temporarily. The domination of the monopolies is causing increasing harm to the interests of the broad peasant masses and large sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie. In the capitalist countries, including some of the more developed, economically underdeveloped areas still exist where the poverty of the masses is appalling, and these, moreover, continue to expand.

These facts once again refute the lies which bourgeois ideologists and revisionists spread to the effect that modern capitalism has become "people's capitalism," that it has established a so-called "welfare state" capable of overcoming the anarchy of production and economic crisis and assuring well-being for all working people.

The uneven course of development of capitalism is continuously changing the balance of forces between the imperialist countries. The narrower the sphere of imperialist domination, the stronger the antagonisms between the imperialist

powers. The problem of markets has become more acute than ever. The new inter-state organizations which are established under the slogan of "integration" actually lead to increased antagonisms and struggle between the imperialist countries. They are new forms of division of the world capitalist market among the biggest capitalist combines, of penetration by stronger imperialist states of the economy of their weaker partners.

The decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States of America, the chief imperialist country of today. U.S. monopoly capital is clearly unable to use all the productive forces at its command. The richest of the developed capitalist countries of the world—the United States of America—has become a land of especially big chronic unemployment. Increasing under-capacity operation in industry has become permanent in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, which is achieved at the expense of the standard of life of the working people, the rate of growth of production has been declining in the post-war years and has been barely above the growth of population. Over-production crises have become more frequent. The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted, militarized economy. More than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia, and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. U.S. capitalist penetration into Africa is increasing. *U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.*

The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic "aid." They violate the sovereignty of developed capitalist countries as well. The dominant monopoly bourgeoisie in the more developed capitalist countries, which has allied itself with U.S. imperialism, sacrifices the sovereignty of their countries, hoping with support from the U.S. imperialists to crush the revolutionary liberation forces, deprive the working people of democratic freedoms and impede the struggle of the masses for social progress. U.S. imperialism involves those countries in the arms race, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying on subversive activities against socialist and neutral countries.

The pillars of the capitalist system have become so decayed that the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie in many countries can no longer resist on its own the forces of democracy and progress which are gaining in scope and strength. The imperialists form military-political alliances under U.S. leadership to fight in common against the socialist camp and to strangle the national-liberation, working-class and socialist movements. *International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.*

The system of military blocs set up by the United States is being weakened both by the struggle going on between their members and as a result of the struggle which the people are waging for the abolition of these blocs. The U.S. imperialists seek to strengthen aggressive blocs, which causes increased resistance on the part of the people. The United States remains the main

economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism, although its share in capitalist economy is diminishing. The British and French imperialists are making stubborn efforts to uphold their positions. The monopolies of West Germany and Japan, which have recovered their might and which are closely linked with the U.S. monopolies, are stepping up expansion. The West German monopolies, in pursuing their imperialist policy, seek more and more to exploit the underdeveloped countries.

The peoples are rising with growing determination to fight imperialism. A great struggle is getting under way between the forces of labor and capital, of democracy and reaction, of freedom and colonialism. The victory of the popular revolution in Cuba has become a splendid example for the peoples of Latin America. An anti-colonial movement for freedom and national independence is expanding irresistibly in Africa. The anti-imperialist national uprising in Iraq has been crowned with success. A powerful movement of the people against the Japanese-U.S. military alliance, for peace, democracy and national independence, is under way in Japan. Vigorous actions by the masses in Italy in defence of democracy show the militant resolve of the working people. The struggle for democracy, against the reactionary regime of personal power, is gathering momentum in France. There have been big working-class strikes in the U.S.A., Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, India, Britain, Canada, Belgium and other capitalist countries. The actions of the Negro people in the United States for their fundamental rights are assuming a mass character. There is a growing desire to unite the national forces against the fascist dictatorships in Spain and Portugal, and the democratic movement is gaining strength in Greece. Tyrannical military regimes have been overthrown in Colombia and Venezuela, a blow has been dealt to frankly pro-American puppet governments in South Korea and Turkey. A national-democratic movement, directed against the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies, is developing in South Vietnam and Laos. The Indonesian people are doing away with the economic positions the imperialists still retain in that country, particularly the positions held by the Dutch colonialists. The mass movement in defence of peace is gaining ground in all continents. All this is graphic evidence that the tide of anti-imperialist, national-liberation, anti-war and class struggles is rising ever higher.

*A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism.* This is shown by the triumph of socialism in a large group of European and Asian countries embracing one-third of mankind, the powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism throughout the world and the steady weakening of the imperialists' positions in the economic competition with socialism; the tremendous new upsurge of the national-liberation struggle and the mounting disintegration of the colonial system; the growing instability of the entire world economic system of capitalism; the sharpening contradictions of capitalism resulting from the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and militarism; the increasing contradictions between monopolies and the interests of the nation as a whole; the curtailment of bourgeois democracy and the tendency to adopt autocratic and fascist methods of government; and a profound crisis

in bourgeois politics and ideology. This stage is distinguished by the fact that it has set in not as a result of the world war, but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism. It has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful co-existence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace by their aggressive actions, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the broad masses of the people for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation. The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system. The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system. They are an earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress.

## II

*A new stage has begun in the development of the world socialist system. The Soviet Union is successfully carrying on the full-scale construction of a communist society. Other countries of the socialist camp are successfully laying the foundations of socialism, and some of them have already entered the period of construction of a developed socialist society.*

The socialist system as a whole has scored decisive victories. These victories signify the triumph of Marxism-Leninism; they show clearly to all the peoples who are under the domination of capital that a society based on this science opens up immense opportunities for the fullest development of economy and culture, for the provision of a high standard of living and a peaceful and happy life for people.

The Soviet people, successfully carrying out the Seven-Year Economic Development Plan, are rapidly building up a material and technical basis for communism. Soviet science has ushered in what is virtually a new era in the development of world civilization; it has initiated the exploration of outer space, furnishing impressive evidence of the economic and technical might of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union is the first country in history to be blazing a trail to communism for all mankind. It is the most striking example and most powerful bulwark for the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, national independence and social progress.

The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of the world forces changing in favor of socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The people's democratic republics of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the

German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which, together with the great Soviet Union, form the mighty socialist camp, have within a historically short period made remarkable progress in socialist construction.

People's government in these countries has proved its unshakable solidity. Socialist relations of production predominate in the national economy; the exploitation of man by man has been abolished forever, or is being abolished. The success of the policy of socialist industrialization has led to a great economic upsurge in the socialist countries, which are developing their economy much faster than the capitalist countries. All these countries have established a developed industry; agrarian in the past, they have become, or are becoming, industrial-agrarian countries.

—In recent years all the People's Democracies have solved, or have been successfully solving, the most difficult problem of socialist construction, that of transferring the peasantry, on a voluntary basis, from the road of small private farming to the road of large-scale co-operative farming on socialist lines. Lenin's co-operative plan has proved its great vitality both for countries where the peasants' attachment to private land ownership was a long-standing tradition and for countries that have recently put an end to feudal relations. The fraternal alliance of workers and peasants, which is led by the working class, and the maintenance and consolidation of which is, as Lenin taught, a supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has grown stronger. In the course of socialist construction this alliance of two classes of working people, which constitutes the political foundation of the socialist system, develops continuously, and further strengthens people's rule under the leadership of the working class and promotes the socialist reorganization of agriculture in accordance with the Leninist principle of voluntary co-operation of the peasantry.

Historic changes have taken place in the social structure of society. The classes of landlords and capitalists no longer exist in the People's Democracies. The working class has become the main force of society; its ranks are growing; its political consciousness and maturity have increased. Socialism has delivered the peasantry from age-long poverty and has made it an active force in social progress. A new, socialist intelligentsia, flesh of the flesh of the working people, is arising. All citizens have free access to knowledge and culture. Socialism has thus created not only political but material conditions for the cultural development of society, for the all-round and complete development of the gifts and abilities of man. The standard of life of the people is improving steadily thanks to economic progress.

—An unbreakable alliance of the working people of all nationalities has formed and has been consolidated in multi-national socialist states. The triumph of Marxist-Leninist national policy in the socialist countries, genuine equality of nationalities, and their economic and cultural progress serve as an inspiring example for the peoples fighting against national oppression.

In the People's Democracies, socialist ideology has achieved notable successes

in its struggle against bourgeois ideology. It is a long struggle that will go on until the complete emancipation of the minds of people from the survivals of bourgeois ideology.

The moral and political unity of society, which for the first time in history has come into existence and firmly established itself in the Soviet Union, is growing now in the other socialist countries as well. This makes it possible to use the creative energy of free workers most effectively for promoting the growth of the productive forces and the prosperity of socialist society.

Socialist society is improving steadily and becoming more and more mature; day after day it gives rise to a Communist attitude to labor and other elements of the future Communist society. The methods of socialist economic management and economic planning are steadily improving. Socialist democracy continues to develop; the masses are playing an increasing role in directing economic and cultural development; certain functions of the state are being gradually transferred to public organizations.

*Today the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well. The combined forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. Thus the rallying of the socialist states in one camp and the growing unity and steadily increasing strength of this camp ensure complete victory for socialism within the entire system.*

Thanks to the heroic effort of the working class and the peasantry and to the tremendous work of the Communist and Workers' Parties, most favorable objective opportunities have been provided in the past years for the further rapid development of the productive forces, for gaining the maximum time and achieving victory for the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist Parties heading the socialist countries consider it their duty to make proper use of these opportunities.

Having achieved major victories and withstood serious tests, the Communist Parties have gained ample and varied experience in directing socialist construction. The socialist countries and the socialist camp as a whole owe their achievements to the proper application of the general objective laws governing socialist construction, with due regard to the historical peculiarities of each country and to the interests of the entire socialist system; they owe them to the efforts of the peoples of those countries, to their close fraternal co-operation and mutual internationalist assistance, and above all, to the fraternal, internationalistic assistance from the Soviet Union.

The experience of development of the socialist countries is added evidence that mutual assistance and support, and utilization of all the advantages of unity and solidarity among the countries of the socialist camp, are a primary international condition for their achievements and successes. Imperialist, renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure. All the socialist countries cherish the unity of the socialist camp like the apple of their eye.

The world economic system of socialism is united by common socialist relations of production and is developing in accordance with the economic laws of socialism. Its successful development requires consistent application, in socialist construction, of the law of planned, proportionate development; encouragement of the creative initiative of the people; continuous improvement of the system of international division of labor through the co-ordination of national economic plans, specialization and co-operation in production within the world socialist system on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and vigorous improvement of the scientific and technological standard. It requires study of collective experience; extended co-operation and fraternal mutual assistance; gradual elimination, along these lines, of historical differences in the levels of economic development, and the provision of a material basis for a more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism.

Socialist construction in the various countries is a source of collective experience for the socialist camp as a whole. A thorough study of this experience by the fraternal parties, and its proper utilization and elaboration with due regard to specific conditions and national peculiarities are an immutable law of the development of every socialist country.

In developing industrial and agricultural production in their countries at a high rate in keeping with the possibilities they have, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and the internal resources of every country to carry out, by joint effort and as speedily as possible, the historic task of surpassing the world capitalist system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then outstrip the economically most developed capitalist countries in per capita output and in the standard of living. To carry out this task, it is necessary steadily to improve political and economic work, continuously to improve the methods of economic management and to run the socialist economy along scientific lines. This calls for higher productivity of labor to be achieved through continuous technical progress, economic planning, strict observance of the Leninist principle of providing material incentives and moral stimuli to work for the good of society by heightening the political consciousness of the people, and for control over the measure of labor and consumption.

To provide a material basis for the transition of the socialist countries to communism, it is indispensable to achieve a high level of production through the use of the latest techniques, electrification of the national economy, and mechanization and automation of production, without which it is impossible to provide the abundance of consumer goods required by a communist society. On this basis, it is necessary to develop communist social relations, vigorously promote the political consciousness of the people and educate the members of the new, communist society.

The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of

socialism and communism. It is an inviolable law of the mutual relations between socialist countries strictly to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every country in the socialist camp is ensured genuinely equal rights and independence. Guided by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states improve their all-round economic, political and cultural co-operation, which meets both the interests of each socialist country and those of the socialist camp as a whole.

One of the greatest achievements of the world socialist system is the practical confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that national antagonisms diminish with the decline of class antagonisms. In contrast to the laws of the capitalist system, which is characterized by antagonistic contradictions between classes, nations and states leading to armed conflicts, there are no objective causes in the nature of the socialist system for contradictions and conflicts between the peoples and states belonging to it. Its development leads to greater unity among the states and nations and to the consolidation of all the forms of co-operation between them. Under socialism, the development of national economy, culture and statehood goes hand in hand with the strengthening and development of the entire world socialist system, and with an ever greater consolidation of the unity of nations. The interests of the socialist system as a whole and national interests are harmoniously combined. It is on this basis that the moral and political unity of all the peoples of the great socialist community has arisen and has been growing. Fraternal friendship and mutual assistance of peoples, born of the socialist system, have superseded the political isolation and national egoism typical of capitalism.

The common interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and the interests of peace and socialism demand the proper combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism in politics. Every Communist Party which has become the ruling party in the state, bears historical responsibility for the destinies of both its country and the entire socialist camp.

The Declaration of 1957 points out quite correctly that undue emphasis on the role of national peculiarities and departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism regarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction prejudice the common cause of socialism. The Declaration also states quite correctly that Marxism-Leninism demands creative application of the general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction depending on the specific historical conditions in the country concerned, and does not permit of a mechanical copying of the policies and tactics of the Communist Parties of other countries. Disregard of national peculiarities may lead the party of the proletariat to being isolated from reality, from the masses, and many injure the socialist cause.

Manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system. If fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries are to be strengthened, it is necessary that the Communist and Workers' Parties pursue a Marxist-Leninist in-

ternationalist policy, that all working people be educated in a spirit of internationalism and patriotism, and that a resolute struggle be waged to eliminate the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

*The Communist and Workers' Parties tirelessly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Solid unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole.*

In blazing a trail to communism, the peoples of the socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. The working people of the capitalist world are following the constructive effort of the builders of socialism and communism with keen interest. This makes the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the peoples of the socialist countries accountable to the international working-class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties see it as their task indefatigably to strengthen the great socialist community of nations, whose international role in and influence upon the course of world events are growing from year to year.

*The time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development. There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interest of peace, democracy and socialism.*

The problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time.

War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating world wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe. Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centers of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, among them people in countries not involved in it. Imperialism spells grave danger to the whole of mankind.

The peoples must now be more vigilant than ever. As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression.

*The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new world war still persists. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. Its policy embodies the ideology of militant reaction. The U.S. imperialists, together with the imperialists of Britain, France and West Germany, have drawn many countries into NATO, CENTO, SEATO and other military blocs under the guise of combating the "communist menace"; it has enmeshed the so-called "free world," that is, capitalist countries which depend on them, in a network of military bases spearheaded first and foremost against the socialist countries. The existence of these blocs and bases endangers universal peace and security and*

not only encroaches upon the sovereignty but also imperils the very life of those countries which put their territory at the disposal of the U.S. militarists.

The imperialist forces of the U.S.A., Britain and France have made a criminal deal with West-German imperialism. In West Germany, militarism has been revived and the restoration is being pushed ahead of a vast regular army under the command of Hitler generals, which the U.S. imperialists are equipping with nuclear and rocket weapons and other modern means of mass annihilation, a fact which draws emphatic protests from the peace-loving peoples. Military bases are being provided for this aggressive army in France and other West-European countries. The threat to peace and the security of the European nations from West-German imperialism, is increasing. The West-German revenge-seekers openly declare their intention to revise the borders established after the Second World War. Like the Hitler clique in its day, the West-German militarists are preparing war against the socialist and other countries of Europe, and strive to effect their own aggressive plans. West Berlin has been transformed into a seat of international provocation. The Bonn state has become the chief enemy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and relaxation of tension in Europe.

The aggressive plans of the West-German imperialists must be opposed by the united might of all the peace-loving countries and nations of Europe. An especially big part in the struggle against the aggressive designs of the West-German militarists is played by the German Democratic Republic. The Meeting regards it as the duty of all the countries of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peace aspirations of the German nation.

The U.S. imperialists are also busy reviving the hotbed of war in the Far East. Trampling upon the national independence of the Japanese people and contrary to their will, they have, in collusion with the Japanese reactionary ruling circles, imposed upon Japan a new military treaty which pursues aggressive aims against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other peace loving countries. The U.S. invaders have occupied the island of Taiwan, which belongs to the Chinese People's Republic, and South Korea and are interfering more and more in the affairs of South Viet-Nam; they have turned them into hotbeds of dangerous military provocations and gambles. Threatening Cuba with aggression and interfering in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, the U.S. imperialists strive to create new seats of war in different parts of the world. They use such forms of regional alliance as, for example, the Organization of American States, to retain their economic and political control and to involve the peoples of Latin America in the realization of their aggressive schemes.

The U.S. imperialists have set up a huge war machinery and refuse to allow its reduction. The imperialists frustrate all constructive disarmament proposals by the Soviet Union and other peaceful countries. The arms race is going on. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons are becoming dangerously large. Defying protests from their own people and the peoples of other countries, particularly in the

African continent, the French ruling circles are testing and manufacturing atomic weapons. The U.S. militarists are preparing to resume disastrous atomic tests; military provocations that threaten serious international conflicts continue.

The U.S. ruling circles have wrecked the Paris meeting of the Heads of Government of the four Great Powers by their policy of provocations and aggressive acts, and have set out to increase international tension and aggravate the cold war. The war menace has grown.

The imperialist provocations against peace have aroused the indignation and resistance of the peoples. U.S. imperialism has exposed itself still more and its influence in the world has sustained fresh and telling blows.

The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression. War is not fatally inevitable. Had the imperialists been able to do what they wanted, they would already have plunged mankind into the abyss of the calamities and horrors of a new world war. But the time is past when the imperialists could decide at will whether there should or should not be war. More than once in the past years the imperialists have brought mankind to the brink of world catastrophe by starting local wars. The resolute stand of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist states and of all the peaceful forces put an end to the Anglo-Franco-Israeli intervention in Egypt, and averted a military invasion of Syria, Iraq and some other countries by the imperialists. The heroic people of Algeria continue their valiant battle for independence and freedom. The peoples of the Congo and Laos are resisting the criminal acts of the imperialists with increasing firmness. Experience shows that it is possible to combat effectively the local wars started by the imperialists, and to stamp out successfully the hotbeds of such wars.

*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 world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces*

The development of international relations in our day is determined by the struggle of the two social systems—the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression—a struggle in which the superiority of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy is becoming increasingly obvious.

For the first time in history, war is opposed by great and organized forces: the mighty Soviet Union, which now leads the world in the decisive branches of science and technology; the entire socialist camp, which has placed its great material and political might at the service of peace; a growing number of peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have a vital interest in preserving peace; the international working class and its organizations, above all the Communist Parties; the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries; the world peace movement; and the neutral countries which want no share in the imperialist policy of war, and advocate peaceful coexistence. The policy of peaceful coexistence is

also favored by a definite section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries, which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and of the dire consequences of a modern war. The broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by U.S. imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace. Concerted and vigorous actions of all the forces of peace can safeguard the peace and prevent a new war.

The democratic and peace forces today have no task more pressing than that of safeguarding humanity against a global thermonuclear disaster. The unprecedented destructive power of modern means of warfare demands that the main actions of the anti-war and peace-loving forces be directed towards preventing war. The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it. *The struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day. The important thing is to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war, and not to let it break out.*

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and promote co-operation with all countries which have no interest in new wars. In the countries where the imperialists have established war bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty, and preventing war. The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialists. Today as never before, it is important to fight perseveringly in all countries to make the peace movement thrive and extend to towns and villages, factories and offices.

The peace movement is the broadest movement of our time, involving people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace.

Further consolidation of the world socialist system will be of prime importance in preserving durable peace. So long as there is no disarmament, the socialist countries must maintain their defence potential at an adequate level.

In the opinion of Communists the tasks which must be accomplished first of all if peace is to be safeguarded are to stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, their tests and production, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city, thwart the designs of the West-German revanchists, and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

History has placed a great responsibility for warding off a new world war first and foremost on the international working class. The imperialists plot and join forces to start a thermonuclear war. The international working class must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new world war. *No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger. The hour has struck to counter the forces of war by the mighty will and joint action of all the contingents and organizations of the world proletariat, to unite its forces to avert world war and safeguard peace.*

The Communist Parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task. They call on the working class, trade unions, co-operatives, women's and youth leagues and organizations, on all working people, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, firmly to repulse by mass struggles all acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists.

But should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The U.S.S.R. will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. *In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world.* The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.

The Communists of all the world uphold peaceful coexistence unanimously and consistently, and battle resolutely for the prevention of war. The Communists must work untiringly among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and, at the same time, underestimation of the danger of war.

In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the C.P.S.U., and in the documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Five Principles jointly advanced by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India, and the propositions adopted at the Bandung Conference accord with the interests of peace and the peace-loving peoples.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems or destructive war—this is the alternative today. There is no other choice. Communists emphatically reject the U.S. doctrine of "cold war" and "brinkmanship," for it is a policy leading to thermonuclear catastrophe. By upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence, Communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military blocs, and dismantling of military bases, for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of states and their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural and scientific ties between nations.

The policy of peaceful coexistence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new cruel wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and international influence of the socialist countries and promotes the prestige and influence of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism against capitalism.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence. The Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful coexistence, their determination to prevent world war. They will do their utmost for the people to weaken imperialism and limit its sphere of action by an active struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist Parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas. But ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war.

*The meeting considers that the implementation of the program for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the destinies of mankind.* To realize this program means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries. It is not easy to realize owing to the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. Hence it is essential to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive

imperialist forces with the aim of carrying this program into practice. It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to strive perseveringly to achieve tangible results—the banning of the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and war bases on foreign soil and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, all of which should pave the way to general disarmament. Through an active, determined struggle by the socialist and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament.

The arms race is not a war-deterrent, nor does it make for a high degree of employment and well-being of the population. It leads to war. Only a handful of monopolies and war speculators are interested in the arms race. In the capitalist countries, the people constantly demand that military expenditures be reduced and the funds thus released be used to improve the living conditions of the masses. In each country, it is necessary to promote a broad mass movement, for the use of the funds and resources to be released through disarmament for the needs of civilian production, housing, health, public education, social security, scientific research, etc. Disarmament has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity. By an active and resolute struggle, the imperialists must be made to meet this demand of the peoples.

The Communist and Worker's Parties of the socialist countries will go on consistently pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and doing their utmost to spare the peoples the horrors and calamities of a new war. They will display the greatest vigilance towards imperialism, vigorously strengthen the might and defensive capacity of the entire socialist camp and take every step to safeguard the security of the peoples and preserve peace.

*The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist Parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission.*

#### IV.

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. About forty new sovereign states have arisen in Asia and Africa in the fifteen post-war years. The victory of the Cuban revolution has powerfully stimulated the struggle of the Latin-American peoples for complete national independence. A new historical period has set in in the life of mankind: the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won their freedom have begun to take an active part in world politics.

*The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement*

*is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.*

The Great October Socialist Revolution aroused the East and drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the world-wide revolutionary movement. This development was greatly facilitated by the Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War, the establishment of people's democracy in a number of European and Asian countries, the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, and the formation of the world socialist system. The forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression. The socialist system has become a reliable shield for the development of the peoples who have won freedom. The national-liberation movement receives powerful support from the international working-class movement.

The face of Asia has changed radically. The colonial order is collapsing in Africa. A front of active struggle against imperialism has opened in Latin America. Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world have won their independence in hard-fought battles with imperialism. Communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars; they are the most active champions of national independence. The existence of the world socialist system and the weakening of the positions of imperialism have provided the oppressed peoples with new opportunities of winning independence.

The peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by non-military methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national-liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.

The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic "aid," drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there. The imperialists endeavor to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the newly-free countries, to misrepresent the principle of self-determination of nations, to impose new forms of colonial domination under the spurious slogan of "inter-dependence," to put their puppets in power in these countries and bribe a section of the bourgeoisie. They resort to the poisoned weapon of national strife to undermine the young states that are not yet strong enough. They make ample use of aggressive military blocs and bilateral military alliances, to achieve these ends. The imperialists' accomplices are the most reactionary sections of the local exploiting classes.

The urgent tasks of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nations united in a single national-democratic front. The national democratic tasks on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and do unite in the countries which have won their freedom, are: the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imperialist economic domination, the restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a national industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratization of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and the development of economic and cultural co-operation with the socialist and other friendly countries.

The working class, which has played an outstanding role in the fight for national liberation, demands the complete and consistent accomplishment of the tasks of the national, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution, and resists reactionary attempts to check social progress.

The solution of the peasant problem, which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of the population, is of the utmost importance to these countries. Without radical agrarian reforms it is impossible to solve the food problem and sweep away the remnants of medievalism which fetter the development of the productive forces in agriculture and industry. The creation and extension on a democratic basis of the state sector in the national economy, particularly in industry, a sector independent from foreign monopolies and gradually becoming a determining factor in the country's economy, is of great importance in these countries.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations and ensuring social progress. This alliance is called upon to be the basis of a broad national front. The extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in the liberation struggle also depends to no small degree upon its strength and stability. A big role can be played by the national-patriotic forces, by all elements of the nation prepared to fight for national independence, against imperialism.

In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries unconnected with imperialist circles, is objectively interested in the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, and therefore retains the capacity of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is progressive. But it is unstable; though progressive, it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism. Owing to its dual nature, the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in the relationship of class forces, on the sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people, and on the depth of the

contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the national bourgeoisie.

After winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised in life and to the problems of reinforcing national independence. Different classes and parties offer different solutions. Which course of development to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves. As social consolidating the national economy and training national personnel, and cooperating with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger. The working class and the broad peasant masses are to play the leading part in solving this basic social problem.

In the present historical situation, favorable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organizations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy. The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and play an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the complete abolition of the colonial yoke.

The Communist Parties are working actively for a consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution, for the establishment of national democracies, for a radical improvement in the living standard of the people. They support those actions of national governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists' positions. At the same time they firmly oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence. Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose; they work for a genuine democratization of social life and rally all the progressive forces to combat despotic regimes or to curb tendencies towards setting up such regimes.

The aims of the Communists accord with the supreme interests of the nation. The reactionaries' effort to break up the national front under the slogan of "anti-communism" and isolate the Communists, the foremost contingent of the liberation movement, is contrary to the national interests of the people and is fraught with the loss of national gains.

The socialist countries are true and sincere friends of the peoples fighting for liberation and of those who have thrown off the imperialist yoke. While rejecting on principle any interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their internationalist duty to help the peoples in strengthening their independence. They help and support these countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training, national personnel, and cooperate with them in the struggle for world peace, against imperialist aggression:

The class-conscious workers of the colonial powers, who realized that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations," fought consistently for the self-determination of the nations oppressed by the imperialists. Now that these nations are taking the path of national independence, it is the internationalist duty of the workers and all democratic forces in the industrially developed capitalist countries to assist them vigorously in their struggle against the imperialists, for national independence, for its consolidation, and to assist them in effectively solving the problems of their economic and cultural rebirth. In so doing, they defend the interests of the popular masses in their own countries.

The entire course of the world history of recent decades prompts the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. All the peoples still languishing in colonial bondage must be given every support in winning their national independence. All forms of colonial oppression must be abolished. The abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance in easing international tension and consolidating universal peace. This Meeting expresses solidarity with all the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania who are carrying on a heroic struggle against imperialism. The Meeting hails the peoples of the young states of Africa who have achieved political independence—an important step towards complete emancipation. The Meeting extends heart-felt regards and support to the heroic Algerian people fighting for freedom and national independence, and demands an immediate cessation of the aggressive war against Algeria. It wrathfully condemns the inhuman system of racial persecution and tyranny in the Union of South Africa (apartheid) and urges democrats throughout the world to actively support the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality. The Meeting demands non-interference in the sovereign rights of the peoples of Cuba, the Congo and all the other countries that have won their freedom.

All the socialist countries and the international working-class and Communist movement see it as their duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny.

## V

The new balance of world forces offers the Communist and Workers' Parties new opportunities of carrying out the historic tasks they face in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Parties determine the prospects and tasks of revolution in

keeping with the concrete historical and social conditions obtaining in their respective countries and with due regard for the international situation. They are waging a selfless struggle, doing everything already in present conditions, without waiting until socialism triumphs, to defend the interests of the working class and the people, improve their living conditions and extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people. Knowing that the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of its people from capitalist oppression rests upon it, the working class and its revolutionary vanguard will with increasing energy press forward its offensive against the domination of oppressors and exploiters in every field of political, economic and ideological activity in each country. In the process of this struggle, the masses are prepared and conditions arise for decisive battles for the overthrow of capitalism, for the victory of socialist revolution.

The main blow in present conditions is directed with growing force at the capitalist monopolies, which are chiefly responsible for the arms race and which constitute the bulwark of reaction and aggression, at the whole system of state monopoly capitalism, which defends their interests.

In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism, the working class and the people direct the main blow against U.S. imperialist domination, and also against monopoly capital and other domestic reactionary forces that betray the interests of the nation. In the course of this struggle all the democratic, patriotic forces of the nation come together in a united front fighting for the victory of a revolution aimed at achieving genuine national independence and democracy, which create conditions for passing on to the tasks of socialist revolution.

The big monopolies encroach on the interests of the working class and the people in general all along the line. The exploitation of working people is gaining in intensity; so is the process in which the broad peasant masses are being ruined. At the same time, the difficulties experienced by the small and middle urban bourgeoisie are growing more acute. The oppression of the big monopolies is becoming increasingly heavier for all sections of the nation. As a result, the contradiction between the handful of monopoly capitalists and all sections of the people is now growing more pronounced, along with the sharpening of the basic class contradiction of bourgeois society—that between labor and capital.

The monopolies seek to abolish, or cut down to a bare minimum, the democratic rights of the masses. The reign of open fascist terror continues in some countries. In a number of countries, fascization is expanding in new forms: dictatorial methods of government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices that have been stripped of democratic content and reduced to pure form. Many democratic organizations are outlawed and are compelled to go underground, thousands of fighters for the working-class cause and champions of peace are in prison.

On behalf of all the Communists of the world, this Meeting expresses proletarian solidarity with the courageous sons and daughters of the working

class and the fighters for democracy, languishing behind prison bars in the U.S.A., Spain, Portugal, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, the Sudan and other countries. The Meeting urges launching a powerful, world-wide campaign to secure the release of these champions of peace, national independence and democracy.

The working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favorable conditions for rallying these forces.

Communists hold that this unity is quite feasible on the basis of the struggle for peace, national independence, the protection and extension of democracy, nationalization of the key branches of economy and democratization of their management, the use of the entire economy for peaceful purposes in order to satisfy the needs of the population, implementation of radical agrarian reforms, improvement of the living conditions of the working people, protection of the interests of the peasantry and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie against the tyranny of the monopolies.

These measures would be an important step along the path of social progress and would meet the interests of the majority of the nation. All these measures are democratic by nature. They do not eliminate the exploitation of man by man. But if realized, they would limit the power of the monopolies, enhance the prestige and political weight of the working class in the country's affairs, help to isolate the most reactionary forces and facilitate the unification of all the progressive forces. As they participate in the fight for dramatic reforms, large sections of the population come to realize the necessity of unity of action with the working class and become more active politically. It is the prime duty of the working class and its Communist vanguard to head the economic and political struggle of the masses for democratic reforms, for the overthrow of the power of the monopolies, and assure its success.

Communists advocate general democratization of the economic and social scene and of all the administrative, political and cultural organizations and institutions.

Communists regard the struggle for democracy as a component of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle they continuously strengthen their bonds with the masses, increase their political consciousness and help them understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and realize the necessity of accomplishing it. This sets the Marxist-Leninist Parties completely apart from the reformists, who consider reforms within the framework of the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and deny the necessity of socialist revolution. Marxists-Leninists are firmly convinced that the peoples in the capitalist countries will in the course of their daily struggle ultimately come to understand that socialism alone is a real way out for them.

Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class struggle, it is of the utmost importance that Communists should extend their work in trade unions and cooperatives, among the peasantry, the youth, the

women, in sports organizations, and the unorganized sections of the population. There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism. Lenin's great behest—to go deeper into the masses, to work wherever there are masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses in order to lead them—must become a major task for every Communist Party.

The restoration of unity in the trade-union movement in countries where it is split, as well as on the international scale, is essential for heightening the role of the working class in prolitical life and for the successful defence of its interests. The working people may belong to different trade unions, but they have common interests. Whenever different trade-union associations fought in common in the greatest class battles of recent years, they usually succeeded, precisely because of their unity, in having the demands of the working people met. The Communist Parties believe that there are real prerequisites for re-establishing trade-union unity, and will work perseveringly to bring it about. In those countries where no trade-union democracy exists in practice, the struggle for trade-union unity calls for continuous efforts aimed at achieving trade-union independence and recognition and observance of the trade-union rights of all working people without political and any other discrimination.

It is also essential to peace and social progress that the national and international unity of all the other mass democratic movements be restored. Unity among the mass organizations may be achieved through joint action in the struggle for peace, national independence, the preservation and extension of democratic rights, the improvement of living conditions and the extension of the working people's social rights.

The decisive role in the struggle of the popular masses of capitalist countries for the accomplishment of their tasks is played by the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, which represents the main motive force of social revolution.

The split in the ranks of the working class, which the ruling classes, the Right-wing Social-Democratic leadership and reactionary trade-union leaders are interested to maintain on a national and international scale, remains the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of the goals of the working class. Communists work resolutely to eliminate this spirit.

The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries resort, along with means of suppression, to means of deception and bribery in order to split and disrupt the solidarity of the working class. The events of the last few years have again confirmed that this split undermines the positions of the working class and is advantageous only to imperialist reaction.

Some Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders have openly adopted imperialist views, defend the capitalist system and split the working class. Owing to their hostility to communism and their fear of the mounting influence of socialism in world affairs, they are capitulating to the reactionary, conservative forces. In some countries the Right-wing leadership has succeeded in making the Social-Democratic Parties adopt programs in which they openly disowned Marxism, the

class struggle and the traditional socialist slogans. Thereby they have again done a service to the bourgeoisie. Resistance to this policy of the Right-wing leaders is mounting in the Social-Democratic Parties. The opposition also embraces a section of the Social-Democratic Party functionaries. The forces favoring joint action by the working class and other working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are growing. The overwhelming majority in the Social-Democratic Parties, particularly the workers, are friends of peace and social progress.

Communists will continue to criticize the ideological positions and Right-wing opportunist practices of the Social-Democrats; they will continue activities aimed at inducing the Social-Democratic masses to adopt positions of consistent class struggle against capitalism, for the triumph of socialism. The Communists are firmly convinced that the ideological differences obtaining between themselves and the Social-Democrats must not hinder exchanges of opinion on the pressing problems of the working-class movement and the joint struggle, especially against the war danger.

Communists regard Social-Democrats among the working people as their class brothers. They often work together in trade unions and other organizations, and fight jointly for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole.

The vital interests of the working-class movement demand that the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties take joint action on a national and international scale to bring about the immediate prohibition of the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of atom-free zones, general and complete disarmament under international control, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of foreign troops, to assist the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, to safeguard national sovereignty, promote democracy and resist the fascist menace, improve the living standards of the working people, secure a shorter working week without wage cuts, etc. Millions of Social-Democrats and some Social-Democratic Parties have already in some form or another come out in favor of solving these problems. It is safe to say that *on overcoming the split in its ranks, on achieving unity of action of all its contingents, the working class of many capitalist countries could deliver a staggering blow to the policy of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries and make them stop preparing a new war, repel the offensive of monopoly capital, and have its daily vital and democratic demands met.*

Both in the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defence of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist Parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist Parties. The Communists have the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, a doctrine that is consistent, scientifically sustained and borne out by life, and rich international experience in socialist construction. They are prepared to hold discussions with Social-Democrats, for they are certain that this is the best way to compare views, ideas and experience with the aim of

removing deep-rooted prejudices and the split among the working people, and of establishing co-operation.

The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust for the Communist movement and its ideology, continue to intimidate the masses by alleging that the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system. The Communist Parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxists-Leninists have never considered that the way to social revolution lies through wars between states.

The choice of social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country. Socialist revolution is not an item of import and cannot be imposed from without. It is a result of the internal development of the country concerned, of the utmost sharpening of social contradictions in it. *The Communist Parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution.*

The Marxist-Leninist Parties head the struggle of the working class, the masses of working people, for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The forms and course of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organization and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes. Whatever form of dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always signify an extension of democracy, a transition from formal, bourgeois democracy to genuine democracy, to democracy for working people.

The Communist Parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working-class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political co-operation between the different parties and public organizations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people

and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

The actual possibility of the one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witchhunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organizations.

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experience of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers,

peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

Communism assures people freedom from fear of war; lasting peace, freedom from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty; general well-being and a high standard of living; freedom from fear of economic crisis; a rapid growth of the productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole; freedom from the tyranny of the moneybag over the individual; all-round spiritual development of man; the fullest development of talent; unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All the sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in the capitalist countries.

## VI.

The world Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time, a most important factor in social progress. As it fights bitterly against imperialist reaction, for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, the Communist movement is making steady headway, is becoming consolidated and steeled.

There are now Communist Parties active in 87 countries of the world. Their total membership exceeds 36,000,000. This is a signal victory for Marxism-Leninism and a tremendous achievement of the working class. Like-minded Marxists are rallying in the countries which have shaken off colonial tyranny and taken the path of independent development. Communist Parties consider it their internationalist duty to promote friendship and solidarity between the working class of their countries and the working-class movement of the countries which have won their freedom in the common struggle against imperialism.

The growth of the Communist Parties and their organizational consolidation, the victories of the Communist Parties in a number of countries in the struggle against deviations, elimination of the harmful consequences of the personality cult, the greater influence of the world communist movement open new prospects for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the Communist Parties.

Marxist-Leninist Parties regard it as an inviolable law of their activity steadfastly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism; they consider that they must cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye, strictly to adhere to the principle of Party democracy and collective leadership, for they attach, in keeping with the organizational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of the leading party bodies in the life of the Party, to work indefatigably for the strengthening of their bonds with the Party membership and with the broad masses of the working people, not to allow the personality cult, which shackles creative thought and initiative of Communists, vigorously to promote the activity of Communists, and to encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks.

The Communist Parties have ideologically defeated the revisionists in their ranks who sought to divert them from the Marxist-Leninist path. Each Communist Party and the international Communist movement as a whole have

become still stronger, ideologically and organizationally, in the struggle against revisionism, Right-wing opportunism.

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist program to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international Communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The practical struggles of the working class and the entire course of social development have furnished a brilliant new proof of the great all-conquering power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and have thoroughly refuted all modern revisionist "theories."

The further development of the Communist and working-class movement calls, as stated in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Revisionism, Right-wing opportunism, which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyzes the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilizes the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national-liberation, for the triumph of socialism.

Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unrelentingly. They rob revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism through scientific analysis and apply it creatively according to the specific conditions; they isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or Leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience, using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war danger, and thereby prevent the peoples from achieving victory in their just struggle.

At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world Communist

movement. Unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled.

Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realization. The interests of the Communist movement require solidarity in adherence by every Communist Party to the estimates and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal Parties at their meetings.

The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand ever closer unity of the ranks of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries; they demand of them unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement.

A resolute defence of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism.

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working-class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. Every party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working-class and Communist movement as a whole.

The Communist and Workers' Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

Whenever a Party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations.

The experience and results of the meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties held in recent years, particularly the results of the two major meetings—that of November, 1957 and this Meeting—show that in present-day conditions such meetings are an effective form of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives.

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steeled contingent of the international Communist movement. The experi-

ence which the C.P.S.U. has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world Communist movement. The example of the CPSU and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist Parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice. The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. are not only of great importance for the C.P.S.U. and communist construction in the U.S.S.R., but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

All Communist and Workers' Parties contribute to the development of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. Mutual assistance and support in relations between all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties embody the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

Ideological issues are of especial significance today. The exploiting class tries to counteract the achievements of socialism by exerting ever greater ideological pressure on the masses as it seeks to keep them in spiritual bondage to bourgeois ideology. Communists regard it as their task to launch a determined offensive on the ideological front, to work for the emancipation of the masses from the spiritual bondage of all types and forms of bourgeois ideology, including the pernicious influence of reformism, to disseminate among the masses progressive ideas making for social advancement, the ideas of democratic freedom, the ideology of scientific socialism.

Historical experience shows that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people persist over a long period even after the establishment of a socialist system. This demands extensive work by the Party on the Communist education of the masses and a better Marxist-Leninist training and steeling of Party and government cadres.

Marxism-Leninism is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism. Its great creative, revolutionizing power lies in its unbreakable link with life, in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international Communist, working-class and liberation movements have achieved great historic success, and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist and Workers' Parties can be effectively accomplished.

*The meeting sees the further consolidation of the Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, as a primary condition for the unification of all working-class, democratic and progressive forces, as a guarantee of new victories in the great struggle waged by the world Communist and working-class movement for a happy future for the whole of mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.*

# Appeal to the Peoples of the World

## By 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties

We, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the five continents, gathered in Moscow for the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, imbued with a sense of responsibility for the future of mankind, call on you to wage a *world-wide struggle in defence of peace, against the threat of a new world war.*

Three years ago the Communist and Workers' Parties issued a Peace Manifesto to the people of all the world.

Since then, the peace forces have won notable victories in the struggle against the warmongers.

With still greater confidence in the victory of the cause of peace are we today able to oppose the war danger that menaces millions of men, women and children. Never before in the history of mankind have there been such real opportunities to realize the age-old aspirations of the peoples—to live in peace and freedom.

In face of the threat of a military catastrophe which would cause vast sacrifice, the loss of hundreds of millions of lives and would lay in ruins the key centers of world civilization, the question of preserving peace agitates all mankind more deeply than ever before.

We Communists are fighting for peace, for universal security, for conditions in which all men and all peoples will enjoy peace and freedom.

The goal of every socialist country

and of the socialist community as a whole is to assure lasting peace for all peoples.

Socialism does not need war. The historic debate between the old and the new system, between socialism and capitalism, should be settled, not by a world war, but in peaceful competition, in a competition as to which social system achieves the higher level of economy, technology and culture, and provides the people with the best living conditions.

We Communists consider it our sacred duty to do everything in our power to deliver mankind from the horrors of a modern war.

Acting upon the teachings of the great Lenin, all the socialist countries have made the principle of the *peaceful coexistence* of countries with different social systems the cornerstone of their foreign policy.

In our epoch the peoples and states have but one choice: peaceful coexistence and competition of socialism and capitalism, or nuclear war of extermination. There is no other way.

Where does the threat of world peace come from?

All governments speak of peace. Yet it is not words that count, but deeds.

Today as in the past, it is the reactionary, monopoly and military groups in the imperialist countries that organize and instigate aggressive wars. Peace is menaced by the policy of the governments of the imperialist powers,

which, contrary to the will of their own peoples, impose upon nations a disastrous arms race, fan the cold war against the socialist and other peace-loving countries, and suppress the peoples' aspiration for freedom.

### LET THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

The peoples welcomed the proposals for universal, complete and controlled disarmament made by the Soviet Union and enthusiastically supported by all the socialist countries. Who opposes the implementation of these proposals? It is the governments of the imperialist countries headed by the United States of America, which, instead of controlled disarmament, propose control over armaments, and try to turn disarmament negotiations into empty talk.

The peoples rejoice that for two years now three great powers have made no tests of nuclear weapons. Who obstructs a new step forward and a decision to ban the deadly tests for all time? It is the governments of the imperialist powers, which constantly declare that they intend to resume atomic weapons tests, and continuously threaten to wreck the test-ban negotiations they were compelled to enter into under the pressure of the peoples.

The peoples do not want foreign military bases to remain in their sovereign territories. They oppose aggressive military pacts, which curtail the independence of their countries and endanger them.

Who wants the policy of aggressive pacts and bases?

It is the governments of the Atlantic bloc countries, which furnish war bases on foreign soil to the West-German

militarists and revenge-seekers, put weapons of mass annihilation in their hands and speed up the atomic arming of NATO troops.

It is the ruling circles of the United States of America which have imposed aggressive military pacts upon Jordan, Pakistan and other countries in the Middle and Far East, which incite them against the peace-loving countries, which have occupied South Korea and made it their bridgehead and which are reviving Japanese militarism. It is they who are interfering in the internal affairs of Laos and South Vietnam, backing the Dutch imperialists in West Irian, the Belgian imperialists in the Congo, the Portuguese in Goa and other colonialists, preparing an armed intervention against the Cuban revolution, and involving Latin-American countries in military pacts.

It is the United States that has occupied the Chinese island of Taiwan, that keeps on sending military aircraft into the air space of the People's Republic of China, and rejects the latter's legitimate right to have its representatives in the United Nations.

Combat-ready rocket installations, depots stocked with nuclear weapons, airborne H-bomb patrols, combat-ready warships and submarines cruising the seas and oceans, and a web of military bases on foreign soil—such are the present-day practices of imperialism. In such a situation, any country on earth, big or small, may suddenly be enveloped by the flames of a nuclear war.

Imperialism is pushing the world to the brink of war for the sake of the selfish interests of a handful of big monopolies and colonialists.

The enemies of peace spread false-

hoods about an alleged threat of "Communist aggression." They need these falsehoods to camouflage their true goals, to paralyze the will of the peoples and justify the arms race.

**WORKERS, PEASANTS,  
INTELLECTUALS! PEOPLE OF  
GOOD WILL ALL OVER  
THE WORLD!**

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

*Is lasting world peace possible?*

We Communists reply:

*War is not inevitable, war can be prevented, peace can be preserved and made secure.*

This conviction of ours is prompted not only by our will for peace and hatred of the warmongers. The possibility of averting war follows from the actual facts of the new world situation.

The world socialist system is becoming an increasingly decisive factor of our time. Embracing more than one-third of mankind, the socialist system with the Soviet Union as its main force uses its steadily growing economic, scientific and technical might to curb the actions of imperialism and handcuff the advocates of military gambles.

The international working-class movement, which holds high the banner of struggle for peace, heightens the vigilance of the peoples and inspires them actively to combat the aggressive policies of the imperialists.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and

Latin America, many millions strong, who have won their freedom and political independence, and peoples fighting for national emancipation, are becoming increasingly active champions of peace and natural allies of the peace policy of the socialist countries.

The neutral countries, which disagree with the aggressive policy of the imperialists, work for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The World Peace Movement now numbers many millions of people. In every country, the members of that movement strive to safeguard their homeland from a new military conflagration.

By rallying to a resolute struggle, all these forces of peace can foil the criminal plans of war, safeguard peace and reinforce international friendship.

Peace does not come of itself. It can be defended and consolidated only through joint struggle by all the forces of peace.

We Communists appeal to all working people, to the peoples of all continents:

- Fight for an easing of international tension and for peaceful coexistence, against cold war, against the arms race! If used for peaceful purposes, the vast resources squandered on armaments would make it possible to improve the condition of the people, to reduce unemployment, to raise wages and living standards, to expand housing construction and to enhance social insurance.

- Prevent the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the arming of the German and Japanese militarists with weapons of mass annihilation!

- Demand the conclusion of a peace

treaty with the two German states and the conversion of West Berlin into a demilitarized free city!

- Combat attempts by the governments of the imperialist powers to involve new countries in the cold war, to draw them into the orbit of war preparations!

- Demand the abolition of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from other countries, and prohibition of the establishment of new bases. Fight for the liberation of your countries from the aggressive military pacts imposed upon them! Work for agreements on nuclear-free zones!

- Do not let the U.S. monopolies rob the heroic Cuban people of their freedom by economic blockade or armed intervention!

We Communists, who are fighting for the cause of the working class and the peoples, hold out our hand to the Social-Democrats and members of other parties and organizations fighting for peace, to all members of trade unions, to all patriots: Work in concert with us in defence of peace, for disarmament. Let us achieve concerted action!

Let us build up a joint front to combat imperialist preparations for a new war!

Let us jointly defend democratic rights and freedoms and fight against the sinister forces of reaction and fascism, against racism and chauvinism, against monopoly domination, against the militarization of economy and political life.

*The struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence weakens the forces striving for war and multiplies the forces of peace.*

Africa, whose peoples have suffered

most from the scourge of colonial slavery and brutal exploitation, is awakening to a new life. As they establish their independent states, the peoples of Africa emerge in the arena of history as a young, increasingly independent and peace-loving force.

But colonialism, doomed as it is by history, has not yet been completely destroyed.

Brute force and terrorism bar the road to freedom for the peoples of East Africa in the British and Portuguese colonies. A cruel racist regime reigns in the Union of South Africa. For more than six years the gallant people of Algeria have been fighting for the right to national independence, shedding their blood in a war forced upon them by the French colonialists, who are supported by their Atlantic accomplices. In the Congo, the imperialists use all kinds of underhand methods and bribery in an effort to overthrow the lawful government and transfer power to their obedient puppets.

The peoples who have won the right to independent statehood continue to wage a strenuous struggle against colonialism in its new forms, against the U.S. and West-German colonialists, and against their old British, French and other oppressors, who seek at all costs to retain control of the natural resources, mines and plantations of the newly-free countries, to prevent their industrial development and to saddle them with corrupt and reactionary governments.

*Brothers in countries which have freed themselves from colonialism and in countries which are fighting for their liberation:*

*The final hour of colonialism is*

*striking!*

We Communists are with you! The mighty camp of socialist countries is with you!

Together with you, we insist on the immediate and unqualified recognition of the right of all peoples to an independent existence.

May the riches of your countries and the efforts of the working people serve the good of your peoples alone!

Your struggle for full sovereignty and economic independence, for your freedom, serves the sacred cause of peace!

*We, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, call on all men, women and young people; on people of all trades and all walks of life;*

*on all people, irrespective of political or religious creed, of nationality or race;*

*on all who love their country and hate war:*

*Demand the immediate prohibition of the testing, manufacture and use of*

*nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass annihilation.*

*Insist on the immediate conclusion of a treaty on general, complete and controlled disarmament.*

May modern science and technology no longer serve the manufacture of weapons of death and destruction! May they serve the good of people and the progress of mankind!

May friendly co-operation and extensive commercial and cultural exchanges between all countries triumph over war alignments!

In our epoch **THE PEACE FORCES ARE SUPERIOR TO THE FORCES OF WAR!**

The peoples will achieve the lofty and cherished goal of safeguarding peace if they pool their efforts and fight resolutely and actively for peace and friendship among nations. Communists will devote all their energies to this cause.

**PEACE WILL TRIUMPH OVER WAR!**

# IDEAS IN OUR TIME

BY HERBERT APTHEKER

## AMERICAN MORALITY AND MARXISM

The inspiring Manifesto of 81 Communist and Workers Parties of the world, issued in Moscow on December 6, 1960—and published in full elsewhere in this issue—sees the decline of the system of imperialism and the rise of the system of socialism as the determining feature of our new epoch. Imperialism has been in chronic, or general, crisis for over forty years; general crisis has reached now the point of acute disintegration.

Imperialism, as Lenin insisted, was utterly reactionary; as its contradictions intensified these manifested themselves in economic, political, ideological and moral breakdown. The breakdown itself is uneven, as the whole history of capitalism reflects a law of unevenness.

Hence it will be most acute, in one or another aspect, in different countries at different times. U.S. monopoly capitalism being the mainstay of the disintegrating system, aspects of the process of rotting reflect themselves most keenly here. One of these is the extremely unstable character of the American economy, but, largely because of the fabulous war loot accruing to the ruling class and its predominant position as the "free world's" chief parasite, that class has been able to maintain, on the whole, a relatively high standard of living, seeing this term "standard" purely from the viewpoint of material perquisites. It is true that this "prosperity" is capitalist, i.e., that it is characterized by the existence of vast layers—not "pockets"—of awful poverty. Nevertheless, the relative material abundance—mainly for the reasons I have indicated, and these, obviously, are of a temporary character—is a fact.

Connected with this relative material abundance, and with the fearfully unjust nature of its distribution, there has appeared in the United States a moral and ethical breakdown without a peer in the major capitalist countries. The colossal proportions of corruption in the U.S. is a matter of notoriety and has always characterized American history.

There are particular reasons for this special feature of American development, but this is not the place to attempt their delineation; the corruption in our time, however, has reached the point of a major national catastrophe. Today, at first glance, everything in our land would seem to be fraudulent from underweight chickens to aerated gasoline, from coached "experts" to ghost-written graduate theses, from general business

practices to the price-fixing of the trusts, from bought-and-paid-for state legislatures to "reached" federal agencies and corrupted Presidential Assistants.

So appalling is the moral miasma that more and more often alarmed ministers of State and of God warn of ancient Rome's fate. Kautsky, in *Foundations of Christianity*, summarized the morals and values of the ruling class in that era:

The only function left the owners of the latifundia and their numerous parasites was pleasure . . . a constant pursuit of new pleasures that would surpass the old one and stimulate the jaded nerves once more. This led to the most unnatural vices, the most intricate cruelties, as well as to extravagance on the largest and most senseless scale. Everything has its limits, however, and once the individual has come to the point of financial or physical exhaustion, to being without means or strength, so that he cannot increase pleasure any further, he falls into a dreadful depression, an aversion to all enjoyment, to the point of being fed up with life and feeling that all earthly scheming and striving are useless. . . .

Coming to our own time and land, one finds, for example, that John Steinbeck, recently returning to the United States, was struck by what he found to be "the all-pervading nerve-gas of immorality." Theodore White, as another example, the author of several best sellers—most recently, *The View from the 40th Floor*—wrote, in the August, 1960, issue of *Esquire*:

The air we live in today is full of a kind of radioactive poison, a radium dust of greed and hot money . . . the fitful sense of purpose has evaporated. We're living in a climate of total moral confusion . . . ideas and dreams, which are rather precious commodities, are sold as if they were fish cakes. . . .

Annual Reports by Presidents of decisive ideological and policy-influencing institutions have been emphasizing, for the past few years, this growing moral corrosion. Thus, Oliver C. Carmichael, then President of the Carnegie Corporation, in his Report for 1958, stated that the denial of values, which was insisted upon by university professors generally as necessary to any scientific effort, was confusing and demoralizing for young people. Whatever its validity scientifically—and Dr. Carmichael was not so bold as to question this—the net result of this approach, said the Report, was that more and more American youth were concluding that the "smart" thing to do was to look for the easy way out, the fast dollar, the

quick road to riches, and not to become expert and to use that expertness in constructive social endeavors.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, in his 1959 Annual Report as President of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions—established by the Fund for the Republic, Inc.—cried out: "We have to have something to live for"; and confessed that he lacked any certainty as to what this "something" ought to be.

The President of The Advertising Council, Theodore S. Repplier, in his 1960 Annual Report, struck a hopeful note: "Looked at historically, perhaps our current softness and ethical shabbiness are not mortal illnesses." He added, as a source for this somewhat restrained optimism: "I think a good many people are getting fed up with dishonesty and phoniness and with extreme success worship. I think they are getting a little weary of status symbols and a little cynical about cynicism." More revealing than the diagnosis, however, was Mr. Repplier's suggested remedy: he urged that several giant corporations give some millions of dollars to The Advertising Council for a public-relations campaign attacking cynicism!

The dialectics in this process of decay is striking. Dr. Carmichael dares not object to the dominant academic tenet denying the validity of all value systems—a denial reflecting the decay; but he does, from a pragmatic point of view, raise the question that a youth brought up with no sense of values is a youth that will be prone to avoid doing the things that must be done if any kind of civilized order at all is to be continued, let alone improved. Similarly, while Dr. Hutchins admits that he does not know what purpose there is in life and confesses that perhaps it is right to believe—as so many say they do—that there is in fact no purpose at all, he nevertheless expresses doubts and again, if only from the purely functional point of view, urges that some "myth" of purposefulness seems to be needed.

Mr. Repplier's cynical "solution" to the problem of cynicism is of interest as it reflects an awareness of the self-defeating nature of an amoral policy, and the impotence this produces in the frantic search for some device capable of creating passionate commitment to a festering corpse.

The moral emergency has been so pressing that even President Eisenhower observed it. As a result, in his Message to Congress of January, 1959, he noted the need for the discovery of a national purpose; hence, he suggested the appointment of a Commission on National Purposes to be composed, he said, of "selfless and devoted individuals." The President of the United States seems to have needed fourteen months to find

eleven such individuals, for their appointment was not announced until March, 1960. And the results of the pondering of this Commission of Eleven—all male, all white, and all rich—was not forthcoming for another nine months, and at a cost of \$400,000. The Commission's Report managed to say practically nothing in several thousand words, thus being satisfactory to those who wanted obfuscation and unsatisfactory to those who hoped for illumination.

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It will not be amiss to bring forward some illustrations of the ethical decay that has induced the warnings and lamentations and Commissions already noted. The problem here is the abundance of such examples—to select from a superfluity of filth. Here, to illustrate, is an "Answer Book" published by Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn, New York, for youngsters just beginning their secondary education. After "A Greeting!" from the Principal, there appears, on page 4, a paragraph headed: "Your Character Record." Here the bright-eyed boys and girls are told: "The F.B.I., Army Intelligence and the Police Department often visit us to get information regarding your character. . . . A good character record may help you to get a good job or a promotion some day."

James T. Farrell, in "The Decline of the Serious Writer" (*Antioch Review*, Summer, 1957), reported that "seriousness, ideas, literature cannot easily be merchandized"; hence, as a rule, writers—fearing "bankruptcy and ill-health"—have given up such "commodities." As for himself, Mr. Farrell states, "he is at work on two books dealing with professional baseball"; since the Dodgers have left Flatbush, these volumes probably will not cause serious controversy even in Brooklyn.

Normal Mailer, in *Advertisements for Myself* (N. Y., 1959, Putnam) described the current American scene: "a most loathsome literary world, necrophiliac to the core—they murder their writers and then decorate their graves." Mailer's own personal tragedy leaps at once to mind, and further comment is out of place.

From police warnings to youngsters and novelists' orations at their own funerals, one may move to "The Academic Jungle," as Robert DeMaria, a young instructor at Hofstra College, chooses to call the present scholarly life in respectable institutions. He sums it up as a "process of undermining or stifling the young intellectual"; he notes that some hold out and "whisper vaguely and even mystically that there is still something really worthwhile in the world"; but, as for himself, he fears little can be done to keep the university from being "sucked into the whirlpool of general madness" (*The New Leader*, June 10, 1957).

Talking of "general madness," among the instructions in the master air-raid manual printed in Washington is this: "All funeral coaches must pull to the curb and stop when the siren sounds, although the occupants are not required to seek shelter."

Or, here is the *N. Y. Times Magazine* (Feb. 21, 1960) featuring a story of clothes and other accessories for dogs. We read:

At a Sutton Place canine beauty parlor, while the customers sat under dryers and had the nails on all four feet painted gold and silver, hanging from the pegs in the cloakrooms were: a paisley coat with matching lead, an autumn haze mink coat and a gray chesterfield with black velvet collar and a tiny black lace handkerchief fluttering from the pocket.

The author, Marybeth Weston, commented: "Perhaps it is a mark of a healthy civilization that well-dressed people feel that their dogs should also have snug coats and boots on a cold day"; and she concludes: "Surely"—note, "surely"—"it is an improvement on the Australian aborigine who, it is said, instead of blanketing his dogs must use his dogs as blankets. . . ."

With the Christmas holidays approaching, as these lines are written—in which again is celebrated the birth of a carpenter who drove the money-changers from the temple—the advertisements, "for those who have everything," would create nausea in Nero. One exclusive store is selling private airplanes—one for the wife, costing \$27,000 and seating four, the other for the husband, seating seven and costing \$149,000. Also available was a furlined bedspread costing \$7,500, a fur-coat costing \$45,000 and—madness can go no further—a solid gold coffee-pot, studded with 250 diamonds and 150 rubies and selling for \$50,000.

When one remembers that the Government itself admits about four and a half million workers totally unemployed at this time, that thirty-three million Americans were officially admitted to be at the impoverished line—living in families in 1959 with total annual incomes of less than \$2,500—it would appear that immorality had reached its nadir. Yet it is necessary to add that the same papers which ran these advertisements, told of a New York mother who abandoned two children in a store with a sign attached to the older: "I love them dearly but I have no money, no food, and no place to go. Please be kind to them." They told of a law passed by Louisiana—in its punitive campaign against the militant Negro people—cutting off hundreds of Negro families from relief payments and food. These are people certified by the State itself to be without adequate sources of funds; directly effected are 23,000 children. Said an official of a private relief agency in New Orleans:

For two weeks now, our office has been crowded with mothers and babies, many of them crying for food. In some cases, children get hysterical. When I ask the mothers what is wrong, they tell me: "This child has not had anything to eat for two days" (*N. Y. Post*, Sept. 11, 1960).

From New York City to New Orleans to Charleston, West Virginia, where, four days before Christmas, "hungry children beg scraps of meat or loaves of stale bread from store owners" (*N. Y. Post*, Dec. 21, 1960).

Horrifying as are these atrocities in the midst of major cities in the heartland of the "affluent society," they are minor blemishes when compared with conditions in peripheral areas of the "free world"; the morally corrosive power of the exploitative relationship between heartland and periphery cannot be exaggerated. One knows that per capita income in the United States is from ten to twenty times greater than that in the Mid-East and in Latin America; one knows that the United Nations reports that more than half the population of the world is chronically hungry. But, instead of statistics, consider this letter from South Korea written by Brian Wilson, a teacher of English Literature at the Foreign Language College in Seoul. "My conscience," he writes, "will not let me alone." Why?

Everywhere you look there is poverty, wretched housing, people dressed in rags, homeless children wandering the streets, crowds of men standing idle because of unemployment. . . . As you walk along the street you will be accosted by numerous beggars, boys and girls, young men or women carrying infants, old men and women. . . . One sees beggars lying on the sidewalks, and some are so buried in filth and matted hair and rags that they no longer look human.

This is in the land of that sterling "freedom fighter," Syngman Rhee, after that Dulles-favorite was driven from his tortured land—this is that land, now, after the "clean-up." In Seoul, writes Brian Wilson, laborers get eighty cents a day for a 12-hour day, restaurant workers get ten dollars a month, working 18 hours a day, domestic workers get five dollars a month, working seven days a week and "doing all the cooking, washing, cleaning, etc." And this is in the city, where two million people live; in the farm areas "the poverty is worse than in the city."

Lucky Koreans manage to keep themselves alive on the scraps of food they dig out of the garbage pails attached to U.S. government installations. Meanwhile:

The American colony in Seoul lives on a hill in the best section of town. They live in American-style houses . . . they drive shiny new American cars. They have a golf course, swimming pool, night clubs. . . . Soldiers patrol every street in the American colony (called the "golden ghetto" by some here). . . . (*The Catholic Worker*, December, 1960).

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Here, as we move directly into the orbit of imperialism, we come to the heart of immorality, we approach an understanding of what R. H. Tawney called *The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society*. The ultimate in depravity is racism, colonialism, and—above all—the institutionalizing of the systematic extermination of man, through modern war and the preparations for new and ever more devastating wars.

Has any ruling class in the whole bloody record compiled by ruling classes hitherto, ever produced a more degenerate sense of values than that indicated in this paragraph from a speech by T. Coleman Andrews, formerly Commissioner of Internal Revenue, presently president of an insurance company, before a company of fellow tycoons meeting in Miami, October 29, 1960?

The greatest threat that faces America today is the chance that Russia's Nikita Khrushchev may come forward with a genuine peace proposal that cannot be refused. If the Soviets should present sincere and reliable proposals for peace, it would throw us into an industrial tail-spin the like of which we have never dreamed and compliance with such a peace offer would result in the greatest depression America has ever known. . . .

With such thinking, in such circles, it is clear that peace proposals brought forward by the USSR, which have been quite "genuine" and quite "reliable," must not be permitted to appear to be so to the American people; surely this is a basic explanation for the colossal distortion which the commercial press in the U.S. has practiced on the question of disarmament. Yet the practice of deception is but an aspect of the larger immorality here; what one has is quite literally the endangering of all human existence for purposes of the power and the profit-making of monopolists.

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The main source of the apparent madness and the utter immorality we have noted as more and more characteristic of ruling-class thinking and behavior lies in a social order based upon the private ownership of the means

of production, in which the few own and control what the many, by their labor, make productive. The social relations of production and the individual appropriation of the results of production ever were in contradiction; as the system based on such relations becomes more and more oligarchic, more and more concentrated, it becomes increasingly hostile to human purposes. Hence, its ideology becomes more and more irrational, its politics more and more reactionary, and its morality more and more putrid.

The main source is indicated in the six-page editorial in *Fortune Magazine* (August, 1960), asking: "Have Corporations a Higher Duty than Profits?" The editors note that "new theories of corporate law and ethics abound"; they warn that these "should be warily examined" because "more often than not they conflict with the principles of a free-market economy."

There is a nice irony here. The illogic and inhumanity of senile capitalism are so glaring that its apologists feel compelled to invent all sorts of rationalizations, ranging from ideas of a "benevolent capitalism" to a "people's capitalism" to the insistence that what is capitalism isn't capitalism at all—not even "people's capitalism," but rather is a new kind of splendid adjustment to objective realities. But some of these rationalizations may be taken too seriously by monopolists themselves, and ideas of public service or civic duty or corporate conscience—to quote the verbiage of Allan Nevins or A. A. Berle—may trouble capitalists who are willing to be "creative personalities" and "industrial statesmen" but who also persist in thinking they are capitalists and therefore retain an old-fashioned yen for profits.

Well, says *Fortune*—biggest business' favorite magazine—you men just go on being what you are; just go on making profits; that is exactly what you are supposed to do and it is precisely the major function of the whole bloody business anyway. Or, in the delicate language of Henry Luce's word-manipulators: "the long-range concern for profits is enough," and that is "the highest duty."

Really, one must confess a preference for this down-to-earth rapacity. The old-fashioned class snobbishness and hatred—before the days of public relations and motivational research—at least had the ring of sincerity about it. In a sense the Reverend Russell Conwell's "Acres of Diamonds," written back at the end of the 19th century, is almost refreshing these days. To that Minister of Christ, the rich were rich because they were good and the poor were poor because they were no good: "I sympathize with the poor," said the founder of Temple University, "but the number of poor who are to be sympathized with is very small. To sympathize with a man whom God has punished for his sins, thus to help man when God would still continue a just punishment, is to do wrong, no doubt about it. . . ." Or, here is

John Maynard Keynes—Keynes, the liberals' god—writing of *Laissez-Faire and Communism*, in 1925: "How can I adopt a creed which, preferring the mud to the fish, exalts the boorish proletariat above the bourgeois and the intelligentsia who, with whatever faults, are the quality in life and surely carry the seeds of all human advancement?"

I think the noblest concept of ethical behavior adduced by the modern bourgeoisie is that summarized by W. E. H. Lecky in the second volume of his *History of European Morals*: "The first condition of all really great moral excellence is a spirit of genuine self-sacrifice and self-renunciation." Here is exposed the contradiction of all exploitative societies, where the basic parasite-victim relationship makes the renunciation of self the finest vision the propertied groups can conjure up. Of course, those already oppressed and deprived have precious little to sacrifice or to renounce (unless it be their desires for a better life, and here renunciation is considered virtuous indeed!); the admonition is meant chiefly for the prosperous and they are urged as the ultimate in virtue to follow the monastic or ascetic road. Even here, at its finest, the main concern is for individual salvation—one's own "peace of mind."

The genius of Walt Whitman expresses the dialectical solution:

Not that half only, individualism, which isolates. There is another half, which is adhesiveness of love, that fuses, ties and aggregates, making the races comrades and fraternizing all . . . the liberalist of today has this advantage over the antique or medieval times, that his doctrine seeks not only to individualize but to universalize. The great word Solidarity has arisen.

Engels, in *Anti-Duehring*, insisted on the dynamic nature of morality; its historical character, and therefore, that any absolutist approach, divorced from when and where and under what kind of socio-economic system could not be correct. Lenin placed the matter forthrightly, as was his habit: "Our morality is derived from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. . . . Morality serves to . . . get rid of the exploitation of labor."

I would suggest that in our present epoch, with the decline of imperialism and the rise of socialism, the sweep of the interests of the working masses is greater and deeper than ever before. Whitman already envisages this, with his poetic genius, when he speaks of the new phenomenon of universalizing. We have this now when not only is it true, as Lenin affirmed, that the struggle for democracy is the struggle for socialism

and the struggle for socialism is the struggle for democracy, but when also the struggle for peace is the struggle for socialism and the struggle for socialism is the struggle for peace. The world effort to end racism, hunger, illiteracy, to achieve national liberation, to realize human fraternity and to end war-making—all these merge into the great struggle to defeat imperialism and, ultimately, to achieve the universal triumph of socialism.

The rebellion that is shaking the "free world" from end to end is a rebellion that encompasses within it a spewing forth of the immorality of imperialism. In our own country, where that imperialism is strongest and the immorality is deepest, there is a rising sense of protest and outrage against hypocrisy, pornography, sadism, irrationalism, graft, inhumanity. There is a breadth to this quite unorganized movement perhaps as great as the still-insufficiently organized movement against war. At another opportunity, I shall attempt an appraisal of this development. Here I wish to make only two points: 1) a sense of breakdown of moral values can be twisted into a pro-fascist stream, either in terms of utter cynicism and brutalization, or of a supremely demagogic "crusade" against corruption—which may even adopt, at times, "leftist" phraseology; 2) on the other hand, in the area of ethics, human purpose, and morality, the superiority of socialism over imperialism is overwhelming; this constitutes, therefore, right now and not least in the United States, a source of great strength for the forces of peace, equality, national independence and democracy, but not nearly enough conscious effort has been expended by the Left in this vital field.

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Henry B. Parkes, professor of history at New York University, has authored a volume entitled: *Marxism: An Autopsy*. We think the autopsy is somewhat premature, or that the absent-minded professor has mistaken the corpse on the dissecting table. The history professor should know that Thiers, Mussolini, Tojo and Hitler have boasted of performing autopsies over this "corpse," but it has outlived them all. The stench afflicting the atmosphere in the "free world" arises from a corpse, but it is that of imperialism, not Marxism.

All the President's men and commissions may not be able to put together a "national purpose"; but we Marxists have a national and an international purpose. It is to cleanse the air, to inter the real corpse. "Our cause," wrote Benjamin Franklin of the American Revolution in 1777, and he put the next words in italics, "*is the cause of all Mankind.*" True then, much truer now; to fulfill the New Epoch is the cause of all Mankind.

## The Economics of the Cuban Revolution\*

By Blas Roca

THE HISTORIC resolution adopted by President Dorticos and Prime Minister Fidel Castro to nationalize the Cuban Electric Company, the Telephone Company, the oil refineries and the 36 sugar refineries owned by North-American companies, which by a splendid coincidence was made known at the monumental closing session of the First Latin American Congress of Youth on the 6th of August, was one of the most important steps forward of the Cuban Revolution.

At one blow, Cuba has recovered the key points of national economy which were in the hands of North-American imperialists.

This is a mortal blow to imperialist economic domination in Cuba.

This is a decisive step towards economic independence, the fundamental basis and guarantee of political independence.

The Cuban Electric Company had a virtual monopoly of electricity distribution throughout the country. Its service was low-grade and dear, and was an obstacle to industrial development. Millions and millions of pesos in profits, often disguised as payments to one subsidiary or another in the United States, were exported every year, taken from the national economy, wrested from our country.

Nationalization of this electric company was something that the

country had demanded for years and years. There was no revolutionary program over the last thirty years that did not make this demand.

Nationalization of the Cuban Electric Company will make it possible, first to make the service more efficient; second, to increase the production of electricity, especially with a view to the power requirements of new industries; third, to lower the cost of electricity, especially the power going to industrial and productive needs; fourth, to use the profits, which will not be exported, for expanding the plants and for industrial development.

The Telephone Company had an exclusive monopoly of telephone communication. This service is essential in production, business and transportation. Nationalizing it will make it possible, as in the case of electricity, to make it better and cheaper and to expand it, using the millions and millions of pesos in profit that it has produced and should continue to produce every year.

The State had already intervened in the oil refineries and had been operating them, but they were still the property of the North American

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oil monopolies. They are now the property of the nation. They will no longer turn over profits to their foreign masters. What they produce will be for Cuba. They will not go back to obeying foreign orders; from now on they will do what Cuba wants and needs.

The English oil refineries, although intervention had taken place there, were not nationalized, inasmuch as the law passed in reply to the North-American economic aggression is only applicable to Yankee properties.

Among the 36 sugar mills that have been expropriated are the largest and most efficient ones in Cuba. Together they produce more than one-third the annual crop. In 1959 they produced more than 19 million bags of sugar, 250 pounds to the bag, which represented 36.74 per cent of the total production for the year. All in all, about 160,000 workers were employed in the harvest. More than 30 millions of pesos in profits were exported every year. Nationalization saves 30 million pesos in foreign exchange and puts in Cuba's hands 30 million pesos more for investment every year.

The State possessed another 20 sugar refineries, and 20 more have been the subject of intervention, pending expropriation. With this added nationalization, more than 56 percent of the sugar of Cuba will be nationally and not privately produced. In the next sugar harvest, the sugar cane cooperatives under the

direction of INRA will supply half of the cane to be ground.

August 6th was a memorable day for Cuba. On that day, the Revolutionary Government took the decisive step towards making Cuba master of its riches and its economic life, taking it from under the economic yoke and economic intervention of North American imperialism. On that day, the Revolutionary Government answered the economic aggression of the United States with a stunning and irrevocable blow, bold and courageous, unprecedented in the history of Latin America.

The nationalization of these firms, whose value is estimated at roughly some 600 million pesos, decisively increases the weight of government property in the national economy.

Today the properties of the nation include, in addition to those expropriated from the North-Americans, the henequen enterprises, the larger part of the textile industry, virtually all the chemical industry, metallurgical enterprises, mines, half the railroads, commercial aviation, a good part of highway transportation harbor installation, the Merchant Marine, the most important hotels, some commercial enterprises, etc.

In addition to the agricultural production cooperatives, there have been organized cooperatives for fishermen, charcoal burners, shoemakers, tobacco producers, etc. For various reasons, the State has intervened and is administering and operating factories,

shops, businesses and municipal transport enterprises, soap factories and toilet-goods factories, tanneries, concrete works, cardboard mills, businesses, hotels, foundries, mines, cloth mills, warehouses, factories and shops for shoe manufacture, laboratories, carpenter shops, plastics, etc., totalling about 180 units.

To the national property have been added newspapers and their printing plants, radio and television stations, magazines and other means of publicity, information, and propaganda.

The greater part of import trade is now under the direct control of the State.

All this gives the Revolutionary Government the possibility of drawing up comprehensive plans for the development of the economy, setting prices, organizing distribution and adequately directing investments and the encouragement of new industries.

INRA is already drawing up plans for farm, poultry and livestock production.

The Planning Committee is already working on a plan of industrial development to cover several years, and a general plan for the development of the nation's economy.

The formulation of a coordinated plan of national production, industrial development and extension of the national economy is of great importance, since it makes it possible to take into account in a national way all the forces available over a given period and to distribute them adequ-

ately so as to meet the various requirements, and to devote the maximum possible to economic construction, to industrialization and to the setting up of new factories, new mines, new crops, etc.

The plan will accelerate the process of economic development.

The plan will make it possible not to spend more than is necessary for each item.

The plan will make it possible to devote the most forces and resources to what is most urgent and most necessary.

The plan, if it is well designed, will make it possible to save both forces and resources.

The plan will aid the heads of enterprises, administrators, public officials, technicians, employees and workers to keep and hold a clear perspective of what is expected of their work, and therefore to work with more method, with better organization, with more efficiency, with more enthusiasm, with greater responsibility.

The partial plans that are already in operation contemplate great steps forward in industrial development.

By the end of 1960 and the beginning of 1961, a beginning will be made in the setting up of factories and firms to produce articles that up to the present were exclusively imported—picks and shovels, farm implements, screws and building hardware, electric pumps, plate glass, sewing machines, typewriters, refrigera-

tors, etc. There will soon be begun the erection of a key enterprise for the industrialization and economic development of the country, namely, the mill for producing iron and steel.

There are also plans afoot to double the volume of chemical production, to increase the production of textiles, to make more shoes, etc.

There is no doubt that putting these plans into effect presents a series of problems and difficulties that will have to be overcome with great energy and system.

One great difficulty in the development of all these plans is the shortage of revolutionary personnel with the necessary technical knowledge and practical experience, the lack of experienced technicians. Cuba needs rapid augmentation of technicians in industry, metallurgy, iron and steel production, chemistry, etc. The aid of the socialist countries and other non-socialist countries with whom technical aid agreements have been concluded will make it possible rapidly to train the technical personnel and the skilled workers that are urgently needed. But it appears to be indispensable to undertake at once intense development of technical education so as to provide the personnel that will increasingly be required by the accelerated growth of industrialization and the national economy. Experienced workers can be trained in a short time to be administrators and technicians. Youths with basic instruction can go on to intensive studies to get the necessary preparation

in a period of four years. We and all the revolutionary organizations must give effective aid to these tasks.

One problem that arises in connection with industrialization and economic development is the role that should be played by the Revolutionary State on the one hand and private enterprise on the other.

As we know, this is a point of great importance both for the present and for the future.

The imperialists, the traitors to the nation, the reactionaries and their spokesmen, desperately oppose any economic role of the Revolutionary State and defend what they pompously call the system of free enterprise and private initiative.

They wear themselves out trying to prove that without "free" enterprise and "private initiative" there is no liberty. That amounts to saying that without exploitation, without monopolies and latifundia, there is no liberty. For these gentlemen, liberty comes down to one thing only, liberty for the owners of capital and for imperialist companies to exploit, rob and oppress the workers, employees, farmers and the entire people of Cuba.

The truth, we know, is precisely the contrary of what they say.

The freer the people is from exploitation, the greater the liberty it enjoys. Thanks to the suppression of latifundist monopoly of land, thanks to the suppression of the merciless exploitation of the peasants by the latifundia, thanks to the measures

that are bringing the peasants out of poverty and ignorance, they and the agricultural workers now have more real liberty, more true liberty.

The same is true of the rest of the economy. The monopoly of the economy by the imperialist companies, the private bankers and the exploiting magnates, exercised in the name of free enterprise and private initiative, is a negation of the liberty of the people. It gives rise to the reactionary anti-working-class governments and to the tyrannies whose function is the use of blood and fire, of prisons, persecutions and death, to compel the workers and the people to accept and submit to exploitation by these companies. Free enterprise and private initiative are always associated with reactionary and tyrannical governments, with repressive laws, with racial discrimination, with measures taken against unions and workers, with police attacks on the masses, with the mockery and negation of the public liberties, which they hypocritically proclaimed, with the declaration of states of siege, suspension of Constitutional guarantees, etc. The imperialist companies, the big exploiters and the latifundists, the champions of what they call "free enterprise" and private initiative, are always and everywhere those who originate, promote, and uphold tyrannies and governments that deny liberty and democracy.

Every step forward of national property in the resources and basic enterprises of the nation's economy

is at the same time a step forward towards the freedom of our country and the new guarantee of the liberties of our people.

Another favorite "argument" of the imperialists, traitors to the nation and reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries of every stamp, is that ownership of the means of production by the Revolutionary State leads to totalitarianism, is totalitarianism.

Exactly the contrary is true.

Totalitarianism is fascism, that proclaims "Everything for the State," a state manipulated by private trusts and monopolies, by banks and investors. Totalitarianism is the regime of Franco Spain or Trujillo in Santo Domingo, regimes that were created, furthered and sponsored by the champions of "free" enterprise and private initiative, since such regimes provide the best conditions for merciless exploitation of the workers and farmers, for obtaining maximum profit.

The Revolutionary State is the exact opposite of totalitarianism.

Assuming its economic functions, the Revolution does not undertake to do everything for the State but to do *everything for the people, everything for the welfare of the people*, which is the supreme goal of the Revolutionary State. The property of the Revolutionary State is the property of all the nation, the property of the entire people.

That is why we advocate having the economic functions of the Revolutionary State reinforced.

The Revolutionary State has the

duty—a duty that it cannot decline—of planning, controlling, directing, orienting and furthering industrialization and the development of the national economy.

Given the conditions of Cuba and the requirements of industrial development, the Revolutionary State has to be the chief investor and manager of the new industries that are planned, especially in the fields of iron and steel industry, metallurgy, chemistry, plastics, and chemistry of the derivatives of sugar and sugar cane.

Private Cuban enterprises that are not imperialist, not monopolist and not parasitic can and should contribute to the nation's economic development, towards increasing production and services, toward diversifying the choice of products that are made available to the people by means of commerce.

The Revolutionary State has energetically established a sector of the economy in which no new investments or interference by private enterprise will be allowed.

Outside of this field it is suitable and necessary at the present stage of national development, to allow private enterprise to function as contributing to the nation's production and economic development.

National property, the property of the Revolutionary State, today is of such magnitude, is based on such extensive enterprises and branches of the economy and has available such controls and resources, that its pre-

eminence and directing functions are assured.

At the same time, private enterprise that is not imperialist, not monopolistic and not parasitic is still necessary; it still plays an important role in maintaining and increasing the volume of national production.

In view of the controls that the Revolutionary State already exercises over the economy, over imports and exports, over foreign exchange, etc., and in view of the ownership of important enterprises in production, transportation, and services, it is perfectly possible to include the private enterprises in the general plans for production and development of the nation's economy.

How shall private enterprise be treated?

We are, of course, in favor of extending national ownership to all the basic branches of the economy, so as to eliminate exploitation, to eliminate an economy based on greed and exploitation of the workers.

But as long as private enterprises are needed, until national ownership is set up throughout the entire economy, we must hold it as necessary that private enterprise be treated in such a way as to enable it to continue and to fulfill its economic function.

Private enterprises require profits. Up to the present time, the profits of private enterprises have been without limit, without check. The labor of the workers and employees has been used to enrich, to increase at an accelerated rate the gains, luxuries

and privileges of the owners.

We agree that so long as private enterprise is necessary, it should make profits, but we also hold that these profits should be limited.

The fiscal reform recently approved tends to set a limit on profits and to take over excess profits by means of taxes, so that they are used for purposes of economic development.

If workers contribute four percent of their wages, which are still relatively low in a great number of jobs, and if the profits that enterprises obtain are derived exclusively from the work and effort of workers and employees, how can it be tolerated that these profits should be used only for the egotistic and personal purposes of the owners, and should not contribute in any way to the nation's economic development, to industrialization and increased production?

Within the limits to be set up, the profits of private enterprises and their normal operation and development should be guaranteed. The workers of these enterprises should be encouraged in developing efficiency and in increasing productivity, with the clear knowledge that any excess profits that their work produces will go into the hands of the Revolutionary Government and will be used principally to develop the nation's economy, to develop industrialization, progress and the culture, health and improved conditions of the masses. To stimulate the workers to increased productivity, they should be given direct wage increases, in ac-

cordance with the increased output of each worker, when that increase permits it.

In this connection, it is necessary to examine the problem of government intervention in firms.

In general, the interventions that have been ordered are justified.

Many were due to labor conflicts, directly provoked by reactionary and conspiratorial executives or administrators who deliberately tried to create disturbances in order to set up an atmosphere against the Revolution, or to undermine the directives, regulations, laws and measures that had to be adopted to protect the economic development of the nation.

Other interventions had to be adopted in the face of the obvious sabotage of some entrepreneurs who followed a policy of accumulating money and liquidating the firms. There were owners who sold whatever they wanted to, who were making extraordinary profits and who nevertheless would not repair a machine, who did not replace broken or spoiled parts or accessories, who did not get raw material supplies, etc. There was an obvious intention to liquidate and paralyze the firm, leaving it useless. In those cases it was necessary to take over the enterprise to prevent such a crime, to prevent a needed center of work from being closed.

In some cases it was necessary to intervene because owners and executives, without any reason, abandoned the business and went abroad.

But there are also some cases in which the interventions might possibly have been avoided.

In some sectors there has been a tendency to ask for and claim intervention in the firms with or without reason, and whatever their situation or size.

Because of the pressure exerted by such elements, some small businesses and shops, properties of small industrialists or businessmen, have been subject to government intervention, where this might better have been avoided.

We should remember that there is no point to intervening for the sake of intervention, that an intervention has to have a serious reason and a definite economic purpose and orientation.

Occupying, expropriating and nationalizing imperialist enterprises, as the Revolutionary Government did on August 6th with the Cuban Electric Company and others, is a just step to take, because it is a blow to the enemy of the Revolution; it is a step further along the road to economic independence, and it puts in the hands of the nation fundamental means of production and of the economic development of the country. It is completely in accordance with the nature of the Cuban Revolution in its present phase. It strengthens the Revolution since it weakens the fundamental enemy, imperialism, and mobilizes mass forces here and in Latin America.

But intervening in a business or

shop without any reason is of no use to us, because it irritates and sets against the Revolution or the institutions of the Revolution elements that should support them, elements of the national bourgeoisie that should and could remain at the side of the Revolution at this stage, of small proprietors that can and should go along with the Revolution.

At other times there are pressures for intervention in the cases of firms or business that are failing, that are unprofitable, that only increase the expenses of the Government and take away funds that are needed for developing the nation's economy.

Intervention is an effective way for solving conflicts that could not be solved in any other way. It is a means of preventing, avoiding and hindering economic sabotage and damage to production, it is an instrument for punishing and restraining speculation and the abuses by businessmen who have no conscience, and it can even be a means of economic direction. That is how it should be used. And workers should not exert pressure to have it used in any other way.

The growth of the other of the economy owned by the nation or occupied and administered by the Revolutionary Government raises a series of problems of administration and direction of this sector, and of the relations of the trade-union movement with these firms.

Some, perhaps carried away by the enthusiasm for cooperation that arose in the country as the agrarian reform

was applied, began to raise the question of converting the nationally owned, state-owned enterprises into cooperatives.

Fortunately these tendencies have been abandoned.

It is clear to everybody today that converting the national property, which is the property of the entire nation, of the entire people, into the cooperative property of a group, of a part of the people, would be an obstacle for the prospect of development.

It is clear to everybody today that cutting up the nation's industry into separate cooperatives would be an obstacle to the accelerated development of Cuban economy. Every cooperative would want to distribute the profits among its members or apply them at its pleasure and convenience instead of using them, through a single organism that would concentrate all the profits of all the enterprises, in furthering and developing the national economy in accordance with the plans worked out and directed by the Revolutionary Government.

It is clear to everybody that setting up cooperatives for industrial enterprises would be to further the creation of groups and groups interests that would enter into conflict with the interests of national development. It would mean putting obstacles in the way of renewing the labor force in enterprises in accordance with the needs of development of production. It would make more difficult the

transfer of experienced workers to new enterprises and, in general, the use of labor power where it would be most needed, since each individual would most want to remain in "his" cooperative.

It is clear to everybody that in addition this would create certain unjust situations. While the workers in enterprises which are not profitable or which have a low rate of profit, but which are indispensable and necessary for constructing an independent national economy, would receive no profits or very low ones, the workers in other enterprises which through various circumstances have a high profit rate, would receive extraordinary profits unconnected with their efforts.

The role of cooperatives in agriculture is positive, because it is a step from the separation of the small parcels to a union that groups and unites individual efforts, furthers a collective spirit and organization, makes it possible to use, on a large scale, the modern machinery and methods of cultivation that cannot be applied to small-scale property.

Industrial enterprises, transportation enterprises and other services should remain national property, the property of the Revolutionary State under the direct administration of the State, to guarantee their maximum efficiency and maximum contribution to the accelerated economic development of the nation.

At the same time the workers should not be left out in dealing with

the problems of administering these enterprises. The economic agencies of the Government have firmly resolved to create workers' councils as advisors, as counselors, as instruments of consultation with the administration on production problems, organization of work and the relations of the administration with the workers.

The unions have a great role to play in these enterprises. They have the obligation of improving the working contracts in conformity with the new situation, of seeing to it that they are observed, and of making sure that the social laws are complied with. It is their responsibility to watch over the means of avoiding accidents and protecting the health of the workers, and to correct defects or bad relationships in order to prevent conflicts from arising. It is their duty to listen to the problems and complaints made by workers and to promote means to prevent bad situations from developing. They are obliged to act to prevent any conflict, or, if one should arise, to bring it to an end with reason and justice, in the interest of the workers and the Revolution. The unions, whose specific and principal function is to represent the workers and to protect their rights and interests, are also part of the Revolution and also have the interest and the function of driving forward economic development, industrialization, armed defense of the Revolution, improvement and spread of culture, health, etc.

Today, more than ever, since the nationalization of the enterprises expropriated from the North-American imperialist companies, there is a need of increasing production, maintaining and improving the quality of products, making maximum use of the economic resources, the raw materials and the machinery that we possess.

As the Cuban trade-union movement has stated on more than one occasion, the workers and their unions must take care of increasing discipline and order at work, of increasing the conscious responsibility of each worker for his work. They have the responsibility of ending absenteeism, loss of work because of sickness without the worker actually being sick, and the idleness of some people whose work actually has to be done by others. They must see to it that all contribute towards saving materials, fuel and power, that all contribute toward increasing production and productivity.

All revolutionaries—whatever their organization, their place or their responsibility—now have to give a maximum of attention to the economy, to production and development.

Our leaders and provincial and municipal committees must now take a deep interest in all the problems of urban and rural economies in their regions, in all the problems of administration, technology and development. Today the leaders have to know how to handle a tractor and how to use machines.

## Marxism and African Liberation

By N. Numada

IT HAS BEEN the tradition of western imperialists to cover their robbery and exploitation in Africa under the cloak of some benevolent missionary work. When Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Germany carved up our continent and subjected the African people to oppression, exploitation and racial discrimination, it was under the pretext that they were bringing light to dark Africa, civilization and economic upliftment to the barbaric people. Their motives, they claimed, were unselfish and laudable. In actual fact, once they had entrenched themselves and dispossessed the people, none of these benefits were forthcoming. The people were kept ignorant and poor. Tribal and other outworn institutions were deliberately preserved by the imperialists to facilitate the exploitation and oppression of the people.

The bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries, who in their own countries had led the struggle against feudalism, and rallied the masses behind the slogans of democracy and nationalism, became the defenders of feudalism and the enemies of democracy and nationalism in Africa. The high principles which were proclaimed as universal turned out to be only for Western Europe and North America. In Asia, Afri-

ca and South America, the same principles were trampled in the dust, in the interests of colonial exploitation and super-profits.

Today, it is no longer possible to deny the African people democratic rights and independence. But the imperialist bourgeoisie is still up to its old tricks. They have appointed themselves the bodyguards whose mission is to protect Africa from communism. Directly, through the European colonial administrators, through American diplomatic and consular offices, and indirectly through such agencies as the so-called Moral Rearmament movement and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a continuous stream of propaganda is launched amongst the African people, preaching the horrors and mortal perils of Communism.

It is not too difficult to discern the motives behind this massive propaganda campaign. Indeed, with naive self-exposure and contempt for the intelligence of the African people, they are continually giving the game away themselves, by reiterating day in day out that they are trying "to save Africa for 'the West'."

In these circumstances, it is somewhat surprising that now a few leaders of national liberation move-

ments, and even trade unions, in Africa have fallen for this propaganda, so obviously designed to preserve whatever can be preserved from the wreck of colonialism in Africa. One would have thought, perhaps, that so many years of bitter experience would have taught us to understand that when our colonial masters are anxious to warn us against some "grave danger," that danger is likely to be something which can help us in our demands for freedom and independence.

No doubt, some of the Africans who are so eagerly echoing the parrot cry of anti-communism, are nothing but stooges and paid interpreters of their masters' voice. But when one hears patriotic African leaders thoughtlessly echoing the anti-communist trash produced for our consumption by the State Department and the various colonial offices, then one must realize that one has to face here a fundamental misconception.

They imagine that communism is in conflict with African nationalism and the liberation of our continent, because they believe that communism will divide the African people along class lines, and will introduce a remote or irrelevant issue—that of an unreal and academic dispute about our future economic system—when all our endeavors should be united and directed to a single purpose, the emancipation of our continent from alien rule.

That such gross misunderstanding of the nature of Marxist-Leninist theory, and the role of communists, is seriously believed by responsible African leaders, shows only how well the imperialists have succeeded in screening Africa from the truth about the profound teachings of communism, and in palming off their own grotesque distortions as the real article.

Neither in theory nor in practice is there any basis for the allegation that there is some sort of clash or incompatibility between the aims and activities of African communists and those of other patriotic Africans seeking the emancipation of Africa from colonialism and racial discrimination, and the advance of her peoples to unity and equality among the nations of the world.

Certainly, communists are internationalists, looking forward to a future of brotherhood of man all over the world. But that does not mean that any communist who is a member of an oppressed nation can for one moment be indifferent to the sufferings and humiliation of his fellows, who daily feel the brunt of discrimination, and the denial of democracy and human rights. On the contrary, he will participate, with all his heart and soul, in the struggle of his people for national salvation, as the key and the condition to all advance.

Any person who stands aloof from this struggle, who confines

himself to preaching generalizations about socialism, is not a Marxist at all but a mere parlor-socialist. The fact that a man is a communist makes him not a worse but a better fighter for the freedom of his people from national oppression.

Marxism-Leninism, dialectical materialism, is not an abstract dogma, but a living historical science, which enjoins upon all its supporters to study the concrete historical situation in which they find themselves. In conditions of national oppression, of colonial domination and racial discrimination, the first duty of every communist is to fight unconditionally and unreservedly for a complete emancipation from all forms of domination and oppression, for the building of a united front of national liberation. Such a united front should consist not only of workers and peasants, but also of patriotic intellectuals, professional people, and even large sections of the capitalist class who are opposed to the oppression of their people.

Working unselfishly and wholeheartedly to maintain and extend the strength and unity of such a national liberation movement, the communists do so not only because it is the condition and the key to the future advance of socialism, but also because as sons of the toiling masses, they understand the burning needs of the people for national dignity, equality and freedom.

Sometimes it is asserted by the

opponents of Marxism that communists merely attempt to "use" the national liberation and democratic movements for their own purposes. This unworthy slander is refuted not only by heroic sacrifices and contributions made to the common cause by communists in Africa and all over the world, but also by a consideration of the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism itself. The point is well expressed in the new textbook *Foundations of Marxism-Leninism* recently published by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the editorship of the veteran workers' leader, Otto Kuusinen. It declares:

It would be wrong to regard the democratic movement as a simple means for bringing the masses to socialist revolution. It would be wrong first of all because they are of tremendous importance as independent movements for the people in general and for the working class in particular. Is the struggle for peace, against nuclear destruction, to be regarded solely as a reserve means? Is it not one of the principal aims of the democrats and progressive mankind as a whole? The same is true of the struggle against fascism and shameful colonialism. . . .

Each communist, each class-conscious worker, should never lose sight of the ultimate aims of the working-class movement. But this does not make him any less conscious and less selfless in fighting for the immediate interests of the people, for such de-

mands as peace, democracy, national independence and sovereignty.

Not every democrat by a long way is a supporter of socialism. But every politically conscious fighter for socialism is a consistent defender of democracy, of all the democratic interests of the working people.

"You communists," say some of our ill-informed critics, "seek to divide our people along class lines, whereas we should all be united as Africans." It is not the communists, but the inevitable march of history which divides nations and peoples along class lines. This will always be the case until the achievement of socialism and a classless society. Instead of blaming the communists for the inevitable process of history, the critics would do better to study concretely the nature and role of the various classes that exist in Africa.

Naturally, conditions differ from one African territory to another, depending upon a number of factors, such as which European power has colonized a particular territory, the degree of white settlement and economic development, the extent to which the static, sleeping tribal societies have been disrupted and broken up. By making allowances for wide variations and local differences, it is possible to generalize broadly about the existence of various classes in our continent.

In general, we may say that the path of economic development and differentiation of classes has not

taken exactly the same shape in Africa as it has in the classic countries of capitalism, West Europe and North America. This is because imperialism itself, for so many years, vital formative years, the dominating influence in by far the greater part of our continent—has deliberately retarded, distorted, and suppressed the normal economic and political development of the continent.

The colonizers have dispossessed the people from the land and destroyed their traditional means of livelihood, in order to convert the African masses into cheap labor fodder for their mines, plantations and other enterprises, all of which were concerned merely with extracting the natural wealth of Africa and exporting it overseas for their own use. Following their policy of divide and rule, they have maintained and perpetuated outworn institutions, which no longer have any real meaning for millions of people, in order to maintain "indirect rule" through tribal chiefs, who often have become little more than officials of colonial powers.

They have deliberately retarded and suppressed indigenous development and industrialization. As a result, we find the most numerous class in Africa is composed of millions of people, living on the land, but usually without any land of their own, trying to scratch a precarious living from the soil; living to varying degrees in conditions of tribalism, ground down by ignorance,

poverty and disease, preoccupied with the superhuman struggle for a bare existence. This vast class is the basis of the great army of African liberation—the soul of the regeneration of Africa. Its interests and its future are the interests and the future of the continent. Aroused, and given dynamic leadership, the Africans of the rural hinterland will prove an invincible and determined army of freedom fighters.

But, in the nature of things, we cannot often hope or expect to find the leadership of the African revolution emerging from the heartlands of tribal society. They look for awakening, for enlightenment and leadership, to the people of the towns. Who are the people of the towns? They are, firstly, the capitalists; secondly the professional people and intellectuals; thirdly, the working class.

In most parts of Africa, amongst the capitalists, you will find a few big manufacturing and financial elements of the type which dominate the European or North American bourgeoisie. This is because the colonists have been concerned to keep control of all large enterprises, particularly mining, manufacture and finance, in their own hands. Even in areas of relatively high industrial development such as South Africa and Rhodesia, the European minority dominates all positions of importance in the capitalist world. Rarely does one find an African manufacturer who is not also work-

ing with his employees, who themselves are usually very few. The same applies to all or nearly all important positions in trade and commerce.

Few Africans have been allowed to become important figures as wholesalers or large-scale merchants. Usually one finds them only as petty traders, small shop-keepers and hawkers. Only in the north, in such countries as Egypt, can one find an indigenous class of big bourgeoisie. In most parts of Africa, one finds this bourgeois class playing an advanced and progressive role in the struggle against colonialism.

Imperialism stands in the way of the development of the African capitalists as a class. The colonialists preserve jealously exclusive rights and privileges to all the best places in the sun for themselves, and prevent the nascent African capitalist from taking what he regards as his rightful place in society. The colonial system keeps the masses of people poor, retards industrialization, and thus prevents the growth of an adequate home market.

Of course, I should add here, what is under discussion is not the behavior and motives of each individual, but broad general trends existing amongst classes. Certainly, many Africans from a capitalist background have been and still are loyal and true sons of Africa, activated by the broad interests of the suffering masses with whom they

identify themselves, and not by selfish or class interests only.

The support of the patriotic element of the African capitalist class is essential for speedy victory against colonialism. But there are aspects of this class and elements amongst it, which make it a very unsatisfactory leader in the African revolution. True, the support of the capitalist class, or the patriotic elements among it, is invaluable, for they can and do provide the financial backing which is needed to run properly organized offices and professional staff for the liberation movement, to open and maintain newspapers, and all the other things for which money is required. Also, as businesslike people, they are capable of providing the efficiency and attention to detail and daily routine which is so often sadly lacking in our movements.

But the capitalist elements are apt to be narrow, selfishly hide-bound and conservative. They are apt to be guided not by the general interests of the masses but by their only special, minority, class interests. Often they are parochial, chauvinistic, tribalistic, and lacking in a broad vision. They are usually opportunists, tend to compromise with the colonialists for small gains at the sacrifice of principle, because they fear the revolutionary activities of the masses of workers and rural people. Also, it has been repeatedly observed that certain elements amongst the bourgeoisie in a colo-

nial country tend to compromise with imperialism and sell out to it.

Whilst they share a common national outlook with the masses of African workers and peasants, they also share a common capitalist outlook with the colonialists. They are tied, sometimes, to imperialism by a thousand strings of dependence, and mutual interest. They share with the colonialists the destructive and vicious ideology of a morbid fear of communism and the masses of the people. For this reason it has happened time and again in this period of history, that the compromising section of the bourgeoisie has sold out to imperialism and betrayed the interests of the masses of the people. These are some of the reasons which make the bourgeoisie an unsatisfactory leader of the colonial revolution.

What about the professional classes and intellectuals? The doctors, lawyers, teachers and clerks and others who exist in every town in our continent? We must pay ungrudging tribute to the magnificent contributions which thus far have been made to the cause of African emancipation by men and women from this class throughout our continent. They have been the founders of our national liberation movements, and have carried the spark of enlightenment and rebellion from one end of Africa to the other. Many have studied abroad, even settled abroad, and then given up a life of ease and comfort, and of

human dignity let it be remembered, in order to come back and to share trials, hardships and dangers of the political movements amongst the masses of their people.

At the same time it must be remembered that, considered as a class, this African "intelligentsia" does not constitute a stable and homogeneous group. It is not, properly speaking, an independent economic class at all. For from it have been drawn not only the revolutionary and patriotic leaders of our liberation movements, but also the cadres of colonialism: the clerks, interpreters, and officials, without whose aid colonialism would be unable to continue its rule and maintain its administration in Africa. In conditions of modern society, the intellectuals occupy a position midway between the rulers and the ruled, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Some of them have chosen, unhesitatingly, the cause of the working people, and stuck to it loyally come what may. Others serve openly and willingly the cause of the oppressors. They swallow uncritically, the ideology and outlook of the colonialists; they learn to have contempt for their own people; they even, as teachers, often do the dirty job of inculcating into young Africans the hateful principles of subservience and self-contempt.

Many of these intellectuals vacillate between one camp and another, are always swinging helplessly between the oppressors and the

oppressed. Amongst fellow-Africans, in the liberation movement, they pose as the most radical and uncompromising of revolutionaries, ceaselessly calling for action, for desperate adventures, and swearing to destroy the colonialists. Yet at different times the very same people can be observed hobnobbing with the most reactionary elements amongst the colonial officials, and shamelessly sneering at the alleged shortcomings of the African people.

Though we must pay the most sincere homage and tribute, therefore, to those many African leaders of great stature who have emerged from this group, we must remember that as a group it is inherently unstable and unfit for leadership. It is for the members of this group, each individually, and all of them together as a group, to choose which side they are on—that of the masses of workers and peasants, or that of the exploiters. Every great African leader who has emerged from the ranks of the intelligentsia, has achieved greatness only because he has unswervingly and completely aligned himself with the masses.

Finally, we come to the African working class, the proletariat. Except in some of the areas of greater industrialization, where African workers, miners, and landless farm laborers working on plantations have come into being, the African working class is numerically small

in most parts of our continent. Yet, it is the class of the future, for every day it is growing in numbers, wisdom and maturity, as industrialization spreads in Africa, disrupting the old sleeping tribal societies, and sending forth the sons and daughters of Africa as workers, people who have no means of livelihood, and nothing to sell except their labor power.

The conditions of its life and labor make the African working class the most revolutionary, dynamic and far-seeing group amongst all our people. The working class is homogeneous. Unlike sections of the bourgeoisie, it looks beyond formal political independence. It does not seek merely to replace a group of white exploiters with another group of black ones. It looks forward to a life of greater happiness, of higher material and cultural standards, of progress and prosperity for all Africans, above all for the toiling masses also in the rural areas from which they spring.

The African working class is the ideal leader in the great process and onward march of the masses to build a new Africa. But in order to fulfill this historic role, it is necessary that the working class should be organized and trained in most modern and advanced principles of social science. It should be organized, industrially, in trade unions which can be a powerful and indispensable weapon and partner in

the movement for the national liberation of our continent. And they should be organized, in their own political party, a party based upon the wise and far-seeing scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, a Communist Party.

The Communist Party is the highest form of working class organization. It selects only the best members of the working class, those who have proved their loyalty, courage and determination in political work. The Party is highly disciplined. Every member is a student who learns more about Marxist theory and enriches this theory by studying local conditions and applying it to them. Every member of the Party is an activist who puts into practice what he learns and studies.

Membership of the Communist Party is not necessarily confined to members of the proletariat. This is particularly important in Africa where we have already said the proletariat is at present very small in relation to the other classes. A person may by trade be a worker and yet in fact be under the influence of bourgeois nationalist or other anti-working class ideology. Sometimes trade union leaders, for example, may become opportunistic in their outlook because of the need constantly to reach compromise agreements with the bosses, and because they lack training in the theories and principles of the class struggle. On the other hand, many people, of bourgeois, peasant or petty-bourgeois

origin, can become valuable members of the Communist Party and firm supporters of the working class if they accept the ideology of the working class and base their deeds on the policies and needs of the working class.

During the period of the struggle against imperialism, the national bourgeoisie and even the feudal chiefs and princes may be the allies of the working class in the struggle against imperialism. However, after the overthrow of imperialism a section of the national bourgeoisie may have ties with foreign imperialism and may betray the national revolution, but may not seek a complete break with imperialism.

The working class on the other hand will seek a complete break with imperialism and capitalist exploitation. They will seek to win the patriotic national bourgeoisie into a stronger and firmer alliance with the workers and peasants and isolate the treacherous section of the bourgeoisie which has ties with foreign imperialism. The working class will seek to win the broad masses of the revolutionary land-hungry peasantry in a way which will enable them to complete the agrarian revolution and redivide the land.

The need for a revolutionary vanguard which will lead the working class to destroy exploitation is as great in Africa today as it was in Asia. The treachery of the imperialists can convert the independence of African States into an empty

symbol by granting political independence and continuing the ruthless exploitation of the peoples through the national bourgeoisie. It is this which the imperialists hope to do when they say they want to "save Africa for the West."

In struggling against imperialism the working class must always avoid two errors. The first is to allow the bourgeoisie in the movement to dominate their leadership. The second is to try and impose exclusively working class leadership and program on the national movement. Both these errors would weaken the struggle of the working class for socialism. In the first instance the power of the national bourgeoisie will be used to curb militant forms of action because they fear that if this should happen the revolution might be carried beyond their interests. The second error is one of sectarianism, which undermines the unity of the various classes and is bound to create internal conflicts, thus diverting the attention of the people from their common enemy—imperialism.

Guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the accumulated experience of the workers of the whole world, the Communist Parties in the various colonial countries and independent states can lead the African people against imperialism either of the old form or the "new" form, which the imperialists seek to maintain under the cloak of "protecting Africa from Communism."

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