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From the Editorial Board

HISTORIC events of world-wide importance are taking place on our planet: the transition from capitalism to socialism is being realized on a world scale. The face of the world is changing, and it is changing precisely as Marx, Engels and Lenin foresaw.

The transformation of socialism into a world system has changed the course of contemporary history and opened a new epoch in the life of mankind. Over immense areas of Europe and Asia problems of historical significance have been settled in the interests of the working people. The transformation of the proletariat into the ruling class has made it possible to liquidate all forms of social and national oppression, to overcome economic and political backwardness, to ensure unprecedented rates of development of the economy, science and culture, to organize a steady rise in the standard of living of all members of society, and to carry out a genuine policy of peace and friendship between nations.

Socialism has given the peoples the possibility of solving tasks which only yesterday seemed fantasy. Could old pre-revolutionary Russia, for example, have dreamed of catching up with industrial America in the level of industrial production and technology? But today this has become a reality. Moreover, in the United States they are now already beginning to wonder whether this leading country of capitalism will succeed in catching up with the Soviet Union in a number of important branches of science and technology. The Soviet Sputniks bear witness in most striking fashion to the fact that under Socialism the most daring aspirations of mankind are fulfilled.

The development of international socialism is entering upon a new stage, marked by the completion of the building of socialism in a number of countries. Czechoslovakia has now nearly solved the task of completing the building of socialism. In Bulgaria, the socialist reconstruction of the entire economy has been achieved. The six-hundred-million Chinese people, confidently advancing along the road of transforming their country into a great socialist industrial power, are applying themselves to the carrying out of the gigantic task: within 15 years or even in a shorter period to overtake and surpass in the production of important types of industrial products the oldest industrial power in the world—

Great Britain. The peoples of other countries of the socialist camp too are reporting to the working people of the world their new victories in socialist construction. The main guarantee of new successes in the building of socialism lies in the existence of the world system of socialism, in the steadfast strengthening of this system, in the further consolidation of unity, in the development of cooperation and fraternal mutual aid between the countries of the socialist camp.

Life itself bears witness to the fact that only socialism is able to bring real freedom and prosperity to the peoples. It is precisely this which explains the fact that the ideas of socialism are gripping the minds of ever new millions of people and are becoming the characteristic feature of our times.

Imperialism's road is the opposite. The sphere of its influence is inevitably shrinking. It has already lost its former dominion over the greater part of mankind. The colonialists have been thrown out of dozens of States of Asia, Africa and the Near and Middle East. The imperialists, plotting and unleashing new military gambles, are provoking the ever greater hatred of the peoples; their isolation is growing.

No matter how bourgeois ideologists and their revisionist henchmen may try to embellish imperialism, the economic and political instability of the capitalist system grows more and more obvious. State monopoly capitalism, which evokes such raptures among the apologists of imperialism, only intensifies the anarchy of production, the hardships of the working people, the oppression and arbitrary rule of capitalism—as recent events in the economic and political life of the capitalist countries are once more showing. The inevitable result of the growing sharpening of the contradictions of imperialism will be to hasten its downfall. The present balance of forces on the world arena is more and more changing in favor of the peoples who are building socialism and fighting against the colonialists, in favor of the peoples who are defending the cause of peace, democracy and national independence.

Imperialism is historically doomed. It is still able, it is true, to inflict much sorrow and suffering on mankind. To save the peoples from these sufferings, to save them from new wars, to build a new world — this is the historical mission of the most advanced and

organized class of today—the working class, uniting around it all the progressive forces of society.

The working class now no longer merely demands the right to lead society. It has shown in practice that it alone is able to solve the problems confronting mankind in the present epoch.

In the crucible of the greatest class battles of the 19th and 20th centuries that precious alloy was tempered which gave unprecedented strength to the liberation movement of the proletariat, the vanguard of all working people—the militant Marxist-Leninist Communist parties. It is still but a short time ago that the working class had the possibility of building socialism only on the territory of a single country—the Soviet Union. Now the successful construction of socialism is taking place on the territories of many states of Europe and Asia. By this very fact life has confirmed the correctness of Marxist-Leninist teaching on a world scale. The Communists have shown by deeds that, even working in unprecedentedly difficult conditions, they are able to realize in practice the ideals of socialism, real democracy and peace, about which the best minds of mankind have dreamed for ages, and for which thousands of courageous sons and daughters of the peoples have given their lives.

The international communist movement has in truth become the mind, the honor and the conscience of our epoch.

These historical changes confront Marxist-Leninist thought with new problems. It is to help in the elucidation and elaboration of these problems that the publication of the journal "World Marxist Review—Problems of Peace and Socialism" has been undertaken.

Responsibility for the fate of the greatest gain of the revolutionary movement — the world camp of socialism, that indestructible stronghold of universal peace and progress for the peoples — now rests on the Communists. The experience of the socialist states is being watched with ever-growing attention by millions of people in all countries, and especially in the countries which have freed themselves or are freeing themselves from imperialist dependence and are outlining the path of their own further development. Millions and millions of people are following with growing sympathy the work of the Communist parties who in the capitalist countries are leading the fight of the working people for peace, national independence and social progress.

In these conditions the further elaboration

of problems of Marxist-Leninist theory—on the basis of generalizing the processes of international development, the building of socialism and communism in the U.S.S.R. and other socialist states; on the basis of generalizing the experience of the national liberation movement and of the class struggle in the capitalist countries — acquires exceptional significance.

This journal considers the propagation and further elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory to be its main task.

The journal will propagate and develop the ideas of the programmatic document — the Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries which was approved by the international Communist movement. By doing this the journal will help in the further consolidation of the ideological unity and solidarity of the Communist ranks.

Nothing frightens the enemies of peace and socialism so much as the unity of the countries and peoples of the socialist camp, the ideological solidarity of the world Communist movement. The principal task of the post-war policy of imperialism has been at any cost to weaken the unity of the forces of international communism. In this task, the revisionist elements within the Communist movement fulfil the role of the principal instrument of subversion. And this is not accidental.

The growth of Marxism, the spreading and strengthening of its ideas among the working class, have given rise to the intensification of the bourgeois and reformist attacks on Marxism. This is the law of the class struggle. Now, when Marxism-Leninism has come to rule the thoughts of hundreds of millions of people, when bourgeois thought is passing through a most profound crisis, there is no better instrument for the enemies of the working class than contemporary revisionism. To bring about ideological confusion in the revolutionary movement, to paralyze the revolutionary will of the proletariat, is objectively the class role of contemporary revisionism.

The tireless and uncompromising exposure of the ideological platform of revisionism has exceptional significance for the fate of international socialism. *The journal "World Marxist Review" considers it its paramount duty to fight against all expressions of bourgeois ideology and first of all against revisionism, the main danger to the Communist movement in present-day conditions. The journal will at the same time fight implacably against dogmatism and sectarianism, which may also*

represent the main danger at particular stages of the development of one party or another.

Problems of the struggle for peace and friendship between all peoples will have a special place in the columns of our journal.

The Communists have devoted their lives to the cause of socialism. Precisely because Communists believe in the triumph of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, they are irreconcilable adversaries of predatory wars. Communism has shown by deeds that it is the most humane, the most progressive movement. The basis of the foreign policy of all countries where Communist and Workers' Parties are in power is the struggle for peace, for the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. Thousands of Communists in the capitalist and dependent countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia, in spite of privations and repression, are fighting for the cause of freedom and peace.

The activity of the forces which have taken up the cause of peace has never had such vital significance for the fate of mankind as now. The clouds of the war danger are closing in again on the world. There is today no more important and urgent task than the curbing of those groups in the imperialist camp who are losing the last traces of self-control in face of the consolidation of the forces of international socialism and the upsurge of the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa, the Near and Middle East, and Latin America.

The cynical aggression of the imperialists of the United States of America and Britain in the Near and Middle East, aiming by armed force to turn back the liberation movement of the Arab peoples and to keep in the hands of the imperialists the oil resources which have been taken from these peoples; the continuing war in Algeria; the provision of the atomic weapons to the West German militarists; the striving towards fascism clearly demonstrated in the present policy of French reaction; and finally, the unequivocal course taken by the NATO bosses to unleash atomic war—all this shows the peoples over and over again how great must be the vigilance that the present international situation demands of them.

We Communists are confident of the superiority of the international forces of peace, of their ability successfully to frustrate the new military plot of the imperialists. The tornado of protests throughout the world against the intervention of the American colonialists in the Near and Middle East, and

also the success of the Stockholm World Congress for disarmament and international co-operation—are a new and convincing illustration of the might of the forces of peace.

It is necessary, however, to realize that only the most selfless struggle of the peace-loving people in every country, and the unity of their efforts on an international scale, can bar the road to the threat of war.

We must not forget the lessons of history. Often in the past, precisely because of the divisions in its ranks, the working class has had to pay too heavy a price for some success or another, or has been late in achieving it. Now it is entirely possible to direct the development of events along a different channel. It is possible to defeat the aggressive plans of the imperialist atomic maniacs through the united forces of the countries of the socialist camp; the efforts of the peace-loving states of Europe, Asia and Africa; the organized unity of action of the working class in the capitalist countries, winning to its side wide democratic strata of the population; and the active operations of the growing and uniting forces of the national liberation movement. But if nevertheless the imperialist atomic maniacs dare to unleash a war, they will meet their end in it.

At a time when the future of peace and of humanity is at stake, Communists once more hold out their hand to all people of good will. They see in them their comrades-in-arms in the battle for the lives of children, for the peace of mind of mothers, for the happiness of the peoples.

And first and foremost, Communists turn to their Socialist comrades.

The present situation calls more imperatively than ever before for the healing of the split in the ranks of the labor movement. At the present time conditions are favorable for the solution of this historic task.

In all sections of the labor movement there is a growing understanding of the fact that a new war, for which the bosses of NATO and other aggressive blocs have been preparing, threatens in the first place the working class with unprecedented calamity. The intensification of the attack of reaction on the economic and democratic rights of the working people, arising from the new economic crisis that is under way in the U.S.A. and other capitalist countries, gives the problem of the unity of all sections of the labor movement a still more urgent character. The successful defence of national independence too is impossible without the unity of all

democratic forces and in the first place of their vanguard—the working class.

Communists realize that distrust and suspicion have divided the various sections of the labor movement for decades, and that the burden of the past is not lightly thrown overboard. But our appeal is to look not backward, but forward. To put an end at long last to the division in the ranks of the working class and thus to bar the road to fascism and war—that is our appeal. Without renouncing principled criticism of the attitude of the right-wing reformist leaders—because such criticism is helpful to the cause of strengthening working class unity—Communists in all sincerity hold out their hand to Socialists. In doing this they are guided by one purpose only—to bring into being wide united national fronts in their countries that would strengthen the mighty international anti-imperialist front which can smash the forces of war and oppression.

For over a hundred years the call made by Marx and Engels: "Working men of all countries, unite!" has lighted up the banners of the international labor movement. The experience of over a century of struggle of the proletariat has confirmed that a better future for all working people can only be won by following this path.

This journal sees its purpose as that of helping to strengthen the unity of all peace-loving and democratic forces, to develop contacts and co-operation between Communist and Socialist Parties; as that of propagating the principles of proletarian internationalism which the advanced workers of all countries

hold sacred, the principles of friendship and co-operation between peoples.

This journal is a joint publication of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties which took part in the conference of representatives of certain Communist parties in Prague in March of this year. It will not be an organ which issues directives. It regards itself as an international tribune for the exchange of opinions and experience between fraternal parties.

The creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory is the concern of the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries. All Communist and Workers' parties develop revolutionary theory, enriching it with the experience of hundreds of millions of fighters. Our journal will be able to fulfil its tasks only if Communists of all countries take an active part in it.

Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, closing their ranks and on this basis uniting the working class and the working masses of all countries, the Communist and Workers' parties will overcome the many obstacles in their path and will bring nearer new, great victories in the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The banner of Communism, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, is in the trusty hands of millions of workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals. Under this banner mankind will reach a better future, peace, freedom and happiness.

Such is the will of the peoples. Such is the call of history.

For the Triumph of Peace and Socialism

Antonin Novotny

THE title of this new journal of the Communist and Workers' Parties, *World Marxist Review: Problems of Peace and Socialism*, expresses the two fundamental problems facing the whole of mankind today.

Our age is the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism, a transition started in 1917 by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The significance of this Revolution is that it opened for the peoples the path to a new social system of a higher order. At the same time, it blazed the trail towards

secure and lasting peace. The triumph of the Socialist Revolution in Russia, which eradicated exploitation of man by man, was simultaneously the first triumph over imperialist war.

Today, the process of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale has reached a stage where it may be asserted that the forces of the new social system have already outbalanced the forces of the moribund capitalist world. In the world political arena, the influence of the socialist camp is

decisive and the basis for this is, mainly, the happy circumstance that wars are no longer a fatal inevitability, that they can be averted.

It goes without saying that so long as capitalism exists there always will be the danger of military clashes. Wars are engendered by the very essence of the capitalist system of exploitation. The two world wars broke out as a result of the deepening antagonisms of the capitalist system. Similarly, the existence of modern capitalism is the reason for all the military conflicts since the Second World War.

In their striving for world supremacy, imperialist aggressive circles, first and foremost in the U.S.A., began to prepare for another world war when the Second World War had hardly ended. To deceive the masses and draw them into another military gamble, the imperialists are compelled to cover up the class, exploiting nature of their anti-popular and aggressive foreign policy and are trying to throw the blame for their own sins on the socialist states and, of course, on the Communists. Therefore, the intrigues of the imperialist circles and their political stooges must be exposed before the whole world, before all working people and peace-lovers. At the same time the stand of the Communists on international issues and, particularly, on the struggle for universal peace must be shown to the whole world.

* * *

First, it is necessary to examine how Communists understand the relation between the problems of peace and socialism.

The nature of the struggle for socialism is anti-capitalist and of the struggle for peace—general democratic. It would be a mistake to reduce the struggle for socialism to a struggle for peace and identify these two problems. Does that mean that the struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism run counter to each other? By no means. The interests of the working class, who are fighting for socialism includes the struggle for a lasting peace because in peace alone can socialism be successfully built. Evidently, another reason for this is that in the conditions prevailing today the struggle for socialism is inevitably a struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism who are preparing another war.

The working class is the only class that can lead the peoples of the world along the highroad of peace and democracy and head their struggle for a bright future for the whole of mankind. In its fight for socialism, the

working class creates conditions for the complete elimination of the causes of war.

Together with all other working people, the working class has always had to carry the main burden of wars. The struggle against capitalist wars of plunder naturally became one of the basic features of the working-class movement at its very inception. Marx and Engels, the great leaders and teachers of the proletariat, were the first who made it clear to the working-class movement and to all working people that a conscious struggle for peaceful relations among nations must be an integral part of their general liberation struggle against capitalism, for socialism.

In 1864, Karl Marx wrote in the *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association* that the working class is to master "the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

"The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes." (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow 1955, pp. 384-385).

The Marxist standpoint on the working class struggle for peace was thus elaborated at the very first stages of the existence of the working-class movement.

We Communists spurn and condemn aggressive and predatory wars as barbarian and inhuman, but that does not in any way mean that we identify ourselves with bourgeois pacifists. We Communists differ from the latter first of all in that we are fully aware of the inevitable link between wars and the class struggle within a country and on an international scale. We understand that the causes giving birth to wars cannot be removed without eliminating exploiting classes and establishing socialism throughout the world.

Another difference between us and the pacifists is that we fully recognize the just and progressive character of wars of the oppressed class against the class of oppressors, of workers against the bourgeoisie, as well as of wars of liberation which the enslaved peoples of colonial and dependent countries are at present waging against oppression and aggressors, against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The struggle of the working class in the period between the First and Second World Wars fully confirmed the correctness of the basic Marxist principles that the working class must carry on the fight for peace as part of the general liberation movement against capitalism, resorting if necessary to all possible means. For example, in 1917 the Russian Communists with Lenin at their head translated into reality the slogan of converting an imperialist war into a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of imperialist governments that shed the blood of the people in the interests of the capitalists. On the other hand, the opportunist leaders of the 2nd International defected to the bourgeoisie and, under the false slogan of the need for solidarity with the imperialist bourgeoisie with the purpose of "defending the motherland", became accomplices of the bourgeois diplomats and generals in unleashing and waging war.

Naturally, the position of the international working class, which is fighting to carry out its historic mission, is at present essentially different from what it was when Marx and Engels formulated and Lenin elaborated the fundamental principles on questions of war and peace. But inasmuch as today we find the same basic contradictions as in the period when the founders of Marxism-Leninism lived and worked, the fundamental Marxist principles on war, peace and socialism continue to retain their importance. In future too the struggle for peace remains a component part of the overall struggle for the emancipation of the working class and of all working people. The purpose of this struggle of the working class and of all working people is not only to prevent war or to hasten its termination if it breaks out, but also to eradicate the causes of war.

Like the rest of the working people, the working class is neither interested nor can it be interested in predatory war. The working class realizes that the triumph of socialism in any country is first and foremost the affair of the working class of that country. The imperialist propaganda about the "export of revolution" is foul slander of communist revolutionary teaching. This malevolent propaganda seeks to hide from the people the inexorable fact that as a consequence of the sharpening of its inner contradictions capitalism must and will be superseded by socialism on a world scale.

The result of historical development is that one country after another drops out of the world capitalist system. This gives rise to

the necessity of states with different social systems existing and having to exist side by side. The victory of socialism is the result of a natural historical process. Socialism does not need war, for it can triumph in the course of peaceful competition with capitalism.

We Communists deem it our duty not only to indicate the reasons and nature of war and expose its instigators, but to lead the struggle for a lasting peace. We regard the organization of this struggle against the war-mongers as a daily, practical task.

Today, mankind is faced with the threat of another world war that the aggressive imperialist circles headed by the U.S. imperialists are preparing. The conduct of these circles proves that they intend to wage war with atomic, hydrogen and rocket weapons. Such a war would annihilate tens and even hundreds of millions of people and destroy incalculable material and cultural values. But even such a war would be unable to destroy human society, human culture, just as there is no force on earth that can reverse the natural development of human society towards communism. An atomic war would bring mankind to the conclusion that the capitalist system and the criminal imperialist governments must be razed from the face of the earth.

More and more people throughout the world—not only in countries which bore the burden of the last war but also in those which had not directly experienced its horrors—are realizing where the threat of war is coming from. The source of all predatory wars lies in imperialism and, in the first place, in American imperialism. This threat is steadily growing because the imperialists have such weapons of mass destruction as the atom and hydrogen bombs. Now these weapons are being put into the hands of the West German fascist generals, into the hands of the very men who lost the Second World War and are dreaming of revenge.

That is why the people who are hindering the exposure of the anti-popular character of American imperialism in the eyes of peace-loving mankind bear a responsibility before the human race and history. That is the very role of the opportunists and revisionists in the working-class movement and, primarily, of the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, who claim that international tension arises from the "positions of strength" policy, which, allegedly, the Soviet Union is pursuing like the imperialists. In spite of the fact that representa-

tives of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia signed the Peace Manifesto, which brings to light the real perpetrators of international tension and the cold war, they have now in their program renounced its idea, which exposes the instigators of war. Thereby they have not only renounced the teaching of Marxism-Leninism about peace and war, but have taken upon themselves the task of embellishing American imperialism, of presenting it in a better light, and of laying the blame for international tension at somebody else's door.

Communists are firmly convinced that peace can be preserved. However, that will be possible only if the adherents of peace know where the danger of another war is coming from and who is peace enemy No. 1. That is the sole condition under which the struggle can be carried on with sufficient effectiveness and not blindly, and the ranks of the peace supporters can be united against the warmongers!

War, Marxism-Leninism teaches us, is the continuation of the domestic policy of states. Under capitalism, the dominant principle in the domestic policy of states is force. That is the characteristic feature of the capitalist system. Hence the striving, in international policy, as well, to settle issues with threats and force, seizing foreign territories and sources of raw materials and markets by means of war.

The arms race policy, which is meant to secure maximum profits for a few groups of billionaires through the export not only of conventional but also, as is being done now, of rocket weapons, as well as the policy of setting up military bases on foreign territory and of forming military and political aggressive blocks, inevitably leads to aggressive war. Such is the logic of things. Therefore, the interests of the peoples demand an energetic struggle against everyone who is preparing war and against those who are seeking to nullify the responsibility of the warmongers.

* * *

Our struggle for peace proceeds from the very essence of the socialist system, which is based on public ownership of the means of production. Under socialism there are no antagonistic classes and no classes or groups interested in wars of aggression. From the standpoint of the fight for peace, socialism is introducing new elements into human society: in essence, it is incompatible with aggressive military tendencies of all kinds; within the socialist camp it gives rise to a

completely new type of relations between states, relations based on co-operation and mutual aid and on a community of interests in peace; in international relations it pursues a consistent policy of peaceful coexistence and competition between states with different social systems.

A typical feature of the economy of socialist countries is that their national economy follows a peaceful trend of development. In socialist economy progress is neither linked with nor restricted by militarization of production as is the case in imperialist countries. On the contrary, its development is all-round and is directed at satisfying the steadily growing requirements of the people to the maximum. In the socialist countries, heavy industry does not aim to produce weapons but to create the pre-requisites for an all-round peaceful development of the whole of social production. That is why in all the socialist countries the rate of economic growth is faster than in the capitalist countries and promotion of all branches of the national economy is being ensured.

The peaceful character of socialist economy is objective and springs from the very essence of socialism. That is seen throughout the domestic and foreign policy of the socialist countries.

While the steady growth of socialist production is subordinated to the goal of satisfying the constantly rising needs of the people, the purpose of production in the capitalist countries is to obtain maximum profits. The monopolies are getting their biggest profits from the production of arms. The atmosphere of international tension that is being artificially sustained by the imperialists, creates favorable conditions for a rise in the profits of the monopolist cartels engaged in the production of arms. In the period from 1940 to 1956, the profits pocketed by the American monopolies rose from 9,300 million dollars to 43,000 million dollars annually. Most of these profits went to the magnates of the arms industry. That explains sufficiently why economic development in the imperialist states is characterized by a constant expansion of arms production and why the political representatives of the multi-millionaires do not desire peace. The imperialists are seeking a way out of the economic crisis through the arms race and militarization.

Socialism has given birth to such relations between states that were unknown as yet in history. Karl Marx was right when he prophesied that: "in contrast to old so-

ciety, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labor!*" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow 1955, p. 490.)

Capitalism, on the contrary, neither can nor has it even tried to establish relations of peaceful cooperation and mutual assistance between states. Even on a world scale, capitalists organize their relations on the model of the relations that exist between exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed.

The socialist state, meanwhile, is the vehicle ensuring mutual cooperation and aid between the socialist countries, and it consolidates peaceful relations between peoples. Today, the working class is implementing the ideas of proletarian internationalism as a line of state policy by means of an over-all expansion of political, economic and cultural cooperation between countries, promoting this expansion not on the basis of commercial interests but on the basis of a sincere desire to facilitate the speediest possible development of socialism throughout the whole of the socialist camp. The highlight of the relations between the socialist countries is that the more economically developed countries are fraternally helping the other socialist states to effect a faster development of their productive forces and thereby secure a rapid rise in the material and cultural standard of the people of those countries, which had lagged behind economically and technically as a result of specific historical conditions, as a result of the uneven economic development of capitalism and as a result of plunder and exploitation by the imperialist states.

Proletarian internationalism finds expression in fraternal mutual assistance between the socialist countries. In this respect, a particularly big role is played by the Soviet Union, which has always rendered disinterested aid and continues to help all the countries of the socialist camp. The first country where socialism triumphed, the mighty Soviet Union, which is valiantly blazing the path to communism, is the leading force in the camp of socialism. The socialist countries are rallying ever closer around the great Soviet Union. In our foreign policy we, the entire socialist camp, must, first and foremost, continue implementing the slogan: Promote friendship with the Soviet Union and guard that friendship as the apple of our eye.

The world socialist camp, which is a mighty bastion of peace all over the globe, arose and developed not as a military-political bloc on the basis of the "hegemony" of one of the states, and not as a result of the division of spheres of influence among the great powers, as the Yugoslav revisionists would have us believe. The world socialist system exists as a result of the objective course of world development, as a result of the struggle between capitalism and socialism on a world scale. Such is the logic of history. Neither the imperialists nor the revisionists can change anything in this.

The mutual-aid treaties of the socialist countries are not directed against the independence of any country; they are of a defensive nature and serve to strengthen the national independence and sovereignty of these states. The defensive character of these treaties is shown, in particular, by the fact that only after six years since the conclusion of the aggressive Atlantic pact, a military-political alliance of socialist states was forged in Europe in accordance with the Warsaw Treaty of 1955. The Warsaw Treaty arose as an open defensive organization, in reply to the measures of the Atlantic bloc countries aimed at reviving the German Wehrmacht, at preparing another war. The Warsaw Treaty is an instrument of peace and its aims spring from the profoundly humane and peaceful principles that guide the socialist countries. That is where it basically differs from the aggressive military grouping of the Western states, of the NATO partners.

Facts show the principal contrast between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The Soviet Union expressed a desire to join NATO. If, as the rulers of the NATO countries declare, that pact is not directed against the socialist countries, then why was the offer of the Soviet Government rejected? On more than one occasion, the Warsaw Treaty countries have offered to conclude a non-aggression pact with the members of NATO. What was the reply of the Western powers? They turned down the peaceful proposal of the socialist countries, thereby making it clear that NATO is not an instrument of defense and peace but a weapon of war and aggression spearheaded against the socialist camp.

Therefore, the socialist states must jointly stand guard over their independence, increase their defensive capacity, and enhance their economic and political might.

* * *

New vistas have been opened for the peace struggle by the 20th Congress of the CPSU,

which analyzed the problems of war and peace and came to the conclusion that at present there is a real possibility of averting war in spite of the fact that imperialism, which engenders wars, still exists. Naturally, social development is governed by objective laws. But these laws manifest themselves through the activity of people, the struggle of classes and strata of society. Some people and classes take the side of progress and pave the way for it in a struggle with other people and classes, who hinder progress. Therefore, the preservation of peace and the averting of war depend both on the general correlation of class forces and on the organization and conscious will of the people fighting to prevent war. Today, the most important factors of peace are: the indestructible camp of socialist states headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving states of Asia and Africa which have taken an anti-imperialist stand; the international working class and, primarily, its vanguard — the Communist and Workers' Parties; the liberation movement of the peoples of colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples.

Prior to the Second World War, the correlation of forces was such that the imperialists managed to kindle a world conflagration. But that did not go unpunished. The war resulted in a further substantial weakening of imperialism and, consequently, of the forces of war. After the Second World War, it became possible to launch the struggle for peace on a fresh basis, on a higher level. Socialism emerged from the bounds of one country and developed into a world system. The camp of socialism is the chief force fighting for world peace. The unity of the socialist countries and the inexhaustible strength and resources and means of defense of the camp of socialism are a powerful weapon in the struggle against all aggressive aspirations.

Our enemies assert that the existence of the socialist camp is the reason for the arms race and for the war preparations of the imperialist states. Reality, however, is quite the opposite. It is principally due to the existence of the socialist camp, its might, vigilance and peaceful initiative that the imperialists cannot carry out their military plans as they would have liked to do. Recent experience shows that if the imperialists were not aware that the Soviet Union and the whole of the socialist camp are standing guard over peace and the freedom of peoples they would have long ago tried to unleash a war against the socialist countries and

would have attacked the countries that had won freedom in a struggle against colonialism.

Life itself is confirming the teaching of Marxism-Leninism that socialism alone can deliver the peoples from war. The attempts to belittle the significance of the existence of the socialist camp in the struggle for lasting peace serve the forces that most of all want to start another world war and frustrate our struggle for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Continuously developing their peaceful initiative, the countries of the socialist world system have in recent years undertaken a number of unilateral measures aimed at lessening international tension. They have tabled many concrete proposals, which, if implemented would have helped to establish confidence between states and gradually to solve disputed issues. The conclusion of a treaty of friendship and cooperation by the European states, as proposed by the Soviet Union, would have been a large contribution towards strengthening international trust. The signing of such an agreement would have been a fundamental turning point in relations between the European states, inasmuch as former mistrust would have been superseded by all-round peaceful cooperation, which would open the road to a gradual settlement of any issues that may arise.

The revolutionary working class movement led by the Communist and Workers' Parties is becoming an increasingly important force in the struggle for peace. It is and will be of decisive importance if it continues to be united in the struggle against imperialism, for the prevention of war and the preservation of peace the world over. Its organization is growing steadily stronger and its efforts to safeguard peace are being intensified. The Communist Parties are training the working class to be conscious of the lofty purposes of its struggle for socialism and peace.

Today, the unity of the working class of all countries is of the greatest importance. The working class is the backbone of all the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces. The example of the recent events in France is a fresh indication of the grave aftermaths of the policy of splitting the working-class movement and cooperating with the bourgeoisie, which is pursued by certain Socialist leaders of the Guy Mollet type. An indestructible fortress will be erected to counter the forces of war if the disunion in the working-class movement is successfully overcome and bonds are established and developed between the

communist, socialist and other workers' parties, whose stand is that of struggle for peace, against imperialism.

The great movement for freedom and independence, against colonial and national oppression is of tremendous significance in the struggle for peace. This movement was not so strong before the Second World War, when to a certain extent the imperialists could, in their military plans, count on the colonies as a rear, as an immense source of raw materials, cheap labor and colonial troops for their armies. Today, hundreds of millions of people have freed themselves from the rule of imperialism. The imperialists, however, are nurturing fresh plans against the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke.

The intervention of the American and British imperialists in the Lebanon and Jordan is a manifestation of the aggressive colonial policy of the imperialists. To deceive world public opinion, the political leaders of the United States of America and the other imperialist states are resorting to their favorite method of proclaiming hollow phrases about the freedom and independence of the Lebanon and Jordan. In reality, the American and British imperialist vultures need oil and they are trying to crush the liberation movement in the Middle East in order to retain their colonial rule in those countries.

Like other peace-loving states, the Czechoslovak Republic resolutely condemned this act of aggression by the U.S.A. and Great Britain, who have flagrantly violated the UN Charter and international law and have created a grave threat to peace in the Middle East and throughout the world. Our warm sympathies lie with the peoples of the Middle East, who are fighting heroically to overthrow colonial slavery and win full political and economic independence.

It is of inestimable importance for peace in the world that the peoples of India, the United Arab Republic, Burma, Indonesia and other countries have achieved political independence. Peace is a vital concern to these countries which are vitally interested in peace and, jointly with the socialist states, they form a vast peace zone that embraces huge territories and unites nearly 1,500 million people, i.e., the majority of the population of our planet.

Another important factor countering the threat of another war is the mass peace movement, which has gained tremendous ground and now unites hundreds of millions of people from all walks of life and of different

political convictions and religions. This great movement is a feature of our epoch and it has already shown its enormous strength and significance.

At present, when the defence of peace is the most pressing task in the whole world, it is necessary to close the ranks of the working class, to strengthen the alliance between the workers and peasants and to unite all progressive and peace-loving people. The Communist and Workers' Parties that had participated in the Moscow Conference proclaimed that in the struggle for peace they would endeavor to carry out general measures on the broadest basis jointly with all people who desire peace, that they would support the efforts of all states, parties, organizations and individuals who come out against war, for peaceful coexistence, for the establishment of collective security in Europe and Asia, for the reduction of arms, for the banning of nuclear weapons and nuclear bomb tests.

In the struggle for world peace, we Communists are uniting with all sincere fighters for peace. Peace is inevitable and therefore it must be fought for by all peoples, by the adherents of peace all over the world!

The existence of powerful forces fighting for peace is convincing peace-loving people that peace can be preserved. This is proved by the history of the past few years. The imperialist plans in Korea and Indo-China, and the Anglo-French and Israeli intervention in Egypt were disrupted thanks to the struggle of the forces of peace throughout the world.

At the moment, the forces of peace supporters are such that the imperialists cannot but reckon with them. These forces are able to check any aggressor.

However, both the forces and the criminal character of imperialism must not be underestimated. Peace cannot be achieved automatically, it must be won!

In order to ensure the triumph of this struggle, the Communist and Workers' Parties cannot allow the people to be deceived by the imperialist, anti-socialist and war propaganda. They must fight against modern revisionism to the end, as it is distorting the problems of the struggle for peace and socialism. That is necessary so as to strengthen all the factors which can tie the hands of the imperialists and stop them from carrying out their military plans.

Jointly with the other fraternal Communist parties headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will do all it can to destroy

the web of military intrigues woven by the imperialists and their accomplices against socialism and peace, so that all working people in the world will see that socialism means

lasting peace and that, through the combined efforts of the united forces of peace, democracy and socialism, a military catastrophe can be averted.

The Main Problems of Socialist Construction in China At the Present Stage

Li Fu-chun

THE Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held its Second Session in Peking from the 5th to the 23rd of May. The session summed up China's experience in socialist construction and laid down the general line of the Party—that is, exerting every effort to advance towards socialism by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. The Party and the people have been confronted with a new task—the carrying through of a technological and cultural revolution.

The session was held at a time when the socialist revolution had in the main been victorious on all fronts, when industry, agriculture and construction had begun a new upsurge and when the Second Five-Year Plan had already begun to be translated into practice. The discussions revealed that our country had entered on a new stage in socialist construction.

The Party's general line in socialist construction together with its call for a technological and cultural revolution has already had a tremendous impact on the masses throughout the whole country and has become a great material force. This force, no doubt, will advance the cause of socialism in China at an even greater pace.

I

As a result of their eight years' tireless struggle, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, have won a decisive all-round victory in the socialist revolution, and have achieved impressive successes in socialist construction.

As a result of the upsurge of the mass movement in the winter of 1955 and the spring of 1956, the socialist revolution on the economic front—i.e., the socialist transformation in ownership of the means of production

in agriculture, handicrafts industry, capitalist industry and trade—was in the main completed by the end of 1956. During that period some 120 million peasant households (96 per cent) joined producer co-operatives. Over 5 million handicraft workers (92 per cent) also organized co-operatives. At the same time 70,000 private industrial enterprises, responsible for 99.6 per cent (in monetary value) of private industry's gross output, came under joint state-private control. Similarly, 1,990,000 private commercial firms, employing 85 per cent of the workers occupied in the private trade sector, were reorganized into joint state-private, state or co-operative trading enterprises.

In 1957 the newly-organized socialist enterprises were being consolidated and further expanded. For instance, the overall number of peasant households organized into co-operatives rose to 98 per cent (of which 96 per cent were members of socialist co-operatives of the highest type). In industry, the output of the private sector (as compared with the total output of industry) fell in value to 0.1 per cent.

The socialist sector is now predominant in our national economy, the capitalist sector has virtually disappeared and the individual sector is negligible. Thus, a socialist system of economy has been created. This means that the socialist political system of China now rests on a firm economic base.

Our party holds that the socialist system should be consolidated not only economically but also politically and ideologically. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in order to do this it is not enough to abolish capitalist ownership and the source which gives rise to it. To secure undivided working-class control over the economy, politics and ideology,

it is also essential to eradicate bourgeois ideology. Such is the task set by history before the socialist revolution.

That is why after the socialist revolution scored decisive victories on the economic front in 1956, the Party launched in the following year a campaign of rectification of the style of work. This movement first started within the Party and gradually embraced the entire nation. We began a full and nation-wide exchange of views on two roads of development—the socialist road and the capitalist road, and boldly developed criticism and self-criticism of the mistakes and shortcomings in our work. In doing this we encouraged a broad and full airing of views, wide discussions and “tatsepao”.* In the course of this movement the bourgeois rightists started a furious offensive, and we therefore roused the whole nation for the struggle against them.

In this struggle our party adhered to the following policy: it first allowed “poisonous weeds” to grow (during a certain period anti-communist, anti-people’s, anti-socialist opinions could be openly expressed and even published in the press), but then these “poisonous weeds” were rooted out through the medium of the nation-wide discussion.

The rectification movement and the anti-rightist struggle meant the extension of the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts. As a result, the broad masses have come to understand better what their future is and what they have to do. This movement promoted a great Communist ideological emancipation of these masses. The furious anti-party, anti-people’s and anti-socialist offensive launched by the bourgeois rightists was repelled. All this has brought about further profound changes in the alignment of class forces in our country. At the same time this movement has eliminated to a considerable extent the bad style of work and thinking prevailing among many cadres to a greater or less degree, such as bureaucratism, sectarianism, subjectivism, individualism of various kinds, officialism, apathy, ostentatious extravagance, arrogance and finicky airs.

Simultaneously with the achievement of decisive victories by the socialist revolution

* “Tatsepao” is one of the widely spread methods of criticism and self-criticism in China. It was created by the masses in the course of the rectification campaign.

Opinions, criticisms or suggestions are written out in bold Chinese characters on large sheets of paper (sometimes with a cartoon) and posted freely for everybody to see.

on the ideological and political fronts in 1957 we overfulfilled the First Five-Year Plan, thus achieving great successes in socialist construction. The laying down of a preliminary foundation for socialist industrialization, the speedy advance of agriculture, communications, transport facilities and other branches of economy in the First Five-Year Plan period and the progress made in culture, education and scientific research helped to strengthen still more the material base of our socialist system.

All these successes heightened the enthusiasm of the broad masses, made the ties between them and the Party still closer, and consolidated the unity of the Party. As a result, exceptionally favourable conditions have been created for accelerating socialist construction in China. The spring of 1958 witnessed a stupendous upsurge of activity and of the creative powers of the people and the cadres, and an unprecedented leap in the economy and in construction. We are living in the great epoch foretold by Karl Marx, an epoch when “twenty years are concentrated in one day”.

II

The eight years’ experience enabled our Party to work out the general line of socialist construction.

What are the underlying principles of this line (i.e., exerting every effort to advance towards socialism by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results) which was mapped out by the Second Session of our Eighth Party Congress on the initiative of Comrade Mao Tse-tung? They can be defined as follows: to bring the activity and creative initiative of over 600 million people into full play; to mobilize all positive factors to the fullest extent; to strive to fulfil the most progressive quotas and attain the highest possible rate of development by exerting the utmost effort.

The general line of our Party in socialist construction has gradually taken shape during the past eight years of practical work on the basis of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and the Soviet Union’s experience, taking into account the specific activities of the broad masses of the people. This line, it is true, will be further developed and perfected as socialist construction grows in scope.

After the socialist revolution had scored a decisive victory on the economic, political and ideological fronts, the Party general line raised socialist construction onto a new plane, showing the cardinal principles and the main

direction of further effort to the whole Party and the entire nation.

The most important problem confronting us since the triumph of the socialist revolution is that of the rate of construction. It is this problem that the general line of the Party must solve. We are carrying through the socialist revolution precisely in order to expand the productive forces of society as quickly as possible. This is also the aim of our work in carrying through the technological and cultural revolution at the present time.

The Chinese People's Republic is big in population and territory, yet in her economy and culture it is still a small country. We are still lagging behind many capitalist nations in gross industrial output, in per-acre yields of farm crops, and in the level of science and technology. We have not yet completely resolved the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within the country, while externally we have sharp contradictions between ourselves and imperialism. By taking advantage of all favorable conditions we must rapidly develop economy and culture, strengthen still more our socialist state, and resolve the contradictions between ourselves, on the one hand, and the internal and foreign bourgeoisie, on the other.

The problem of the rate of construction which we face is also the problem of full victory over the national and foreign bourgeoisie; for that reason it is of exceptionally great political importance. The rate of construction which we are striving to attain must not only surpass the rate of construction in the old China and in capitalist countries. We have already achieved this. We need a rate of construction which would exceed that of the old China and all capitalist countries several times and even several dozen times. The working class and all working people of China must, within 10-20 years and even in a shorter period, reach a level of development, which capitalist countries took a hundred or two hundred years to reach—and then leave them far behind. Therefore we issued a call which inspired our people — “to overtake and surpass Britain within 15 years or less in the output of iron and steel and other major industrial products”.

The carrying out of this task will not only consolidate our socialist state and raise the people's standards of living in a comparatively short time, but also will greatly enhance the superiority possessed by the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, it will promote mutual aid and co-operation between the

countries of the socialist camp and also between all the peace-loving forces of the world, and it will help to safeguard world peace.

Can we achieve this? The answer is yes! 1958 can serve as a proof that we can do it.

The rate of development of our industrial production, agriculture and capital construction this year can, of course, considerably surpass the average annual rate of increase during the First Five-Year Plan period, and also the rate of increase of any year of the First Five-Year Plan. (In the First Five-Year Plan period the most rapid advance of industrial production was registered in 1953, when the rate of increase was 31.7 per cent; in agricultural production it was in 1955, when the rate of increase was 7.7 per cent; and in capital construction it was in 1956 when the rate of increase was 62 per cent). Hence it becomes clear that if we exert every effort, forge ahead and build more, faster, better and more economically we will certainly be able to ensure the development of social productive forces at maximum speed.

We can achieve this because we have favorable conditions which are well-known to everybody. These are: the socialist system, which is immensely superior to the capitalist system; the activity and creative initiative of more than 600 million people freed from the fetters of the old system and the old ideology; the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the leadership of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung; the close unity of the Party and the people (mainly the unity of the working class and the peasantry). We also have such favorable factors as the wealth of our internal resources and the extensive home market, as well as the support of the international proletariat and, in the first place, of the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union. All this has made it possible, as facts show, for us to accomplish what could not be done by past generations. The imperialists and their agents in China — bourgeois rightists and revisionists of various kinds — are pitiful precisely because they overlook or do not wish to reckon with the great force which is represented by over 600 million people led by their Communist Party.

III

The decisive victories achieved by the socialist revolution on various fronts enabled us to advance the revolution to a new stage — a technological and a cultural revolution.

The technological and cultural revolutions are carried through immediately after the victory of the socialist revolution. They develop simultaneously with the completion

of the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts.

The Central Committee of our Party holds that throughout the transition period the main contradiction inside our country is and remains the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. In certain fields this contradiction manifests itself as that between ourselves and the enemy, but in most cases as a contradiction among the people. Generally speaking, contradictions among the people are contradictions in conditions in which the interests of the people are in the main identical. In future, too, we shall have to devote serious attention to these contradictions and handle them in a correct way. In other words, we must continue to carry through the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts in order to consolidate and extend socialist national property and socialist collective property, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring into action all positive factors for the cause of socialism.

In view of the fact that the socialist revolution has in the main been victorious, the Central Committee of our Party considers that the time is ripe to set new revolutionary tasks before the Party and the people, that now is the time to call for a technological revolution and, closely linked with it, a cultural revolution.

The main tasks of the technological revolution are as follows:

To put the national economy, including agriculture and handicrafts, systematically and in a planned way, on a new technical basis, i.e., the basis of modern large-scale production, so that machinery and mechanical appliances can be used wherever feasible, and electricity brought to all cities and villages; to turn all big and medium-sized cities into industrial cities, and gradually to build up new industrial bases where the necessary conditions exist; to enable all country towns and many rural districts and townships to develop their own industries, and to increase the gross value of industrial output of all provinces and autonomous regions and most of the provincial administrative regions and counties, so that it exceeds that of their agricultural output; to set up a transport network and post and tele-communications services with modern technical equipment in the main, and reaching every part of the country.

The main tasks of the cultural revolution are as follows:

To wipe out illiteracy, to institute universal primary education, step by step to bring sec-

ondary schools to the townships in general and higher educational institutes and scientific research institutions to the provincial administrative regions in general and to many counties; to complete the work of devising written languages for the national minorities or improving those already in existence and to make energetic efforts to reform the written character of the Chinese language; to eliminate the "four pests",* to observe the regulations on sanitation and hygiene, promote physical culture and sport, liquidate the more widespread diseases, break down superstitions, reform backward customs and habits and raise the spirit of the nation; to extend mass cultural work and develop socialist literature and art; to train new intellectuals and remould the old intellectuals in order to create a gigantic force of tens of millions of working-class intellectuals, including technicians and engineers in the main, besides professors and lecturers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theoreticians.

The tasks of the technological and cultural revolutions are extremely arduous, but the Chinese people, who have already achieved their economic, political and ideological emancipation and are led by the Communist Party with Comrade Mao Tse-tung at its head, are confident that they can be carried out. We believe that, relying on such a gigantic force as over 600 million people, it is possible to accomplish now, or in the very near future, everything that is within human power. Indeed, the great drive of our whole people to overcome technological and cultural backwardness has begun with a great upsurge in many areas and has already brought about impressive achievements.

The Chinese people are aware that by vigorously carrying out the technological and cultural revolutions they will secure a rapid expansion of the social productive forces and a sharp increase in labor productivity, a considerable strengthening of our socialist state, and simultaneously a substantial improvement in their material and cultural welfare. Thus, in a relatively brief space of time we shall overtake and surpass all capitalist countries in the spheres of industry, agriculture, science and technology, and by so doing we shall relegate to the museum of history the unflattering description of "economically poor and culturally backward China". With this new historic task before us, we are displaying, and will continue to display, the greatest revolutionary enthusiasm and un-

* sparrows, rats, flies and mosquitoes.

swerving determination. This is precisely what Comrade Mao Tse-tung spoke about recently:

"Throughout the country, the Communist spirit is surging forward. The political consciousness of the masses is rising rapidly. Backward sections among the masses, gaining new confidence in themselves, are energetically striving to catch up with the more advanced, and this shows that China is forging ahead in her socialist economic revolution (where transformation of the relations of production has not yet been completed) as well as in her political, ideological, technological and cultural revolutions. This indicates that our country may not need as much time as was previously envisaged to overtake the big capitalist countries in industrial and agricultural production."

IV

Our general line—which is to build socialism by exerting every effort, and pressing ahead to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results—defines not only such main principles as "to bring into action all positive factors and correctly handle contradictions among the people", "to consolidate and develop socialist national property and collective property and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian international solidarity", "to carry out a technological revolution and a cultural revolution step by step, while continuing the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts". The general line also lays down such main principles as "to develop industry and agriculture simultaneously while giving priority to heavy industry" and "with centralized leadership, over-all planning, proper division of labor and co-operation between enterprises to develop national and local industries, and large, medium-sized and small enterprises simultaneously".

Our experience over the past eight years shows that as ours is a large agrarian country, numbering over 500 million peasants out of the 600 million population, not only the priority development of heavy industry and the speedy advance of industry as a whole, but also the swift development of agriculture are essential for the achievement of high rates of growth of the entire national economy. The countryside is the base which supports the town. The peasantry is the most reliable ally of the working class and agriculture is a vital guarantee of the development of the entire national economy by our own efforts. Agriculture supplies the people with the necessary means of existence and is the main

source of raw materials for light industry, and at the same time the most important market for light and heavy industries. Without the rapid advance of agriculture, there can be no rapid advance in industry—whether light or heavy. Therefore only by carrying out the policy of simultaneously developing industry and agriculture, giving priority to heavy industry, can we ensure that industry and agriculture—these two major branches of material production—quickly and harmoniously develop and accelerate the growth of the entire national economy. We think that such a policy is in accord with the actual situation in our country and reflects the objective laws of economic development in a relatively all-round way. To do the opposite—that is, to put a one-sided emphasis on the priority growth of heavy industry, neglecting the need for the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and ignoring the important role of agriculture in the national economy—will inevitably lead to bad results.

We must realize that simultaneous development of industry and agriculture is necessary not only to increase the rate of economic development, but also to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance. Life has repeatedly proved that not for a moment should we forget the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance, since otherwise we are bound to commit political mistakes. This is explained by the fact that only by relying on its great ally—the peasantry—can the working class continuously achieve victories. This applies not only in the democratic and socialist revolutions, but also in socialist construction.

The essence of the policy of the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture lies in the following: to mobilize the great force of over 500 million peasants for the cause of socialist industrialization, on the one hand, and the efforts of all the workers and office employees for the cause of modernizing agriculture, on the other. The mutual aid between industry and agriculture, i.e., between workers and peasants, will inevitably result in the accelerated modernization of industry and agriculture, in high rates of development of the entire national economy and in the further strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance.

We consider the speedy advance of agriculture possible if, on the basis of the steady consolidation and development of co-operatives, we combine the interests of the peasants with those of the state as a whole, and technical measures with ideological and poli-

tical work, mobilizing the activity of the broad masses of peasants and bringing about a co-ordination of industry and agriculture in such a way that they assist and stimulate each other.

To attain a high rate of growth of the national economy it is necessary to develop purposefully not only national industry and big enterprises but also local industries and medium-sized and small enterprises in every part of the country. We adhere to the policy of the simultaneous development of both national and local industries and of big and medium-sized and small enterprises. This, in practice, is the policy of building industry by the efforts of the whole Party and the whole people.

The fact that in our country, with its big population and vast territory, industry has been in the past very backward and concentrated in a few coastal cities, has brought about the situation where every province, town, county and even co-operative feels an imperative need for the development of industry and displays a high degree of activity in this matter. The relative wealth of mineral and agricultural resources, and their distribution throughout the country, in its turn, make it possible for all provinces, cities and counties to build up their own industries. Industry can rapidly advance in every part of the country provided the correct line is taken and full initiative shown in 20-odd provinces, municipalities under the central authority and autonomous regions, over 180 administrative regions and autonomous chow, more than 2,000 counties and autonomous counties, over 80,000 townships and settlements, over 100,000 handicraft co-operatives and over 700,000 agricultural co-operatives in the country. The combination of small and medium-sized enterprises, which are being constructed locally, with big enterprises built by the central authorities, can quicken not only the pace of industrialization of the country but also the pace of mechanization of agriculture and the speed at which the differences between city and countryside are reduced.

To pursue the policy of simultaneously developing industries run by the central authorities and local industries, of simultaneously developing big enterprises, on the one hand, and small and medium-sized enterprises, on the other, to pursue the policy of building industry by the efforts of the whole people and the whole Party, it is imperative to do away with any mystical ideas about industrial construction, science and engineering, and consistently put into practice the mass line,

which means that the Party must trust the masses and rely on them.

The spring of 1958 witnessed a rapid extension of the construction of factories by the efforts of the whole people. This was so because we exploded the myth that only a small number of people can go into industry, and because local organizations heightened their activity. Simultaneously with the erection of nearly one thousand large industrial enterprises, which form the backbone, construction work has started on tens of thousands of medium-sized coal mines, power stations, oil refineries, iron and steel plants, non-ferrous mines, chemical fertilizer plants, cement plants, engineering works, agricultural and animal products processing plants, etc. Small and medium-sized enterprises, which are designed and equipped mainly locally, have an advantage in that they require smaller investments, less time to build and produce quicker results. They can be set up over a wide area and can produce a great variety of goods. Moreover, these enterprises can directly supply the agriculture and population of a particular locality. Although the equipment of these small and medium-sized enterprises is relatively primitive, the scope of their operation relatively small and the technical level not yet high, in specific conditions of China the mass construction of such enterprises cannot fail to play a tremendous role in the country's industrialization at the present stage.

This shows that the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture with the priority development of heavy industry; the simultaneous development of national and local industries with centralized guidance, overall planning, division of labor and co-operation; simultaneous development of large enterprises on the one hand, and small and medium-sized enterprises on the other, represent the concrete way of carrying through the socialist industrialization of our country and also of modernizing our agriculture.

With a view to quickly raising labor productivity we apply the following policy in the sphere of technology: we introduce technical equipment on a mass scale and simultaneously work to raise the technical level. This policy means that whenever possible we must make use of the world's latest achievements in technology, and along with this conduct a widespread mass movement to improve tools and introduce technical innovations so that fully mechanized or semi-mechanized operations can be properly combined with the necessary manual work.

We hold that the people are an inexhaustible well of wisdom and if only the creative initiative and activity of the people in mastering new and perfecting the existing techniques is encouraged to the full extent, our technical level will make very rapid progress. The mass movement to improve tools and introduce technical innovations results in the widespread use of techniques in every part of the country and at the same time serves as the basis for raising the technical level. While carefully studying the world's latest achievements in technology, we must at the same time ensure the mass use of machinery. In the course of our practical work we combat both the spirit of compromise with backwardness and apathy towards progress. It is also necessary to oppose any tendency to chase only after the latest technical equipment, while failing to make full use of all that is on hand, and to oppose any tendency to overemphasize the role of experts to the disparagement of the great role that can be played by the working people in developing new production techniques. The concrete way of raising the level of our techniques lies in bringing the wisdom and the initiative of over 600 million people into full play, and at the same time studying the advanced technical experience of all countries.

V

The principal method of the Party's work in the sphere of socialist construction and revolutionary work is to stick to the mass line, which means that the Party firmly trusts the majority of the masses, fully relies on them, always listens to their opinions, and always consults with them. We consider that not only the fulfilment of all tasks confronting us in production and construction requires the support of tens of millions of people, but advanced experience too is created by the working people themselves. The policy, plans and methods of the Party in the sphere of construction are all devised through generalizing the experience and opinions of the masses, according to the principle put forward by Mao Tse-tung "to take from the masses and to take to the masses". Therefore, our Party denounces and gets rid of views and methods of work according to which socialist construction can be carried on without the maximum mobilization and support of the masses. The general line means the application and development in socialist construction of the mass line which was drawn up by the Party.

To put into practice the mass line means, bearing in mind the existence of a huge

population, to mobilize the efforts of the whole people and to encourage the initiative of every man and woman. Our country has more than 600 million people. This is one of the extremely important factors thanks to which we can speed up socialist construction. Many people mean greater consumption. But man in the first place is the creator of material wealth. Because China's population is big we must turn out still more products and accumulate on a still greater scale. There is no doubt that the amount of the means of production greatly influences the rate of increase of production. However, man plays a decisive role in production. Can people utilize the means of production in the most effective way, and is it possible to expand the productive forces at a rapid rate? This depends on the social system and on the role of the masses in production. Our great people, who have won their emancipation in the economic, political and ideological spheres, who are full of energy, courage and revolutionary enthusiasm, have all the opportunities of raising the level of production in the shortest possible period. In China they say: "Everything is in the hands of people", "Man's decisions are more powerful than Heaven's". These sayings vividly illustrate the role of man's initiative and activity in relation to objective things and phenomena. We are just now mobilizing the efforts of the people for the accomplishment of such deeds as all past generations did not dare to undertake or to dream of. We are mobilizing the efforts of the people to overcome various difficulties—those which nature puts before us, as well as those which result from the resistance of the remnants of the exploiting classes.

In order to fully mobilize the initiative and subjective activity of the people it is necessary to handle contradictions among the people in a correct way and improve the relations between people in the process of socialist labor and in other kinds of joint activity. The abolition of the old exploiting system and the creation of socialist relations of production are the conditions necessary for a change in the relations between people. We have in the main completed these. But this is still inadequate, and we must continue to root out the harmful survivals of the old system, old ideology and old habits, and make the superstructure correspond more closely to the requirements of the economic basis, and the relations of production correspond more closely to the requirements of the development of the productive forces. That is why we shall undeviatingly apply the meth-

od of rectification and encourage criticism and self-criticism through the full and widespread airing of views, widespread discussions and "tatsapao". We must see to it that these methods are constantly applied in our work. In order to systematically resolve contradictions among the people and other contradictions we shall, at set intervals, conduct an all-round rectification campaign. At the same time we shall firmly adhere to the following principle: let cadres in industrial enterprises and co-operatives regularly devote a part of their time to manual labor alongside the rank-and-file workers and peasants; let many leaders of rural work, in co-operation with the peasantry, set up "experimental plots"*; let large numbers of office workers and intellectuals go to the countryside and the mountain areas, or work in the basic units of enterprises; let the working masses directly participate in managerial work. Thus we can steadily re-educate people ideologically and improve all our work by creating absolutely new, socialist relations between people. There is no doubt that this will help, to a great degree, both in the handling of contradictions among the people, and in the development of the social productive forces at a rapid rate.

We shall persistently improve the work of the state apparatus and of Party organizations in order to encourage to the full the activity of the masses, successfully carry out the technological and cultural revolutions and steadily put into practice the general line, thereby extending socialist construction in accordance with the principle — to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results.

In improving the work of the state apparatus, the most important task at the moment is:

1) to find correct solutions to the problems of combining centralization with decentralization: the overwhelming majority of enterprises formerly run and managed by the various ministries under the State Council

are handed over to local authorities and are placed under their management; authority to run other economic undertakings, as well as cultural, educational, administrative, judicial and other affairs is also handed over to local authorities for the purpose of encouraging their independent activity and initiative;

2) existing rules and regulations governing economic and other work must be improved systematically; rules and regulations which hamper the initiative of the local authorities and the masses must be annulled or revised; while those rules and regulations which can promote the activity of the local authorities and the masses must be maintained or re-drafted;

3) the continued streamlining of state organs, enterprises and offices; the improvement of the organization and management of labor, and raising the efficiency of the labor force and the productivity of labor;

4) while the people's living standards must be gradually raised, the proportion of the national income going to accumulation should be increased in the correct way, taking into account the interests of the state, the collective and the individual; questions of wages, allowances, welfare needs, bonuses, prices, taxes and profits must be solved in a correct way. This work, like the rectification campaign, is aimed at making the superstructure correspond to the requirements of the economic basis, and the relations of production correspond to the requirements of the development of the productive forces.

As socialist construction surges ahead and the technological and cultural revolutions are carried out the Party leadership and Party organizations at all levels must concentrate still greater efforts on it.

The Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung recently called on us to be "both Red and expert". This appeal, which combines politics with specialization and ideology with technology, is the road along which not only our intellectuals, engineers and technicians, but equally all cadres — Party members — must go forward. We encourage all cadres to raise their qualifications and master machine techniques, and at the same time ask that they devote serious attention to political problems and constantly raise their ideological level, lest they become narrow practitioners who lose sight of the line of advance.

As regards the Party leadership, here too we shall constantly improve ideological and political work, since it is the soul, the guiding

* Leaders of rural work jointly with experienced peasants and agricultural specialists undertake to till a plot of land on which they conduct various experiments aimed at increasing per-acre yields. Thus these leaders acquire experience which later they popularize among the peasant masses. This, in practice, is the application of the method of combining general slogans with concrete leadership. The method was advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his article "Concerning Methods of Leadership". Its aim is to promote a big rise in agricultural production.

force and guarantee of success in every kind of work. Our experience proves that although mistakes may crop up, they are not typical, may be easily rectified and cannot seriously damage the whole cause, if the right direction is taken in any sphere of the state or Party activities. On the contrary, if the wrong direction is taken, then even if success is attained, it is only one isolated success, and the cause as a whole will inevitably be seriously harmed. Therefore, our Party will put a firm stop to the philistine habit, which has prevailed hitherto in some organizations, of being interested in professional matters only and ignoring ideological questions. Our Party will promote a good style of work in which people are interested both in ideology and practical work, improve ideological leadership and get things done with the help of ideology.

The improvement of theoretical work in the sphere of Marxism-Leninism is the central link in strengthening the Party's political and ideological work. Our Party has already launched the struggle against modern revisionism as the main danger now facing the international communist movement, and will carry this struggle through to the end, defending Marxism-Leninism and consolidating international communist solidarity.

To intensify our ideological work to a

greater extent we must completely defeat dogmatism and empiricism which are divorced from reality and the masses. The Declaration of the Moscow Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries says that "the application of dialectical materialism in practical work and the education of Party functionaries and the broad masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism are urgent tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties". We deeply realize the great importance of this task, and are taking resolute measures to improve our work in this direction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has called on us to value highly materialism and dialectics, to respect the practical deeds of the masses, their revolutionary drive and creative spirit.

The impressive achievements in socialist construction scored by our country during the past eight years are inseparable from the assistance rendered us by all countries in the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. In future too, we shall continue to study the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and other countries, strengthen fraternal solidarity, mutual aid and co-operation with all countries of the socialist camp, and achieve even greater victories in building socialism.

Socialism and the State

G. Glezerman, B. Ukraintsev

1. The State is a Historical Necessity Under Socialism

THE socialist state is born out of the ruins of the capitalist state. It is not the result of a mere change of government, but of the abolition of the political rule of the bourgeoisie, of the breakdown of the old state machine and the transfer of power into the hands of the working class. The latter with the support of the widest sections of the working people establishes its dictatorship and sets up its government apparatus. State power in the hands of the working class is not an instrument for perpetuating its dominating position, but an instrument for abolishing the division of society into classes, thereby rendering all forms of political rule unnecessary. The dictatorship of the working class is an important means for the revolutionary transformation of society. Without working-

class dictatorship it is impossible to implement such historic changes as: the replacement of capitalist economic relations with socialist, abolition of the exploiting classes, transfer of millions of small peasants and artisans to the path of socialist development, and the unprecedented economic and cultural progress of formerly backward peoples. Should working class power display even the slightest tendency towards weakening, the class enemy takes advantage of it: such is the lesson drawn from the experience of proletarian revolutions — from the Paris Commune of 1871 on. The same lesson is to be drawn from the struggle against the counter-revolution in Hungary at the close of 1956.

No wonder that every effort of the capitalist class and its ideologists is aimed at shattering, weakening and undermining the dictatorship of the working class. As always the capitalist class is assisted by its underlings—the revi-

sionists who peddle the ideological merchandise of the bourgeoisie. Some of them frankly negate proletarian dictatorship by opposing "pure" democracy to it as, they allege, the least painful means for putting an end to class distinctions. Others say that the working-class dictatorship is requisite only for backward countries and not for all nations. Still others assert that proletarian dictatorship should start withering away before developing to full bloom, otherwise it will stand in the way of socialist progress.

All these revisionist postulates have one thing in common, namely, their denial of the historic role of the socialist state in revolutionary transformation.

The appearance of the socialist state in the world has created a new, mighty factor in accelerating historical progress. With it a new form of political organization has appeared, an organization of the working people, headed by the working class and its party, which enlarges the forces of the popular masses in destroying the old society and building up a new society.

Incidentally, the right-wing socialists, and the revisionist ideologists who follow in their wake, deny this role. According to them, the development of the capitalist state, its increasing intervention in economic life, the growth of state-monopoly capitalism, constitute a factor of social progress facilitating the transition to socialism. The development of the socialist state, in the view of the right-wing socialists, is on the other hand something incompatible with socialism.

The revisionists propagate a similar view in their writings. It is true that this view is decked out in Marxist phraseology. An example of this is the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the final version of which has just been published. The communist press has already subjected this program to criticism.

The LCY program limits the progressive role of the socialist state to the release of socialist, economic and social factors which have already developed under capitalism. After this has been done, the state "may turn into a factor of stagnation and retardation of social progress"; for it "displays a tendency to deprive the economy of its internal motive forces in order to establish and present itself as a social necessity".

While the state exists there is always the danger that it will acquire independent power, the authors of the LCY program keep reiterating.

One may ask: why do they think that such

a tendency cannot be avoided by the socialist state? Is not the state in question a people's state which is the genuine representative of society? The process of the alienation of state power from society is inevitable under the capitalist state, which stands above the people. This process is inevitable under capitalism due to the antagonism which exists between the state power of the (exploiting) minority and the overwhelming majority of society. But such a process is certainly not inevitable under proletarian dictatorship where political power represents and expresses the will of the majority (working people).

By ignoring the fundamental antithesis in the class nature of the socialist state and that of the capitalist state, the revisionists simply apply to socialism the laws of development characteristic of preceding states. Hence the conclusion that the early abolition of state power is necessary. Having declared that the withering away of the state is a major, decisive prerequisite for the development of socialism, the authors of the LCY program threaten socialist society with all sorts of calamities if it does not take place—such as stagnation, degeneration, "reactionary deformation of socialist relations", etc., etc. According to them this results in "bureaucratic statism", which means the restoration of state-capitalist relations.

It should be noted that the revisionist concept here is not at all original. Many right-wing socialist leaders keep on repeating that proletarian dictatorship brings to life new exploiting classes, a new "elite", which, they say includes the leading section of the state, economic and party apparatus. These fabrications have been raised to the rank of "theory" by the notorious renegade of communism, Djilas. He claims that the abolition of the previous exploiting classes has led to the creation of a new class of bureaucrats who "exercise control over the nationalized and socialized property as well as over the entire life of society".

It is known that the leaders of the Communist League of Yugoslavia have condemned Djilas as a deserter to the enemy. Hence it is all the more surprising that their own theoretical conceptions reveal an undoubted likeness to Djilas' "theories".

The revisionists are guilty of distorting Marxism-Leninism when they claim that Marx and Lenin condemned as a dangerous "prejudice" the recognition of the state as a necessity also under socialism. In his book *The State and Revolution* Lenin put it very clearly that the transition to socialism, far from

completing the withering away of the state, only starts this rather prolonged process. Under socialism, Lenin points out, the state withers away because there are no longer any capitalists, hence there is no class which it is necessary to suppress. At this phase of social development, however, the state has not yet withered away and cannot wither away completely. For Marxists "the recognition of the state till triumphant socialism enters the stage of full communism"—(V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, page 309, Russian edition)—is an incontestable truth.

The process of the withering away of the state and its functions cannot be accelerated by any *artificial measures*. It is a *natural* process arising from the fact that the tasks, which the socialist state is called upon to fulfil, have been *exhausted*. In the USSR, for instance, the function of suppressing the overthrown classes inside the country came to an end (withered away) when the exploiting classes were abolished. Naturally, before this change occurred in the class structure of society, the function of suppressing the exploiters could not be relinquished. Hence any suggestion to eliminate this function would have meant the disarming of the working people in face of their class enemies.

That is why the revisionist theories demanding that the state should wither away already in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, are especially dangerous. The state in the period of transition is a vital instrument of class struggle of the working class, which uses it to decide the issue "who will conquer whom", in favor of socialism, not only in the political sphere, but in the economic and cultural spheres as well.

The state remains a necessity even after this issue has been resolved, the exploiting classes have been abolished, and socialism is triumphant.

As far as the internal conditions of development of socialist society are concerned the question whether the state is a necessity is primarily determined by the fact that in the first phase of communism there are still survivals of class society which have yet to be overcome. The productive forces have not yet reached a sufficiently high stage to ensure an abundance of every product, and labor has not yet become the prime necessity of life for all members of society. In view of this it is necessary to establish control over the measure of labor contributed by each worker and over what he consumes, as well as to safeguard common property in the means of production. There is still need for

a certain compulsion to work, which is carried out on the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." We should not think, Lenin points out, that having overthrown capitalism people will learn forthwith to work for the benefit of society without regulations of any kind, for the abolition of capitalism does not immediately provide the economic prerequisites for such a change.

Under socialism there are still distinctions—and essential distinctions—between town and village as well as between workers. Certain class distinctions—between the workers and peasants, and also between these two classes and intellectuals—likewise remain. The relations between the working class and the peasants united in co-operatives are those of fraternal collaboration; the leading role, however, is played by the working class. In a society with class distinctions all major economic questions—whether pertaining to capital investments in the national economy, to the distribution of the national income or to prices—are questions of *political* significance, for they affect the *interests and the relations between the classes*. But since class distinctions have not yet disappeared in socialist society, the state too cannot disappear.

The existence of the socialist state is also necessitated by the external conditions in which it develops. It is known that the Soviet Union, which was the first to open the road to socialism, existed in a capitalist encirclement for nearly three decades. Now the Soviet Union is no longer alone, for socialism has developed into a world system. However, side by side with the socialist system the capitalist system continues to exist, creating a threat of military attacks from the outside. So as long as this threat exists, there is the need for an army and an intelligence service—agencies for the defence of the socialist world from armed intervention and subversive activity by the enemy. The socialist state pursues a policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social and economic systems. It defends the cause of peace, and at the same time it is a reliable shield protecting the achievements of socialism from imperialist aggression.

There are also other political functions which the socialist state has to perform in the field of foreign affairs. With the birth of the camp of socialism the state has acquired another function: the state is an instrument for mutual political, economic and cultural aid between the socialist countries. This function will gain in importance and its

sphere will be extended as new countries enter on the road of socialism.

The relations between the socialist countries are a totally new type of international relations, based on fraternal co-operation. They are the prototype of relations which will unite the working people of all countries under communism. However, these relations are of a state character and evidently will be so for a long time, even after the victory of socialism the world over.

To put the question of the withering away of the state in the form in which it is posed by the revisionists, who forget about the still existing national and state differences, means to ignore the actual historical situation.

It should likewise be noted that the raising of the question of the early withering away of the state does not at all arise from Yugoslav reality, where the state machine of compulsion still remains intact. The Yugoslav revisionists are silent about the specific, really transient state functions of compulsion. The entire force of their fire is directed against the organizational activity of the socialist state in the economic field. They claim that the declining economic role of the state, the strong anarcho-syndicalist tendencies which are evident in the economic practice of Yugoslavia, are symptoms of the "withering away of the state". In this connection the economic function of the socialist state must be considered separately.

2. *The State and the Economic Life of Socialist Society*

Any state is used by the ruling class as an instrument for the establishment and consolidation, through political means, of its economic domination. That is why the state always influences the economy, that is, carries out certain economic functions. However, in this respect too the role of the socialist state is totally different from that of the capitalist state. The socialist state is instrumental in the development of socialist economy which, in contrast to capitalist economy, does not emerge spontaneously within the framework of the old society, but is created by the conscious effort of millions of working people after the power of the capitalists has been overthrown. The socialist state's function is to organize the national economy, to plan economic development. Such a function is not inherent in the capitalist state.

Present-day revisionists wish to overlook this specific feature of the economic role of the socialist state. The source of their views is the old theory of capitalism "growing into"

socialism which was preached by E. Bernstein. The neo-Bernsteinists have inherited from their spiritual father the concept that socialist economy originates and develops spontaneously within the womb of capitalism. Then what would be the role of the socialist state? The answer is: only to help the spontaneous process. Under the guise of opposing the exaggerated role of the state apparatus and administrative measures, the revisionists completely deny the economic role of the socialist state.

They obscure the fundamental difference between the economic basis of the capitalist state and that of the socialist state by resorting to a sophism: whereas the revisionists consider state-monopoly property under capitalism an element of socialism, they declare socialist state property an element of state capitalism.

The revisionists assert that state property under socialism is not yet social property but has still to be converted into social property. The program of the LCY says: "There can be various forms of socializing the means of production: from indirect public or state ownership—characteristic of the early stages of socialist development—to the more direct forms of social ownership . . ."

Without saying it directly, the revisionists are aiming at substituting group ownership of industrial enterprises by separate worker-collectives for state, national ownership.

Group ownership does indeed occupy, as it should, a definite place in socialist economy; it is a necessity where piece-meal small-scale production is being replaced by large-scale production on collective lines, as in agriculture, handicrafts, and the like. But this form of ownership will develop only on the basis of national state ownership, which is established in the leading branches of industry, particularly large-scale industry. The revisionists are of the opposite opinion: what they are after is that state ownership as a leading form should be abandoned, a view which is in contradiction with the development of the productive forces today.

The productive forces today are of a social character, which finds its expression in a high degree of concentration and centralization of production. The higher the stage of development of the productive forces, the closer are the ties between the various economic branches and enterprises, hence the necessity for establishing and developing national ownership of the most important means of production.

The leading role of state ownership in

socialist economy is confirmed by the entire experience of economic development in the socialist countries. No wonder these countries rejected the ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists on abandoning state ownership. In his speech at the December Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1956, comrade A. Novotny said that the Yugoslav road of splitting industrial production into small, virtually independent parts was unacceptable to Czechoslovakia with her highly specialized and interdependent industries. Such a step would mean a worse organization of production than that in the more developed capitalist countries today, as well as a fall in the social productivity of labor.

If this were done, one of the major advantages of socialist centralized management and planning of production would be lost, the market would determine prices spontaneously on the basis of fluctuating demand and supply, individual enterprises would come forward as competitors, and the conditions of capital investment would likewise grow worse, because consumer tendencies and localized interests would inevitably gain the upper hand. As comrade W. Gomulka put it at the IXth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party held in May 1956: "Were each enterprise to become group-owned, collectively-owned property of the workers—all the laws governing capitalist economy would start operating to the full, but with worse consequences." Only sophists claim that the consolidation of socialist state property can mean the alienation of the means of production from the immediate producers. On the contrary, the transformation of capitalist private ownership into socialist state ownership abolishes this alienation, thereby creating a higher form of socialist ownership at a given stage of social development. In the future, with the withering away of the state, this form of ownership will lose its state character, but in content it will continue to be the property of the whole people. State property consolidates the socialist content of the cooperative, group-owned property of the peasants, encourages its development and transformation into Communist property in the future.

The revisionist attacks on socialist state ownership are combined with attacks on centralized state planning. In a number of socialist countries the revisionists demanded the setting up of a "new economic mechanism." However, under the guise of a "new" economic mechanism they offered something altogether

old. They wanted to exclude from the methods of national economic management the laws relating to plans and planning directives, for, they said, the latter are administrative means of control. The latter should be replaced by a "self-controlled economy", namely, by the mechanism of competition on the market, demand and supply, etc. Such proposals actually mean the abandoning of socialist and the return to capitalist methods of economic management. As comrade W. Ulbricht put it, "revisionist conceptions negate the positive, creative tasks of the people's democratic state power in the building of socialism as well as the economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions of the state law." (W. Ulbricht, *Die Staatslehre des Marxismus-Leninismus und ihre Anwendung in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1958, p. 27).

State planning and regulation in socialist economy build up the mechanism for management of production which will continue to be necessary even under communism. Lenin foresaw that of all the state institutions only those controlling the development of the national economy will retain their importance in the future. The more established the socialist system is, the less is the need for a purely administrative apparatus dealing with management alone.

"... This apparatus of administration in the proper, strict, narrow sense of the word, this apparatus of the old state, is doomed to die; while the apparatus of the type of the Supreme Council of National Economy is destined to grow, to develop and become strong and to perform all the main activities of organized society" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, Moscow, 1935, p. 386.) In complete contradiction to Lenin, the revisionists are in a hurry to bury precisely this economic function of the state.

Naturally there can be no sound reason for giving up the function of socialist planning. One may ask why should socialist society—after having gained the knowledge of the objective laws of economic development, after having learned to implement them for its benefit and having proven the advantages of planned economic development—abandon the results achieved and slip back into the power of anarchy and chaos? It would be all the more devoid of reason because the consequences of blind elemental processes in social life are universally known: the squandering of material resources, of human labor, loss of time and loss of speed in development.

The demagogic thesis that the enterprise should become the direct, jointly-owned pro-

perty of the workers who work them will lead—whether the Yugoslav leaders wish it or not—to the disunity of the working class, sowing the seeds of unhealthy rivalry among the worker-collectives: it will lead to localist tendencies, and narrow consumer attitudes towards socialism. As to bureaucratic distortions, they are by no means eliminated through the separation of individual enterprises from the national economy as a whole.

In their articles the Yugoslav revisionists dwell at length on switching over from “managing people” to “managing things”. But how is it possible to turn over to managing things if the state regulation of production is rejected and the spontaneous development of a commodity economy is considered desirable? In a situation where anarchy of commodity production is encouraged, social relations are expressed in things, hence it is not the people who manage things, but things that dominate people.

The unleashing of market anarchy in such a country as Yugoslavia, where the petty-bourgeois elements constitute a considerable force, does not at all help to consolidate socialist production relations. The American journalist Ernest O. Keyser published in *The Saturday Evening Post* in May 1956, an article in which he posed the question whether the U.S. stake in Yugoslavia was warranted. He observed hopefully that private enterprise here and there was raising its head triumphantly. Encouragement of spontaneous forces cannot but lead to grave consequences in economic life. This can be seen from a mere comparison of the situation of Yugoslavia, now in the grip of economic difficulties, with that of socialist Bulgaria and Rumania (these countries were originally on about the same economic level as Yugoslavia), which have made considerable progress. Do the Yugoslav theoreticians seriously think that their kind of “experience” can be of service to any socialist country?

3. *The Development of Socialist Democracy and the Transition to Communism.*

The Yugoslav theoreticians, having revised the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the state, themselves accuse others of revisionism. *Borba* pretentiously headed one of its articles “Bureaucratic Revision of Marxism”. This paper charges with revisionism those who advocate the necessity of strengthening the socialist state.

Revisionists, as orthodox metaphysicians, cannot understand that efforts to strengthen the socialist state are not in insoluble contra-

diction with preparing the conditions for its withering away.

The socialist state represents a form of political organization of *the people themselves* in contrast to the bourgeois state which stands over the people. Its strength therefore depends first and foremost, on how broad and strong are the links between all state bodies and the people. The socialist state draws the people into the work of governing the country, it trains them in state work. The more extensively the masses of the people are drawn into the work of state bodies the stronger is the socialist state. And the more they are drawn in, the more the conditions are created for the withering away of the state. When all members of society learn to run social production and deal with public affairs then there will be no more need for a special apparatus of political power. Thus, the withering away of the state is prepared for by its consolidation.

The revisionists break this dialectical connection between the strengthening of the socialist state and the creation of conditions for its withering away. While in the economic sphere they oppose state property to social property, in the political sphere they oppose the state to direct democracy and self-government.

The question arises: why do they exclude state bodies from organs of self-government of the people? Are not state bodies in socialist society created by the people, do they not express the will of the people? In future, too, under communism, when the state withers away, these bodies will also be run by representatives of the people, elected in one way or another, if we have in mind not a territorially small community but a whole country, whole society. Communist society does not mean the rule of anarchy but presupposes the highest degree of consciousness and organization on the part of the working people.

It is not out of place to recall how sharply Lenin criticized all types of representatives of the anarcho-syndicalist deviation in the U.S.S.R., who opposed “self-government of producers” to the proletarian state. It is not fortuitous, of course, that the same attitude is adopted by the modern revisionists, for in their mouths it has a certain political content. They need it in order to discredit the state apparatus of socialist society, to proclaim that it is a breeding ground of bureaucratism.

In contrasting “social self-government” to the state the revisionists develop their thesis of the decentralization of power. Many of the “social self-government” bodies to which

they refer are actually bodies of state power, but only of local power. Thus the revisionists identify the withering away of the state with the weakening of centralized power. But the transfer of political functions to local bodies does not at all mean the withering away of the state. Even the transfer of some state functions to social organizations is not in itself identical with the withering away of the state, if the function of political power—specific to the state—does not come to an end.

What in fact is the content of the process of the withering away of the state, according to Marxist doctrine?

Firstly. The function of military suppression of hostile classes dies away, and the sphere of state compulsion in general grows narrower. The army, the intelligence service and penal organs remained even after the exploiting classes had been abolished in the U.S.S.R. They will remain for a long time yet, but now they are no longer spearheaded to the inside of the country but in the main to the outside. The future of these organs depends first of all on the external conditions for the advance of socialist society, on the extent of the threat of attack from the outside. As for internal relations, the sphere of state compulsion within the country will gradually be reduced with the strengthening and development of the moral and political unity of the people. As N. S. Khrushchov said, the number of crimes in the U.S.S.R. has decreased considerably, while political crimes have become a rare phenomenon. Those guilty of such crimes are now mostly people smuggled into the Soviet land from abroad—agents of foreign intelligence services.

It would be a serious blunder to conclude that the time is ripe to weaken the organs of state compulsion. But there is no doubt that, taking the historical perspective, when the capitalist world disappears and the survivals of the old world are eradicated in all spheres of social life, the sources which give rise to social excesses will disappear, and the state will no longer be needed.

Secondly. The withering away of the state presupposes, that its functions in the management of the economy and culture will have been transformed from *political* into *social*. This finds expression not in the fact that the economic functions of the state lose their importance but in that these functions lose their political character. That is what was meant when the Marxist classics said that under Communism the government of persons will be replaced by the management of things and the direction of the process of production.

Thirdly. The withering away of the state presupposes that all members of society are drawn into the work of management of social production and the handling of public affairs; and linked with this process, the gradual disappearance of the necessity for an apparatus of political power. This is a process of the development and extension of democracy in all spheres of social life which in the long run — under Communism — will lead to the withering away of democracy itself as a form of the state.

The development of socialist democracy is determined by the actual correlation of class forces—a fact which the revisionists do not wish to take into account. In a number of socialist countries the revisionists made much noise in proclaiming the slogans of “full democratization”, “integral democracy”, etc. But they did not invent anything new. They only repeated the ideas of the right-wing socialists who repudiate the dictatorship of the proletariat and contrast it to “pure democracy”. In fact, neither “pure” nor “integral” democracy has ever existed, nor can it exist, in a class society. So long as classes exist, democracy inevitably has a class character and is a dictatorship of one class or another. The dictatorship of the working class, which the enemies of Leninism deliberately identify with violence, is in fact the broadest democracy, democracy for the people. It is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois state. But precisely because this is democracy for the people it cannot grant freedom to their enemies. It is, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it, a “combination of democracy within the people and dictatorship over reaction”.

But, as the tragic events in Hungary showed so clearly, the revisionists’ slogans of “full democratization” concealed precisely the aim of giving freedom to the activities of the anti-socialist forces, which the socialist government could not agree to without betraying its duty to the people. Praising and idealizing bourgeois democracy, the revisionists at the same time remained surprisingly blind to the actual processes of development of socialist democracy which are taking place in the U.S.S.R. and in other countries of the socialist camp.

The decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. played an historic role in the development of these processes. By taking measures to liquidate the cult of personality and its consequences, which had proved to be in profound contradiction with the requirements of the economic, political and spiritual development of socialism, the C.P.S.U. eliminated

the serious obstacle which hindered the upsurge of the creative activity of the masses. This made possible the even wider development of socialist democracy.

The rapid growth of the socialist economy conditions the development of the forms of the socialist state and also makes necessary changes in the forms of management of the economy. The dogmatic view of these forms as set and unchangeable, devoid of contradictions, is alien to Marxism-Leninism. Life has shown that the productive forces at a certain stage of their development cannot but come into contradiction with those aspects of the relations of production which are becoming obsolete, and also with organizational forms of management of the economy, with one element or another of the superstructure. To discern these contradictions in good time, to take the necessary measures for the improvement of the economic relations, for the reorganization of the forms of management of the economy—this is what guarantees full scope for the development of the productive forces. The reorganization of management of industry and construction which has been carried through recently in the U.S.S.R., China, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic—these are important revolutionary measures due to which it will be possible to make a real leap in the development of production.

In each of the socialist countries the system of management of industry and construction has its particular features: in the U.S.S.R. operative management is concentrated in economic regions and is carried out through the councils of National Economy, while centralized planning on a national scale and the solution of fundamental questions of the distribution of the productive forces are assured by the State Planning Committee. In Czechoslovakia productive-economic units and associations have been formed, which come directly under the Ministries; in the German Democratic Republic most of the industrial Ministries have been abolished and associations of people's enterprises have been set up, the apparatus of management for which is as a rule situated at points that are central in relation to the distribution of the corresponding branch of industry, and so on. This very variety shows that each people creates and establishes the most useful forms of economic management which correspond with its own specific condition, and applies in its own way the general principles of democratic centralism which are valid for all socialist countries.

The revisionists identify centralism of any kind with bureaucratism, not seeing the profound difference between democratic centralism, which combines centralized leadership with the development of the initiative of the masses, and bureaucratic centralism, which crushes this initiative. Like E. Bernstein, the founder of revisionism, they cannot even conceive the possibility of *voluntary centralism*, voluntary association, whose aim is to concentrate in the hands of the entire people ownership of the railways, factories and workshops, etc.

"Like all philistines, Bernstein", said Lenin (and his words can be fully applied to the modern Bernsteinists), "can imagine centralism only as something from above, to be imposed and maintained solely by the bureaucracy and the military" (*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 177, Moscow 1947.)

Democratic centralism has two sides—centralized leadership, and wide development of democracy, independent action and initiative on the part of the working masses. Both sides are in inseparable, dialectical unity with each other. Lenin taught that opposites may be combined in different ways: in the way of a cacophony, but also in the way of a symphony. If for one reason or another the harmonic combination of the two sides of democratic centralism is disturbed, this may hinder the development of socialism. Such disturbances arise, for example, when the degree of development of centralization ceases to correspond to the concrete historical situation (changing, let us say, in a period of peace as compared with a period of war). This may hamper local initiative and encourage the growth of bureaucratic tendencies. In the last few years the C.P.S.U. and the Communist Parties of other countries of the socialist camp have taken the necessary measures to eliminate the over-centralization which had arisen in state and economic life. But Communists fight for the further development and fuller realization of the principle of democratic centralism, while on the contrary the revisionists fight for its liquidation, for the repudiation of centralized leadership.

The reorganization of the management of industry and construction in the socialist countries has decisively raised the role of the local organs in the development of the national economy; it gives wider scope to local initiative, and considerably widens the possibilities of drawing factory and office workers and specialists into the planning and management. A large number of enterprises now come under local organs; for example, in Czecho-

slovakia national committees directly control a third of the national economy.

The reorganization of the machine and tractor stations, which has become necessary at the present stage of the building of communism in the U.S.S.R., also helps the further development of socialist democracy. The concentration in the hands of the collective farms of all the main means of production guarantees that the collective farms will be able in still greater measure to make independent decisions on questions affecting their economic life; it opens still wider perspectives for the creative participation of the collective farm peasantry, along with the whole people, in the building of communism.

All this shows that the nearer we approach to communism the more clearly the principles of democratic centralism come to light in the management of the economy.

The principle of democratic centralism is consistently applied also in affairs of state. In recent years in the U.S.S.R. there has been a considerable extension of the rights of the Union Republics in economic and state construction, in the solution of administrative and judicial questions, and in matters of budgeting and finance; measures have been taken to raise the role of the Soviets, to improve the work of their permanent commissions, to develop the activity of deputies and strengthen control of their work by the electors. The nation-wide discussion of important draft laws has become in all the socialist countries the principal form of drawing wide sections of the people into the direction of state affairs. This shows that the socialist countries are step by step approaching a degree of historical development in which all will participate in the decision of public and state affairs.

The measures to improve the state apparatus which are being put into effect in the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries make it possible not only to economize on the apparatus and to release from it some of the workers who may find scope for their work in material production, but also to strengthen the links between the state apparatus and the masses. This is the purpose, for example, of the February 1958 law for the improvement and simplification of the work of the state apparatus in the German Democratic Republic.

The role of the social organizations of the working-people grows during the gradual transition from socialism to communism. These organizations step by step take over

certain functions which were formerly carried out by the socialist state. For example, in the U.S.S.R. the rights of trade unions in all spheres of social life have been extended. The trade unions successfully fulfil such functions as the protection of labor; they dispose of the money paid into the fund of state social insurance; they take part in the distribution of housing in enterprises and institutions, etc. By a new regulation concerning the rights of factory, works and local trade union committees, endorsed by the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on July 15, 1958, these committees have the right to participate in working out production plans, to receive reports from the managements of enterprises and institutions on the carrying out of the plans and of their obligations under collective agreements. The activity of the masses in socialist production has risen to such an extent that a new organizational form has become necessary — permanently functioning production conferences. The functions of trade unions and other public organizations will undoubtedly be extended in the future. But since the activity of all these organizations is based not on compulsion or administrative prompting but on conviction, on educational work, the development of Soviet democratism means an increase in the role of conviction, a lessening of the role of administrative action in all spheres of social life. "Under communism," said Comrade Khrushchov, "the state will wither away. What kind of organs will be retained? The social organs! . . . It will be through social organizations that society will regulate its relations. We need now to clear the path to this, train people so that they develop the habit of such activities."

The growth of the activity and initiative of all social organizations is indissolubly linked with *the increased role of the Communist Party*, as the guide and leader of the forces of society. The Communist Party has deep roots in the life of the people. It unites in its ranks the most conscious, the most advanced section of the working people, linked with each other by unity of conviction, will and organization.

Portraying the process of the withering away of the state as a process of its continually getting weaker, the revisionists minimize the role of the Communist Party. They reiterate that the Party must not be a "power factor", that its function should be only that of a political-educational organization, it should be only an "ideological factor". In essence this is nothing but a call for the

abandonment of the leading role of the party in the system of the working-class dictatorship. This is a complete break with Leninism, which teaches that the Communist Party is the highest form of class organization of the working class, that only the vanguard, in which the revolutionary energy of the class is concentrated, can carry through the dictatorship. "Without it the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible," Lenin stressed in his preliminary draft of the resolution of the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party on the trade union and anarchist devia-

tions in our party (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 222, Russian edition).

The experience of all socialist countries shows that with the advance of society to socialism and communism the role of the Marxist party is *not reduced, but grows more important*. The more the masses of the people come to participate actively in the building of the new society, the greater will be the importance of the guidance given them by the Communist Party — the inspirer and organizer of the creative activity of the masses.

The Fascist Menace and Republican Unity in France

Jacques Duclos

THE advent of the de Gaulle government to power has created in France a situation fraught with danger to civil freedoms. This government, which has come into being as a result of the military putsch of the Algerian rebels, recourse to the threat of civil war and increased pressure on the National Assembly, is a one-man dictatorship assuming an increasingly militarist character and, given the opportunity, is likely to lead France to a fascist dictatorship.

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The political crisis which resulted in de Gaulle's election as head of the government was caused by the colonialist policy pursued of late by the ruling circles of the French bourgeoisie.

Immediately after the Second World War, the French Communist Party proposed that the old French colonial empire be replaced by a voluntary union of free and equal peoples on the basis of friendship and mutual advantage.

Unfortunately, the French rulers, ignoring the new international situation which arose as a result of the rapid growth of the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples, launched a policy of strength which was doomed to crushing defeat.

The first blow was dealt to the French colonialists while de Gaulle was still in power — Syria and the Lebanon became independent. Nevertheless, the colonialists persisted in their policy of strength. After the bombing of Haiphong upon orders from Admiral Thierry

d'Argenlieu, the well-known Gaullist, they unleashed a war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. It will be recalled that that adventure ended in the Dien-Bien-Phu debacle, while the American imperialists, who had inspired and financed it, established themselves in South Viet-Nam. Scarcely had the war in Viet-Nam ended in the defeat of French colonialism when war broke out in Algeria. At the same time, the course of events in Tunisia and Morocco was undermining the main positions of the French colonialists and made the granting of national independence to the two countries inevitable.

The Algerian war has been dragging on since November 1, 1954 and although official quarters have repeatedly insisted that victory was at hand, it is plain that no sober-minded person can believe it. There is in Algeria an army half a million strong, and its command, defeated at Dien-Bien-Phu, is afraid it may again reveal its inability to win. Of course, this army could hope to overcome another army of the same type, but it is futile to hope that it can vanquish an entire people resolved to gain independence.

Of late, the impossibility of achieving victory in Algeria has been recognized in varying degree by increasingly large sections of the French population. While the violence and tortures used in Algeria enraged the French masses against this colonialist war, certain bourgeois circles began to look for a way out of the situation that would make it possible to preserve France's economic positions

in Algeria and the Sahara in new forms. But the extreme Rightists in Algeria, seeking to maintain their colonialist privileges, decided to thwart every attempt at a negotiated settlement of the Algerian problem. In this respect, despite certain differences, there was unquestionable identity of interests between the colonialists and the army leaders in Algeria.

Some commanders of that army, half of whom are professional soldiers, saw a powerful movement developing in France against the continuation of a ruinous war which brought poverty to the people. These commanders realized that they were accused of reprisals against the Algerians, and saw the growing prospect of a Leftist government being formed that would establish peace in Algeria through negotiation.

The advocates—both military and civilian—of a victorious Algerian war were therefore faced with the urgent task of frustrating the activities of the democratic institutions and imposing on France, by means of a putsch, a government which would not be so immediately susceptible to the impact of public opinion.

The Algerian coup had long been in preparation with Gaullist elements, in particular Soustelle, participating, and it has been proved that de Gaulle knew of all the developments. The operation was carried out with help from the Right-wing Socialist leaders. Taking advantage of the situation, they tried to demobilize and split the masses by assuring them that de Gaulle would help to avoid civil war, although it was his agents who assisted in preparing it.

When, during the Second World War, de Gaulle became Chairman of the National Liberation Committee, first in London and later in Algeria, he did not think so much of the re-establishment of republican liberties in France as of securing one-man power. The principles he set forth in his earlier books testify to the old dictatorial ambitions of the new head of the French Government. De Gaulle, who has taken Machiavelli for ideological preceptor, made the following statement about the people: "These political animals need organizing, that is, orders and chiefs." He added: "A man of action is unthinkable without a goodly dose of egoism, severity and cunning."

De Gaulle's idea of power is thoroughly anti-democratic and the only thing that kept him from trying to impose his dictatorial regime on France after liberation was the unpropitious situation. The French people,

arms in hand, fought the Nazi invaders in spite of the instructions to wait which de Gaulle circulated and which were firmly opposed by the French Communist Party. The people had tasted of the Petain dictatorship and were determined to restore democratic freedoms. This was provided for in the program of the National Resistance Council worked out on occupied French soil. Besides, the big capitalists who had made sizable profits by collaborating with the Nazi invaders, were in a somewhat shaky position following the defeat of Hitlerism and hesitated to take the risk of angering the masses by resorting to a policy which in a sense would have been a continuation of the Petain policy. The bourgeois groups which had joined de Gaulle likewise found themselves in a predicament and were wary of adopting that course, the more so since the unity of action achieved by the Communists and Socialists blocked the establishment of a dictatorial government.

At that time, the *British Observer* noted de Gaulle's efforts to make use of the inter-party discord to incorporate his idea of a dictatorial government in the new Constitution and inferred that after the agreement between the Communists and the Socialists the general had no choice but to submit or resign.

While no agreement was reached between the Communists and the Socialists on the joint formation of a government after elections to the National Constituent Assembly, they took steps to resist de Gaulle's dictatorial tendencies and the latter was forced to resign in January 1946.

But de Gaulle did not abandon his plans. To seize power, he organized his Rally of the French People (RPF) which Maurice Thorez described in 1947 as follows: "It is a coalition of all egoisms and all appetites, masked by piety and loyalty to the public weal. It is fascism."

After the RPF's defeat at the polls, which utterly disappointed de Gaulle, he withdrew to his estate at Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises and thence watched the activities of his agents who infiltrated into various positions in the "system," that is, in the republic, in order to hatch a conspiracy against the republican institutions. The long period of intrigue and machinations by de Gaulle's conspirators culminated in de Gaulle's advent to power on June 1, 1958. The fact that the ruling section of the bourgeoisie turned to de Gaulle, whom they had been keeping in reserve, should not be interpreted as an indication of strength. On the contrary, it is a sign of weakness, and

proof that *the bourgeoisie is no longer able to rule by the usual democratic methods.*

It goes without saying that the rebels who brought de Gaulle to power are backed by powerful capitalist magnates, who support the new government and are sure of its loyalty. The big banks which de Gaulle saved from nationalization in 1945 and which control the bulk of the wealth of North Africa, including the Sahara, do not merely back the premier-general: they dominate the government to an unprecedented extent, and are directly represented in it by many from their circle. The new chief of de Gaulle's secretariat is none other than Georges Pompidou, the director-general of la Banque Rotschild. The Banque Lazard has delegated its trusted man Jacquinot to the post of State Minister. One of the administrators of la Banque de l'Union Parisienne is Pierre de Gaulle, the brother of the head of the Government. La Banque Mirabaud must be delighted with the presence of Couve de Murville at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Minister of Education Jean Berthoin is directly connected with la Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas. For its part, the National Council of French Industrialists is represented by Antoine Pinay as Minister of Finance and National Economy. If one recalls, furthermore, that de Gaulle is connected with the de Wendel family on the one hand, and with the Schneider family — the steel and munitions magnates — on the other, one will realize that the profits of these circles will be reliably protected and that the capitalists who are most concerned with the continuation of the Algerian war and the arms drive have every opportunity of influencing the government's policy as they see fit.

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In spite of attempts at disruption, the united action of the masses in defense of the republic and against the establishment of a personal dictatorship has attained considerable scope. But that scope was insufficient to ensure the necessary pressure, even on the National Assembly, and prevent the formation of the de Gaulle government, which the Algerian rebels and their accomplices in France demanded. Now, de Gaulle is in power.

The split, and the resultant weakening of the working class and the democratic forces, was one of the most important circumstances of which de Gaulle made use to come to power. The disastrous activities of those who split the forces of the working class and the masses, thereby paving the way for de Gaulle, and who bear tremendous responsibility, are by no means confined to recent events. Those

who brought about the split are responsible for the events of many years—to be precise, for the policy pursued in France since 1947 when the Communists were removed from the Government. It was the time when the U.S. imperialists began to Marshallize France and certain other European countries. The vicious policy of that period led to the disruption of the existing alliance, to the establishment of an anti-Soviet coalition that included Western Germany and to the resurgence of German militarism.

This reactionary policy could not have triumphed if it had been vigorously opposed by the working class and the masses. That is why the ruling sections of the French bourgeoisie were faced with the urgent task of splitting the working class.

Immediately after liberation the French reactionaries were unable to prevent the establishment of unity of action between the Communist and Socialist parties, which had concluded an alliance as far back as 1934. In those days, their joint action led to the establishment and triumph of the Popular Front for bread, freedom and peace. The reactionaries were waiting for a chance to split the forces of the working class and in 1947 the Socialist Ramadier, then Prime Minister, removed the Communists from the government with the assistance of another Socialist, Vincent Auriol, then President of the Republic. (In the course of the recent events, Auriol emerged from his retirement to help de Gaulle come to power, while Ramadier, who first opposed de Gaulle, eventually voted for his nomination). Late in 1947, the enemies of unity split the General Confederation of Labor, organized the Force Ouvrière and joined in a witch-hunt against the Communists.

Those who bring discord into the ranks of the working class are well aware—and the reactionary bourgeoisie uses every opportunity to remind them of it — that when united the working people are strong and are able to rally considerable democratic forces behind them. As Lenin, strategist of the socialist revolution, said on the eve of the First World War, "the working class needs unity. . . And such unity is infinitely dear, infinitely important, to the working class. Disunited workers are nothing. United workers are everything."

To carry out their policy of division, the leaders of the Socialist Party and the trade union splitters did all they could to instil bourgeois ideology into the minds of the working class. They tried to inculcate in the masses the belief that the U.S. imperialists'

predatory plans were motivated by philanthropy and the desire to bring happiness to the peoples. And as events developed slogans were put forward one after another—about the “free world”, “American generosity”, and the “need” to rally a “united Europe” (including West Germany) against the Soviet Union, which was alleged to threaten the freedom of the peoples. The leaders of the Socialist Party found it difficult to come out in open alliance with reaction. Hence they advanced the idea of a “third force” in an effort to create the impression that they intended to fight on two fronts—against reaction and against the Communists.

Everything was thus used to convince a certain part of the working class, as well as other sections of the French working people, that U.S. imperialism was playing a progressive role and that it was perfectly natural to sacrifice France's national independence to it. At the same time, anti-Soviet campaigns were regularly launched under various would-be socialist pretexts with an eye to undermining the working people's bonds of friendship with the great country where socialism has become living reality, a country which is gradually building a communist society.

The foregoing should give an idea of the serious difficulties which the French Communist Party came up against in its persistent struggle for the unity of action of the working class and all democratic and national forces.

Throughout the past years, the Communists have worked tirelessly for joint action with the Socialist workers in upholding the demands of the working class; Communists within the trade unions of the General Confederation of Labor made similar efforts with regard to other trade union centres.

Much effort was exerted to achieve joint action in defence of peace, as attested by the successful campaign for the collection of signatures to the Stockholm Appeal for the prohibition of atomic weapons. Tangible results were also achieved in the recent campaign for the cessation of thermonuclear weapon tests and against the establishment of atomic rocket launching installations on French territory.

During the struggle against the European Defense Community, designed to cloak the rearmament of West Germany, many Socialists, like the Communists, opposed that plan both in the localities and in parliament where it was rejected, with the result that the French Government had to seek other ways and conclude the Paris Agreements in order

to ensure the rebirth of German militarism in spite of everything.

The persistent campaign waged by the French Communists against the war in Viet-Nam, a war favored for a long time by the leaders of the Socialist Party, gave rise to a strong opposition within the ranks of that party to a continuation of the war. This helped to stop the war in July 1954, after the defeat at Dien-Bien-Phu.

Of course, the results achieved in the sphere of unity of action were often less considerable than the situation called for, but that was due primarily to the Socialist leaders' uncompromising and persistent opposition to the unity of Socialists and Communists. Nevertheless, in the course of 1955 the views of the two parties—the Socialist and the Communist—were brought considerably closer on a number of important issues, in particular on the need to end the war in Algeria by negotiation.

In these circumstances, the January 1956 elections brought victory to the Leftist parties, the Communist Party outstripping all the others by a rather wide margin. The majority of the electorate declared unequivocally for peace in Algeria. But the stand taken by the Socialist Party was not slow in giving French policy a dangerous turn. Having become Prime Minister as a result of the elections, Guy Mollet, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, became a tool of the extremists instead of setting out to stop that colonial war. He disgraced himself by surrendering to the extremists when they organized a demonstration on February 6, 1956, during his trip to Algeria. After adopting this course of action, the Guy Mollet Government and its successors intensified the war, sent more troops to Algeria and stimulated in some units, particularly among the paratroopers, sentiments conducive to the use of the worst methods of violence and torture.

Thanks to the sustained efforts of the French Communist Party, a minority in the Socialist Party came out against the continuation of the Algerian war which brought protests from increasing numbers of French men and women. Some protested because they condemned the very idea of colonialism, others because of the tortures and violence involved in that war, still others because they had come to realize the impossibility of settling the Algerian problem by force and the need for talks in order to avoid a repetition of the experience of Viet-Nam where France lost everything by persisting in the use of force. But while a Socialist minority opposed

the continuation of the Algerian war, the Socialist Party as a whole was one of the main political factors in the continuation of that war, among the foremost inspirers of which is the Socialist Robert Lacoste, Minister for Algerian Affairs. It is the continuation of the war that led up to events which made for de Gaulle's advent to power.

It is by the cruel irony of fate that France is losing her freedom while bending her energies to impose the colonial system on peoples that have resolved to win independence. Facts of present-day French politics, are fresh confirmation of the profound significance of Karl Marx's statement that "a people which oppresses another cannot itself be free."

The French people are once again threatened by officers specialized in colonial warfare, as was the case in June 1848, when the butcher of the Paris workers, Cavaignac, first suppressed the Algerians. Similarly, Saint-Arnaud, trained in Algeria, made the streets of Paris run with blood during the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851—the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. In more recent times the world saw Franco hurl troops from Spanish Morocco against the Spanish Republic. There is good reason to believe that the leaders of the French army in Algeria have decided to repeat that operation in France.

Such plans, as well as de Gaulle's advent to power by seemingly legal procedure, would be unfeasible if the Socialist Party, in alliance with the Communist Party, decided not to yield to pressure of the Algerian rebels and to bar the establishment of personal power. The Communists did everything to counterpose the broadest unity of action to the intrigues of the rebels and to expose the maneuvers of General de Gaulle who shielded the rebels by his silence, trying to reassure public opinion and holding forth on the republic with increasing ardor the less he thought of it. After May 13, unity of action achieved results that far excelled all that had been gained in many years. This alarmed de Gaulle and his supporters above all else. De Gaulle was aware that he could not hope for power as long as he was opposed by almost the entire Socialist Party which, along with the Communist Party, could have made up a force capable of strongly influencing the democratic sections in town and country in order to increase their resistance to dictatorial aspirations.

That is why Guy Mollet and Vincent Auriol lent support to de Gaulle's agents who circulated false rumors, and tried to demoralize and intimidate the Socialist Deputies whose

vote in parliament could be decisive in opening or closing the door to de Gaulle. The subversive activity of Guy Mollet and Vincent Auriol became more persistent after the vast May 28 demonstration during which people marched from the Place de la Nation to the Place de la République. A half million Parisians took part in the demonstration. Communists, Socialists and other democrats joined together in a single procession reminiscent of the time of the Popular Front for might and enthusiasm. The Parliamentary Socialist Party by an overwhelming majority adopted a resolution saying that it would under no circumstances support de Gaulle's nomination because it considered it a challenge to republican legality. The Socialist Deputies were profoundly impressed by the May 28 demonstration in Paris and reports of similar demonstrations in the provinces. But Guy Mollet declared that he preferred de Gaulle to an alliance with the Communists, and together with Vincent Auriol began to maneuver in order to sow doubt and create an atmosphere of passivity. He deliberately belittled the significance of the strikes and demonstrations both in Paris and in the provinces, suggesting that it was "too late" to prevent de Gaulle from coming to power. It was in such a situation that 42 Socialist Deputies voted for de Gaulle, while 49 Socialists joined the Communists and other democrats in voting against. In consideration of services rendered, Guy Mollet was made a minister by de Gaulle whose government has the semblance of legality but is in fact a product of the military coup in Algeria and Ajaccio, a result of the shameful capitulation of the Pflimlin government and the treacherous stand of the Secretary-General of the Socialist Party.

In spite of the peculiar situation within the Socialist Party, opposition this time assumed an unprecedented scale, although it failed to achieve the necessary cohesion or show the initiative necessitated by the circumstances. Members of the Socialist Party have long been giving Guy Mollet and the Directing Committee a free hand in pursuing a reactionary policy (the cause of this lies in the social composition of the party, in which workers constitute a minority and a policy of *diktat* prevails). But it should be borne in mind that *La Tribune du Socialisme*, organ of the Socialist minority, said in its report on the vote on de Gaulle's election as Premier: "*La Tribune du Socialisme* expresses its satisfaction at the fact that most Socialist Deputies voted against that capitulation . . . It declares those who, bearing the main responsibility

for the tragic events of today, have agreed to take part in the de Gaulle government to be traitors to socialism and the Republic. *La Tribune du Socialisme* calls on all Socialists, all democrats, all republicans, as well as on all political and trade union organizations of the working people to take joint action against the impending danger of the establishment of a totalitarian regime in France. Above all, *La Tribune du Socialisme* calls on all members of the SFIO to oust from key posts those who disgraced the party and brought France to political, economic and moral catastrophe by covering up the Algerian policy of Mollet-Lacoste, with its infamous methods of pacification and its recurrent capitulation to the extremists and military leaders, and the Suez gamble." Unfortunately, this well-founded criticism has not been followed up by appropriate action.

Guy Mollet was given a chance to postpone the Socialist Party Congress till September. In this manner the leadership hopes to gain time to delay the adoption of an official resolution on the party's stand on the constitutional referendum scheduled for Sept. 28. Meanwhile, Guy Mollet intends to support the draft Constitution which de Gaulle is preparing and which he himself is helping to work out. Even now Guy Mollet makes bold to say that the draft Constitution is imbued with a "democratic" spirit. The activity of the Secretary-General of the Socialist Party is part of an extensive propaganda plan designed to prove that de Gaulle is an unrecognized republican and a bulwark of democracy against the Algerian rebels and their accomplices in France. That is how an attempt is being made to preserve illusions and maintain passivity at a time when there is a greater need than ever for vigilance and unity of action by the working class and the democratic forces.

* * *

The working people and all democrats must unite to beat back without delay every move of the reactionary forces because in the present circumstances passivity is extremely dangerous. Unity is needed to defend democratic freedoms and foil every attempt to organize a fascist movement.

Combining violence with demagoguery, those who have set up "committees of public safety" in Algeria and Corsica are intent on extending their experiment to France and developing their fascist activities there. In recent times, the premises of democratic and trade union bodies have been attacked in Pau, Roussillon (Isère), Saint Chamond

(Loire) and elsewhere. These attacks, entirely ignored by the government press, were organized by fascist groups. These groups operated, as was the case at Pau, in cooperation with paratroopers led by officers, against whom no action was taken. Indeed, during his first trip to Algeria de Gaulle voiced the wish that the "renovation movement" stemming from the "committees of public safety" in Algeria, should "involve all France" and effect, as the Premier-General put it, a "fusion of souls."

Skilfully manipulated propaganda is trying to represent the de Gaulle government as the "lesser evil" and as an authority that does not threaten the freedoms so cherished by the people and can even serve as a bulwark of the republic against the rebels. But the appointment of the conspirator Soustelle to the Ministry of Information has a different meaning. It is outright encouragement of the conspirators, who may be said to have made Algeria their "testing ground" where they experimented with the fascist activities of the "committees of public safety" and the exercise of dictatorial authority with the participation of military commanders in order to use their experience on a large scale in France. What is still more indicative, particularly with regard to the role assigned to the army, is the appointment as Chief of the General Staff of General Zeller who resigned after the victory of the Leftist forces in the elections of January 2, 1956. This general, who after retirement won notoriety by his sharply anti-Communist articles written in a purely fascist spirit, declares that the army is "imbued with political consciousness" and "must become the leader of the nation." In this manner he stresses the leading role which the army wishes to play in order to lend de Gaulle's one-man dictatorship an increasingly militarist character.

The purpose of all these political intrigues is to pave the way for the suppression of all political freedoms and to militarize all spheres of life in the country in order to prevent the working people and the masses in general from rallying in struggle for their demands, for the termination of the ruinous and sanguinary war in Algeria. There can no longer be any doubt that de Gaulle not only favors a continuation of that war, but also wants it to be intensified, with all its tragic implications, additional devastation and new victims. One finds it increasingly difficult to shut one's eyes to the fact that the continuation of that war, which is in sharp conflict with national interests, will inevitably go on hindering as

it has done so far, the solution of the problems facing the French people.

In the present situation, a broad alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals, and an alliance of all republican forces, is absolutely essential.

Unfortunately, for all the gravity of the situation, the Socialist minority and the other republicans are still discussing an "alliance of the non-Communist Left forces," a discussion which they are trying to justify somehow by allusions to the possibility of a subsequent alliance with "other" forces, that is, with the Communists. Anti-communism, actively resorted to by some of de Gaulle's ministers, such as Malraux, remains at the root of the subversive maneuvers that have already done so much harm. By these maneuvers the de Gaulle government hopes to provide favorable conditions for the establishment of fascism in France.

That is why there is need for action by the masses, the main task being mobilization of all the democratic forces so that they will voice an emphatic *no* to de Gaulle's draft Constitution. There are sufficient social and political forces in France to inflict the first defeat on one-man power during the September 28 plebiscite-referendum and stop fascism. These forces must be *united*, they must be *mobilized* and *convinced* of the importance of joining in the forthcoming struggle.

In heading the struggle of the working class and the republican masses, strong by its prestige and unity, the French Communist Party will do all in its power to preserve

and consolidate the unity of all those who have taken part in recent battles. It is determined to use all its energy to strengthen the Committees in Defense of the Republic—elected by democratic procedure and closely linked with the masses in the industries, in the towns and villages—and considerably to increase their number. The Party will strive to make these committees exponents of the will of the masses in the struggle against all splitting maneuvers. A wide network of such committees must frustrate plans to implant fascism in France.

All working people and all French democrats, beginning with the Socialists, must learn their lesson from the fact that one of the main reasons for de Gaulle's advent to power was the traitorous policy of the Socialist Party leadership headed by Guy Mollet, who are giving de Gaulle particularly active support now that some of the illusions are beginning to evaporate. This applies, for example, to the Premier-General's statement about his policy of continuing the war in Algeria and his refusal to meet the legitimate demands of the working masses in town and country.

That is why the Communists must tirelessly and persistently call for unity of action; they must explain the situation to and convince their Socialist comrades and other republicans who are threatened with a common danger. A sort of contest has begun between the working people and the democrats on the one hand and the conspirators on the other, in which the stake is the fate of the republic, the honor and future of the nation.

U.S. Colonialism and the Arab East

L. Tismaneanu

LAST July the world was brought to the brink of disaster. In gross violation of international law, U.S. imperialism launched an armed attack on the Lebanon followed, with U.S. approval, by the British invasion of Jordan.

The Middle Eastern adventure of the U.S. and Britain was aimed primarily at neutralizing the consequences of the painful political defeat which imperialism had sustained in the Middle East as a result of the impetuous growth of the national liberation movement. The rebuff administered to the colonialists in Egypt and Syria, the establishment of the

United Arab Republic and, in recent times, civil war in the Lebanon and the overthrow of the anti-national regime in Iraq were some of the more striking manifestations of the movement.

The whole propaganda machinery of imperialism has been put in operation to whitewash the acts of aggression undertaken by the U.S. and Britain. An attempt is being made to cover up the armed intervention with false statements about "protecting" U.S. citizens and British subjects, whom nobody is threatening, about an imaginary "Communist menace", about non-existent "inter-

ference" by the United Arab Republic in the affairs of the Lebanon and Jordan, and so on. What is actually taking place in the Middle East is armed intervention in the internal affairs of Arab countries by the U.S. and British imperialists.

U.S. attempts to put down the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples by force once again reveal U.S. imperialism as a rabid enemy of all the peoples fighting for sovereignty and independent national development.

Until a very short time ago the reactionary scientists and journalists of the U.S. and its entire propaganda machinery did their utmost to represent that country as a champion of freedom and independence for the peoples. The burden of American propaganda was the effort to describe the aggressive, basically colonialist policy of the U.S. as a policy differing radically from the long-defeated policies of the old European colonial powers. Proponents of U.S. "exceptionalism" often invoked the fact that the U.S. had been the first colony in the world to shake off foreign oppression and that it based its relations with other countries on the principle formulated by Thomas Jefferson and underlying the Declaration of Independence which stated that every country may choose the form of government that it desires, and change that form as it sees fit.

The rulers of the U.S. like to quote this statement once in a while. But as far as their relations with other peoples are concerned, they have long ago renounced the democratic principle put forward by the American Republic when it was young; they have abandoned the traditional love of liberty of the American people and have been endeavoring to prevent other peoples from choosing the form of government that they desire and changing it as they see fit.

The myth of U.S. "anti-colonialism" is one of the deceptions which the U.S. uses in its policy of expansion. In reality that "anti-colonialism" is motivated by the desire, not to abolish the infamous colonial system, but to oust the old colonial powers and set up the exclusive rule of the U.S.

The U.S. imperialists began to carry the idea of a "World American empire" into effect during the Second World War. The various proposals and projects considered by the U.S. government at that time were designed first and foremost to elbow out the old colonial powers and take possession of their colonial legacy under the guise of establishing a common trusteeship or economic control over all colonies under the ægis of the U.S.

China was assigned a special place in those projects as U.S. finance capital had far-reaching plans for her exploitation. But the U.S. and its stooges suffered a crushing defeat. The U.S. government admitted in its White Paper dealing with America's policy on China in 1949 that it was a bitter but undeniable fact that the ill-fated outcome of the war in China had been beyond U.S. government control. The U.S. had done all it could reasonably do to change that outcome, said the White Paper, an outcome brought about by the operation of internal Chinese forces, which the U.S. had tried to influence but had failed.

U.S. policy in the post-war period has virtually been a combination of two trends. One trend seeks new forms of colonial enslavement and the other is frankly aimed at the suppression of liberation movements. The predominance of the former or the latter trend was due to the specific international context rather than to the alignment of forces inside the ruling group of the U.S., though this was not immaterial. In some cases the emphasis was on force, as in Korea and Taiwan, and in others on more flexible and less obvious forms of colonialism: involvement in military and political blocs such as SEATO or the Baghdad Pact, the imposition of governments obedient to the U.S., the granting of U.S. "aid", etc.

Why is it that in late years the U.S. had intensified its activity in the Middle East?

One of the fundamental reasons for it is the strategic value of that area, which lies in immediate proximity to the borders of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Admiral Sherman of the U.S. Navy said that, to his mind, the strategic importance of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East was hardly second to that of the NATO area itself. Eisenhower for his part pointed out that there was no strategic area in the world more important than the Middle East.

Furthermore, the U.S. rulers see establishment of their control over the Middle East as an important means of executing their overall plan for gaining world supremacy for U.S. imperialism. Lying as they do at the junction of three continents and in the middle of an East-West sea route and holding a key position with regard to Africa, the Near and Middle East have always been coveted by conquerors aspiring to world domination. All of them, from Alexander of Macedonia and Caesar to Napoleon, Wilhelm and Hitler, sought to seize that area. London and Paris fought a bitter struggle against each other over the Middle East at the time when the

British and French colonial empires were in the making. The construction of the Suez Canal was one stage of that struggle and British occupation of Egypt its turning point. U.S. imperialism, which is bent on world supremacy, likewise attaches top military and political importance to the Middle East.

Another important reason for U.S. interest in the Middle East is oil. The prospected oil resources of that area amount to some 20,000 million tons; altogether the oil resources of the Middle East are estimated to exceed 30,000 million tons, which is more than the prospected oil resources of the capitalist countries put together. The high yield of the

oil wells in the Persian Gulf area and the niggardly wages paid to the Persian oil workers make the extraction of Middle Eastern oil a most profitable business for the imperialists. The cost price of Middle Eastern oil does not exceed \$2 per ton on an average, while its selling price, fixed by the monopolies at the rate current in the Gulf of Mexico ports, is about \$15. U.S. monopoly investments in Middle Eastern oil at present exceed \$1,700 million and the net profit (after payment of royalties) exceeds \$1,000 million a year. Surely the imperialist monopolies could not place their capital to greater advantage anywhere else in the world.

Profits Netted by Oil Monopolies (\$ millions)

Country	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	Total
Kuwait	330.8	383.8	435.0	460.0	451.6	488.0	2,549.2
Saudi Arabia	424.0	332.0	520.0	560.0	560.0	560.0	2,956.0
Iraq	184.8	287.8	383.6	412.8	386.0	280.0	1,935.0
Iran	—	—	—	168.0	292.0	428.0	888.0
Total	939.6	1,003.6	1,338.6	1,600.8	1,689.6	1,756.0	8,328.2

The above data, taken from British and U.S. sources, show that the profits of the oil monopolies during the last six years—from 1952 to 1957—exceeded \$8,000 million. It must be borne in mind that at present 65 percent of Middle Eastern oil is controlled by U.S. companies, mainly the Rockefellers and Mellons, who shape America's foreign policy in many respects.

These two circumstances—strategic position and oil—are the reasons why the U.S. has been fighting so doggedly for domination in the Middle East.

But there is yet another factor of moment to which the Middle East owes its prime importance in present-day international relations. A new force has emerged on the international scene since the end of the war: it is the countries that have won national independence, former colonies or semi-colonies that have broken, or are breaking, free from colonial oppression. The peaceful stand of those countries, vividly expressed in the Bandung Conference resolutions, is having a beneficial effect on the international situation as a whole. Along with the socialist countries, the independent countries of Asia and Africa form the vast "peace zone."

The Arab East is a major part of the "Bandung world". U.S. policy-makers would like to involve the Arab countries in their scheme which, if successful, would amount to a considerable advance in their effort to capture key positions in Asia and Africa and isolate the new Eastern states from the socialist

camp. Under the pretext of combating the "Communist threat", the U.S. is bringing pressure to bear on the new Eastern states, interfering in their internal affairs and trying through blackmail and intimidation to force them into renouncing a neutral policy. In the struggle going on between the forces of reaction and progress in the nationally independent states of Asia and Africa, the U.S. has invariably backed the most outdated and reactionary regimes, ones that the people reject. Among its friends are the most depraved and corrupt politicians of Asia, discredited men such as Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, Ngo Dinh Diem and their like.

The post-war political situation in the Middle East has been influenced by the widespread national anti-imperialist movement of the Arab peoples and the unprecedented growth of the influence exerted by the peaceful foreign policies of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries on the one hand, and by the imperialist powers' colonial expansion on the other. The state of affairs in that area has also been substantially influenced by the clash between the class interests of the Arab bourgeoisie and the feudal and monarchic groups, by dynastic antagonisms inside the Arab world and by the Arab-Israeli conflict, which has left a peculiarly national-religious imprint on numerous events.

It is typical of the national liberation movement in the Arab East that the developing anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution has been combined with the movement for

the solidarity of the Arab peoples. This movement is a distinctive form of the Arab peoples' national liberation struggle at the present stage. The growing solidarity of the Arab countries is an objective process governed by the objective laws of history.

In the course of a long period the Arab peoples have developed certain common features and peculiarities, connected with their conditions of life, their subjugation to foreign imperialists and dependent position. Their common interests in the anti-imperialist struggle constitute a powerful factor for the unification of the Arab peoples.

The establishment of a capacious internal market is the objective economic content of Arab unification. *Al-Akhbar* wrote on March 3, 1958 with reference to the establishment of the United Arab Republic: "One of the early results of the union will be an expanded sphere of circulation of Egyptian and Syrian capital. This is the cornerstone of economic policy. We should set up a common Arab market to be joined by the countries which are our neighbors geographically, economically and politically."

The movement for Arab unity today is led by the Arab national bourgeoisie, for the establishment of a common Arab market is necessitated above all by its class interests. However, some of the warring feudal and monarchic groups likewise advocate unity of the Arab world for tactical considerations.

The July Revolution of 1952 in Egypt greatly stimulated the movement for Arab unity. The Syrian-Egyptian union and the resulting establishment of the United Arab Republic was an important milestone in that process.

The hasty establishment of a Hashemite federation of Iraq and Jordan on the day following the constitution of the United Arab Republic was intended to prevent consolidation of the Arab lands, disrupt Arab unity in the interest of imperialism and protect the class privileges of the feudal and monarchic groups. Recent events in Iraq showed plainly enough how utterly artificial and unstable that "unification" was.

The movement for Arab unity at the present stage is progressive by virtue of its anti-imperialist and anti-feudal trend. Hence both the working class and the peasantry of the Arab countries stand to benefit from its successful development. The Arab proletariat, which is the most revolutionary class and is vitally concerned with national liberation and the consistent implementation of socio-economic and political reforms, is playing an active part in the struggle for national liberation.

The working class sees its objective in contributing as much as it can to the progressive, democratic tendency of the movement since that is the only way to bring the hopes and aspirations of the Arab peoples to fruition.

According as the national liberation movement expanded and the role of the Arab East in world politics and economy increased, the rulers of the U.S. hardened in their resolve to lay hands on that area at any cost. Two fundamental tasks had to be carried out to begin with for the achievement of that goal: it was necessary to crush the peoples' struggle for national independence and oust the U.S.'s rivals and competitors—the other imperialist powers. Numerous key positions in the Middle East were held by Britain, the chief partner and ally of the U.S. in the aggressive military blocs. *La Tribune des Nations*, a French weekly, had this to say: "Ever since 1946 the double-dealing policy of the U.S. has consisted in cooperating with Britain the better to beat her and in backing her in order to supplant her."

The U.S. resorted to a variety of methods to weaken British influence. There was a time when it tried to knock Britain out of her Middle Eastern strongholds by taking advantage of the national liberation movement. But it could not follow this course of action for long because the aims of the liberation movement are incompatible with the imperialist interests of the U.S. monopolies, and also because any encouragement of that movement tended to undermine the "Atlantic solidarity" indispensable for the "cold war" against the socialist camp. Besides, the U.S. was anxious to avoid any quarrel with the feudal cliques kept in power in the Middle East with British help. U.S. diplomacy tried to establish contact with those cliques, hoping to "inherit" them from Britain. But neither in this respect could the U.S. afford to go too far as it might result in a break with the bourgeois nationalists. Last but not least, account should be taken of the problem of Israel, whom the U.S. imperialists use as a tool against the Arab countries. These circumstances account for the inconsistency and vacillations of U.S. policy on the Middle East during the first post-war decade.

The contradictions inherent in the U.S. Middle Eastern policy became evident when aggressive military blocs were being set up in that area. In 1951 the U.S. cooperated vigorously in planning the "Middle East Command" and organizing "mutual defense". After the peoples had turned down this plan the U.S. undertook attempts on its own to

form a bloc in the Middle East, inspiring plans for a "Mediterranean" bloc, a "Moslem" bloc, etc. Realizing that all these schemes were unfeasible, the State Department chose a solution providing, as a first step, for a system of bilateral military alliances between Middle Eastern countries, to be crowned later with a general treaty between those countries and the U.S. That was how the idea of a "northern tier" arose and was afterwards embodied—not by U.S. but by British diplomacy—in the Baghdad Pact. At first the U.S. kept out of the pact because it hated to share first place with Britain and also because that organization became exceedingly unpopular in the Arab world from the outset. By standing aloof the U.S. dissociated itself so to speak from Britain, letting her discredit herself still more in Arab eyes by the establishment of an organization justly reputed to be a new instrument of colonialism. But while refusing to join the Baghdad Pact organization formally, the U.S. backed it.

By then Egypt, one of the major Arab countries, had declared herself against participation in imperialist blocs, proclaiming positive neutrality to be the basis of her foreign policy. The U.S. tried the tactics of the club and the carrot on the Nasser government, as it sought to win over the leaders of the Arab national liberation movement by dollar tips and at the same time threatened them rudely whenever they seemed reluctant to make political concessions.

During the Suez crisis the U.S. did not officially take part in the joint Anglo-French-Israeli attack. But U.S. imperialism did all it could to help prepare and carry out that attack. Washington hoped the invaders would teach Egypt a lesson and do away with the Nasser government. The State Department believed that the weakening of both parties that must result from the war might create a situation in which the U.S. could effectively impose its will.

These calculations were frustrated by the courageous fight of the Egyptian people, who enjoyed friendly sympathy and support from the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the other socialist countries, as well as from independent Asian countries, primarily India. The Egyptians' liberation struggle was vigorously supported by the peoples of other Arab countries as well.

The invasion of Egypt ended in complete failure of the imperialist colonialists. However, the U.S. succeeded in having British prestige in the Middle East seriously undermined. Alleging that a "vacuum" had formed

following the withdrawal of Britain and France from that area, the U.S. rulers hastened to lay claim to supremacy in the Middle East. That was when the ill-famed "Eisenhower Doctrine" came into being.

After announcing that it had a special interest in Middle Eastern affairs and arrogating the title of "protector" of that area to itself, the U.S. told the local pro-imperialist feudal groups in no uncertain terms that it would not refuse them protection. The "Eisenhower Doctrine" was expected to breathe new life into those reactionary groups which constitute an anachronism of modern society, requiring dollar injections to bolster their shaky position. The task which London was unable to fulfil by means of the Baghdad pact and which Washington tackled by putting forward the "Eisenhower Doctrine" was to unify the reactionary feudal and compradore forces of the Arab East with a view to crushing the national liberation movement, preserving colonialism and turning that area into a strategic base of imperialism. At the same time Washington established control over the Baghdad Pact organization.

The miscalculation committed by the authors of the "Eisenhower Doctrine" came out before long. The Arabs' growing political experience enabled them to see through the colonialist essence of the U.S. imperialists' latter-day program. Hypocritical talk about "defence against communism" failed to camouflage the real aim of the U.S. monopolies, which are intent on seizing the whole of the Middle East.

The events of the autumn of 1957, when U.S. attempts to rally the Arab states against Syria fell through, showed that the influence of the "Eisenhower Doctrine" was illusory. The doctrine was rejected by the Lebanese people too, as can be seen from their struggle against their pro-American rulers. The Iraqi revolution in its turn forcefully bore out the indisputable fact that the Arab East is not developing along the lines charted by Washington. The danger of the Arab liberation revolution spreading to the countries of the Arabian Peninsula led the rulers of the U.S.A. to take recourse to the last remedy, force.

The invasion of the Lebanon signifies crisis in Washington's double-dealing. The U.S. colonizers had to discard their mask. The U.S.A. aligned itself with the old colonial powers by going into direct action against the national liberation forces. The U.S. colonialists found themselves in the same trenches in which defeated British imperialism was fighting a rear-guard action yesterday. The

very first unit of marines landed by the U.S. Sixth Fleet in Beirut harbor on July 15 put an end to the myth of U.S. "anti-colonialism." But this does not imply that U.S. imperialism will no longer maneuver in an effort to mislead the peoples of the Arab East.

U.S. propaganda assertions to the effect that the U.S. invasion of the Lebanon has nothing to do with colonialism can only gull very naive people. The point is certainly not that the Lebanon herself is not a major object of exploitation or is of little importance to the U.S. monopolies, or that British capital can expect to derive any substantial profit from Jordan. The point is that the landing of troops on Arab soil immediately after the revolution in Iraq is intended to impose the imperialists' will on all the Arab peoples, throw them back by decades, suppress their will to resist and check the further extension of their struggle for complete and genuine independence. By landing on the coast of a small Arab state the imperialist aggressors seek to cow the Arabs living along the Tigris and the Nile and make it clear to them that their efforts to get rid of imperialist control are doomed to fail and that the oil monopolies will for ever remain masters of the Middle East.

The political crisis in the Middle East is not over yet, but the situation already permits of certain conclusions.

First of all it is plain that imperialist attempts to stop the irresistible progress of the national liberation movement in the Arab East have failed. This was shown for all to see by the revolution in Iraq, the country which was held to be the chief Middle Eastern stronghold of imperialism. London and Washington were confident that Iraq, with her British-drilled armed forces and stable reactionary bureaucracy, would remain an invaluable

island in the raging sea of popular movement. But recent events in Baghdad showed that the would-be stable and dependable regime of the "strong man" Nuri Said was rotten through and through, that the army, which it had taken enormous amounts in pounds sterling and dollars to equip, had been waiting for a chance to carry out a revolution, that repression and terrorism, far from warding off a popular rising, had even failed to save the leaders of the pro-imperialist regime.

The Baghdad Pact, one of whose main objectives was the struggle against the national liberation movement, proved untenable in its turn. Reality demonstrated that the preservation of pro-imperialist regimes hated by the people cannot be ensured by setting up military-colonial blocs. What would seem to be the strongest bastions of colonialism are falling apart, revealing their utter decay.

The countries of the East and the world at large have now seen that the U.S. does not scruple to resort to intervention in keeping with the worst traditions of old colonial days. American soldiers shooting at Arab patriots on Arab soil are sufficient to shatter for good the myth which makes out the U.S. to be a supporter of the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence.

Lastly, the world has once more seen what the Dulles policy "on the brink of war" implies. By playing with fire in the most explosive area of the globe the imperialists have laid bare their actual attitude to peace and the destinies of nations. Another myth, that of a "peace-loving" U.S., is dead.

The July events in the Middle East gave mankind fresh evidence that international security and peace are threatened primarily by U.S. imperialism and its aggressive policies.

German Militarism: A Threat to Peace

Ostap Dluski

IT IS ALWAYS advisable to approach historical analogies with proper caution, although certain tendencies in the world today are more clearly revealed when compared with past tendencies of a similar nature and with the historic events that followed them, events from which mankind can and must draw the necessary conclusions—especially if the experience gained has been at the cost

of countless victims and the incredible suffering of the peoples.

In the history of the resurgence of German imperialism and militarism after the Second World War there is much that is obviously similar to their revival after the First World War. Today, as then, the basis of the revanchist policy of German imperialism and militarism is expansion by means of violence and

conquest, the "position of strength" policy, the military preparation of a fresh division of the world. Adenauer's Federal Republic, like Hitler's Third Reich, advances far-reaching demands for territorial changes both in the east and in the west. And, even more worthy of note, the strengthening of German militarism today, as then, is most obviously encouraged by certain aggressive American, British and French imperialist circles. These circles have learned nothing from the experience of the Second World War or from the strategy and tactics of German imperialism which has always given primary importance to the implementation of its own expansionist plans.

However, the recrudescence of German imperialism and militarism and the nurturing of the plans of expansion and conquest accompanying it, are today taking place under conditions entirely different from those of the past, at a time when there is a new and qualitatively different ratio of the forces of peace and war.

Peace today is defended by the powerful camp of socialism that stretches from the banks of the Elbe to the Pacific Ocean, the chief bulwark and main force of which is the invincible Soviet Union. The Peace Movement, on a scale never before known, embraces all nations. Peoples oppressed by imperialism are rising all over the huge expanses of Asia, Africa and South America. Their struggle for liberty, independence and peace gains inspiration from the creative effort of mighty People's China, which is changing the way of life of millions of people. The colonial system is collapsing. The working class that leads the struggle for peace and progress in all countries has a strong ally in the peoples of the colonial countries. The prophetic words pronounced by Lenin are being fulfilled before our very eyes—the seeds cast on the earth by the Great October Socialist Revolution are taking root. The face of Europe has changed. Thanks to the victory of the Soviet Army over fascism a number of nations have taken the path of socialist construction, and in Germany itself profound changes that determine the future development of the entire German people have taken place: the German Democratic Republic has been established, a bastion of peace around which the peace-loving forces in Western Germany are also rallying.

Mankind today possesses the forces and the means to crush any aggression the moment it is born. At this point it is worth while reminding the German imperialists of Goethe's

words in *Faust*: "What, boaster, is your back still itching for their blows? I'm sick to death of this . . ."

There is no question in our day as to who would emerge victorious in the event of imperialist aggression. History has already predetermined the victory of creative, peace-loving socialism over capitalism, a social system that exhausts the peoples and engenders wars. Mankind's most important task at the present time is to prevent aggression which, in the atomic age, would mean monstrous destruction and unbelievable suffering for the peoples. Peace must be assured, conditions for peaceful competition between the socialist and capitalist systems on the basis of peaceful coexistence must likewise be assured. It is mankind's task to prevent preparations for war, to put an end to the policy of aggression, the mainspring of which, its inspirer and organizer, is American imperialism and its ally, reborn German imperialism and militarism.

* * *

When Hitler threw off the fetters that bound him and confronted the world with the accomplished fact of German remilitarization, not everybody realized the full import of that step. At the present time, however, the decision adopted by the West German Bundestag on March 25 to rearm the German army with atom and rocket weapons has greatly perturbed public opinion throughout the world. This was the first outspoken manifestation of the readiness of reborn German imperialism and militarism to fight for old expansionist objectives, doing so from a "position of strength," by means of conquest. So far this is a declared policy, a guide to future action. German militarism today still does not possess the might it is striving to create. It is, however, a real threat and, it must be stressed, enjoys the support of the world's main force of aggression, American imperialism, that is prepared to speed up the development of West Germany's war potential.

There are two sides to this problem. On the one hand American imperialists allot West Germany the role of the main striking force for aggression in Europe with the object of fighting against socialism and implementing their plans for world domination. "Without the economic potential, territory and manpower of the Federal Republic, American imperialism cannot provoke a war in Europe," said the Manifesto Statement of the 15 Communist and Workers' Parties adopted at the conference held in Berlin on June 27-29 last.

On the other hand aggressive circles in

Western Germany intend making the atom-equipped Bundeswehr a weapon for the political, economic and territorial expansion of German imperialism in accordance with their own plans, the plans of those very same industrial and financial monopolies that prepared the way for the Nazi party and for Hitler's death-dealing program.

According to some statements published in the press and made orally, the strength of the West German army during the next few years should be 340,000-400,000 men. The facts, however, speak differently. The real military potential of the German Federal Republic cannot be assessed without taking into consideration the already existing and rapidly expanding militarized organizations that can place not only a corps of officers but also men under arms.

In 1957, twenty-four fascist groups were already operating on the territory of the Federal Republic. A particularly important part is played by such organizations as *Deutsche Gemeinschaft*, *Deutscher Block* (with its press organ, *Deutscher Aufbruch*), *Deutsche Soziale Union* and others. Under the innocent name of Mutual Benefit Societies, contingents of old cut-throats from the Waffen SS are being gathered. There are 45 such Societies already in existence under the leadership of SS Generals Steiner and Gille.

One of the tasks of the fascist organizations is the "moral education" of the new Wehrmacht in the spirit of *Mein Kampf*, Hitler's bible of obscurantism. This can be seen from the programs of the organizations. The "political program" of the *Deutscher Block* is a demand for the reunion of all "German" lands, including the western districts of Poland. The "political program" of the *Union of German Soldiers* says, in particular: "We strive for the unity of Germany in a free and united Europe. We stand for justice and liberty and include in this all Germans who are still enslaved." This is an obvious rewording of Hitler's evil-sounding slogans on a reborn and united Europe under the ægis of a "thousand-year Reich."

The program of the *Reichs-Partei* is a new edition of the program of the Nazi party. In an article published in the *Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung* under the headline *Mein Kampf Continues to Exist*, there is a report of the last congress of the party. The article speaks, in particular, of the "Goebbels character of the congress." Meinberg, the Chairman of the Party, said: "We are the organized will of the people . . . that want to live . . . and they are young enough to

rehabilitate . . . themselves, using their own resources . . ." The peoples, to use Heine's words, know that tune, know those words and know their authors.

On May 26 last, the Bonn correspondent of the *London Times* remarked that "when the temperature is at its height a foreign observer may well get the impression that if someone were suddenly to distribute rifles they would all be over the border before you could say 'United Nations'." And although the *Times* correspondent, obviously a natural optimist, does not want to exaggerate the militant spirit dominating these congresses he, nevertheless, draws the conclusion that "the constant reiteration of these demands (territorial demands in Poland and Czechoslovakia, O.D.), which, at present can only be fulfilled by war, is, perhaps, not the best contribution to peace."

In connection with Adenauer's recent visit to London *Reynold's News*, in an article headed *The Truth About Adenauer's Army* said: "The West German Army is rapidly becoming the most powerful force in Western Europe. It is now going to be armed with nuclear missile weapons—to comply with American wishes, expressed by General Norstad (my italics, O.D.) . . . The new German Army is now the strongest national contingent in NATO. When the twelve divisions are complete, it will be as strong as all the others put together . . . Moreover, the weight of the German Army will be all the greater because of its superior state of readiness . . ."

It seems that things are not turning out in accordance with promises made to lull public opinion: it is not NATO that is holding back, controlling and damping the ardor of the German militarists but, on the contrary, the latter who are, by the will of certain American circles, playing an ever more decisive part in the Atlantic pact and stimulating the policy of aggression. U.S. militarist circles that set the tone in NATO, are, furthermore, stressing the necessity of recognizing the West German Army as an independent factor in Atlantic strategy.

Kissinger, a well-known American journalist, said that Western Germany must have modern weapons in order to be able to use them in a possible "local war." It is quite clear that such concepts give the German militarists possibilities for independent aggressive action. To put it more precisely: certain imperialist circles in America are staking on the gamble of the German militarists' aggressive policy to provoke a "local

war" in Europe and start the flames of a world war for U.S. global domination.

* * *

Everybody knows Clausewitz' definition that war is a continuation of politics using other means. Lenin, citing the words of the famous German military theoretician, added "violent means." Clausewitz' definition assumes that in times of peace, or relative peace, the imperialists are already pursuing that policy, aimed at the enslavement of the peoples, whose continuation must be a world war. This line of imperialist aggression is revealed, in particular, in the intervention of the imperialists directed against peoples that have either thrown off the yoke of colonial slavery or are fighting for their liberation. An example of this policy is the military aggression of the American and British imperialists against Lebanon and Jordan.

A typical feature of imperialist aggressive policy is its hostile attitude to the constantly repeated proposals by the socialist states, especially the Soviet Union, that aim at the easing of world tension, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the halting of the arms race and the implementation of Lenin's principle of the peaceful coexistence of the peoples. This is true both of American and West German aggressive circles.

Here are a few examples. Poland, in an effort to lessen the threat of an atomic war and clear the way for the peaceful coexistence of the nations, proposed the creation of an atom-free zone in Europe that would include Poland, Czechoslovakia and the two German republics. The Polish proposal, so simple and clear-cut, met with the sympathy of public opinion and was given serious consideration by some politicians in several of the NATO countries.

It will be remembered that the Polish initiative was supported by Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and, first and foremost, by the Soviet Union; this gave it still greater international importance and raised its value as a proposal founded on the will to peace of the powerful socialist camp. Although the imperialist circles, chiefly in the U.S.A. and the German Federal Republic, rejected the Polish proposal it is still on the political agenda. In view of the nuclear armament of Western Germany one cannot but agree with the statement made by a conference of the Foreign Ministers of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Poland on April 12, that "under prevailing conditions the proposal made by the Polish

government on an atom-free zone in Central Europe acquires great significance."

It is natural that every project, irrespective of which side proposes it, should give rise to discussion, doubts, and amendments proposed by all parties concerned. Such is the case in the present instance. A number of leading politicians from the British Labor Party, the Social Democratic Parties of the Scandinavian countries and some others, took a business-like attitude to the Polish proposal. Many politicians from the West German Social Democratic Party also showed a favorable attitude towards the Rapacki Plan. There is nothing to hinder a continuation of the discussion. We are prepared to give serious answers to all possible doubts, comments and proposals that are dictated by a willingness to reach an agreement, if they are really motivated by a desire to establish an atom-free zone in Central Europe and not by a desire to bury the plan itself.

Leading circles in the German Federal Republic, however, adopted a different position. They rejected *a priori* any sort of constructive discussion around the Polish proposal, did everything to discredit it in the eyes of the people of the GFR who, in the majority of cases, were favorably disposed towards the proposal. The arguments—if empty phrases can be called arguments—being spread by the ruling circles of the GFR both inside the country and on an international scale (for example, at the July session of the West European Alliance) to justify their rejection of the Rapacki Plan amount only to this, that the plan is contrary to the security requirements of the West, especially of the GFR. In other words, the relaxation of tension in Europe and the first step towards nuclear disarmament is alleged to be contrary to the interests of the GFR. It must be obvious that the interests of the population are being equated to the interests of predatory monopolist and militarist circles who preach the "position of strength" policy. The Rapacki Plan, translated into everyday language, means, on the one hand, that nuclear weapons will not be produced or stored on the territory covered by the plan and, on the other hand—and this is something Dr. Adenauer and his helpers prefer not to tell the people—it provides for an undertaking by the powers that under no circumstances will the countries in the atom-free zone be the object of an attack employing nuclear weapons. U.S.S.R. spokesmen have announced the readiness of their government to enter into such an

understanding jointly with the other powers concerned.

Can there be one honest German who has the fate of his country and his people at heart who would not admit that the prospect offered by the Rapacki Plan and supported by the great socialist state and the whole socialist camp, is really in accordance with the vital interests of the German people? The extensive popular campaign in the GFR with its slogan of "struggle against atomic death" is ample proof that the general public are fully aware of their own interests.

The contention of GFR ruling circles that the Polish plan does not allow for the organization of effective control in the atom-free zone is without foundation. The Polish aide-memoire of February 14, 1958, speaks clearly and concretely of the elements of a system of control in the form of, for example, land and air inspection, the way being left open for the establishment of such a control on the basis of an agreement between all powers concerned. Equally unfounded and fantastic is the contention that the creation of an atom-free zone would ensure superiority in conventional weapons for the camp of socialism and peace. On many occasions leading politicians in the socialist countries have given proof of the fact that the acceptance of the Rapacki Plan would, on the contrary, facilitate agreement on a corresponding curtailment of conventional armaments and the gradual withdrawal of foreign troops from the atom-free zone until such time as evacuation has been made complete on the basis of an all-round agreement. How often concrete measures with this aim in view have been proposed and how often have they been deliberately rejected by aggressive circles in the U.S.A. and the GFR!

There is much that is false and hypocritical in the argument that the plan is directed against the reunion of Germany. Insofar as the reunion of Germany can be a matter solely for the Germans themselves, which alone is in accordance with the principle of respect for the sovereign will of the German people, is it not clear that the inclusion of the two German states in the atom-free zone, the reduced danger of atom warfare and the ensuing relaxation of tension in Europe can only favor an agreement between the GFR and the GDR that will lead to reunion?

The people who maintain that the creation of an atom-free zone complicates the reunion of Germany are involuntarily admitting to the whole world that they intend to effect the reunion by the use of provocation, force

and conquest. The ruling circles of Western Germany who in this, as in other questions, are acting in agreement with the more aggressive circles of American imperialism, understand the reunion of Germany as the absorption of the German Democratic Republic, as union under the sceptre of German militarism and the inclusion of Germany as a whole in the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organization. There is scarcely any need to explain that the Polish people who live in fraternal friendship with the German Democratic Republic and the entire socialist camp will do everything to oppose any attempt to shift the atomic might of the revanchists to the Polish frontiers. It must be remembered that "union," comprehended in this way, was put forward by the ruling circles of Western Germany jointly with aggressive U.S. circles as one of the points in the agenda for the proposed meeting of heads of government.

Imperialist aggression in the Middle East has brought to the forefront the question of organizing the meeting of heads of government proposed by N. S. Khrushchov for the purpose of studying the tense situation now existing in the world as a result of the aggression that threatens to let loose a world war.

The nations of the world place great hopes in the proposed summit discussion—as the Soviet Union has been long and persistently demanding—of this and other problems that are important to the cause of peace and the solution of which has become absolutely essential in the interests of all concerned.

The proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries made at the Moscow Conference in May of this year were in a spirit of concord. They again proposed to stop the nuclear tests, ban atomic weapons, create an atom-free zone in Central Europe and—this is particularly important to prevent a threat of war—conclude a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Pact countries and the NATO countries.

The Warsaw Pact countries, People's Poland amongst them, believe that the inclusion in the agenda of a conference of heads of government, of questions that affect the sovereignty and independence of other nations, or are obviously calculated to weaken one of the sides cannot be regarded as the correct way to reach agreement. This is exactly what distinguishes the Adenauer-American proposal to examine the question of the "reunion" of Germany under the flag of nuclear armament and under the orders of the aggressive Atlantic bloc. To this category belongs also the demand that the social system of the People's Democ-

racies should be a subject for discussion by the heads of government. The demand made by the imperialists that there be a discussion on the social structure of the People's Democracies is clear interference in the internal affairs of free and independent peoples. This is accompanied by a campaign for their "liberation," which is the "ideological" mask for a policy of aggression.

At a time when the nations are to an ever greater degree approving and supporting the peace policy and proposals of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, aggressive American and West German circles are unfolding a savage campaign against the Land of the Soviets and the other socialist countries, especially the Hungarian People's Republic in connection with the condemnation of Imre Nagy. Aggressive circles hope to drown the peoples' will to agreement in their hysteria of hate and so mask their policy of interference in other people's affairs. They have not got over the inglorious defeat of the Hungarian counter-revolution that set itself the objective of overthrowing the power of the people and establishing, with the participation of the American and West German imperialists, a new centre of aggression and war in Europe. Those guilty of aggression against Egypt, of intervention in Indonesia, of the war in Algeria and of the invasion of the Lebanon and Jordan are again showing the world that intervention in the internal affairs of independent countries is a principle with them and is part and parcel of their arsenal of aggressive methods.

It goes without saying that there is not the slightest doubt that the gentlemen from across the ocean who, for no reason at all, demand a "discussion" on the social system of the People's Democracies—and the main role in the "discussion" and in the "liberation" of the peoples of those countries is allotted to the German militarists and revanchists—will eventually become convinced that the road to the restoration of capitalism is closed once and for all. They will become convinced that no power in the world can turn the wheel of history backwards and that the solid alliance and fraternal friendship of the peoples building socialism with the first socialist state, the U.S.S.R., are built on a foundation of granite since they are in accordance with the social and national interests of the peoples liberated from the oppression of capitalism and imperialism.

Who does not know that the Warsaw Pact came into being as a necessary measure of defence against the aggressive plans that

threatened the security of the socialist countries? As long as the aggressors do not abandon their intentions, the strengthening of the Warsaw Treaty is a necessary condition for the security of its participants.

The unity of the camp of socialism and the unity of all Communist parties is the chief weapon in the struggle against reaction and for the victory of socialism, for peace and the independence of the peoples. The struggle against all attempts to undermine that unity is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. Our party,* like all other fraternal parties, mainly on the basis of these considerations, has subjected the revisionist mistakes of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the draft program of the League and the anti-Leninist theses it contains to severe, principled criticism.

* * *

The forces that with a persistence worthy of a better cause reject all measures proposed for the regulation of urgent world problems by peaceful means are meeting with a growing rebuff from the peoples, who are anxious for peaceful coexistence. In Germany itself there is a rapidly growing movement against the ruinous policy of remilitarization. Germany today differs in principle from pre-Hitler Germany. The German Democratic Republic is becoming a great ideological and material force for peace and socialism. It would be difficult to overestimate the historic significance of this first peace-loving state in the history of Germany. The establishment of the GDR opened up a new era in the relations between the German and Polish peoples, an era of friendly co-operation and joint advance towards socialism which facilitates a development in the direction of socialism throughout Germany and Europe.

Hope and belief in the victory of this just cause are strengthened by the fact that the forces of peace are meeting with growing support amongst wide sections of the people in Western Germany. The protest of German scientists against the nuclear armament of the GFR is not only evidence of maturity but also of their courage in defending to the best of their ability the interests of the German people as they understand them. This is convincing evidence of the shift that has taken place in the minds of the people of the GFR and of the fact that the bloody experiences of two world wars have not been in vain.

The position adopted by the workers in

*The Polish United Workers' Party.

Western Germany is having a growing influence on the course of events. The demand for a referendum against atomic death is sweeping across the Federal Republic in a mighty wave. A considerable part of the German youth is in favor of peaceful development. The forces of peace throughout the world, amongst them those of the Polish people, express their readiness to support the peace efforts of the German people who must take a respected place in the family of free and independent nations.

Poland, bound by ties of friendship and brotherhood to the GDR, wishes to establish normal, peaceful relations with the Federal Republic in accordance with the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states irrespective

of their social systems. We believe that the normalization of relations can only be to the benefit of both countries and of peace in Europe. But the policy of nuclear rearmament and the revanchist campaign do not help in the establishment of such relations.

The Polish people desire the reunification of Germany on a basis of democracy and peace. We believe that the reunion of Germany can only be a matter for the Germans themselves, to create a confederation of the two German states as the first step towards reunion.

Judging by many symptoms the entire German people, the people of Goethe and Marx, will choose the path of peace and progress.

Exchange of Opinions

"Economic Crisis and the Working Class"

The editors of *WORLD MARXIST REVIEW*, taking advantage of the presence in Prague for the XI Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of delegations from the Communist and Workers' parties of a number of countries, invited members of the delegations to take part in a discussion which they organized on the theme of "Economic Crisis and the Working Class." Many comrades accepted the invitation and participated in the discussion which took place on June 23.

In addition to the members of the Editorial Board, the discussion was attended by the following comrades: Lawrence Aarons (Australian Communist Party); Pedro Tadioli and Paulino Gonzales Alberdi (Argentine Communist Party); Ernest Burnelle and Raymond De Smet (Belgian Communist Party); James Klugmann (British Communist Party); Jesus Faria (Communist Party of Venezuela); Heinrich Bergmann (German Communist Party); Apostolos Grozos (Greek Communist Party); Alfred Jensen (Danish Communist Party); Meir Wilner (Israeli Communist Party); Basu Yoti (Indian Communist Party); D. N. Aidit, Rewang and Surodi Bintang (Indonesian Communist Party); T. Mohammed (Iraqi Communist Party); Velio Spano and Bruzio Manzocchi (Italian Communist Party); Leslie Morris and William Kashtan (Labor-Progressive Party of Canada); Paul de Groot and Marcus Bakker (Netherlands Communist Party); Ivar Li

and Villi Amundsen (Norwegian Communist Party); Haled Baghdash (Communist Party of Syria and the Lebanon); Jose Luis Massera (Uruguayan Communist Party); Inkeri Lehtinen (Finnish Communist Party); Francois Billoux (French Communist Party); Pieter Keuneman (Ceylonese Communist Party) as well as comrades from Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Iran, Jordan and other countries. The meeting was also attended by the economists Professor J. Schmidt (Institute of Economics of the German Democratic Republic), A. A. Arzumanyan (Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.) and V. V. Lyubimova, D.Sc. (Econ.) of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

The editors express their sincere gratitude to all comrades who took part in the exchange of opinions.

We here publish in abbreviated form the contributions to the discussion.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

A. M. Rumyantsev

The discussion was opened by Professor A. M. Rumyantsev on behalf of the Editorial Board.

The editors of our international journal, *World Marxist Review: Problems of Peace and Socialism*,

he emphasized, consider it necessary during the course of their work to exchange opinions with comrades from the Communist and Workers' parties on the vital theoretical and political questions of contemporary society which will be examined in the journal.

We are confident that members of the international communist and labor movement and other readers will be greatly interested in the observations of those taking part in this discussion of the contemporary economic situation in the capitalist countries and of the problems with which it confronts the labor movement.

The Declaration adopted last November at the Meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries emphasized that: "the world capitalist economy remains shaky and unstable . . . The capitalist economy is bound to encounter new deep slumps and crises." Subsequent events have demonstrated the correctness of this and also of other conclusions drawn at the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Since the end of last year the barometer of the capitalist economy has fallen. The leading country of present-day capitalism — the United States of America — is undergoing a periodic crisis of overproduction. The U.S. crisis has also told on the economies of other capitalist countries. The facts show that, despite the hopes and feigned optimism voiced by leaders of the capitalist world, the current crisis phenomena have by no means run their full course, and their consequences will for a long time continue to affect the world economy and international relations in various ways.

The instability and sporadic nature of the development of the capitalist economy affects the position of the working class. Recent months have seen a substantial increase in unemployment and the reduction of real wages and workers' living standards in the U.S.A., Canada, Japan, Britain, Australia, Latin America and a number of other capitalist countries.

A. M. Rumyantsev went on to consider some questions regarding the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the theory of absolute and relative impoverishment of the working class. This theory, he said, has always been the target for sharp attacks by revisionists and social-reformists, because it lays bare the most blatant defects and ills of capitalism. These attacks have become particularly strong in recent years, during the period of a temporary upswing in the capitalist economy.

What are the main lines taken by these attacks? Above all, that of distorting and vulgarizing the real nature of the theory. The revisionists attempt to ascribe to Marxist-Leninists the assertion that at all phases of the cycle, monthly and daily, the workers' standard of living deteriorates, they

dress less well, eat less well, etc. But the absolute impoverishment of the proletariat manifests itself in that, with the development of capitalism, the gap between the living standards of the working class and real wages, on the one hand, and the cost of labor power, the needs of the workers, which increase along with those of society as a whole, and the changing working conditions, on the other, widens. This occurs during all phases of the capitalist cycle, even during a temporary upswing. It is necessary, furthermore, to take into account the condition of the working class as a whole, and not merely that of the employed. Nor can we judge the condition of the proletariat solely by living standards in the highly developed capitalist countries without taking into account the positions of the workers in the underdeveloped countries.

The gap between the living standards of the proletariat and its needs becomes particularly wide and its standard of living falls most of all when the phase of cyclic upswing gives place to one of crisis or depression. For example, during the present period of developing crisis in the United States and of deterioration in the economic situation in a number of other capitalist countries there is a clear deepening and sharpening of the process of the absolute and relative impoverishment of the proletariat.

The growth of economic and social difficulties in the capitalist world is also exposing the myth of "social peace" and "class collaboration" between labor and capital. We may recall the great efforts made during recent years by the monopolists and their reformist hangers-on to blunt the militancy and class consciousness of the workers and undermine the unity in action and solidarity of different sections of the working class with the aid of "paternalism," "social partnership," "human relations," etc. How much effort was exerted to convince the workers that "Universal Welfare States" had been created in the developed capitalist countries! Today the widest sections of the workers see how false and untenable are these assurances. Today it is no secret that the capitalists want to take advantage of the current drop in industrial output to launch heavy attacks upon the working class and its achievements and to undermine the organized labor movement.

It is also necessary to bear in mind that the aggravation of capitalism's social and economic contradictions is compelling the rulers of the imperialist powers to undertake every kind of political adventure and again increasing the threat of reaction and fascism. *Monopoly capital is trying to find a way out of the sharpening contradictions of imperialism and crisis phenomena by increased war preparations and the organization of military adventures by stepping up the struggle against the*

national-liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples and by the suppression of democratic freedoms. This is demonstrated by recent international events such as the imperialists' intervention in the internal affairs of the Lebanon and other Middle Eastern countries and also of Indonesia, the reactionary *putsches* in Algeria and Corsica, the moves towards the establishment of one-man dictatorship in France and the renewed activity of chauvinist and fascist elements in a number of imperialist countries, where reactionary rulers have in recent months clearly stepped up their effort to fan nationalistic feelings among the petty bourgeoisie and a certain section of the working people.

The working class is countering the attacks of reaction by increasing its unity and stepping up the struggle for peace and its economic and social demands. The growth of the national-liberation movement and the break-up of the colonial system of imperialism is a characteristic feature of the day. The peoples of the underdeveloped and colonial countries are stepping up their fight for political and economic independence.

The labor movement in the capitalist countries is on the eve of important new political and economic battles. The united struggle of the workers and the strengthening of unity in action between the different sections of the proletariat are of particular importance in the present situation.

Events now taking place, said A. M. Rumyantsev, reaffirm the tremendous impact on world events of the existence of the mighty socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and People's China. The competition between the two social systems is increasingly developing to the advantage of the world socialist system. The objective course of the historical process is strengthening the forces of socialism.

Diametrically opposite trends are operating in each of the two systems: in the world of capitalism we see economic, social and political upheaval; in the socialist world we see rapid advance and all-round economic, social and political progress. The very existence and successful development of the world socialist system is an important aid to the working class of the capitalist countries in its fight for economic and political rights. The increasing successes of the socialist countries, whose economies know neither crisis nor unemployment, demonstrate socialism's indubitable superiority over capitalism. Socialism has ensured such a rapid rate of development of the forces of production and such a steady improvement in the workers' material and cultural standards as are unattainable in the capitalist world.

A further growth in the appeal of socialist ideas among the mass of the people is historically inevitable. This creates new opportunities for extending

the influence of the Communist and Workers' parties among the workers.

Allow me, said A. M. Rumyantsev in conclusion, to express the hope that the present exchange of opinions will mark the beginning of the extensive and interesting discussion which must develop in the pages of our international journal in connection with vital problems of interest to Marxists in many countries.

SOME REMARKS ON CRISIS IN NORTH AMERICA

Leslie Morris

REGARDLESS of whether the present economic crisis in the United States and Canada is a basic cyclical crisis, or an interim crisis, which is now being debated by economists, or just when the present cycle commenced—the realities for our Party work are, that since the latter part of 1957 sufficient adverse economic developments have occurred to alarm the bourgeoisie and to begin (but only to begin) to dispel the illusions which the postwar boom created among the masses.

The strength of these illusions is deep-going, however. The generation which grew to maturity in the thirteen years since the end of World War II has no memory of the hungry thirties. Half of our present working class in the United States and Canada have lived their adult lives in the period of "boom", in which the workers, by their struggle, won a number of economic concessions from the capitalists. It is these illusions which practical experience of the economic crisis, plus our Party agitation, will now begin to dispel.

The process of economic deterioration, Comrade Morris went on to say, is as yet quite uneven in different countries and in different branches of industry. State-monopoly capitalism will strive, even if ineffectively, to delay the onset of the full-scale crisis.

But in the end the burden of the crisis will be thrust upon the working people.

The present economic crisis commenced in the United States and is felt most keenly in Canada, whose economy has been closely integrated with the United States' economy.

But the crisis arises in Canada, and perhaps in other countries, not only because of the United States' crisis, but out of the operation of the laws of economic development within the country itself. This is important, otherwise the impression could be given that economic crisis is purely a United States phenomenon.

Declining production in basic industry, rising unemployment, a deep and long-standing market crisis in agriculture, a fall in capitalist investment, very high taxation and a steady rise in prices—

these factors are making for sharper class struggles.

However, on the basis of these difficulties, it would be wrong to predict a mechanical, overnight radicalization of the working class, which will propel it into politics. Despite a high degree of trade union organization, in the basic industries particularly, neither the United States nor the Canadian working class has yet produced a mass political party based upon the trade unions. In other words, that independent labor political action which Engels spoke about in the 1880's is still to be achieved in the United States and Canada. They are the only capitalist countries without a strong political labor movement. The united front against the crisis and for political action is our most important mass work.

The present economic crisis is undoubtedly maturing. The summer produced some levelling of unemployment but not the liquidation of unemployment. The hopes for seasonal improvements are no longer adequate to reduce unemployment to the two to three per cent level which bourgeois economists think is "normal". The level has remained at seven to eight per cent of the working force in the United States and at the higher level in Canada of about 12 per cent. To this must be added the large numbers of workers who work short time. In the past winter the level of unemployment (including those working short time) reached almost a million — about twenty per cent of the working force in Canada. This was higher than in the United States.

The overproduction crisis in steel, automobiles, rubber, electrical equipment in the U.S.A. and Canada means that the best organized and most militant sections of the working class will be hit the hardest. *The workers in the basic industries, the decisive sections of the working class, will be hit most hard.*

Comrade Morris then described the steps taken by the bourgeoisie to meet the crisis in the face of sharpening class struggle. A number of new features of state monopoly regulation have to be taken into account—in monetary policy, through big public works, in unemployment insurance payments (which did not exist in the 1929-33 crisis), in taxation policies and in the extension of social services, which in the U.S.A. and in Canada are very backward. For instance, there is no health insurance in Canada, and only now is the state beginning to recognize the responsibility for hospitals.

In Canada the bourgeoisie is a junior partner of the U.S. bourgeoisie. The Canadian Government has followed the deliberate policy of tying the economy to the U.S.A.

But at the same time growing economic diffi-

culties aggravated the contradictions between the Canadian and the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Canada is now faced with the task of fighting for national independence. Raising an independence slogan in a highly developed capitalist country produces some interesting tactical problems.

The most effective influence now at work, which will have a bearing on the masses in the course of the economic crisis, is the new broad socialist market. It is a source of hope to the workers and farmers of North America who see in trade with the socialist countries a way to keep their jobs and avoid mass unemployment.

This is not lost upon the bourgeoisie. A group of big Canadian capitalists recently visited the Soviet Union and spoke with N. S. Krushchov. They came back and reported very positively on the possibilities of trade.

In our Party we are sure that *the economic crisis will bring to a much higher level the popular movement against United States imperialism.*

CRISIS FACTORS ARE RIPE NOT ONLY IN THE USA

Johann Lorenz Schmidt

THE present economic situation in the capitalist world is highlighted by the fact that following the two post-war crises of 1948-49 and 1953-54, which did not essentially reach beyond the United States, a grave world economic crisis is taking shape.

The beginning of this new crisis differs greatly from the beginning of the 1929-33 crisis. In the latter case the crisis phenomena in the major capitalist countries matured at about the same time. Today there is evidence of *far greater disparities in the development of the crisis.* In the United States it began in the autumn of 1957 and is still developing. Many branches of industry are working a mere 40 to 50 per cent of capacity. Full or partial unemployment involves nearly 10 million people. In the other capitalist countries phenomena have come to light that may well be qualified as *the first signs of an approaching crisis.*

I should here like to list just the most important ones:

1. the rate of growth in most of the industries has slowed down appreciably, or there is mounting stagnation, or yet, in some branches, an actual slump in production;
2. industry is operating more and more below capacity;
3. capital investment is stagnating or dropping;
4. the volume of new orders has shrunk;
5. unemployment is spreading, and this spring the seasonal decrease of unemployment was far less marked than last year.

In France and Italy, where industrial production was still on the upgrade earlier this year, the signs of an approaching crisis appeared in April.

The fact that the present crisis is taking effect in most capitalist countries far more slowly than that of 1929 is being exploited by bourgeois apologists as evidence that this time a world economic crisis will not set in. But we, Marxist-Leninists, know that every cyclic crisis of overproduction has its historically shaped features and unfolds differently in different countries.

I should like to say what I think about the *influence of the crisis in the United States on the other countries of the capitalist camp*. I raise this question because some comrades think that an economic crisis in the West European capitalist countries is only possible under the impact of the crisis in the United States.

The chief contradiction of capitalism and the other contradictions consequent upon it, which inevitably lead to periodic crises of overproduction, prevail not only in the United States but also in other capitalist countries. Furthermore, U.S. *penetrated States, but also in the other capitalist countries that the preconditions of a crisis have matured today*. If the present crisis in the U.S.A. is developing into an extensive and profound world economic crisis, this should not be attributed chiefly to the "spreading" of the American crisis to Europe, but to the fact that in the European capitalist countries the post-war cycle is approaching its end.

This does not signify by any means, however, that the U.S. crisis has no bearing on the economy of the other capitalist countries. The United States is the mightiest power in the capitalist camp. Although its share in the industrial output of the capitalist countries has shrunk somewhat in the last few years (from 56.4 per cent in 1948 to 50.5 per cent in 1956), it is still the principal capitalist export-import power. Export of capital from the U.S.A. is considerably greater than from all the other capitalist countries. Furthermore, U.S. penetration into other capitalist countries under guise of military "aid" is accentuating their dependence on American imperialism. For all these reasons the U.S. crisis is bound to have a considerable influence on the economies of other states.

It has the following effect on the economies of the European capitalist countries:

Firstly, *American imports of industrial commodities are shrinking considerably*.

As the difficulties related to the sale of the home production of the American monopolies increase, imports to the United States from the other capitalist countries decrease. To eliminate competition in the domestic market, the U.S. monopolies seek to restrict imports by government measures, such as raising customs tariffs, etc. This greatly reduces the export possibilities of the other capitalist coun-

tries. It may be recalled that during the 1929-33 world economic crisis U.S. imports shrank by 70.8 per cent.

Secondly, *American imports of raw materials are greatly reduced*.

First of all this reduces the export possibilities of the underdeveloped countries exporting raw materials. That, in its turn, reduces the export possibilities of the highly developed capitalist countries of Europe, because the "raw material countries" are compelled to curtail their imports of industrial commodities from the capitalist countries. The drastic cut in raw-material purchases, particularly by the U.S.A., even prior to the present crisis, has greatly accentuated the downward trend of raw-material prices which were on the downgrade also earlier due to under-capacity operation in the "raw material countries." Thus, lead, copper, rubber, and wool prices dropped respectively by 37, 35, 20 and 18 per cent between early 1957 and early 1958. The substantial reduction in export revenue, which this led to in many underdeveloped countries, is aggravating the existing downward trend in the exports of the highly-developed capitalist countries.

Thirdly, *U.S. exports are being pushed*. To make up for sales difficulties in the domestic market the U.S. monopolies are stepping up their export offensive in the world capitalist market. True, the British, West-German, French and Japanese monopolies, and those of the other capitalist countries, are also trying to push their exports. But they can hardly compete with U.S. monopoly capital.

Fourthly, *the influx of dollars to Western Europe is shrinking*. It was part and parcel of the various forms of so-called military "aid," of U.S. war orders abroad, and of the maintenance costs of U.S. armed forces in Europe, etc. This dollar influx was an important factor in the export expansion of the West-German monopolies. It gave Britain and France, and other countries, a chance to make their compensation settlements in dollars and gold. These settlements had to be made within the framework of the European Payments Union in view of the marked predominance of West-German exports over the exports of these countries. Thus, the effects of the U.S. crisis on Western Europe will, to a large extent, have an unfavorable impact on Western Germany by curtailing her exports to the countries in the European Payments Union.

Yet it should again be stressed that in itself the crisis in the U.S.A. cannot call forth a cyclic crisis in Europe. The crisis in the capitalist countries will only be possible because its internal factors have matured.

In conclusion Prof. Schmidt dealt with the current economic situation in Western Germany and pointed out that a cyclic crisis of overproduction is advancing relentlessly upon that country.

THE ITALIAN ECONOMY AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Bruzio Manzocchi

IT SHOULD be borne in mind when analyzing the effects which the economic crisis in the United States is having on Italy that in some spheres of the Italian economy there are signs of a crisis induced by the action of internal factors bound up with its distinctive structure. It is also bound up with the economic policy pursued in recent years by the Italian monopolies and the government which represents their interests.

Comrade Manzocchi noted that for over a year people in Italy had been talking about an obvious "power crisis". Even before the business slump broke out in the United States an economic slowdown obtained in Italy also in such spheres as agricultural and housing investment. This led to a slump in agriculture and the agricultural machinery and building materials industries.

In other words, the U.S. crisis is affecting Italy in such internal spheres as faced unfavorable prospects even before it broke out. The situation in Italy has been aggravated even more by the economic crisis in the United States and by the deterioration of the international capitalist market. From April 1957 to April 1958 the overall industrial production index shrank by 0.6 per cent. This is the first reduction observed in many years. The slump in many branches of industry was greater. The textile industry, for example, was down 6.8 per cent over the same period, and mining of metal and non-metal ores was down 5 per cent. In the iron-and-steel industry the cut was 5.2 per cent, and 1.5 per cent in the building materials industry, while the production of means of production for industry and agriculture was down 6.8 per cent.

The deterioration in the international capitalist market is also affecting Italian foreign trade.

The tendency for imports to shrink came to light in the summer of 1957. In the first three months of 1958 imports were 13.3 per cent below the figure for the same period of the year before. The change in the international economic situation is also affecting exports, although to a lesser degree, somewhat belatedly, and within limits. In March 1958, exports were on the downgrade for the first time in many years. Their value was 4.6 per cent lower than in March 1957. Imports from the "Common market" countries dropped in the first three months of 1958 (as against the first three months of 1957) by 15.3 per cent. This takes in a reduction of imports from France of 30.9 per cent and from Western Germany of 12.5 per cent. Imports from the United States dropped 16.1 per cent.

The state of production and foreign trade is affecting Italian finance.

The economic and political powers ruling Italy, Comrade Manzocchi stressed, are intent on shifting the burden of the existing situation on to the working masses now and in the future.

Right after the general elections of May 25, 1958, the organizations of manufacturers started a campaign to freeze wages and shut down industrial establishments.

The level of unemployment and agrarian overpopulation in Italy did not change in the last ten years. At the close of February 1958 the registered number of unemployed was 2,134,244. But if unemployment has not increased in the past decade, this is due solely to mounting emigration. In the postwar period two million people migrated from Italy.

With the international economic situation what it is today, the possibilities of emigrating from Italy are shrinking. There are many cases on record when workers who left Italy in recent years have returned home.

This mass of fully or partially unemployed explains why the general level of wages in Italy is very low compared with that in the rest of Western Europe. According to the International Labor Office the hourly wage in the Italian manufacturing industry is barely 37 per cent of that prevailing in Sweden, 55 per cent of that in Britain, 65 per cent of that in France and 70 per cent of that in Western Germany.

Comrade Manzocchi cited figures to illustrate the difference in wages paid in the various branches of Italian industry, single enterprises, and in the various regions.

If the average wage for all the branches of Italian industry is taken as 100, that in the wood-working and similar industries is 73.3, that in the food industry 82.5, the textile industry 95.4, the chemical industry 110.5, engineering 111.5, and the electric power industry 159.3.

There are also wage differences in the country's various regions. If the average for all regions is taken as 100, the wage in Calabria is 69.7, and in Liguria 124.8. How to explain this striking difference? The lowest wages obtain where full and partial unemployment is greatest (for example, a worker employed in the electric power industry in Calabria receives less than a worker in the Ligurian food industry). Furthermore, it is also explained by the fact that industries with the lowest wage level, such as the food industry, are predominantly located in the south of Italy.

But there are appreciable differences also in regions where the average wage is much higher than the countryside average. An investigation in Turin, the results of which were published in the journal *Politica ed Economia*, revealed that there were at least four wage groups in that province, where one would expect workers to enjoy the best conditions. This strong wage differ-

entiation is largely due to the wage policy of the major monopoly enterprises, which lay stress on a combination of paternalism and a savage intensification of labor.

Examining wages as a whole, irrespective of the differentiation, it should be noted that *in the last two years there has been a relative deterioration in the economic condition of the working people*. Just as in the other capitalist countries, the economic deterioration in Italy has not caused any drop in the prices of consumer goods; on the contrary, they are continuously rising. In 1957 the cost of living was up 13 per cent over 1953. In the last twelve months prices have continued to climb.

From April 1957 to April 1958 the cost of living rose 6.3 per cent. In the meantime, the real wage in industry shrank by 0.8 per cent, and by 3.1 per cent in agriculture. The substantial intensification of labor in recent years should also be taken into account. The productivity of labor in Italy's industry rose 43 per cent between 1951 and 1957.

It is the tremendous number of fully or partly unemployed that is behind the striking contrasts in the economic condition of the working people. This is also mirrored in the political sphere. At plants and factories the fundamental rights of the working people are violated, and laws and labor-management contracts are not observed both in relation to wages and to all the freedoms of the working people. A section of industrialists takes advantage of this to pursue a policy of paternalism, which is attended by stepped up economic exploitation. Furthermore, it makes possible the ideological influence of revisionism.

With the heavy pressure exerted by the monopolies and big landowners on all social strata, comrade Manzocchi continued, the struggle of the working class mostly takes a political course, even when conducted on a purely trade-union level.

Strikes are the principal weapon of the Italian working class. Their scale and size have increased greatly in the past year. In 1956, strikes totalling 1,904 involved 1,700,000 people (33,100,000 lost hours). The following year there were 1,849 strikes and 2,100,000 strikers (35,900,000 lost hours). This year the strike movement embraces all sections of the working people. It should be noted that alongside strikes in the villages, there were strikes for shorter hours in the iron-and-steel industry, and in the chemical, housing, and cement industries, and in mining; there were strikes of railwaymen, postal workers and workers of the textile, paper, food and other industries. The strikers demanded higher wages and new and better labor-management contracts. Strikes and unrest also spread to

civil servants, particularly state-employed school-teachers.

The strike movement developed in various forms, tempering the unity of the working people. The struggle began by the trade unions formulating the principal demands and discussing them publicly with the masses. It was in just this initial stage of agitation and sounding of opinion that the foundation was laid from the bottom up for united action. This united stand influenced the attitude of the leadership of the Catholic and Social-Democratic trade unions, compelling them to unity at the summit. It should be noted that the process was more effective in the Catholic unions, rather than the Social-Democratic ones (which have less influence), whose leadership has less contact with the masses. The struggle took the form of "warning" strikes with brief work stoppages on a regional scale. Starting at some enterprise, the struggle developed in the long run into strikes that involved entire branches of industry. They lasted several days, until the demands of the working people were met. In agriculture, the strikes were sometimes long-drawn. The recent strikes of agricultural workers at the rice plantations, and of farm laborers and agricultural workers in Ferrara Province may serve as an example.

The strikes were particularly bitter wherever the industrialists retaliated with mass lockouts and shutdowns. There were frequent "stay-in strikes," when workers refused to leave their shops to prevent contemplated lay-offs or shutdowns.

Whenever founded on clear-cut demands, workers' unity is almost always achieved. The movement develops rapidly also outside the factories, outgrowing trade-union proportions and turning into a political struggle, with broad masses of the working people taking up the fight, and workers setting up committees for the defense of factories, etc. The purpose of the committees is to exert political pressure on the industrialists and the government, to prevent them from laying off workers and shutting down factories. Even when the economic objectives are not always fully won, these forms of struggle are politically important because they expose the true policy of the industrialists and the government, and because they advance proposals to change this policy.

These mass manifestations are tied up directly with parliamentary activities, since the proposals made by the workers are taken by them to parliament for discussion. With the purpose of swaying deputies of various political creeds numerous delegations of working people visit Parliament and submit their proposals and demands.

A highly varied movement centered around labor

problems has matured in recent years among the Italian intellectuals and certain sections of the non-monopolist bourgeoisie. At the initiative of an influential organization devoted to studying labor problems (the Milan Humanitarian Society, headed by representatives of the non-Marxist intellectuals) conferences were convened to discuss the conditions of industrial workers, equal pay for male and female labor, etc. A group of Turin intellectuals convened similar conferences to probe the situation at the Fiat plants and to discuss the problem of the rights and freedoms of working people at enterprises. Recently the non-Marxist cultural journal *Nuovi Argomenti* published the findings of an investigation held at the Fiat plants, which caused a considerable stir. A group headed by Danilo Dolci, the Catholic writer, held a conference on unemployment in Palermo, etc. Gatherings of this kind contribute greatly to the trade-union struggle by creating a favorable atmosphere for it.

There was also the initiative to hold a parliamentary investigation of conditions at enterprises. The investigation, which took place in 1956-1957, was made by a commission appointed by the two chambers. Very soon it will publish the results of this probe. This will serve to promote similar popular and parliamentary action in the future.

The Italian Communist Party stimulates and guides activities of this kind. Following the 8th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, two sessions held early in 1957 at the initiative of the Central Committee discussed problems related to the situation in industrial and agricultural regions.

Among the many undertakings of the Communist Party in this sphere, the conference of Communists employed at large plants and factories, held in Milan in October 1957, was of special importance. It publicly discussed Party activities in the working class, and studied the prospects of united political struggle for better workers' living conditions and the rights of workers at factories. It also defined the duties of Communists in the general and parliamentary struggle.

The political and economic objectives formulated by the Communist Party in the sphere of labor-management relations may be summed up as follows:

a) to reinforce the organized power of the working people and prepare the ground for workers' control. In this connection, the Communists demand that legislation provide for compulsory and general observance of labor-management contracts; the workers to be entitled to conclude contracts for all types of work, including piece work; the enterprises to have specified lists of personnel and specified rates of work, etc. Furthermore,

there is the demand for legal recognition of the intramural commissions, etc.;

b) legal provisions are demanded to protect the worker from being discharged without a clearly specified and valid reason;

c) to enforce discipline and order at the labor exchanges, by putting the matter into the hands of working people's organizations;

d) to raise all forms of wages by fixing an average minimum national wage; equal pay for equal male and female labor;

e) to reduce the working day without reducing wages.

The Communists are working for these objectives.

Comrade Manzocchi went on to speak about the greater unity of working class action taking shape both at mass level and—though with difficulty and vacillation—at leadership level as well in the three principal Italian trade-union organizations—the General Italian Confederation of Labor, the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions and the Italian Labor Union.**

This unity was recently demonstrated in the Lancia automobile plant strikes in Turin. Tools were downed there by almost all the workers within a brief period. The strikers fought for a 10 per cent wage increase and—which is noteworthy—single-heartedly turned down the management's offer of an 8,000 lire bonus to every worker in place of the pay increase.

The outcome of the elections to the intramural commissions is of interest.

In the elections held last year at 3,552 large and small enterprises the Italian Confederation of Labor polled 537,234 ballots of the possible 1,002,379, the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions polled 339,241, and the Italian Labor Union 78,204, with 47,700 votes cast for other nominations. Thus the Italian General Confederation of Labor won 53.6 per cent of the votes, the Catholic trade unions 33.8 per cent and the Social Democratic trade unions 7.7 per cent.

From January to April of this year (just as

*Intramural commissions are united bodies annually elected by the working people at enterprises to safeguard their rights. Although they exist in fact, they have not to this day been legally recognized.

**The principal trade-union organizations in Italy are the *General Italian Confederation of Labor*, which is a union of working people under the influence of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Independents; the *Italian Confederation of Working People's Trade Unions*, which is a union of Catholic working people; and the *Italian Labor Union*, which is a union of social-democratic workers.

**Nuovi Argomenti*, No. 31-32, March-April 1958.

the year before) elections were held at 541 enterprises. The General Confederation of Labor polled 1.9 per cent more votes, while all the other trade unions together lost them.

The outcome of the elections at some of the major plants is noteworthy. Far from dropping, the number of ballots polled by the General Confederation of Labor at the Fiat plant in Turin rose somewhat for the first time since 1955. The success scored at two other Fiat plants is particularly significant: at the O.M. Engineering Works in Milan and Brescia the Confederation of Labor again won a majority. At many other plants it won an absolute majority in 1958. The latter include the Breda in Milan, Falk in Vobarco (Brescia), Montecatini-Azoto in Novarra, Lancia in Turin, and Westinghouse in Turin.

All in all, the General Confederation of Labor polled more votes this year than the year before at 106 enterprises (of more than 500 workers each), lost ground at 38, and broke even at six.

The developments of recent years are convincing the masses that the stand of the Italian Communist Party is a correct one, both in the past and in the present. This applies to the political aspect of the struggle just as much as to the ideological aspect, and in particular to the struggle against revisionist and reformist tendencies nurtured in certain sections of the working class.

STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS OF WEST GERMANY

Heinrich Bergmann

IN THE Federal Republic of Germany there are clear indications that in some of the major branches of industry output is slowing down and dropping. Signs of a crisis are most noticeable in the coal industry. More than 7 million tons of coal and coke have accumulated in the Ruhr. Let us recall that in the terrible crisis of the early thirties, the coal reserves in the Ruhr amounted to 8.5 million tons. In February-March alone, coal output fell by 260,000 tons. To date, the miners have lost nearly 10 million marks from their aggregate earnings.

The iron and steel and metal processing industries in the Ruhr are getting fewer orders, particularly from abroad. The managements of the concerns have cut the output of steel by an average of 10 per cent. The major steel-making works are operating at an average of 80 per cent of their capacity, while such a big Ruhr enterprise as the Bochumer Verein has reduced output by 40 per cent. Signs of a crisis are noticed in the steel, automobile and ship-building industries where many orders have been withdrawn.

The situation in the West-German textile and clothing industries has sharply deteriorated. The

number of orders is dropping and many textile mills are compelled to curtail production. By mid-May, 1958, every 25th textile worker in the GFR had to go over to a short working week, while in many districts every 6th worker lost part of his earnings because of this. Redundancy has become common.

It is very indicative that in an interview published by the French newspaper *L'Information* on June 10, 1958, Fritz Berg, President of the Union of German Industrialists, which is one of the most powerful organizations of the West-German monopolies, found it necessary to speak of the influence of the American crisis on the world capitalist economy and on the GFR. In contrast to the optimism of the Bonn Ministry of Economy, Berg believes that the development of West-German economy does not hold out any "rosy prospects."

A feature of the present situation in West Germany, Comrade Bergmann emphasized, is the headlong arms race and the conversion of the GFR into NATO's principal bridgehead and nuclear base. This factor and the present position of German imperialism and militarism must be taken into account if the present economic and political situation in the country is to be correctly analyzed.

The intentions of the West-German monopolies were revealed in the "plan of overcoming the crisis" proposed at a recent conference of the Union of German Industrialists. One of the most important points of this plan is that pressure should be brought to bear on the trade unions in order to compel them to adopt a "moderate wages policy" and to speed up rationalization methods so as to have a "marketable reserve." In other words, the consequences of the arms race and of the crisis are being hoisted on to the shoulders of the people.

In the coal industry, the employers have shrewdly contrived to frighten the miners with the threat of redundancy and have utilized this for further unbridled exploitation of their labor. The mine-owners have declared with sardonic delight that since the beginning of 1958 labor productivity has risen to an unprecedented level.

A higher disease and accident rate is the inevitable result of this sweating system. In the West-German coal industry there is an average of two fatal accidents daily. In the course of a single day, 30 miners receive serious injuries that incapacitate them for more than two months, while 70 receive injuries that keep them away from work for a period of up to two months. The number of cases of light injuries runs into hundreds. Throughout the whole of Germany in 1938, every sixth miner with an insurance policy was struck down by accident or occupational disease,

but now this affects every third miner in West Germany. Most miners of 45-48 years are being considered "unfit".

Through their trade unions and directly from the mines the workers are demanding an immediate cessation of coal imports from the U.S.A., the annulment of all special tariffs and agreements facilitating the sale of American imported coal, implementation of the trade-union plan in three stages with the purpose of shortening the working week to 35 hours without a cut in wages, negotiations with the government of the German Democratic Republic on the sale of Ruhr coal and coke at prices acceptable to the German Democratic Republic, a 25 per cent cut in the retail price of coal at the expense of the high shareholders' profits, higher wages in order to compensate for the limited purchasing power brought on by higher prices and tariffs, and full payment for idle time caused by the mine-owners.

In the face of the impending crisis, the monopolies are going over to a general offensive against the living standard of the working class. They are threatening the trade unions with prosecutions if they persist in their demands for higher wages. They are trying to make the trade unions adopt a policy calling for the coercive settlement of labor conflicts after the model of the American Taft-Hartley Law.

Even the years when the situation in West Germany was highly favorable showed that the law of absolute and relative impoverishment of the working class was in full operation. Exploitation of the working class worsened the conditions under which manpower was reproduced. This extreme exploitation undermines the health and capacity of the workers and brings about a growth in the disease and accident rate and premature invalidity.

In recent years, wages lagged behind the cost of reproducing manpower; consequently, the abyss between the price and cost of the commodity—manpower—deepened. The impoverishment of the proletariat in West Germany could not be stopped either by the wage increases for various strata of the working class won after a hard fight in 1956 (under the influence of the shorter working day in the German Democratic Republic) or by the cut in the working day.

If even in the years when the market situation was extremely favorable, the workers failed to stop the impoverishment of the working class, then they have a still smaller chance of doing that now, when a crisis is imminent. The process of impoverishment has now been aggravated.

In West Germany, there is every indication that unemployment is increasing as a result of falling output. Besides complete unemployment, partial unemployment is also growing. By May, 1958, West

Germany had six times more workers employed on a shorter week than at the beginning of May, 1957.

The cost of living is steadily rising: at the moment it is already 20 per cent higher than in 1950. People in the low income bracket are especially hard hit by the high prices.

The future holds out cheerless prospects for the West German workers. As the crisis situation deteriorates, there will inevitably be further unemployment, the shorter working week will be more widespread, there will be more idle time and real wages and purchasing power will drop.

But, as the textile strike and other active struggles have already proved, the West-German working class does not intend to reconcile itself to the situation. The fight against the monopolies is intensifying.

The Communist Party considers it necessary to put before the working people a program of struggle against the consequences of the arms race and of the crisis. While telling the truth about the reasons for crises under capitalism and explaining the necessity for replacing capitalism with socialism, we point out that the right to work and to wages must be defended in the process of the class struggle.

At the present stage in West Germany, the mass protests of workers and of all citizens against the threat of death from atom bombs are especially important. Led by their trade-union and factory representatives, hundreds of thousands of workers are protesting against the Bundeswehr being equipped with atomic weapons. This is the first time that such a large number of workers have united together in such close ranks to participate in non-parliamentary action against the danger of German militarism.

The broad united front of workers of all political convictions is showing itself in action through the mass demonstrations and short strikes protesting against nuclear armament. With growing insistence, the workers are demanding a mass political strike of protest against the atomic threat.

On March 25, 1958, while debates on nuclear armament were going on in the Bundestag, more than 2,000 automobile industry workers went on strike in Kassel. They downed tools under the slogans of "Everyone must do something against the atomic threat"; "It is better to strike today than to die tomorrow". With these slogans the workers stopped work and held a protest demonstration and meeting in town. Through close comradely co-operation, the Communists and the Social-Democrats have set a fine example of active joint struggle against German imperialism.

The strike in Kassel set off a tidal wave of mass demonstrations and short protest strikes. Hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated in

Hamburg, Bremen, Mannheim, Bielefeld, Stuttgart, Hanover, and elsewhere.

This turn of events alarmed certain trade-union and Social-Democratic leaders. They are resorting to all sorts of dodges in an effort to restrain the desire of the workers for action. But it is growing more and more difficult to check the struggle.

The West-German workers are beginning to realize that success will be theirs only if there is unanimity among the workers of a given enterprise or a given branch of industry.

Here we can mention the metal workers' strike in Schleswig-Holstein, which lasted from October 1956 to February 1957. For 16 weeks, 33,000 metal workers fought for equal rights with office employees to social insurance in case of illness. That strike also had a political side to it. It led off protests against the Bonn policy of armament. The Bonn Government and Bundestag were, in the main, forced to satisfy the demands of the Schleswig-Holstein strikers, to give workers the same illness insurance rights as enjoyed by office employees. There was complete unanimity among the workers during the strike. Social-Democrats and Communists were active at all the meetings and demonstrations. The position of our illegal Party was strengthened in the course of this struggle. Many Communists were elected to important posts at enterprises and in trade unions.

Some people try to tell us that the workers must not fight during a crisis. That old argument has time and again been upset by life. Proof of this is the recent strike of textile workers in Lower Saxony and Hesse. By the time output began to drop and the introduction of a shorter week was started, the workers were already fighting for a wage increase of 25-28 pfennigs. At some mills the strike went on for almost seven weeks. Most of the strikers, of whom 90 per cent were women, had never been in a strike before. The trade-union leaders refused to call a general strike and the strike affected only the most important mills. Yet, in spite of unbridled persecution by the employers and state bodies and in spite of threats of dismissal, the workers had a certain measure of success thanks to their unity.

The strike of the workers in the public utilities early this year was of particular importance for the mass struggle. The association of public utility employers refused to carry on any negotiations at all with the workers. A huge demonstration combined with short strikes forced the employers to start talks on a pay raise. The employers meant to get away with empty promises. In reply, the workers and employees of public utility enterprises, including transport workers, called a 24-hour mass strike. Communications were paralyzed in the major cities of West Germany, including the western sector of Berlin. This was a tangible

and striking show of strength by the working class.

The feature of the strike movement in West Germany in the past few months was staunchness and selflessness on the part of the strikers. Another noteworthy fact is that the workers are becoming less inclined to yield to anti-communist slogans. In connection with all the strikes and militant actions of the working class, the employers and Adenauer's Government advanced the arguments about "Communist infiltration," counting that that would split and undermine the fighting capacity of the working class. But their calculations are misfiring. This is very significant, for anti-Communism is that specific ideological and political weapon that the enemy brings into play to deceive the German people into supporting the fatal policy of atomic war, the policy of the German militarists.

In the struggle against armament, the threat of atomic destruction and crisis, said Comrade Bergmann in conclusion, the working class of West Germany has scored certain successes. It is difficult to fight, since the enemy is strong and can rely on the treachery of some leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and the trade-union movement. The Communist Party has been outlawed and it has to carry on the struggle for the unity of the working class, for the unity of the people, under the most difficult conditions at factories and in the trade unions. In these circumstances it is not always easy to make the experience that has already been accumulated available to all the workers.

However, our Party is successfully re-establishing its ties with the workers and will do its utmost to carry out its duty in the vital struggle of the German people.

SITUATION OF THE FRENCH WORKING CLASS

Francois Billoux

UNTIL recently, the French economy has been characterized by contradictions between the growth of output and labor productivity on the one hand and intensifying difficulties in finance, in the circulation of money and in foreign trade on the other.

In 1957, the French foreign trade deficit broke all records, amounting to 500,000 million francs. The indications in the first few months of 1958 are that in the current year far from decreasing, the deficit will grow.

It is quite evident that in addition to the causes common to all capitalist countries, the war in Algeria is one of the main reasons for the difficulties in the French economy. This war is costing approximately 2,000 million francs a day.

The falling purchasing power of the people is leading to a drop in the consumption of food-stuffs and commodities like textiles, leather wares and furniture. In its turn, that is causing a reduction in output.

How, one may ask, is the country's grave economic situation affecting the working class? Three months ago, the bourgeois *Le Monde* wrote that "in spite of the somewhat extended working day, the purchasing power of an average French family, with two children and an average workingman's wage of 40,000 francs per month, has dropped by approximately 7 per cent in two years." In reality, the purchasing power of the French people has fallen much lower than that.

An examination of the wages of French workers brings out the striking fact that the hourly wage has dropped compared with the cost of living. That is forcing the worker to work overtime. For example, in the iron and steel industry, 88 per cent of the workers work for more than 48 hours a week, and in the machine-building industry 77 per cent of the workers are in the same situation. At some enterprises the workers are busy 60 or more hours.

There is a phenomenon that is called "moonlighting". After finishing a whole day's work at their own factory, workers look for employment at another enterprise. This phenomenon has become widespread in some branches of industry and is, naturally, leading to exhaustion of the workers' physical strength.

In order to characterize the situation of the working class, it is necessary to mention what is called "infernal" speed-up. The overtaking of the workers by excessive speed-up has taken on such a menacing scale that at some factories, there are oxygen chambers where workers exhausted by the speed-up spend a few minutes to breathe in oxygen. Some factories have special devices that force the workers to keep up with the high speed of the conveyor. For example, in some of the iron and steel works, women operating presses are made to tie their hands to the machines so as not to lag behind them.

In recent years the number of accidents has increased two or three times over. The "infernal" speed-up, the deteriorating diet and the time taken by the workers to reach their place of employment (in the north, for instance, the miners spend four or five hours a day in travel) are causing an alarming growth in the sick rate among workers. Some diseases are becoming social scourges. For example, in France nearly 70,000 miners or every third miner, are suffering from silicosis. There have been cases of miners contracting this disease at the age of 20. Because of this, military medical commissions are compelled to free young miners from military service.

The situation of immigrant workers is even graver. In France, there are about 400,000 Algerian workers, whose conditions of labor and life are much worse than those of the French workers. Moreover, the Algerians find they cannot make full use of the protection that social legislation affords French workers. The position of hundreds of thousands of Italian, Spanish and other foreign workers is similarly difficult.

Without the struggle of the workers the situation of the working people would have been even graver. The workers have been particularly successful in the mining, iron and steel, building, chemical and electrical engineering industries and on the railways. But we cannot rest content with this. A daily struggle must be carried on for the rights of the working class, for the abolition of the increasing gap between prices and wages, between prices and the standard of living of the working class.

The forms of the struggle of the working class are extremely varied. They include such forms, long known to the working class, as strikes, various kinds of work stoppages, the sending of workers' delegations to managements. In addition, the French Communist Party is using parliament and the municipal councils in the struggle for the economic and political rights of the working class.

In its economic demands, the working class is united from the bottom up, this unity being not formal but actual. It is expressed in joint action at one enterprise or another. As it develops, this unity of action grows from a local scale to the scale of a department and, sometimes, to the scale of a whole branch of industry. But so far agreement is lacking between the trade-union centers.

The struggle of the working class cannot be divorced from the general political struggle that has been developing not only now and after de Gaulle's ascension to power, but for a long time in connection with the problems brought to light by the war in Algeria. It may be expected that from now on the anti-fascist unity will develop simultaneously with the growing unity in the struggle for economic demands.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE POST-WAR CYCLE AND THE CURRENT CRISIS

A. A. Arzumanyan

ALTHOUGH each economic cycle arises from general causes, said Comrade Arzumanyan, it develops in specific historical conditions and therefore has its own specific features.

In his analysis of the special situation which

occurs in world economy as a result of world wars, he observed that after both the First and the Second World Wars, there was an interlacing of the crisis resulting from war devastation in a number of countries with a crisis of over-production in other countries (particularly the United States). The speaker stressed that the 1948-49 crisis was not an ordinary intermediate one as, say, the U.S. crisis of 1953-54. It was not a local phenomenon arising only from the internal situation in the U.S.A. The roots of the 1948-49 crisis lay in the state of the whole world economy resulting from the Second World War. This in principle was not affected by the fact that over-production did not involve all countries. The speaker pointed to the distinct resemblance between the 1948-49 and 1920-21 crises, and cited Lenin's description of the latter (See V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 32, p. 95).

Then Comrade Arzumanyan made a few observations of a theoretical nature about the relation between wars and crises. Since the 1948-57 cycle was a post-war cycle, he pointed out, and the crises which began and ended it took shape in circumstances in which the war and its consequences were sharply reflected, it is necessary to examine the connection that exists between wars and crises.

War is not, and cannot be, a phase of an economic cycle. It would be entirely wrong to identify wars and crises. Wars and crises, as Lenin observed, are phenomena of an entirely different order, a different historical origin and a different class character (See V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 26, p. 135). Economic crises in the form of over-production are peculiar to the capitalist economic system alone, whereas wars are inherent in all systems of exploitation.

Some say that even if war is not a phase of the economic cycle, it still performs the functions of an economic crisis. The usual argument is that in both war and crisis there is destruction and waste of productive forces. But this viewpoint is based on an entirely external analogy. Suffice it to say that economic crises find expression in a general over-production of commodities, while wars create a shortage of commodities. Economic crises, as we know, bring production into balance with purchasing capacity through forcible means, through the destruction of the productive forces, at a particular moment. Wars, on the contrary, create a specific military demand, bring about new disproportions in capitalist production, accentuate the contradictions of capitalism, and lead to a breakdown of the national economy. As a rule, economic crises cause a fall in prices, or at least stop them from rising. Wars, on the other hand, cause prices to rise steeply. In war-time unemployment decreases, while in an economic crisis it increases.

In contesting Bukharin's thesis that war performs the function of a crisis, V. I. Lenin observed that it was mere "playing at analogies."

Thus, wars and economic crises are not to be identified. Nor is war to be regarded as a phase of the economic cycle.

But this does not mean that in a concrete historical analysis of the course of an economic cycle in the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism we can abstract from the influence of war and view the cycle in isolation, detached from the effect which war has upon it. War is a colossal social crisis, and as such it is an economic factor exercising an immediate influence on the development of capitalism and, hence, on the economic cycle.

What are the principal features of the economic cycle of 1948-57? Here are the most important:

1. It developed on the basis of the deepening crisis of the capitalist system; a marked degree of instability characterized the world capitalist economy.

In spite of a greater volume of production, capitalism failed to recover even the partial stabilization it achieved in the twenties after the First World War and the economic crisis of the early 1920's.

2. Mass renewal of fixed capital is the material basis of each cycle. In the 1948-57 cycle, renewal and extension of fixed capital assumed far larger proportions than in any preceding cycle, because the prewar 1930s, and war itself, created an additional tremendous need for it. Furthermore, the renewal took place in a time of rapid technological advance. All this stimulated larger capital investments and higher rates of growth of capitalist production than in the decades preceding the Second World War.

3. The 1948-57 cycle developed in the conditions of the "cold war" and the arms race in the capitalist world. The military expenditures of the imperialist states amounted to 22 per cent of the national income in the U.S.A., 12 per cent in Britain, and 16 per cent in France. Marx noted that war in the directly economic sense is tantamount to a nation throwing part of its capital into the sea. Indeed, in the final analysis, the vast scale of military production, the destruction of armaments on the battlefields, and the devastation in the course of the war, deplete the resources of a nation. Increased parasitic military consumption, particularly in a big war, leads inevitably to an economic collapse. This is well illustrated by the case of Germany, Japan and certain other countries during the Second World War. Even the United States, which made money out of the war, failed to increase its national wealth.

But during a certain period of time, when the special war-production machine is being built up,

when war industries are being developed and there is an increased demand for raw materials, militarization acts as a newly opened market. An exaggerated development takes place of Department I of social production. The fact that military equipment in the post-war period differed substantially from that of the war period played an important part in the last ten years in the replacement of the military production apparatus, the emergence of new lines of production and the radical re-equipment of the entire war industry. It is to be noted, however, that in the latter years of the cycle militarism lost its importance as a newly opened market, because modern technology became more or less stable, plants producing military requirements were already built, and their equipment does not as yet require any radical large-scale change.

4. Far-reaching structural changes have occurred in the world capitalist economy. This is explained by a number of factors: a number of countries have fallen away from capitalism and a world system of socialism has emerged; the imperialist colonial system has disintegrated; the need to change the structure of exports under the pressure of the intensified competition on the markets, etc. Such countries as Britain and Japan, for example, were compelled to make appreciable changes in their industrial structure, shifting the center of gravity of export industries from Department II of social production to Department I.

5. Chronic inflation is sapping the capitalist economy. War and its consequences gave rise to the post-war inflation. The arms race continuously added fuel to the flames. The inflation grew greater. That, indeed, is the true basis of the inflation, and not the rise in wages, which incidentally in many cases did not rise at all. The inflation goes up and down, but in any case it has become a chronic phenomenon.

6. Lastly, although during the 1948-57 cycle consumption per capita in capitalist society has not increased, or has done so to an insignificant extent, the overall volume of consumption has grown. Highly inflated consumer credit played a big part in this. It fostered a temporary extension of the market.

These are the principal features explaining the relatively long duration of the 1948-57 cycle.

Comrade Arzumanyan went on to characterise the current economic crisis that has developed in the capitalist world.

An economic crisis, he said, is the constitutive phase of an industrial cycle. It completes one cycle of the movement of social capital and opens the next. A crisis of over-production is an explosion of the combined contradictions of the capitalist economy.

This sharp turn in the economic cycle appeared

in the autumn of 1957. It made itself felt most strongly in the United States, where the crisis began earlier than in other countries. In April 1958 the volume of U.S. industrial production dropped some 15 per cent below the peak figure of December 1956. It hit all the principal branches of the U.S. economy, and especially hard the iron and steel and engineering industries, coal mining and the textile, clothing and rubber industries. The all-embracing nature of the U.S. production slump is well illustrated by the following table.

U. S. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION INDEXES (1948-1949 — 100)

	1st Three Months of 1957	April 1958	Drop in Pro- duction (in per cent)
Overall volume of			
industrial production	145	126	13.1
Mining	132	109	17.4
Manufacturing	147	128	12.9
Durable goods	163	132	19
Iron and steel	141	86	39
Engineering	172	138	19.8
Transport engineering	220	177	19.6
Furniture	119	109	8.4
Non-durable goods	131	125	4.6
Chemicals	183	178	2.7
Textiles	101	91	9.9
Rubber	141	112	20.6
Coal (million tons)	40*	28	30
Oil (million tons)	31*	25	19.4

*Monthly average for the first three months of 1957.

As a result of this fall in production, U.S. industry has been operating considerably below capacity. Shops and entire enterprises have shut down. There were weeks in April when the output of the steel industry dropped to 47 per cent and that of the automobile industry to 32 per cent of capacity. The number of bankruptcies in 1958 is 10 per cent higher than in the previous year. Mass dismissals of industrial workers have taken place. Real wages in the U.S.A. have dropped. Capital investment has sharply contracted, and it continues to fall. An actual drop in U.S. exports has begun. The trade turnover is falling.

To put it in a nutshell, all the signs of an economic crisis of over-production are evident. No one can doubt any longer that the crisis in the United States is an accomplished fact. Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists have suffered another defeat in their fight against Marxism-Leninism on the question of the prospects of economic development in the capitalist world.

The question arises whether the economic crisis in the United States is just an isolated phenomenon. There is only one answer to that: No, it is not a local phenomenon.

First of all, the crisis has spread beyond the borders of the United States. Some of the pre-

ceding speakers, Comrades Morris, Manzocchi and Schmidt among them, have cited facts testifying to a reduction of industrial output in Canada and some countries of Western Europe. The Japanese economy, too, is in the throes of an over-production crisis. As early as the middle of 1957 the decline of production began in the principal branches of Japanese industry.

The mounting effects of the world economic crisis are to be observed also in other spheres and regions of the world capitalist economy. The world capitalist market for raw materials has been gripped by an over-production crisis for a relatively long time. The speaker quoted facts to show that the economic crisis is also evident in the shipping industry, capital investment is falling, and unemployment in the capitalist world is on the increase. The mounting crisis has already had a very adverse effect on the economies of many countries, particularly the economically under-developed countries, and has sharply affected the position of the working people.

What are the further prospects of the economic crisis? We cannot tell as yet how long the decline in production will last, but there is reason to believe that the bottom has not yet been reached, although in May this year the U.S. industrial production index rose slightly above that of April. But this may be explained in large measure by seasonal employment and other transient factors. It is extremely likely that the economic crisis will deepen.

Firstly, large-scale investment could contribute greatly to extending the market. But there is no immediate prospect of such investment. Quite the reverse. It was expected earlier this year that U.S. investment would contract by 10 per cent. Subsequently, the U.S. Department of Commerce amended this figure to 13 per cent. Recently this same Department announced that investments in the U.S. economy would contract seventeen per cent. Thus, the prospect is a further curtailment of investment.

Secondly, it is said that a tax reduction may raise purchasing power. But the bourgeois state does not consider that its task is to reduce working people's taxes. Its only concern is to reduce the taxes paid by the monopolies. But what would such a reduction of taxes yield? At best, it could yield \$6,000 - \$7,000 million. However, even this measure has not yet been put into effect. Furthermore, the capitalists' profits are falling. They have shrunk by about \$4,000 million. Hence it follows that a tax reduction, too, is not an appreciable reserve for raising production.

Thirdly, appropriations for so-called public works can scarcely be expected to improve the U.S. economic situation to any marked extent. Congress has allotted the relatively small sum of

about \$2,000 million for this purpose. Moreover, the influence of public works on the crisis will, if at all, take effect far too late, and even then not to any substantial extent.

Fourthly, workers' consumption has fallen drastically. According to some estimates, taking into account the mounting cost of living, total wages in the U.S. have dropped 22 per cent under the 1956 peak. This augurs a substantial fall in retail trade this year. According to the Department of Commerce, February retail sales were \$1,400 million, or nearly 11 per cent, below the January level.

All these facts indicate that a further deepening of the crisis is quite likely. But even if it is assumed that the bottom will be struck in the very near future, a rapid rise of production cannot be expected to follow. It is more likely that all the above-cited factors will give rise to a serious depression in the U.S. economy.

The capitalist press tries to depict the bourgeois government as all-powerful. It claims that it commands ways and means of rapidly "surmounting" the economic crisis. We are far from underestimating the role of state-monopoly capitalism, which is a natural product of developing imperialist contradictions. But we reject the bourgeois apologist chatter about the "almighty" bourgeois state. Does not the very fact of the economic crisis show plainly the bankruptcy of the bourgeois state and its anti-crisis measures, the bankruptcy of the bourgeois ideologists who have been sowing illusions about the possibility of "eliminating crises" by bourgeois state intervention in the country's economic life?

The bourgeois state strives mainly to shift the burden of the crisis on to the masses of the people. U.S. purchasing capacity could, indeed, be increased by exempting from taxation all people with an annual income of \$4-5,000, who make up a large section of the working population. But the U.S. Administration has no intention of doing anything of the sort, because it serves the monopolies.

If, from the social standpoint, it is the incomes of the Duponts and Rockefellers that are the bourgeois economist's main yardstick by which to measure the scale and scope of the crisis and its consequences, Marxists measure it by the condition of the working class and all the working people.

And from this standpoint the prospects in store for the working people are far from bright. In June 1958, official U.S. statistics again registered a further increase in unemployment. The number of fully unemployed in the U.S. has climbed to 5,500,000. But this figure has obviously been pared down. The trade unions estimate that the unemployed total no less than 6,000,000. In the very near future that figure is likely to rise. But

even now the unemployment has put on the agenda the question whether the obligations undertaken by Congress will be fulfilled. As far back as 1946, a bill was passed under which the Administration is committed to provide work for the unemployed if their number exceeds five million. However, for some reason no effective measures are being taken. And is not the American working class entitled to put this dilemma to the U.S. Administration: either work for all workers, or relief for all unemployed for the duration of unemployment? It goes without saying that to settle the issue the Administration would have to raise taxes on the monopolies. This would be only fair. But it has no intention of doing so.

Of course, in an analysis of the effects of the economic crisis on the labor movement, it is inadmissible to simplify complex issues. The crisis must not lead us to the mechanical conclusion that a revolutionary situation is close at hand, or, conversely, that the absence of a crisis signifies that a mass revolutionary upsurge of the masses is remote.

It will be fitting to recall what V. I. Lenin had to say on this score. Speaking about the speculation current over the effects on the Russian labor movement of the 1907 crisis, Lenin pointed out: "Some say that an economically active struggle of the workers is, as before, impossible, and that consequently an early revolutionary upsurge is out of the question. Others say that the impossibility of economic struggle is driving ahead to political struggle, and that therefore a revolutionary upsurge is inevitably close."

"We think," Lenin wrote, "that there is one error at the root of what both sides say, and that is simplification of a complex issue. A close study of the industrial crisis is, unquestionably, of the utmost importance. But it is just as unquestionable that no facts about the crisis, however precise, can in effect settle the question for or against an early revolutionary upsurge because that upsurge depends on thousands of other factors which it is impossible to embrace beforehand. Far-reaching political crises are impossible without the common ground of an agrarian crisis in the countryside and a depression in industry. There is no question about it. But if this common ground is on hand, this is still insufficient cause to decide whether the depression will for any length of time impede the mass struggle of the workers generally, or whether at a certain stage of the events the same depression will prod new masses and fresh forces on to political struggle. There is just one way of solving this issue, and that is to keep your finger on the pulse of the country's political life, and particularly the state of the movement and the sentiments of the broad prole-

tarian masses." (V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 15, p. 253.)

We must bear this Leninist thesis in mind.

THE CRISIS AND PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Haled Bagdash

THE economic crisis in the United States and the beginning of one in the other Western countries, Comrade Bagdash said, helped to dispel the illusions which appeared in certain sections of the working class during the upswing. This makes our struggle against revisionism unquestionably easier and helps to rally the workers in rebuffing the imperialist offensive.

But there is also one more aspect to this problem. The crisis creates the danger of fascism in the developed capitalist countries. This is borne out by past lessons. In Germany, for example, Hitler utilized the crisis, and particularly the unemployment, to strengthen the fascist movement, suppress the working class and break up its organizations. This danger, I think, looms in our day in many Western countries, and we must keep it in mind. Not only must we take account of the possible radicalization of the working class, but also of the fact that the bourgeoisie will try to take advantage of the unemployment and the effects of the crisis to strengthen the fascist movement.

I want also to emphasize the following: the development of the crisis leads, and has already led, to stepped up imperialist intervention in the affairs of peoples who have but recently—since the Second World War—achieved their political independence. For example, some time ago there was talk of Algeria being a country where the people should be given some rights. Today, however, de Gaulle, supported as he is by reactionary generals, is calling on the Algerians to rally to the fold of the French Empire and is trying to recover the positions lost by France in Morocco and Tunisia.

Neither must we lose sight of the latest events in the Lebanon. There are many indications that the U.S. and Britain want to take advantage of the Lebanese events to interfere in the affairs of the United Arab Republic. Their ultimate aim is to recover their influence and, if possible, to establish a regime of occupation in Syria and Egypt. *There is great danger of an imperialist intervention in the affairs of peoples who have achieved national independence. It will increase as the crisis develops.*

The penetration of foreign capital into the underdeveloped countries is increasing. This confronts us, the liberated countries, with the task of rallying all patriotic forces to the struggle against the penetration of foreign imperialist capital, what-

ever form it may take. Not only does this mean American, British or French capital, but also West-German, Japanese and Italian capital.

In Syria, for example, we have nationalized almost all the resources formerly controlled by foreign capital—French or Anglo-French. Just the pipeline carrying oil from Iraq or Saudi Arabia via Syria and the Lebanon to the shore of the Mediterranean still remains in foreign hands. Yet it also was used in the struggle against imperialism. Thus, during the imperialist aggression in the Suez Canal zone, Syrian patriots blew up the pipeline crossing Syria. This contributed to the oil shortage in the West and helped the Egyptian people in their struggle. Syria, which has nationalized the former imperialist-owned resources, would never agree to have foreign imperialist capital back.

But that danger is grave. Why? Because today, in face of the developing crisis, some powers, such as Western Germany and the United States, are offering favorable terms, never offered before. This is a temptation to certain sections of the bourgeoisie. We must not forget that the national bourgeoisie often uses the assistance rendered by the socialist camp in bargaining with the imperialists for favorable terms.

As for the influence of the crisis on Syria, Comrade Bagdash continued, the falling prices of raw materials are increasingly straining the economic situation. The effects of the developing crisis have taken toll of the exports of grain and cotton, the principal Syrian export items. And if there had been no socialist world and no assistance from it, the situation in our country would have been still more difficult. This year in Syria entire regions had no water and no work as a result of the drought and the absence of irrigation. Thousands of peasants migrated to other regions.

Generally speaking, it is only with the help of the socialist camp that we can fill the breaches in our economy and, say, effect the irrigation project to combat drought.

There are two factors constantly exerting pressure on our economy. The first is the constant danger of imperialist aggression, both direct and through Israel, which may well be qualified as the principal base of imperialism in the Middle East. This compels Syria to maintain an army of a size which is burdensome to its economy. During the Turkish threat, spearheaded as it was against Syria, our country spent 28,000,000 Syrian pounds in just a few days. For the Syrian budget that was a very large sum. And now the Lebanese events are also proving a strain on the Lebanese economy.

The second permanent factor pressing down on our economy is the imperialist blockade. Iraq, Jordan, and, to some extent, Turkey and Saudi Ara-

bia have, for example, long been markets for the Syrian textile industry. Today, under direct pressure from the imperialists and the Baghdad pact countries, they are almost entirely closed to Syrian exports.

The chief means of improving the general economic situation and escaping the effects of the imperialist blockade is to strengthen our friendly contacts with the socialist world. And of this the people of Syria are becoming increasingly aware.

I should also like to make a few remarks of a general order concerning some problems that face the labor movement in the Middle East, Comrade Bagdash continued, and particularly the case of revisionism in our countries. Revisionism is assuming various forms. The Right-Wing Socialists, like the Yugoslav revisionists, say that they want "neither West, nor East." But in Comrade Bagdash's opinion the chief form of revisionism in those countries is that of denying the leading role of the Communist Party in building socialism. Bourgeois nationalists and Right-Wing Socialists assert that socialism in the Arab countries cannot be built by the Communist Party. But developments refute this anti-Communist propaganda. And today there are splendid opportunities to unite all the national forces in order to eliminate the threat of imperialist intervention and to cope with the economic difficulties.

A few words about the agrarian reform. The tendency in Syria and Egypt is for the influence of the big landed estates of a feudal type to decline, while conversely, the class of *kulaks* is gaining strength. The Americans support this tendency.

But that is just one aspect of the matter. The other is that all measures aimed at an agrarian reform have proved inadequate. This is why the problem is particularly important for the nations of Asia and Africa. Has the national bourgeoisie in the recently liberated countries the resources and the power to solve the agrarian problem? I think it has not. It has neither the economic nor the political resources.

The issue is particularly important if we are to look at it from the following angle: can, or cannot, the bourgeoisie win over the natural ally of the working class—the peasantry? The experience of various fraternal Communist Parties enables us to arrive at certain theoretical conclusions on this score. The journal, Comrade Bagdash felt, should find the means to discuss the matter.

And lastly, one more of the important problems—that of the role of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, in the national-liberation movement. It is not enough to speak only of the hegemony of the proletariat in that movement. What must be done is to effect this hegemony in practice in the course of the struggle for a national front. We must never let this out of our sight.

After all, alliance with representatives of the national bourgeoisie and with individual influential patriotically-minded people is also necessary. Yet the role of the Party both today and in the future must always be kept in mind. In all circumstances the principal objective is to strengthen the party, its bonds with the masses, and its organizational and ideological foundations.

An attempt was made to talk us into disbanding the Party—at least formally and for a time—and voting for the new constitution, still far removed as it is from democratic principles. We declared that we were for Arab unity but that we would never vote for anti-democratic principles and would never agree to disband our Party. By the way, the Communist Party has no authority which could disband it.

Arab unity must be built upon complete liberation from imperialism and upon a democratic foundation.

This is the kind of unity we fight for. We shall never give up our Communist Party. We know that its role is growing and will grow still more in the future.

IMPERIALISTS SEEK OUTLET IN MILITARY ADVENTURES

T. Mohammed

IN SPEAKING of the possible effects that the economic crisis in the capitalist world might have on Iraq, Comrade Mohammed stressed, in particular, that the imperialists are endeavoring to find an escape from the menacing situation by heightening international tension.

They can even start a local or world war. In that case, Iraq will be exposed to great danger because of her strategic position.

In short, the crisis will strike a *direct and severe* blow at Iraq.

Furthermore, Comrade Mohammed analyzed the features of the class relations in Iraq. Peasants account for the overwhelming majority of the population. In the countryside, the relations of production are predominantly semi-feudal. The peasants do not own land, and work for a handful of big landlords. In the towns and urban regions, there are large numbers of handicraftsmen, shopkeepers, petty merchants and small producers. This situation is the result of the imperialist policy aimed against the development of a national industry of any kind. Some firms and enterprises are going bankrupt or are forced to close because of the competition of foreign goods.

Compared with the rest of the population the working class is still small.

The national bourgeoisie is even smaller in numbers than the working class. It has a narrow economic and social base, while politically it is like-

wise constantly oppressed. Like their press organs, the political parties of the national bourgeoisie have been outlawed. Therefore, the national bourgeoisie is carrying on a radical struggle. Its political representatives have chosen to ally themselves with the working class and peasantry as they feel that that is a way out of their difficult situation.

The petty bourgeoisie is comparatively numerous and is oppressed even more than the national bourgeoisie. The more conscious and active strata of the petty bourgeoisie, students and intellectuals, are co-operating with the Communists in the United National Front.

The strikes of the workers and peasants and their class struggle are mainly of a political character. Directly or indirectly, any movement of the workers or peasants comes up against foreign interests or imperialist policy. Thus, it is quite natural that the struggle of the workers and peasants for their urgent demands is, at the same time, developing into a struggle against imperialist policy.

Side by side with the class struggle of the workers and peasants, the chief and most vital struggle of our people is for national independence. The privations suffered by the working masses are mainly the result of exploitation by the imperialists and their rule. Under these conditions, it is not only the working class and the peasantry who are suffering but also other strata of the people, the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals.

The National Front is getting the support of the entire people, for it is waging a struggle against the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower Doctrine, for the democratic rights of the people, for a course that would develop Iraq along the path of an independent Arab policy and create a healthy national economy.

A way out for our countries lies not only in the further mobilization of the people to defend their vital interests and democratic rights, but chiefly in unity and in carrying on the struggle of our people against imperialism, for the liberation of our wealth and economy, for the establishment of fruitful, broad relations with the camp of socialism, for development along the path of freedom and peace.

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S PROPOSALS

D. N. Aidit

IN EXAMINING the effects of the American economic recession in Indonesia's economy, Comrade Aidit pointed out that it was necessary to take into account both the economic relations

between these two countries, and those between Indonesia and other capitalist countries.

In the first place, Comrade Aidit went on to say, one should examine Indonesia's foreign trade, since it is this sector that was the first to suffer from the effects of the American economic recession. Moreover, experience had shown that every blow suffered by Indonesia's foreign trade was directly reflected in the finances of the state and other sectors of the national economy.

In its financial report for 1958 the Indonesian Government recognized that 60 per cent of its income came from imports and exports. The construction of state-owned and privately-owned enterprises, and satisfaction of the needs of the people for basic consumption goods such as textiles and even rice, were still dependent on whether imports and exports ran smoothly or not.

On the basis of export statistics it can be said that 41 per cent of Indonesia's exports are to the U.S.A., either direct or through Singapore, and 35 per cent to Western European countries. Besides this, about 16 per cent of Indonesian exports go to African and Asian countries (excluding the People's Republic of China), and 4 per cent to Australia. Thus nearly 96 per cent of Indonesia's exports were sent to non-socialist countries and only a mere 4 per cent to the socialist countries. This was so because of the domination of foreign monopolists in the production of export goods and in Indonesia's foreign trade.

Annual revenues from exports amount to from 9,000 to 10,000 million rupiahs and are derived from the sale of commodities such as rubber (40%), oil (25%), tin (7%), copra (5%), coffee (3.5%), tea (3.5%), tobacco (3.2%), palm-oil (3.2%), sugar (2%), and spices (1.5%).

According to figures released by Indonesia's Central Bureau of Statistics, the prices of important Indonesian raw materials were hit by the fall in prices on the world market. The following figures were given—prices of rubber per lb. on the New York market were:

1955	—	39.375c
1956	—	35.01 c
1957	—	27.027c

The price of tin on the New York market fluctuated as follows:

1955	—	96.84 c
1956	—	103.12 c
1957	—	88.62 c

The financial policy of the Indonesian Government, which for the most part is still based on revenues derived from direct and indirect taxes on imports and exports, greatly influences Indonesia's foreign trade. Reserves of foreign currency are steadily decreasing; and revenues from exports too are falling. This has led to the Indo-

nesian Government not having sufficient foreign currency at its disposal to pay for imports of the most essential commodities.

Apart from these economic difficulties Indonesia is also subject to stresses resulting from the counter-revolutionary rebellions, which are engineered by the U.S.A. The Government has to spend immense sums for the suppression of these rebellions.

The deteriorating economic situation not only hinders construction in important branches of industry but also leads to existing enterprises cutting down production or even stopping it altogether, because of 1) difficulties in selling their products (for example, rubber, tin, copra, oil); and 2) their being unable to import necessary raw materials (for example, for the textile industry).

For the Indonesian working class, all this has meant rising unemployment and falling wages. The purchasing power of the Indonesian people, which was already very low, is being further lowered through the inflation resulting from the increasing issues of paper-money by the Government.

After the U.S.A. had failed in its armed intervention, it tried to exert pressure on the Government and on certain parties. The American imperialists no longer paid primary attention to the right-wing parties, since these parties had been discredited by their participation in the unsuccessful rebellions. They seek to influence the "middle of the road" parties, hoping in this way to turn the course of events in Indonesia towards the Right.

From the facts mentioned above, it is apparent how difficult it is for the Indonesian working class and Communist Party to combine its class obligations with its national obligations, because, on the one hand, the Indonesian working class must fight against the economic difficulties, which are due to Indonesia's backwardness and to the economic depression in the capitalist countries; and, on the other hand, it must lead the struggle to preserve the national independence of the country which is being threatened by armed American intervention and by American intrigues.

Comrade Aidit said that the following measures to overcome the present economic difficulties had been proposed by the Communist Party of Indonesia:

- 1) Change the direction of Indonesia's foreign trade by expanding economic relations with the socialist countries.

- 2) Utilize the credits obtained from the socialist countries in the best possible way, primarily for the creation of a national Indonesian industry.

- 3) The Party calls on the Government to co-operate with the working class in order to make

full use of all enterprises which have been taken over from the Dutch colonialists. In many of these enterprises representatives of the working class sit on the managing and supervising boards and, as a consequence, production in these enterprises has risen by 10 to 20 per cent as compared with the level of production in the period when they were still under the control of the Dutch capitalists.

The Indonesian Communist Party rejected the "way out" advocated by the reactionaries to the effect that more foreign capital should be invested in Indonesia. Such ideas were being actively pushed by the right-wing Socialists and right-wing nationalists in Indonesia. But they had no influence in our Party. The Indonesian people have practical experience in regard to U.S. capital investments. They have seen that the Americans, using the pretext of "safeguarding their enterprises," demanded from the Government permission to land their army in Indonesia at the time the rebellion, which they themselves had engineered, broke out in Sumatra.

In order to prevent developments unfavorable to the Indonesian people the Communist Party is relentlessly exposing the imperialist intrigues and is mobilizing the people to resist any foreign intervention in Indonesia's internal affairs, either military or political.

Up to now the Indonesian working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Indonesia, have been successful in preventing a development to the Right. There are signs which point to the Government's readiness to take a realistic course in foreign trade, but in doing so the Government is meeting with resistance from reactionary circles. So far the "middle of the roaders" are still hesitating whether to accept or to refuse the instructions given by the imperialists.

Under such conditions, Comrade Aidit concluded, further developments in our country depend greatly on the ability of the Party of the Indonesian working class to put forward a realistic way out of the economic difficulties, and to mobilize the masses to oppose any wavering attitude in resisting imperialism.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Pieter Keuneman

IN THE present economic crisis factors do not operate in the same way as they did during the crisis of capitalism in 1929 to 1933. At that time, most of the countries of Asia, the Middle East and Africa, which are now independent, were direct colonies of imperialism and had no inde-

pendent control over either their political or economic policies. Secondly, the existence of the socialist camp and the socialist world market is today a new and decisive factor. Millions of people in the countries of Asia and Africa know that there is a very practical way of overcoming their problems by developing economic and trade relations with the socialist countries. Some of them, like Ceylon, have experienced the direct benefits of economic relations with the socialist countries.

Many countries, like Ceylon, Indonesia and countries in the Caribbean, Comrade Keuneman went on to say, still have basically export-import economies. They are countries where national industry has not yet developed. They are being affected by the developing crisis in ways that are different from the more developed countries of Western Europe. Therefore in examining the effects of the United States crisis, it is necessary to make a special study of how this crisis affects agriculture and the fluctuation of the world prices of raw materials, particularly of food; it is necessary to study the system of monopoly control over the supply and sale of raw materials and the methods which the imperialists use in times of crisis to develop contradictions between underdeveloped countries and thus increase their control of these countries. It is important that the Communist parties in such countries, as well as Marxist economists, study these aspects of the problem in detail.

Comrade Keuneman then described the economic situation of Ceylon. As regards our own country, he said, the crisis of her economy is certainly not due to the United States crisis. Long before the effects of the U.S. crisis began to be felt in Ceylon, there has been a profound crisis of the backward, colonial economy of our country. On top of this, the U.S. crisis is beginning to have its effect and this is aggravating the situation and is leading to further impoverishment of the masses.

There are few direct connections between the economy of Ceylon and that of the United States of America; even our trade with the United States is small and is mainly confined to rubber. Therefore the effects of the U.S. crisis are not felt directly or immediately, nor indeed were they so felt during the previous crises. They are usually felt indirectly at first, as the effects of the United States crisis spread to countries such as the United Kingdom, with which Ceylon's economy is more directly linked.

Despite the political independence of 1948, there has been no change in the basic pattern of Ceylon's economy. It remains in essence a dependent and colonial economy. It depends on three raw material crops which we sell in export—

tea, rubber and coconut products. There is very heavy dependence on imports, including basic foodstuffs. British capital dominates tea production (owning about 70 per cent of it), a part of rubber (owning about 40 per cent of it); it controls the import-export trade, banking and finance.

It is generally known that while some other capitalist countries have had a period of relative prosperity and full employment in the last eight years, Ceylon's underdeveloped economy has experienced only a deepening crisis. Production has not increased but has declined in certain spheres. New industries have not been developed.

There is mass unemployment in Ceylon. In a population of about 9.5 million nearly 2 million people are without regular employment and are described as "surplus." Of about one million workers in industry, the plantations and handicrafts, unemployment has during recent years fluctuated around the figure of 200,000.

The fall in production has resulted in a reduction in the number of days' work which a worker gets, in further unemployment and a rapid rise in the cost of living, a decline in real wages and in purchasing power.

Comrade Keuneman then analyzed the strike movement in Ceylon. Although by strike struggles, he said, the workers have won increases in wages and allowances of between ten and fifteen per cent in the recent period, these increases have been more than offset by the rise in the prices of essential commodities.

Recently there was a major struggle of the workers in the tea and allied trades. They demanded an increase of 25 per cent in their basic wages and also that their cost of living allowances should be increased by 84 cents a day.

Within the last two years there have been over 300 strikes involving nearly 300,000 workers. Since November of last year, when the crisis began to be felt most acutely, there have been two big waves of strikes during which the militancy of the working class increased.

Our Party, said Comrade Keuneman, played its part in leading these strikes, which became immense class battles against the control of British monopolists over the economy of our country. For example, nearly 25,000 workers were involved in the strike against the British tea companies, which lasted for over five weeks. The government used the police and repressive machinery of the state against the workers in defense of the British firms, and nearly 50 of our comrades were arrested in the course of these struggles.

The growing crisis has also led to the sharpening and extension of the demand for the nationali-

zation of British property and for the further extension of trade with the socialist countries. In addition to the agreement with China, we have succeeded in securing in the early part of this year an economic and technical assistance agreement with the Soviet Union which will greatly benefit Ceylon. Similar developments have started with Czechoslovakia.

But I must point out that the mass demand for the further development of economic and trade relations with socialist countries is being bitterly resisted, opposed and sabotaged by the compradore-bourgeoisie, including its representatives in and around the government. These sections who are intimately tied up with the Western capitalist monopolists and function as their commission agents in Ceylon, are the main social force in Ceylon standing against further development of trade and other relations with the socialist countries.

It is being argued by some that a crisis in the U.S.A. is beneficial to the underdeveloped countries, because the United States will now be prepared to invest funds in economically backward countries. These people argue that such countries will be able to obtain machinery and other requirements from the United States at reduced prices. In this way they want to convince the people that the only way in which underdeveloped countries can rapidly develop their economies is to attract the investment of further foreign capital in these countries.

Our Communist Party opposes this policy stoutly, as we know that these policies do not lead to economic development but to further dependence and enslavement.

In the last two years the mass movement in Ceylon, with the Communist Party playing its due role, has made some important advances. Certain measures of nationalization have been carried out. Land reform has been passed by Parliament. The British are being compelled to evacuate their bases from Ceylon. There have been wage increases, pension benefits and other advances by the working class through determined struggles. We find that the development of the crisis does not mean that the working class must follow a policy of caution. On the contrary, it must follow a policy of militancy.

Of course, the imperialists and the compradore-bourgeoisie are doing their utmost to prevent this development. They are relying, in the first place, on the intensification of chauvinism and the promotion of racial strife and riots. They are seeking to show that unemployment is due to the high proportion of workers of foreign origin in our country. It should be pointed out that the majority of workers in the plantations are

of Indian origin and are denied citizenship of Ceylon by law. The chauvinists demand the victimization of workers of minority nationalities and driving them out from the positions which they now have. They are also intensifying anti-communism and repressive measures against the working class. There has been an intensification of propaganda against the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp. The "arguments" of the Yugoslav revisionists are now being reproduced by the worst anti-communist and anti-working class elements in our country.

Nevertheless, the working class is slowly but surely learning the lesson that united action in the face of the worsening economic conditions and repression is its only answer.

In recent times, we have noticed that, in defense of basic working-class and trade-union rights and in defense of the unity of the working people against the chauvinist splitters, all important sections of the trade union movement have come together, and we trust that this unity will be further developed.

The deepening of the crisis is also creating better possibilities for unity between the working class and the petty-bourgeois sections, including sections of the national bourgeoisie. Although chauvinism has had a considerable effect among these sections, the possibilities of establishing closer links with these strata are increasing.

Our party knows that the fight against the crisis cannot be confined only to defensive actions of the working class and the trade unions, but that it is necessary for us to advance an alternative policy of national salvation. We are advancing a policy which demands the nationalization of foreign capital in our country, the elimination of feudal remnants, land reform, the development of the economy based on the industrialization of our country and on trade and economic co-operation with the socialist camp.

In the search for the way out of the crisis the imperialists will seek to intensify competition between underdeveloped countries for markets for raw materials. Many of our countries are in a sense competitors against each other. Indonesia and Ceylon both produce rubber. Ceylon, India and some of the countries of Africa are producing tea. Indonesia, Ceylon, India and a number of countries are producing coconut products. The imperialists can use and indeed are trying to use this fact to break up Afro-Asian solidarity not merely in the political but also in the economic sphere.

It should be remembered that one of the proposals of the Bandung conference was for greater economic co-operation between the Asian countries. This demand is already being raised among certain sections of the national bourgeoisie in Asia

and Africa. Similar demands, as well as proposals for bilateral relations with the socialist camp, are now developing and are likely to develop further.

ISRAEL: MYTH AND REALITY

Meir Vilner

ISRAEL, Comrade Vilner began, is a striking example of how dependence on the U.S.A. harmfully affects the political and economic situation of a country.

Israel gets from the U.S.A. so-called aid in various forms of about \$300 million a year. After the monopolies of the U.S.A. come the West German monopolies, which for purposes of economic expansion in the Middle East and for political reasons export capital to Israel in the form of "reparations".

During the past ten years foreign monopolies have invested capital in Israel — primarily in the form of goods — to the fantastic amount of \$3,000 million. In addition to this the Israeli Government confiscated property of the Arab refugees estimated by UNO at £200 million or \$560 million.

On the other hand, the foreign trade deficit is extremely large and steadily growing. The trade deficit in 1957 reached \$301,700,000. The deficit in the balance of payments for the same year was \$370,000,000.

It should be noted how closely Israel's trade is linked with the NATO states. Here are the figures for 1956:

	NATO countries	Socialist countries	Other countries
Import	80%	1.0%	19%
Export	85.4%	4.6%	10%

In these conditions a serious economic crisis in the U.S.A. may mean for Israel — in its present 100% pro-Western political orientation — complete economic collapse. But because of political considerations the U.S.A. will strive to prevent Israel from suffering such a collapse, for the imperialists use this country as a tool against the Arab national liberation movement and as a strategic base in the Near and Middle East.

In Israel, Comrade Vilner went on to say, the economy is based on an extremely unhealthy foundation. Production, in practically all its branches, is completely dependent upon American and West German "aid". Besides this, the economy is greatly influenced by the militarization of Israel. We must recall that this small country (with a total population of only 2 million) spent in the first nine years of its existence—according to official figures—2,000 million Israeli pounds for military purposes. This figure does not include various economic investments which bear a military or strategic character.

The position of the working class is deteriorating from year to year. Comrade Leslie Morris said here that in Canada there are 20 percent fully and partially unemployed out of the total labor force. He added that this was a world record. As to Israel, official figures for November 1957 indicated that 23 percent of the total labor force were unemployed. Of these 7 percent were totally unemployed and 16 percent partially unemployed. The absolute figure was 159,000 totally and partially unemployed. Furthermore, according to official figures, more than 318,000 people applied for social relief. This is a large number, comprising 17 percent of the entire population.

While prices are rising steadily and the burden of taxes is increasing, real wages are naturally declining. The average daily wage of an industrial worker in Israel declined from \$7.12 in 1949 to \$3.55 in 1956, i.e. a decline of 50 percent.

The characteristic features of the present situation are the restrictions on democratic freedoms, the intensification of the national oppression of the Arab population in Israel, the imprisonment of hundreds of Communists and progressives and repeated threats to outlaw the Communist Party.

I have already mentioned that Israel receives a lot of American and West German "aid". But the fact is that the more they "aid" us, the less is our economic independence, and the lower becomes the standard of living of the working population.

We have no heavy industry. We have only a very small output of the means of production. Our industry is largely light industry and partially based on assembling parts brought in from abroad, especially from the U.S.A. In other words, the colonial dependence of Israel on Britain has been transformed into semi-colonial dependence on the United States.

Government circles advance the cosmopolitan-American "theory" that a small country cannot be independent either politically or economically. Opinions like this are advanced in Israel not only by bourgeois economists and politicians but also by the Social Democratic Zionist leaders of Ben Gurion's Mapai, the party which is nationalistic in relation to the Arabs and cosmopolitan in relation to the Americans. This propaganda has led astray some of the Israeli people, and even a part of the working class. The truth of the matter is that this view was and is deceptive and contradicts the generally known facts.

Another "theory" circulated among our Social Democratic Zionists is that Israel is not a capitalist country. Prime Minister Ben Gurion declared at a Mapai conference that Israel was neither a capitalist nor a socialist country. This theory is spread in order to sow ideological demoralization in the ranks of the working class. The revisionists

of Yugoslavia, with their anti-Marxist theses, help to no small extent in circulating these theories.

On what is this theory based? On the fact that a large part of the economy is state capitalism (one-sixth of industry and of the quarries) and another large part is owned by the General Federation of Jewish Labour (20% of industry and of the quarries).

But this in no way changes the nature of Israeli capitalism. On the contrary, our own state of affairs proves that there is no basis for the theory of the Yugoslav leaders that state capitalism grows over into socialism. Our state capitalism is a stronghold of capitalism. It gives tremendous help to private capitalism and is an important base for foreign monopoly capital in our country. State capitalism has always been in the vanguard in attacking wages and working conditions.

Other revisionist theories too are current in Israel. One of them states that if we are not half-capitalist and half-socialist, then at least there are "islands of socialism" in Israel. The "Zionist-Socialist" party — Mapam — which advanced this theory — was invited to and participated in the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Mapam and the Yugoslav Communist League leaders have quite a few theories in common. For instance, one of these is that it is possible to build socialism within capitalism and also that there is no necessity for the working class to be led by the Communist Party. Another common theory, which also is in conflict with reality, is that "both world blocs" are responsible for the international tension.

In these difficult and complicated economic and political conditions, our Party shows the workers the only feasible way out: a fundamental change in Israel's policy. A change in the economic situation can be effected only by changing the general policy from that of dependence on and subordination to imperialism to one of independence, from that of "position of strength" in relation to the Arab peoples to one of peace. Through a policy of independence, peace and neutrality Israel will be able to solve many of its economic difficulties.

Our economy cannot successfully develop as long as our country remains an imperialist base against other Middle Eastern states. But a change can come if we change our attitude towards the Arab countries and towards the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. Israel can develop its economy on a sound basis by strengthening its economic independence, and by establishing close economic relations with the Soviet Union, with other countries of the socialist camp, and with the peoples of Asia and Africa.

In conclusion Comrade Vilner said that nationalism and chauvinism influenced the life of Israel to a very great extent. Bourgeois party leaders

appeal to the workers to give their consent voluntarily to the abandonment of their rights, to a lowering of the standard of living, to a tightening of the belt—all from “national” or “security” considerations.

Meir Vilner expressed the hope that in the light of the new balance of forces in the world and in the Middle East the Israeli people, too, will join in the anti-imperialist struggle. Our Communist Party, he concluded, will do everything in its power to bring our people onto the right road.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF THE ARGENTINE

Paulino Gonzalez Alberdi

ASSESSING the economic situation in the country Comrade Alberdi noted the following features characteristic of the situation:

1. Shrinking of the foreign market, including the British market;
2. Shrinking of the home market as a result of inflation and rising prices which outstrip wage increases (according to official statistics the cost of living in Buenos Aires went up 40 percent between May 1956 and December 1957);
3. Poor technical equipment of agriculture which entails higher cost of farming. This, subsequently, makes competition on the foreign market difficult and brings down the living standards of the peasant;
4. Worsening conditions of foreign trade due to the machinations of the imperialist monopolies;
5. Competition of the United States which sells its agricultural surpluses at dumping prices for local currency. The U.S. constitutes a threat to such traditional markets for the Argentine's grain and other products as the Brazilian and Chilean, as well as many European markets;
6. Difficulties of industrial development because of the decrease in the national consumption and the rise in prices on import items and raw materials;
7. Extremely acute financial situation.

During 1955 and 1957 the Argentine's unfavorable trade balance exceeded \$767 million. The Central Bank estimates the deficit in the payments balance for 1958 at \$405 million of which \$198 million will be covered at the expense of foreign credits, the \$207 million left unbalanced.

Comrade Alberdi then went on to speak of the political crisis in the country brought about by the nearly thirty years of military dictatorships, which serve the interests of the big landlords and big business and follow a policy of concessions to foreign imperialism. The masses and the working class have come out against this disastrous policy

and have been waging a number of major struggles in the course of which the leading role of the Communist Party of the Argentine has become increasingly evident. The Communist Party has scored big successes in rallying the broad masses of the people, including influential sections of the national bourgeoisie, in the struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy of the big landlords and cattle-breeders, for a progressive and democratic government. In the struggle to put the leadership of the trade unions into the hands of the workers, and for the economic and political demands of the working people, the Communists acted in unity with the masses and their trade union leaders still under the influence of Peronism, and also with the Radical trade union leaders and leaders of other trends.

Millions of working people took part in the big strikes, including several general strikes that were organized. Repressions notwithstanding, the strikes ended successfully; the attempts of the provisional government to freeze wages came to nought.

Shortly before the presidential elections and the elections to the legislative organs, continued Comrade Alberdi, the Communist Party called upon all democratic parties to support a common candidate for the presidency on the basis of a five-point program. The five points were: respect for democratic and trade-union liberties; wage increases; respect for the workers' gains; to stop evictions of tenant farmers; protection of the national wealth and national industry from imperialism. The Uncompromising Radical Civic Union, headed by Frondizi, expressed its agreement with the general features of the program and the Communist Party decided to support the candidatures of Frondizi and Gomez to the posts of president and vice-president respectively, and to nominate its own candidates in the elections to the legislative organs.

The Communist Party came out against Peron's slogan to cast blank ballot papers. It called upon the workers to go to the polls together with the Communists. The workers responded to the call of the Party. Also several small nationalist groups decided to cast their vote for Frondizi. In this way victory was won and Frondizi became president.

In his address to the Legislative Assembly on May 1, Frondizi gave the assurance that nobody would be victimized for his political convictions. He stated that the workers themselves must decide on the policy of the trade unions; that the army must not interfere in the political life of the country. Frondizi came out against dumping and economic discrimination which are prejudicial to the interests of the Latin-American countries, exposed the economic inequality between the United States and the countries of Latin America; he supported the right of nations to independence,

favorable trade with all countries with no political strings attached.

The Frondizi government passed a decree to increase wages by 60 percent; to block prices in principle; to stop evictions of tenant farmers; to put the leadership of the trade unions in the hands of the workers themselves. The Argentine today enjoys bourgeois-democratic liberties; the Communist Party is legal.

The imperialists, particularly the North American, hope to take advantage of our economic difficulties and compel Frondizi to capitulate to them and to renounce his program. In the meantime they inspire coups d'état, acting, mainly, through circles connected with Rear-Admiral Rojas.

The Communist Party considers that the victory of the masses at the elections on February 23 signifies, as Comrade V. Codovilla stated at the Central Committee plenum last March, "... a qualitative leap forward in the internal political situation. Favorable conditions have been created for breaking with the past domination of the landlord oligarchy and the foreign monopolies, and opening a new page in the political life of the country". But, as the speaker stressed in his report, "... the development of events will depend largely on the degree of organization and on the activity of the working masses themselves."

The Communist Party pursues an independent policy in relation to the government, criticizing its weaknesses and mistakes. "But", as was pointed out in the same report, "as long as the government observes its program this criticism should be aimed not at undermining the government, but strengthening it, not at overthrowing the government but at supporting it."

The Communist Party unflaggingly fights for trade-union unity, for an alliance of workers and peasants, for the establishment of a national democratic front, against the oligarchy and imperialism, for peace and for drawing the overwhelming majority of the Argentine people into this struggle under the leadership of the proletariat, led by its Party.

The program of the Communist Party advances the demand for an agrarian reform through the expropriation of the landed estates without compensation, but makes the point that "this expropriation will not affect the landholders who rationally administer their economy, who recognize the laws of the democratic government and who provide their agricultural workers and other working people of the countryside with the proper living and working conditions." The program likewise stresses that the big imperialist enterprises, and particularly those belonging to the United States, must be expropriated without compensation; but adds that this will not concern the foreign capital investments in the enterprises

and industries which promote the independent development of the national economy, and which will be subordinate to the laws of the country.

The Communist Party directs its main attack against the imperialist monopolies and against the more reactionary landowners. It is waging a struggle for an agrarian, anti-imperialist, bourgeois-democratic revolution through which lies the road to socialism for the Argentine.

The speaker stressed that at the present stage the education of the membership and the masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the struggle against revisionism, are particularly important. Revisionism in the Communist Party has expressed itself in the form of bourgeois-nationalist tendencies, in attempts by certain elements, alien to proletarian internationalism, to place the communist movement at the service of Peron. The proponents of these tendencies have been expelled from the Party.

The increasing influence of nationalism makes it essential that the Party conduct extensive educational work, explaining the truth about socialism as illustrated by the great achievements of the Soviet Union, China and the other countries of the socialist camp. There can be no room in our ranks for nationalistic ideas. The masses must be won over not to bourgeois nationalism but to the scientific Marxist-Leninist teaching through comprehensive propaganda, which does not preclude a policy of alliances in the common struggle. That is why the Communist Party is paying increasing attention to its press and publishing activities, to Party education at its schools and courses.

A new situation has arisen in the Argentine, said Comrade Alberdi in conclusion. The further course of events, which are greatly influenced by the sweeping achievements of the socialist camp in all fields, depends on the continued strengthening of the Communist Party, working-class unity, and the unity of the masses against imperialism and the oligarchy. The conditions are at hand when the working class and the people of the Argentine will be able to advance resolutely towards an anti-imperialist agrarian revolution, which is a stage in the struggle for socialism.

WORKING PEOPLE OF URUGUAY INTENSIFY THEIR STRUGGLE

José Luis Massera

TO UNDERSTAND how the economic crisis in the capitalist world affects the situation in Uruguay it is necessary, if only briefly, to outline the main features of our social and economic system.

Uruguay is a country that is dependent on imperialism and, especially, on North American imperialism. The agrarian system is determined by the very intensive monopolization of landed property, which sustains feudal survivals of all kinds. Although we have made big strides along the road of capitalist development, imperialism and the latifundia system are crippling this development. Uruguay's economy is markedly monocultural. Livestock produce, mainly wool, is the principal item of export.

All this cramps the development of industry which in the past few years has been stagnant and has even declined. This general decline is to be observed also in livestock breeding and agriculture. This situation in our economy makes it extremely sensitive to the state of foreign trade.

Uruguay's economy has been further adversely affected in the past few years as a result of the policy of U.S. imperialism and the ruling classes of the country, and also as a result of the crisis in the capitalist world.

An analysis of our foreign trade for 1957 reveals a very significant fact: an unfavorable balance in the case of trade with the capitalist countries, and a favorable one in the case of trade with the socialist countries. The only exception was the Netherlands, trade with which brought Uruguay a favorable balance of \$25 million. The explanation for this, however, is that the Netherlands is, primarily, a middleman in commerce with the socialist camp. Trade with the United States showed the biggest deficit: its exports to Uruguay totalled \$55 million, whereas imports were only \$12 million.

The growing economic difficulties have led to the closing down of factories and plants, to a decrease in the number of workers employed in production, the introduction of a shorter working day and working week. The number of unemployed and part-time workers has jumped to 70,000-80,000. This constitutes approximately a third of Uruguay's industrial proletariat. Unemployment and the high cost of living are telling heavily on the working people.

In these difficult conditions the working class has taken the path of struggle to defend its rights and better its conditions. Beginning with 1955 this struggle has greatly intensified. The numerous strikes, long and stubborn as a rule, have brought the workers major victories. Joining in these strikes were the working people of the basic industries—meat packers, dockers, seamen, railwaymen and other transport workers, metal, textile and building workers, and also the working people of other trades.

The working class is using new, more effective methods of struggle such as the occupation of factories and plants by workers, hunger strikes,

demonstrations of strikers and their wives in front of Parliament, organized marches for hundreds of miles from outlying towns and villages to Montevideo. The pressure of the masses on Parliament and the government has resulted, in many instances, in the workers winning the issue. Highly important is the fact that for the first time in the history of the country the agricultural workers have organized large-scale and prolonged strikes which were joined by the workers of the dairy industry, and by those engaged on the rice and sugar-beet plantations, etc.

A characteristic feature of this struggle is the strengthening of the position of the supporters of working-class unity. In the past few years there were dozens of 24-hour strikes which were supported by solidarity strikes of the various trade unions. In many cases precisely these solidarity strikes, in which up to 80 percent and more workers took part, decided the outcome of the struggle in favor of the working people. Centers were set up to co-ordinate the activities of the various trade unions of dockers, textile and building workers, civil servants, etc. The Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, which did everything within its power to undermine the unity of the workers, was gradually isolated and lost control over many of the trade unions. Finally, a Committee of Struggle for the Establishment of a Single Trade-Union Center was formed as well as other organizations which set as their aim to find ways and means for uniting all the trade unions into a single trade-union center. This unity movement was joined, along with the workers, by students, pensioners and other middle-class sections of the population.

The strike movement and the movement for joint action were able to gain momentum, primarily because paramount attention was centred on the struggle for the vital and immediate needs of the working people, in particular, the struggle for higher wages.

At the same time the intensity of the struggle, the participation of government bodies, Parliament and representatives of different political parties in settling the conflicts, helped the working class to gain confidence in its own strength, to acquire political experience, to put to the test the programs of the various parties, and what is all important, to understand that success depends, before all else, on the organization and unity of the working class.

Furthermore, the deepening crisis and growing struggle are more and more impelling the workers to link the struggle for the satisfaction of their immediate demands for wage increases and employment with the struggle in defense of democratic and trade-union liberties, and with the demand to solve the more important problems of

the national economy. Thus, the workers of the wool, the textile and other industries are waging a stubborn struggle for the development of trade with the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, seeing in this a means of providing employment in the said industries.

The pressure of the masses and also the effects of the crisis have brought about a substantial expansion of trade ties with the socialist countries, in spite of the stubborn resistance of the U.S. imperialists and internal reaction; in the first quarter of the current year the Soviet Union was our biggest importer and we have already received the first shipment of the 200,000 tons of oil purchased by the Uruguayan Government in the U. S. S. R.

Another example characterizing the present situation in the country is the struggle around the foreign-owned meat-packing enterprises which constitute a major investment of foreign capital in Uruguay. Investigations into the activities of the industry, carried out by a parliamentary commission on the initiative of the Communist Party, brought to light scandalous dealings and forgeries, and also the fact that the Uruguayan Government had liberally subsidized the owners. The latter, enraged at the disclosures, closed down the packing-houses, throwing thousands of workers into the street. In answer to this the workers began a stubborn and hard struggle in the course of which besides the economic demands for higher wages, employment, and discharge pay, the anti-imperialist demand to carry out the nationalization of the foreign-owned packing-houses was more and more insistently voiced. The struggle of the workers of the meat industry was supported by the whole proletariat of Uruguay who came out on solidarity strikes which were also joined by the students. Although the government attempted, and still is trying, to settle the conflict in favor of the owners of these enterprises, the movement of the masses has compelled it to recognize the workers' right to unemployment relief, discharge pay and also the right to take part in drawing up an inventory of the property of one of the packing-houses as a preliminary to its subsequent transfer to the state. The struggle for the complete nationalization of the meat-packing industry continues.

Such are some of the facts demonstrating the growing struggle of the working masses in Uruguay. This struggle is following the right course. Of the utmost importance is the strengthening of the united front of the popular masses, headed by the working class. Through joint action a number of concessions can be won from the ruling classes who, as a whole, have not broken, and do not want to break, their close ties with imperialism and the reactionary landholders.

We believe that in this way we will be able not

only to win our immediate and vital demands but, and this is a decisive factor, also to change the correlation of political forces, isolating the more reactionary pro-American elements, and establishing the democratic and patriotic forces, and first of all, the working class and its Communist Party, as the determining influence in the life of the country. Organized unity of the working class at trade-union levels, and the united action of the Communist and Socialist parties—such are the steps on the way to achieving our aims.

Latin America is entering a new, higher stage of struggle for national liberation and democracy. This, in our opinion, determines the urgent, imperative need to co-ordinate and unite the actions of the democratic and patriotic forces throughout Latin America. This would hasten the spread of the movement and bring us closer to our ultimate goal.

THE GROWING DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN VENEZUELA

Jesus Faria

THE ECONOMIC crisis in the United States, said Comrade Faria at the beginning of his statement, is having a most adverse effect on dependent countries such as Venezuela, which the North American monopolies have turned into a U.S. armory and a source of cheap oil and iron ore.

Venezuela accounts for more than half the total of U.S. investments in Latin America. The United States has imposed on it a predatory trade agreement and sells off its surplus farm produce, disrupting Venezuela's own production. The foreign monopolies have crushed the small-scale national industry that began to develop during World War II. The United States backed the puppet regime of Pérez Jiménez, which displayed features typical of fascism. When the Venezuelan people overthrew the Pérez Jiménez tyranny the U.S. monopolies deliberately reduced oil extraction to rob the Treasury of a substantial amount of the revenue.

As a result of ruthless exploitation of the workers by the North American monopolies, Comrade Faria continued, relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class is increasing and unemployment is mounting.

Jésus Faria pointed out that, faced with the obvious danger of complete loss of political independence by Venezuela, the patriotic elements are establishing contacts among themselves. They include both those who belong to political parties and those who do not, as well as patriots serving in the armed forces. Measures to be taken against unemployment and for the protection of national industry have been agreed between the United Central Trade Union Committee and the National

Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. An Association for the Defense of Venezuela has been founded to encourage national production; it involves all parties and public organizations.

The government has rejected a \$200 million loan which the United States tried to impose on Venezuela for the purchase of American goods. A steel-smelting plant is being built in Venezuela despite U.S. resistance. It will put out 1,600,000 tons of steel a year.

The present economic crisis in the United States, which is extending to the other capitalist countries, said Comrade Faria, is beginning to open and I believe will soon throw open the doors of Latin America to trade with the socialist countries. The idea of trade with the socialist countries is steadily gaining popularity in Venezuela.

The unity which the people achieved in fighting to overthrow the dictatorship has been maintained. The splendid victories achieved by the Venezuelans in 1958—on January 23 when the Pérez Jiménez tyranny was overthrown, on May Day when over half a million marchers made that victory final and on May 13, when Nixon was defeated for all that U.S. marines were shipped close to Venezuela to back him—provide favorable conditions for the expansion of the democratic movement on the basis of unity of the working people.

AUSTRALIAN WORKERS FACE THE CRISIS

Lawrence Aarons

STORM clouds are gathering over the Australian economy, bringing grave economic difficulties, unemployment and reduced living standards, and the threat of economic crisis. Production is declining in several important branches of industry, and there is stagnation in some others.

Internally, the situation is one of incipient overproduction. In the last twenty years there has been a considerable industrial development in Australia, which has become an industrial-agrarian country. Taking 1938-39 as 100, steel production in 1956-57 was 244, cement production 257, while electric power production rose from 4,700 million kwh in 1939 to 16,800 million kwh in 1956. There has been rapid growth in the production of motor vehicles, agricultural machinery and durable consumer goods. This growth was possible because of the favorable situation of Australian capitalism during and after the war (no war damage, the development of industry necessitated by the war, and high export prices for primary products), by a population growth from 7.5 million in 1947 to almost 10 million in 1957 (including over one million immigrants). In previous years, the economy has been aided by big investments in fixed capital. However, there was a steep decline

in fixed capital investment last year, while prospects for this year are officially estimated as being even worse. These internal problems are becoming more acute as the effects of the U.S. crisis are affecting both directly and indirectly the Australian economy. Already the capitalist class is trying to solve its economic difficulties by attacking the wages and conditions of the working class, using growing unemployment as a weapon to frighten the workers.

The position of the Australian working class has worsened as the result of inflation and price rises, of the relentless efforts of the employers to impose a wage freeze, aided by the government and the arbitration courts, and of harsh taxation.

Per capita consumption of basic foodstuffs is declining steadily, as is consumption of clothing. Instalment-buying debts of the workers exceed £300 million and are growing all the time.

The ruling class is trying all methods to weaken the trade unions and divide the labor movement. The trade unions are shackled by reactionary legislation aimed at preventing industrial action and the arbitration courts impose savage fines for breaches of this anti-union legislation. The ruling class uses the state apparatus as well as money and propaganda to defeat militant leaders and keep the extreme right-wing elements in office in the unions. They want to use these elements to confuse and divide the workers, weaken the unions and split the labor movement.

However, these efforts are meeting with increased resistance, growing unity of the labor movement and loss of ground by the extreme right wing.

This growing unity and determination to fight capital are the guarantee that the capitalist class will not find it easy to place the burdens of their economic crisis on the back of the working people. The working class can resist monopoly capital and enlist the support of the other sections of the working people by fighting the attacks of monopoly and uniting around a positive program.

Such a program to meet the threat of economic crisis was adopted by the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Australia in April 1958.

This program sets out the main immediate demands of the working class: increased industry allowances and the restoration of the losses caused by the suspension by the arbitration court of quarterly cost of living adjustments; for the 35-hour week. This program demands increased old age pensions, child endowment, higher unemployment allowances, and free medical and health services. Action is demanded for a solution to the urgent national problems of housing and education. Demands are advanced for stable marketing and guaranteed prices for the farmers, and their relief from debt burdens and monopoly exploitation.

The slogan under which the Party calls for

united action is: "The People Versus Monopoly". The struggle for peace, against the reactionary foreign policy of the Menzies government, its support for U.S. imperialist plans and its aggressive attitude to the peoples of Asia in joining the SEATO bloc, is stressed as an indispensable condition for successful resistance to monopoly and economic crisis.

Despite all the efforts of the ruling class, the extreme right-wing leaders in the trade unions and the Democratic Labor Party (consisting of extreme right-wing elements that broke away from the Labor Party), the trade union movement is becoming more united and militant in its resistance to the attacks of monopoly capital. The workers are fighting for wage increases and by hard struggles are winning some demands, while attempts at speed-up, victimization and union-smashing are staunchly resisted.

Workers directly threatened with dismissal have waged mass campaigns in defense of their right to work. The miners have fought over two years, by stay-in strikes, demonstrations and mass campaigns, against dismissals and close-down of pits. Building workers have organized a mass public campaign to save the building industry, to provide homes for the people. Shipbuilding workers are fighting for the building of an Australian shipping line to break the British and American shipping monopolies which plunder the Australian people.

All these actions are part of the struggle for peace, against the U.S.-dictated foreign policy of the Menzies government.

The slogan of peaceful construction instead of war preparations is more and more widely accepted among the people. Such mass movements as those described above have adopted this slogan.

Already the growing economic difficulties have brought wide support for increasing trade with the socialist countries. At first advocated only by the Communist Party, trade with the socialist countries is now supported by the labor movement as a whole; the primary producers and many sections of the capitalist class are also supporting this policy.

Influenced by the mass movement and the changes in the world situation, and as a result of the long struggle of the Communist Party, the Australian Labor Party has adopted a much more progressive foreign policy.

The A.L.P. foreign policy supports recognition of the Chinese People's Republic, declares for the withdrawal of Australian troops from Malaya, supports the banning of nuclear weapons, and opposes the aggressive policy of the Menzies government in South-East Asia. The Labor Party has also declared its policy as being for the national-

ization of monopolies, which reverses the trend imposed by the extreme right-wing. This also provides the basis for the discussion in the labor movement on issues of socialism which can help the struggle for united action.

The Australian working class is stronger in numbers and organization, and is much more experienced than in 1929 when the world economic crisis struck. The working class will not easily accept mass unemployment, lower living standards and poverty.

There are, of course, some big problems to be faced. The prolonged period of full employment has created some illusions in the minds of many workers, such as expressed in the view that the government "would never be game to have another depression". However, while these illusions are dangerous, they have this positive aspect, that they express the firm determination of the workers that they will not tolerate such hardships as they experienced in the years between 1929 and 1940.

Economic difficulties will be used by reaction to stir up division between Australian and foreign-born workers. The working class movement must combat these chauvinist ideas and unite all workers in the struggle against the real enemy, monopoly capital.

Economic crisis will bring with it efforts by reaction to develop fascist movements, particularly among sections of the middle class; but the working class can win over the majority of the middle class in the present world and national situation if it struggles for the interest of the whole working people against monopoly capital.

The essential conditions for developing popular resistance to the capitalist offensive as the crisis develops are work by the Communist Party to combine united action with the criticism of reformist ideology and practice. Criticism must be made of the Keynesian theories of the causes and solution of crises, and the theory of "Democratic Socialism" which the Labor Party develops from Keynesian ideas. Revisionist theories, which meet on common ground with the reformist ideology, must be combatted if the working class is to fight successfully against the attacks of the class enemy.

The Communist Party must be able correctly to combine its propaganda for socialism and criticism of bourgeois ideology in the labor movement with its mass work in the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, and in the struggle for peace and democratic liberties. This task is made much easier by the great contrast that exists between the economic, cultural and political position of the working people in the socialist countries as compared with their position in the capitalist world.

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS

CONTRIBUTIONS to the discussions were also made by Comrades Ernest Burnelle, William Kashtan, Inkeri Lehtinen and Knut Tell.

Comrade Burnelle emphasized that the workers are by no means helpless in the face of the oncoming crisis. They are today stronger than they were during the terrible crisis of the '30s. By vigorous struggle they can reduce the impact of the crisis and change the balance of forces in their favor.

Social-Democrats, continued Comrade Burnelle, constantly maintain that working-class struggle leads to chaos and harms the national economy. But this is by no means the case. It is the anarchy of the capitalist system that harms the economy. Working-class struggle aids social progress. The clarification of this point will help the Communists more speedily to forge unity around the working class among all who oppose the capitalist system.

Comrade Kashtan agreed with other speakers who had said that the working class is today not helpless in the face of the developing economic crisis. He cited facts testifying to the militant mood of the Canadian working class, and pointed out that the existence of the socialist camp is having a profound influence upon the world economy and also upon the role, strength and struggle of the working class in the capitalist world.

Comrade Inkeri Lehtinen said that symptoms of a crisis of over-production were to be seen in most branches of Finnish industry. The Communists take the view that an increase in the living standards of the people would make it possible to sell more goods on the home market. It was also necessary to extend trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Comrade Knut Tell, describing Sweden's increasing economic problems, cited figures showing the growth of unemployment. Last winter 60,000 were registered in Sweden — the highest figure for many years. It is expected that the figure will increase still further by autumn. This year there has been a decline in real wages as a result of short time and also increased prices.

The working class of Sweden does not want to accept such a state of affairs. It demands full employment and higher living standards.

The fight for the adoption of the law enforcing pensions for all workers at the employers' expense was, said the speaker, an important step forward in the development of the Swedish working-class movement. The Communist Party had for many years built up public opinion in favor of this demand. As a result, the Social-Democratic government had to put forward its own proposals. Joint effort by the entire labor movement became possible.

Like many other speakers, Comrade Knut Tell emphasized that joint action was the guarantee of the labor movement's success.

Activities of Communist and Workers' Parties

PUBLICATION IN THE SOVIET UNION OF THE COMPLETE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF V. I. LENIN

THE Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. is issuing a Complete Edition of the Works of V. I. Lenin. This is the fifth edition of V. I. Lenin's works published in the Soviet Union. Gathered together in its 55 volumes is Lenin's entire literary heritage, made up of his works as published in the 3rd and 4th editions, and in the periodical press, and of materials that have appeared in the Lenin Miscellanies. Since the publication of the 4th edition — the most complete of all the editions that have hitherto appeared — quite a number of additional documents have been discovered, including a considerable number of original manuscripts of Lenin's found in Poland and passed on to the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. in 1954 by

the C.C. of the Polish United Workers' Party. The new edition of Lenin's Works will include the newly discovered documents.

Some of the new documents concern the first Russian Revolution, and also the battle waged by Lenin during the period of reaction against the Liquidators, and against ideological vacillations and departures from Marxism, and for the preservation and consolidation of the Party. The fifth edition will also include new documents relating to the First World War, namely, an outline of, and plans for a pamphlet (that remained unwritten) entitled "The European War and European Socialism," notes relating to essays by G. V. Plekhanov and V. Kosovsky, notes concerning the Zimmerwald

Conference, passages copied from the German military historian K. Clausewitz's "On War and the Conduct of War," and also Lenin's comments on the book, etc.

Of great interest are the documents of V. I. Lenin relating to the early years of the existence of the Soviets, that are included in the Collected Works and are published for the first time. They give us a picture of Lenin's work as Chairman of the Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defense during the period of foreign military intervention and the Civil War, and of the work he did in guiding the national economy, his constant concern about improving and cheapening the state apparatus, and his insistence on the observance of revolutionary law, etc.

Among the new documents are some that describe the Party's fight against Trotsky, Bukharin, and the "Workers' Opposition" during the period covering the discussion on the trade unions and at the Tenth Party Congress. These materials include the outline of the speech on "The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky," the draft of the concluding part of the article "The Party Crisis," and materials for the pamphlet "Once Again about the Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin."

Among the documents included in this latest edition of Lenin's works are such highly important ones as those dictated by him in December 1922, and January 1923, namely, "Letter to the Congress," known as his "testament," and his letters entitled "The Attribution of Legislative Functions to the State Planning Commission," and "The Question of Nationalities or of 'Autonomization'."

Several documents concerning the international working-class movement will see the light of day for the first time in this latest edition. Of them reference should particularly be made to the plan for the article "The Tasks of the Third International," the outline of his speech at the Second Comintern Congress entitled "The International Situation and the Main Tasks of the Communist International," "Remarks on the United Front Theses," and some documents connected with the work of the Third Congress of the Comintern.

V. I. Lenin was irreconcilable to any sort of departure from the principles of internationalism, and exposed all forms of national oppression, no matter in what refined manner they were expressed. At the same time he warmly welcomed the movement for national liberation of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries. Included in the Collected Works are such documents, published for the first time, as passages, copied in 1900 from official publications, relating to the events in China. He made use of these materials

in his article "The Chinese War," in which he called on the working people to wage a determined struggle against the imperialist policy of enslaving the Chinese people.

A number of Lenin's speeches and talks included for the first time in the Collected Works, deal with the foreign policy of peace conducted by the Soviet State, and with the efforts it made to establish economic relations with all countries. Thus, in a talk that took place in February 1920 with Lincoln Eyre, correspondent of the American paper, *The World*, Lenin said: "We have repeatedly spoken of our desire for peace . . . We have no intention, however, of allowing ourselves to be strangled to death for the sake of peace."

"I see no reason why a Socialist State such as ours is cannot have unrestricted business ties with capitalist countries."

Considerable space is assigned in the Complete Edition to Lenin's preparatory materials for his works, which include outlines, passages copied from various works, notes written in the margins of books read, etc.

Lenin made a very attentive study of the history of the Paris Commune, and used the experience gained from it in the practical work of the Russian revolutionary movement. The new edition will contain a document published for the first time, namely, the synopsis made by Lenin in June 1895 of the first part of the book of the French historian G. Lefrançais "Essay on the Movement of the Paris Communards in 1871." While condemning Lefrançais' Proudhonist misconceptions Lenin, as can be seen from his notes, displays a lively interest in the heroic proletarian movement of the Communards.

A separate volume of the Works is devoted to Lenin's synopsis of the correspondence of Marx and Engels. There are marginal notes made by Lenin to the letters. For example, he makes the following note to the text of Marx's letter about the causes of the defeat of the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany: "The 1848 Revolution failed . . . because the bourgeois preferred *peace with slavery* to the mere *prospect* of fighting for liberty." The synopsis contains a criticism of the defects and theoretical errors of the French working-class movement, of the opportunist tactics of British trade-unionism, and also remarks concerning such philosophers as Feuerbach, Hume, Kant, and others.

Lenin's comments and notes made on his copy of Marx's *Capital* will be published for the first time. The copy of *Capital* that Lenin worked on in 1890 was found in his private library and was handed over to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin's preparatory materials for his works show us the laboratory, as it were, of his creative

thought, and in several cases supplement his works. The preparatory materials for Lenin's work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, constitute a separate volume of the Collected Works. As is known, in preparing this work Lenin made use of nearly 500 books, including numerous statistical abstracts. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism has a collection of more than 120 sources containing Lenin's notes, calculations and remarks. Many of these materials will be made public for the first time.

Lenin's "Philosophical Notebooks" will also constitute a separate volume, which will include new materials, such as marginal notes to G. V. Plekhanov's "Fundamental Problems of Marxism" and "N. G. Chernyshevsky," V. Shulyatikov's "Justification of Capitalism in West-European Philosophy, From Descartes to Mach," and also several short articles about books and reviews, dealing with philosophy and natural science, including for example, one about a review of E. Haeckel's "Wonders of Life" and "The Riddle of the Universe."

Lenin's "Notebooks on Imperialism" are also published as a separate volume.

Considerable space in the Complete Edition of Lenin's Works will be devoted to his correspondence (letters, telegrams, instructions, orders, notes, etc.). The Works will include hitherto unpublished letters relating to the period of the functioning of *Iskra*, addressed to G. V. Plekhanov, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, S. I. and I. I. Radchenko, and V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich. The correspondence will comprise separate volumes, the concluding ones. Lenin's letters to his relatives will constitute a separate volume.

The Complete Edition will differ from the previous editions not only in volume, but also in having been prepared on a higher scientific level. The texts of Lenin's works are being checked once again with the originals: Lenin's manuscripts, publications that he himself prepared for the press, newspaper and magazine articles published during his lifetime, stenograms of his speeches edited by him, and so forth. Works written by Lenin in foreign languages are given in both the original text and Russian translation.

The Collected Works are supplied with scientific explanatory materials, including a general preface for the entire edition, prefaces, lists of dates relating to the life and work of Lenin, and notes to each volume. There will also be a name index that will provide brief biographical data regarding the persons mentioned and an index of literature quoted or mentioned by Lenin.

The publication of the Complete Works of V. I. Lenin is a great event in the ideological life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the entire international working-class movement.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

ON July 17-18, there took place in Montreuil a National Conference of the French Communist Party. The Conference agenda contained one point: "United action by all Republicans for 'No!' at the plebiscite, and against personal and military dictatorship, which opens up the way to fascism".

In his report, the Party General Secretary, Comrade Maurice Thorez, dealt first and foremost with the most important political events, and gave his assessment of the position of the various classes and their parties since France was liberated in 1944. Thorez emphasized that the working class and its party are not and cannot be unconcerned about the particular forms in which the bourgeois state operates. However limited bourgeois democracy may be, the advantages it presents and the rights it ensures — even if a tense struggle has constantly to be waged to uphold them — are of great importance: under the bourgeois democratic system, where Parliament and universal suffrage exist, conditions are created which enable the proletariat to become increasingly conscious of its strength and to organize. The de Gaulle Constitution, on the other hand, endows one individual (the President) with dictatorial power and robs the people and their Deputies of all real possibilities of control or interference, it abolishes the Republic. Furthermore, the plebiscite set for September 28, when it is proposed to force the people to endorse this Constitution, is a caricature of the expression of the people's will. The electors will have too little time before the voting takes place to decide whether to say "Yes" or "No", that is to endorse or reject the text of the Constitution placed before them, while their parliamentary representatives will not even be able to discuss it. The Government counts on using confusion and demagoguery to secure the adoption of the draft constitution. Our Party must therefore intensify its political work so as to explain all this to every family, to show the real meaning of the draft constitution offered to them, and to expose the utter falsity of the campaign conducted in the press and by radio, which are in the government's service.

Do sufficient forces exist to rout Bonapartism and to bring victory to democracy? The National Conference showed that they do. Wherever Communists are to be found they are already conducting a great struggle for the Republic. The National Conference showed that they are working with a full sense of responsibility to organize the masses for the conduct of this struggle.

The main task is to organize resistance to every

fascist attack on the people's liberties, on members of the working-class movement and democratic organizations. This is being done with success by our activists. Facts such as the following were mentioned by speakers at the National Conference. In Lyons the fascists attempted to undertake terrorist acts, but were given a crushing rebuff. On May 27, work was stopped by 70,000 workers; on May 29 a total of 20,000 demonstrators appeared on the streets, while July 14 was turned, in this city famous for its old fighting traditions, into a day of mighty defense of the Republic. In Toulouse the local fascists failed to achieve success, nor will they achieve it in the future. They tried to scare the people on July 14, by utilizing militarized fascist forces that had come to the city for this special purpose. The raids, however, made by the fascist gangs on the premises of trade unions and other public organizations, met with strong and energetic resistance. So much so that the fascists were forced to withdraw. In Paris, the leaders of Postal Orders Center, who came from Algeria, tried to organize the work of the Center in "Algerian" style. The employees immediately resisted the attempt, and the Committee of Public Safety set up by the fascists was exposed and forced into silence.

These examples (and one could give many more) indicate that the people are not following the fascists' lead. That is the main weakness of the fascists. They, of course, have considerable resources at their disposal. For example, in the Department du Nord the Committee of Public Safety purports to be a committee for supporting General de Gaulle, but actually it is an association of big employers. The fascists are in league with the government foisted on France due to the capitulation of the majority of the members of the Chamber of Deputies and to the treachery of Guy Mollet, and enjoy the support of that government. But the people never have supported them, and never will do so.

The main idea arising out of the debate at the National Conference is the one referred to by Comrade Jacques Duclos in closing the Conference, when he said that if de Gaulle's accession to power caused some people to entertain certain illusions, these latter are now beginning to disappear. Delegates told the Conference of how the mothers of young soldiers fighting in Algeria, women who previously had thought that de Gaulle would bring their sons home again, are now indignant and up in arms at the way the war is extending and military assignments and armed forces are growing. Delegates also spoke of how workers are becoming increasingly clear about the value to be placed on the social demagoguery of de Gaulle, who is freezing wages, rejecting the demands of the working people of town and coun-

try, while at the same time assigning great privileges to the capitalists.

Dissatisfaction with the personal rule of de Gaulle is spreading among the workers, office employees, and all the common people. These sentiments will intensify. The rapid increase in the number of Committees for the Defense of the Republic, which are made up of intellectuals, particularly schoolteachers, testifies to the determination of this section of the population to fight for democracy and the Republic. This point was dealt with by delegate Jean Pierre Vigier, who told of two resolutions adopted on July 5 at a university meeting. One resolution condemns the plebiscite in principle, while the other sets forth the idea of a common fighting program for the forces of the Left.

There has also been a consolidation of unity among the intelligentsia, due to the fact that Communist intellectuals have done considerable work among their colleagues. They have been able to convince large numbers of them of the need to cooperate with the Communist Party in the battle for democracy, and have shown that the Republic and its liberties are the result of 150 years of joint struggle by the workers and progressive bourgeois elements, and that the same sort of joint struggle will be able to bar the way to the fascist type of regime to which de Gaulle is opening the gates in France, following the legalization of that regime in Algeria.

Much attention was paid at the Conference to problems connected with the participation of peasants in the battle to restore and retain the Republic. Comrade Waldeck Rochet pointed out that fascism would be a misfortune to the peasants, and expressed his satisfaction with the decision recently adopted by the National Council of the General Confederation of Agriculture. The decision rejected the attempts of the big landowners to compel the National Council to declare in favor of de Gaulle and of the draft constitution. Communist peasants will multiply their efforts to prevent the realization of the designs of the big landowners, and to draw the masses of the poor peasants into the struggle.

Wherever Communists are they are doing their duty. There can be no doubt that equipped as they now are with the decisions of the National Conference they will do this duty of theirs still more effectively.

The struggle in France is now acquiring added momentum. The Communists are doing all they can to break down the "wait and see" attitude that is particularly widespread among the so-called "non-Communist Lefts" and that provides a clear field for the government's propaganda, which has considerable financial backing. The time has come for all democrats, for all who believe in the Re-

public to join forces; the time has come for all the anti-fascist forces without exception to close their ranks.

Over 3,500 Committees for the Defense of the Republic were established between May 13 and July 14. In the factories and the districts of Paris alone more than 500 are in existence. There should be a considerable increase in the number of committees, and this will take place due to the energetic work of the Communists. It is a necessary thing, and everything exists to make its realization possible. The Conference called for every effort to be exerted to bring the war in Algeria to an end, on the basis of recognizing the right of the Algerian people to independence, and urged resolute action to be taken against any military adventure in the Middle East. Our Party will be tireless in the fight for peace and disarmament.

The Conference showed that our Party has emerged with honor from the trials to which it has been put in recent battles. The Party has played and continues to play its role of vanguard, its loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism being unshakable. It is the only party that has entered into battle with the fascists, and stands four-square in support of its Central Committee. Its activists are equal to the lofty demands made on them by this hard struggle. In just the few weeks that have passed since the Algerian conspiracy, our Party has won 6,000 new members, while the League of Youth membership has grown by 4,000; new party units have been formed; our press circulation more than doubled in the months of May and June. All this shows the increased interest of the masses of the people in our Party's policy, and testifies to the efforts of our activists in spreading the truth.

The National Conference addressed an urgent appeal to the people of France, confident that this appeal will meet with a wide response. The optimism that reigned at the Conference during the two days that it was in session was based not on mere wishful thinking, but on the possibilities that actually exist for inflicting defeat on fascism. Fully aware of the fact that a heavy responsibility lies on us, we shall be in the forefront of the struggle and shall exert every effort in the battle for freedom, for the restoration of the Republic and for the making of France into a great nation in a world of peace and friendship among all nations.

Gaston Viens,

*Secretary of the CC of the
French Communist Party.*

A NEW AND EFFECTIVE METHOD OF LEADERSHIP

AT a time when People's China is effecting a big leap forward in industrial and agricul-

tural development, the departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the ministries of the Chinese People's Republic are improving their forms of leadership. One of the new and effective forms of leadership is the organization of conferences according to industry, right on the spot.

Previously such conferences were convened as a rule in Peking. They frequently proceeded along stereotyped lines and failed to solve numerous specific problems. The diverse facts drawn from practical experience cited in the speeches made at these conferences were often dry in character and devoid of content. Further, in the process of passing on, from the top downwards, the decisions adopted at the conference gradually lost their essential features, with the result that when they reached the local bodies, all that was left of them was a few phrases or instructions. That is why these conferences were not very effective.

Fewer empty speeches are made at conferences held on the spot, right in the localities; speakers base themselves mainly on their own concrete experience, and are able to answer the questions put to them, to show things as they are, and even to give a personal demonstration of this or that method of work. All that the participants in the conferences see and hear are living facts. In these cases, the eyes, the ears, hands and brain take part in the work done. The atmosphere at such conferences is a lively one, full of freshness and high spirits. In the course of a few days you can discuss and solve problems both from the theoretical angle and from the practical, the technical point of view. Here is an example. Some officials in China considered the new two-wheel, two-share plows to be unsuitable for the water-meadow fields in the southern provinces, and so when such plows reached the South, they were either dismantled or melted down. To settle the endless arguments about the proper use of the plows, a special conference was called last February in the Huangyan district, Chetsang province. Representatives of the appropriate organizations of 14 southern provinces took part in the conference deliberations. They acquainted themselves with the design of the plow and expressed their views about the improvements suggested in each of these provinces, and also exchanged experiences in the use and distribution of the plows. Many questions connected with the employment of different models of the plows were settled as a result of the delegates acquainting themselves with the experiences of others, coupled with the actual examination and comparison of the models concerned. Of particular value in helping to allay various doubts about the possibilities of using this agricultural implement were the demonstrations of the work of an improved two-share plow right in the water-meadows.

Thanks to all of this the introduction of the plow and other agricultural implements in the southern provinces has assumed wide proportions.

Conferences of this kind are now being arranged all over China, and many problems of importance are securing timely solution at them. For example, in the recent period such conferences held in all provinces have summed up the results of the summer harvesting, and discussed the preliminary plans drawn up for the winter sowing and for winter irrigation construction. In June the departments of the C.C. of the C.P.C. dealing with financial and commercial problems joined with the appropriate government ministries in convening a conference to deal with problems of trade in the Hsinhoi district, Kwantung province. The trade organizations of this area, guided by the district Party Committee, have considerably improved their work as regards satisfying the production and domestic needs of the people. Those present at the conference acquainted themselves with the experience acquired in this field, exchanged opinions on the subject and indicated some tasks arising in the sphere of trade as affecting the whole country.

Conferences conducted in the localities have been warmly supported by the local cadre workers. After participating in such conferences, they say: "Conferences in the localities help you to get to the bottom of things and settle problems completely." "At meetings in the city you lose much — at conferences in the localities you gain much." "A three-day conference on the spot is the equal of a good harvest."

Thus, the effectiveness of conferences in the localities is to be explained, firstly, by the fact that they help in acquiring a profounder practical knowledge, in getting into direct contact with concrete things. That is why the participants in the conferences are able, in accordance with the requirements of materialism, to deal directly with the phenomena themselves to get to know them as they really are, without any extraneous additions, and to explain them; secondly, by examining things on the spot, by comparative assessments, and by joint discussion, the conferences make it possible to acquire the very best of available experience, to supplement one another's experience and so enrich the best experience; and thirdly, the conferences considerably reduce, and even completely eliminate, the distance between the leadership and practice, and the leadership and the masses. Joint discussion and a visual study of practical things in the localities result in the leaders and the masses, officials of higher bodies and officials of the lower bodies, being able to exchange opinions and arrive at a single point of view.

Conferences in the localities are easily convened

and pass off well. They truly constitute a genuinely Marxist method of leadership.

PARTY POLITICAL WORK IN THE HUNGARIAN COUNTRYSIDE

ONE of the most important fields of activity of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is political work among the rural population. At the end of April, the Party Central Committee adopted a decision on the subject.

Basing ourselves on the analysis made in the C.C. decision, we may characterize the position in the Hungarian countryside as follows: the attitude of the peasantry is one of confidence in the policy of the Party and the Government. Order has been restored in the countryside, and the working peasants are playing a more active part in the discussion of political problems. There is an increase in agricultural production and in its intensity, as is shown, for example, by the extension of the area under sugar beet and corn.

Characteristic, also, of the position in the countryside is the strengthening of the socialist sector. The suppression of the armed counter-revolutionary revolt was followed by the establishment of over 1,000 agricultural co-operatives; that is to say, the majority of the co-operatives disbanded by the counter-revolutionaries have been restored. The number of co-operatives of the lower type increased by 150 as against the number existing before counter-revolution broke out. As to the higher type of co-operative, nearly 40,000 peasants have joined them since the time the revolt was crushed. The economic position of the co-operatives has become stronger, there has been an improvement in the running of them, and their prestige has risen.

While this is so, quite a few difficulties have still to be overcome in the Hungarian countryside. In a number of places one still meets with a somewhat wary attitude among the peasantry as regards the measures of the Party and the Government, an increased attraction towards individual farming is to be observed among certain groups of the small and the middle peasantry, and the class enemy is still active. Party and state organs and the members of the co-operatives themselves are not carrying on a sufficiently consistent and purposeful campaign for peasants to join the co-operatives.

The positive results achieved in the countryside testify to the correctness of the Party's policy in agriculture. At the same time, the existing difficulties and defects indicate the need for raising the level of Party political work among the peasantry. The lines along which this work is now being conducted in the countryside are as follows:

the Party considers it an important task to strengthen the leadership of the branches and to raise the level of their activity. The Central Committee is dealing with this problem by promoting locally the most capable and politically developed Communists, by promoting village intellectuals who are loyal to people's democracy, by promoting women, and also by giving Communists occupying leading posts in the Party and state apparatus who so desire, the opportunity of returning to the countryside to carry on their work there.

The Party's supports in the countryside are the machine-and-tractor stations, which in recent years have achieved considerable success in their work. They still, however, are not performing their revolutionizing role in the countryside in full measure. To a considerable degree this is to be explained by the weakness of the machine-and-tractor station Party organizations. The Party C.C. decision provides for the dispatch, by the year's end, to all big machine-and-tractor stations of highly qualified and politically developed Party workers, who are to function as full-time secretaries of the Party units.

The Central Committee considers that a most important condition for intensifying Party political work is to improve the whole style of work of the Party units, to secure an all-round strengthening of their ties with the masses. What is required of the local Party units is greater independence in working out the measures to be adopted, account being taken of the specific conditions in the given locality. While the general problems of home and foreign policy have to be explained, what is needed is that the Party units deal more concretely with the specific problems that affect the interests of the various strata of the peasantry. The Party units have been set the task of systematically acquainting the peasantry with the Party's measures and decisions that affect life in the countryside, of waging a struggle against tendencies to keep silent about the prospects of the socialist transformation of agriculture, of explaining to the members of the co-operatives that they are the Party's chief support in the countryside and that they must demonstrate the advantages of larger-scale collective farming.

A particularly important part in strengthening the Party's ties with the rural working people is played by the mass organizations. That is why the Fatherland People's Front committees must be more extensively drawn into the work of conducting political-educational and agrotechnical propaganda mainly among the individual peasants, of organizing and supporting various initiatory groups and associations. The Communist Youth League organizations are setting up voluntary youth mutual-aid groups, agrotechnical study courses, which

instil in the youth a love for work in agriculture.

The Party units see their task to be the intensification of the political struggle against the class enemy in the countryside. The fire should be directed first and foremost against enemy propaganda, the aim of which is to hold back the socialist transformation of agriculture. It is important to expose the baselessness of assertions about the need to postpone, and postpone endlessly, the time limit for effecting socialist transformations in the countryside, about the supposedly spontaneous character of the development of the co-operative movement, and about the allegedly stable nature of individual farming, etc., and at the same time to combat nationalism, chauvinism, irredentism and clerical theories. Where the Party openly and boldly declares its position on these issues, it strengthens its influence over the small and the middle peasantry.

The decision on Party political work in the countryside adopted by the Central Committee is being widely discussed by all Party units. A number of rural Party branches have already succeeded, in a short time, in accumulating some positive experience in re-organizing this work along the lines of the Central Committee decision. Thus, for example, in Szolnok, Party members in many of the villages of the province have succeeded, with the support and material aid of non-Party people, in building club premises. On holidays and in the evening gatherings are arranged to which Party members each bring along two or three non-Party people. Events are arranged in which the local Councils and Fatherland People's Front organizations take part. One such event was a conference which discussed the state of agriculture in the province. The conference proceedings received publicity in the press and by radio. Constituency propaganda groups made up of Party members have been established in the province. Each member of such a group is attached to 6 or 8 families of non-Party people; he maintains regular contact with them, and answers all the questions they raise. In Békés Province, many Party members who are individual peasants have applied for membership of co-operatives. New co-operatives have begun to be set up in over 20 villages. A number of Party units have improved work among middle peasants, and the leaders of Party units systematically meet groups of peasants. In Szabolcs Province, the Party branches have begun increasingly to involve in activity the village intelligentsia, who exert considerable influence over the peasants. Teachers have been elected secretaries of some Party branches. Of interest in this province is the experience gained in admitting to the co-operatives young peasants whose parents as yet refuse to join. For the time being these young folk join the co-operatives with-

out contributing land, but they are confident that their example will be followed by their parents, who when they do become co-operative members will contribute their land to the common pool. A very successful affair in this area was the meeting arranged between women who are still individual peasants and women who are members of co-operatives. Party meetings in Fehér Province appointed commissions, their job being to draw up concrete plans for the development of the co-operatives locally. These commissions discussed the work of the respective Party unit secretary and local Council chairman, and made proposals for building operations in the village concerned.

The facts cited above go to show that some progress can be registered in Party political work among the rural population. Very much, however, still remains to be done. What the Party is aiming at is to secure that all the 150,000 village Party members thoroughly understand that the style of work of many of the local Party units still does not fit the new conditions, that their main job at the present time is to intensify Party political work. When the positive experience gained by Party units is summed up and spread, it helps to raise the level of the entire Party political work done in the countryside, and this is the prime condition for the further development of the co-operative movement.

Janos Keseru,
Asst. Head of Agricultural
Department of C.C., H.S.W.P.

POLITICAL TRAINING IN THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

THE implementation of the political line adopted by the VIII Congress of the Italian Communist Party, and the fight against the onslaughts on the Party that have recently been increasingly directed against it by opponents of all sorts, require that the Party's active workers have a good theoretical steeling. Bearing this in mind, the Communist Party has done considerable work in ideologically training its leading cadres and rank-and-file Communists. This year more than 50 leaders of provincial Party organizations have finished a year's course at the Central Party School in Rome. This is the first time that the term of study in the School has been such a long one. It enables leading Party workers possessing great experience in political struggle to acquire a solid theoretical grounding. During their course at the School they study Political Economy, the history of Italy and of the Italian working-class movement, the history of the international labor movement,

particularly in the period from the Great October Socialist Revolution to the present day.

Considerable attention has lately been paid in the Communist Party to the ideological training of the active Party workers of the sections, particularly of the southern parts of the country, especially Puglia and Sicily, and Sardinia. Forty-five-day courses have been established for Party activists of these areas. Special 6-week courses have been organized for women in leading positions in local branches. A wide network of study courses was established to prepare for the parliamentary elections which took place in May. At these courses a study was made of the Party line and of the Party's election program, and also of the home and international situation.

The Party branches and area organizations have their elementary political circles, which give Party members a groundwork of political knowledge and help them become Party workers. During the past year these study circles have dealt with the theme "The historical prerequisites and contemporary conditions for the battle for socialism in Italy". This has consisted of a series of lectures on the history of Italy from the last century to our day, the concrete lines and forms of the struggle of the Italian Communists to fulfil the tasks set in the theses and programmatic statement of the VIII Congress of the I.C.P., and also on the international situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp.

The network of short-term study courses is now being expanded. Under the auspices of the Central Party School, three-month courses have been arranged for the training of young leaders of provincial Party organizations. One group will consist of women leaders of provincial Party organizations. For Party members who already have considerable political training, it is planned to continue the holding of seminars to discuss specific problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the revolutionary movement. A number of short-term political courses are being opened for workers employed in big factories. The aim of these courses is to help Communist workers to understand the substance of the struggle being conducted by the Italian Communist Party in Parliament and in the factories in defense of the rights and interests of the working people. Courses are also being arranged to give political training to Communist elementary-school teachers. Such courses will function under the auspices of the Party schools in Rome and Bologna. In addition to extending the network of study courses, the Party is also arranging training by correspondence on a big scale.

Of great help to Party members attending study courses and circles, and also to those studying

Marxism-Leninism independently are the lectures drawn up by the Central Schools Section and distributed in tens of thousands of copies among the Party branches. These lectures, combined under various headings, are devoted to the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and concrete political problems. For example, ten lectures designed to assist students of Marx's *Capital* are now being prepared for publication. The Party theoretical magazine *Rinascita* deals with various problems of the Party's policy, and also publishes materials prepared by the Gramsci Institute.

Recent decisions of the Party Central Committee outline the plan of ideological work for the years 1958-1959. The C.C. is directing the efforts of the Party organizations towards intensifying the struggle against revisionism in all its manifestations, and towards an appreciation of the need for exposing the worthlessness and harm of dogmatic and sectarian views, which hinder the creative implementation of the political line adopted by the VIII Congress of the Italian Communist Party.

AN IMPORTANT DATE IN HISTORY

ACTIVE preparations are now under way in the German Democratic Republic for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Revolution of November 1918. This revolution, as Comrade Walter Ulbricht stated in his speech "About the Character of the November Revolution," delivered at a meeting of the committee appointed to draw up theses of the C.C. in connection with the 40th anniversary, was the greatest revolutionary mass movement after the Peasants' War in Germany; it was a bourgeois-democratic type of revolution which in some measure was conducted by proletarian means and methods.

The C.C. of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has set the party units the task of acquainting the population at large with the lessons of the November revolution, of using the anniversary campaign as a means of drawing the masses into still greater activity along the lines of strengthening the German Democratic Republic, and combating imperialism and militarism in West Germany.

The C.C. considers it particularly important to use the historic lessons of the November revolution as a means of showing that only as a result of united action will the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party, be able to bring the popular masses to victory.

The lessons of the November revolution are of great significance to all sections of the population. That is why the National Front of Democratic Germany will play an important part in the prepara-

tion and implementation of measures in connection with the 40th anniversary. Provision has been made, among other things, for the meetings that are to take place on November 9, 1958, the anniversary of the revolution, to be run jointly by Party bodies and the corresponding committees of the National Front of Democratic Germany.

The preparations for the 40th anniversary of the November revolution, which coincide with the considerable work of studying and fulfilling the decisions of the V Congress of the S.U.P.G. held in July, have resulted in a livening up of the ideological activity of all party bodies. In the factories, in agricultural co-operatives and machine-and-tractor stations, in administrative establishments, educational institutions, etc., lectures and papers are being read, discussions are taking place, and questions being answered. The people are being addressed by leading party and governmental officials, by scientists and by participants in the November revolution and other mass battles of the German proletariat. Considerable work is being done by the commissions set up to make a study of the labor movement locally. They collect factual material and publish it in the shape of pamphlets and newspaper articles. Exhibitions devoted to the anniversary and to the 40th anniversary of the foundation, in 1918, of the Communist Party of Germany, are being arranged in all regions and in many district centers of the Republic.

There have been several scientific gatherings and conferences, including a conference to discuss the character of the November revolution, and the struggle of the Lefts during that revolution. The Institute of Social Sciences of C.C., S.U.P.G., in conjunction with the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Karl Marx Party School, will hold a conference in November of this year to discuss the subject: "The founding of the C.P.G. — a turning point in the working-class movement of Germany." Of the scientific works now being prepared for publication the following are worthy of note, viz: — two volumes of "Documents and Materials Relating to the History of the Working-Class Movement of Germany," covering the periods August-November 1917 and January-May 1919 (documents relating to the period of December 1917-December 1918 have already been published), and also a volume of "Reminiscences of Participants in the November Revolution."

Articles dealing with the history and lessons of the November revolution are appearing in magazines and newspapers. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., S.U.P.G., is publishing a special illustrated album, while the DEFA cinema studio is preparing a short-length film about the November revolution.

All these and other measures will help still further to imbue the masses with the fighting revo-

lutionary traditions of the German working class, and will increase their pride in their native land, the German Democratic Republic, the first workers' and peasants' state in German history.

EDUCATIONAL MEETINGS IN THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

PARTY Educational meetings are an effective form, employed in the Bulgarian Communist Party, of the ideological training of Communists and the working masses at large. Meetings of this kind began to be arranged by the Party while the bourgeoisie were still in power. Today such meetings are used, and very successfully, to explain and provide an opportunity for the discussion of important Party and Government decisions, problems concerning the international and the home situation, current tasks connected with socialist construction, and topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory.

These educational meetings have some advantages over other forms of political training. In the Party educational system, the academic year continues for a period of 7 to 8 months, during the rest of the year the political schools, circles and seminars do not function. Educational meetings, on the other hand, may be convened at any time of the year. Particularly important is the fact that not only Party Members, but also non-Party people attend these meetings. This makes it possible to explain the tasks facing the country to wider sections of the population than otherwise. Reports are delivered at these Party educational meetings by leading officials of Party, State and Economic bodies. Hence, these meetings are one of the forms of contact between the Party activists and Party rank-and-file as well as with non-party people. These meetings constitute an effective means of strengthening the ties between the Party and the working masses.

The Party educational meetings provide an opportunity for the discussion of problems that occupy the minds of all Communists, of the entire Party. Thus, in the early part of this year, such meetings were devoted to explaining the historic documents of the Moscow Conferences of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties. For example, the Party branches of the Sophia area organized 996 meetings of this kind to discuss "Contemporary Revisionism — the Main Danger in the International Communist Movement," 341 meetings to discuss "Proletarian Internationalism and Socialist Patriotism," 339 meetings to discuss "The Contemporary Epoch is One of

Transition From Capitalism to Socialism," 562 meetings to discuss "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the Chief Instrument for the Building of Socialism" and 540 meetings to discuss other problems raised in the Declaration of the Conference and in the Peace Manifesto. On instructions from the Central Committee, the party units in all the other provinces have arranged similar meetings, attended not only by Party members but also by members of the Bulgarian Agricultural People's League, by non-party people, and young folk. Dozens of questions have been put to the speakers, relating to the international situation, the fight of the Communist and Worker's Parties for peace, democracy and socialism, and topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. These meetings have assisted in creating throughout the party an atmosphere of irreconcilability to all sorts of revisionist views and theories.

Similar meetings have been held this year to deal with such topical problems as the battle of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union to maintain peace and reduce international tension, the class struggle in the transition period between capitalism and socialism, the national income and its distribution under socialism, the Leninist principles and standards of Party life, the Party's attitude to religion and the way to overcome religious prejudices, and many other problems.

The Party district committees assist in setting the themes for discussion at the meetings. The Central Committee has on more than one occasion condemned those district party committees which, instead of encouraging the initiative of local party organizations, and guiding it into the proper channels, in selecting and working out the subjects for discussion at the educational meetings, themselves decide what problems are to be discussed, regardless of local requirements and tasks.

Considerable aid in the choice of speakers is rendered by the district Party committees. In recent years leading workers of Regional, District and City Party committees have begun to take a more frequent part in the proceedings of these meetings. The Central Committee is setting every leading Party worker the task of addressing the population not less frequently than once a month on problems relating to the international and home situation.

The whole of the ideological work in the Party is now being directed towards the successful fulfilment of the decisions of the VII Congress of the B.C.P. No mean significance in this regard is attached by the Party to the educational meetings arranged by the Party branches, for they are an excellent school for ideologically steeling the activists, both Communist and non-Party.

MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY'S RANKS

THE Rumanian Workers' Party is paying considerable attention to improving the social and political composition of its membership, and to bringing into its ranks the best of the workers, working peasants, and intellectuals devoted to the people. The Plenum of the C.C. of the Rumanian Workers' Party held on June 9-13, discussed a report of the C.C. Political Bureau regarding the fulfilment of the decisions of the Second Party Congress about increasing the Party membership, and about the Policy of promoting cadres and of regulating the social composition of the Party. The Plenum placed on record the fact that the Party had considerable achievements to its credit in these respects.

Since 1952 the Party membership has grown by 200,000, making a total of 720,000 full and candidate members in the Party. The flow of workers into Party's ranks has been particularly strong, as can be seen from the fact that whereas towards the close of 1956 workers constituted 42.6% of the total membership, in the spring of this year they constituted 53% of the total. In some of the provinces (Ploesti, Bacau, Baia Mare, etc.) between 75 and 80 percent of the Party members are workers. There has been a marked increase in the number of full and candidate members engaged in industry and agriculture.

The Party committees are also seeing to it that the composition of the leading Party and State bodies also undergoes constant improvement. Recent years have seen the promotion of about 81,000 Communists to various positions of responsibility in the Party and the State apparatus, in the mass organizations, and in bodies dealing with problems of economics, science and culture. There has been an improvement in the social composition of the elected leading Party bodies. Workers constitute 78% of the members of Party committees in the factories, 73% of the members of City Party Committees, and 58% of the members of Rural District Party Committees.

The C.C. Plenum emphasized that the strengthening of the Party's ranks and the regulation of its social composition must continue to be the subject of constant attention by the Party units. And it is the factory workers, first and foremost, who should be recruited into the Party. At the same time the Plenum called on the Party branches to intensify their work of enrolling into the Party the most conscious of the working peasants, people who are active fighters for strengthening and developing the socialist sector in agriculture, and also the best of the intellectuals, engineers, technicians, schoolteachers, scientific, cultural, and educational workers, scientists, artists—in a word, all who have taken a firm socialist stand and are

waging a resolute struggle against the machinations of the enemy, and against bourgeois ideology. The Plenum emphasized that it is the duty of every Party branch to rally active non-Party people round it, to continually improve its work among them, assisting ever growing numbers of the working people to master the Party's ideology and policy, and drawing them into the concrete work of fulfilling the decisions of the Party and the Government.

The experience of the Marxist-Leninist Parties teaches us that their strength is to a great degree dependent on how skilfully and consistently they fight for the purity and unity of their ranks. With this in mind, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the R.W.P. took a special decision, in which it drew attention to the need for paying the most untiring attention to strengthening the Party's ranks organizationally, and to raising the political level of the Party members. The Plenum was unanimous in condemning the anti-Party activities of several R.W.P. members (Constantin Doncea, Jacob Cotveanu, and others), political degenerates who have slandered the Party and its political line and have engaged in factional and anti-Party activity. The Central Committee Plenum also directed the attention of the Party membership to the danger of a conciliatory attitude towards the machinations of the class enemy, violations of the Party Rules, deviations from Party decisions, and departure from the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE LABOR- PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF CANADA

THE Sixth Convention of the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada took place in April 1957 and adopted a decision that the draft of a new Party program be prepared.

A commission set up to draft the program concluded its work in January of this year, after which the draft program, entitled "The Road to Socialism in Canada" was published in the English, French, and other languages. In addition, theses for the draft program were circulated to all the Party clubs and committees, and printed in the Party theoretical organ, the *Marxist Review*.

The draft program contains a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the political and economic situation in Canada, and indicates the concrete form and methods to be used by the working class in the fight for power and socialism. The draft program emphasizes that the Canadian working class is in a position to unite the majority of the people for the winning of political power without civil war, by turning Parliament from an instrument of the political rule of the monopolies into an instrument

for building socialism. At the same time the draft points to the need for preparedness for a situation where Big Business will attempt to thwart the decisions of such a parliament by force, which can only be stopped by the united action of the working class and its firm leadership of the country.

The draft program is now being discussed in the Party branches. As part of the discussion of the problems raised in the draft program, lectures are being held, and articles and letters are being published in which proposals are made for improving the content and the style of the document. In particular, the *Marxist Review* has published several interesting articles. The Party clubs are summing up the results of the discussions and are submitting them to the program commission.

The discussion of the draft program will continue until the next Party Convention, which will be held in 1959. A special decision of the Party National Executive Committee points to the need for using the discussion of the program to improve the Party's ideological work, and particularly, to completely eliminate revisionism, on which a crushing defeat was inflicted by the Sixth Convention of the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada.

CONFERENCE OF DOMINICAN PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST PARTY

A CONFERENCE of the underground Dominican People's Socialist Party has taken place, attended by members of the C.C. and representatives of Party branches. The conference examined problems relating to the political and

economic situation in the country, and also inner-Party problems.

It was noted at the conference that as a result of new mines passing into the hands of American monopolists, and of naval and land bases on the country's territory being placed at the disposal of the U.S.A., the Dominican Republic's dependence on U.S. imperialism has grown. The conference condemned as mistaken and harmful the idea maintained in the press to the effect that the purchase of the U.S. sugar refineries and plantations by the family of dictator Trujillo has lessened the country's dependence on foreign capital and has set the representatives of U.S. monopoly capital to such a degree against the Trujillo Government that the contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the Trujillo regime have become the main ones.

The conference decision emphasizes that the abolition of tyranny in the Dominican Republic can only be the result of struggle by the masses of the people. The conference estimated the working-class actions and student disorders that have taken place after a long interval, as signs of a democratic revival beginning in the country.

The decisions adopted on inner-Party problems are aimed at strengthening the principle of collective work in the activities of the Central Committee and at increasing the Party's control over the press.

The conference also took a decision to associate itself with the declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, which, as the resolution states, "ensures the unshakable unity of the international Communist movement and discloses the general laws governing the building of socialism in all countries."

Reviews

Old Revisionism in New Guise

Luigi Longo, "Revisionismo nuovo e antico", Torino, 1957, pp. 87.

Luigi Longo, "Revisionism — New and Old", Turin, 1957, pp. 87.

THE struggle of the Italian Communist Party against the revisionist tendencies which have appeared in the working-class movement, within and outside the Party, in the past two years, is one of the important political questions which it has dealt with during this period. In particular we must not overlook this question when reviewing the parliamentary elections in Italy on May 25, in

which alongside the success of all the left-wing parties the Communists again had a considerable increase in the number of votes they polled, despite all estimates and expectations that the Italian Communist Party — the strongest working-class party in the country — would lose its influence. It is significant that such groundless opinions were expressed not only by the downright adversaries of the Party — Clericals and other right-wing political groupings who indulged in wishful thinking — but also by other political forces, including the Socialist Party, with which the Communists co-operated in the past and intend to maintain

close co-operation in the future, which is highly essential for the carrying through of a united working-class policy. Unfortunately, the relations between the Socialists and Communists have deteriorated in the past few years. Some of the Socialist leaders now cherish the vain hope of a crisis of communism, which, allegedly, would be to the benefit of the Socialist Party.

These illusions have in fact arisen from general revisionist tendencies and could seriously weaken and heavily damage the Italian and international working-class movement, were they not successfully resisted in good time. This made it possible to reveal the real nature of revisionism and effectively combat it.

Although the Socialist Party made serious efforts to resist revisionism, the main burden of the struggle against it was undoubtedly borne by the Communist Party, which again demonstrated its ideological maturity and ability to lead the Italian working class. To understand the reasons for the Party's success on May 25 it is not enough to emphasize only that it combatted revisionism — it is necessary to know *the way* this struggle went on. Hence, the pamphlet by Luigi Longo, Deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party, which was published last year, is of particular interest.

This pamphlet describes only one episode in the struggle against revisionism. But it is of general importance, concerning both the method and the content of the argument, which covers in fact all the main problems which arose in the course of the struggle against revisionist tendencies in Italy. However, it is necessary to recall at least the main events preceding this struggle, of which Luigi Longo's booklet is an important component.

Revisionism openly manifested itself for the first time in the summer of 1956 when just before the VIIIth Communist Party Congress a discussion was being held in the Party. Shortly before the discussion the enemy launched a massed propaganda attack against the Communist Party, in an attempt to distort the significance of the XXth Congress of the C.P.S.U., to present it — as the anti-Communists would love to see it — as the beginning of the disintegration of the international communist movement, and not as the beginning of a new phase in the development of the world's socialist forces. The Party energetically rebuffed this propaganda, but it could not prevent some doubts, disorientation and confusion from penetrating the ranks of the Italian working-class movement. It was certainly not a "crisis", as our opponents presented it, but it showed that new difficulties had arisen. Had we not thoroughly analyzed them and revealed all the factors which had matured in the international situation and at home, these difficulties could have led to a serious crisis.

The revisionist attacks during the discussion were primarily of a general character and manifested themselves as a tendency to doubt everything, to assert that there is nothing stable in our theory and political activities, because the well-known mistakes in theory and practice were recognized and boldly exposed. Such a revisionist tendency at times even grew over into irresponsible defeatism (which our Party always rebuffed in a proper way) and sowed panic and confusion. This tendency was not only dangerous in itself. It could have been a still greater danger had the Party retired into its shell and adopted a purely defensive attitude in its fight against revisionist attacks.

This danger, however, has been overcome through explanatory work and collective elaboration of the political line. The discussion proceeded in such a way as to ensure that the necessary struggle against revisionism did not relegate the constructive tasks to the background and retard the drive for regeneration, which was inspired by the C.P.S.U. XXth Congress, among all the best forces of the Italian Communist Party. "We are not a traveller in a desert, who has lost his way and is looking for a way out," Comrade Togliatti said in the pre-election discussion, "we are a great army which launches new offensives from the positions it has gained and firmly retains, using the experience acquired and regenerating all that needs regeneration. There are definite and reliable starting points from which we should march forward in order to advance further, go more deeply into our problems, bring about the necessary clarity and work out the correct political line. These points are in essence our basic principles, the method of elaboration of our policy, the experience gained in the struggle and the results we have achieved."

We have never combatted revisionism from sectarian or schematic positions. We have been waging this struggle thoroughly studying the real situation, in strict conformity with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, and remembering the lessons drawn from experience. The Party has never forgotten the need to fight on two fronts — against revisionism and at the same time against dogmatism; it is precisely due to this reason that the VIIIth Congress of the Italian Communist Party was a congress of consolidation and regeneration, a congress which gave a clear orientation in the future work and struggle of the Party.

The revisionist tendencies, which suffered defeat at the VIIIth Congress, have not disappeared completely, however. This was a result of the survivals of the past and hesitations existing in the socialist party, and of the pressure of hostile propaganda which tried to distort the attitude taken by the Congress so that it would be more easy to attack

the Party's policy. In an atmosphere of new and open manifestations of revisionism Antonio Giolitti, then still a Communist Party member, published his pamphlet. Antonio Giolitti was the mouthpiece of revisionist vacillations already at the VIIIth Congress, though in the end he agreed to the Congress decisions and the political platform which was endorsed by the majority. The Party did not limit itself to simply rejecting the revisionist views. It discussed the political and ideological questions which had been thoroughly studied by the VIIIth Congress, so that all Communists could fully realize the correct positions upheld by the Party and the danger emanating from revisionism. It was in the course of this discussion that Comrade Longo's "Revisionism — New and Old" appeared.

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The comparison of old and new revisionism the author makes in the first chapter was called for by the polemical foreword in Giolitti's pamphlet, which denies any connection with old revisionism of a social democratic, reformist kind — the trick typical of all modern revisionists: first reject in words old revisionism, then draw the same conclusions as regards both form and essence.

Reservations, stipulations and ambiguity, characteristic of arguments advanced by the neo-revisionists, prove the close kinship of modern revisionists with old revisionists of whom Lenin wrote: "... The revisionists have become ill-famed by their retreat from the fundamental principles of Marxism and their fear or inability to openly, frankly, resolutely and clearly 'abandon' their old views." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 8, Russian Edition.)

Revealing the roots of revisionist and reformist theses, which are camouflaged by reservations and ambiguous phrases, Comrade Longo does not confine himself to polemics but sets against these theses the policy of the Communist Party, which was formulated in the decisions of the VIIIth Congress. Touching upon the tasks facing the working class in modern capitalist conditions, Comrade Longo refutes Giolitti's claim that the working class must perform its leading role "identifying itself first of all with technological progress" and recognizing the revolutionary importance of technological progress and structural reforms. In this connection Longo emphasized that "the activities of the working class which are only aimed to promote technological progress or demand structural reforms, and which are not included in the common struggle for a change in the political leadership of the country — in the struggle for power in our definite historical and political conditions — would result not in the transfer of the leading role to the working class but in a still

greater subordination of the worker to the ruling castes."

Polemics against reformism do not in any way mean that Communists intend to postpone any structural reforms till the conquest of power by the working-class. Comrade Longo recalls that the VIIIth Congress quite definitely expressed its opinion on this question, as can be seen from its documents: "The Communists know that the transformation of the system along socialist lines and the solution of the fundamental internal contradictions of our society can be achieved only by the conquest of political power by the working class and its allies. But in the present correlation of forces of the proletariat, the people and progressive elements on the one hand, and the forces of exploitation and reaction on the other, in connection with the pressing need to solve the problems of employment, of land and of poverty, the Communists openly declare that the abolition of the most backward and oppressive regulations in Italian society, and their transformation along democratic and socialist lines, must by no means be postponed until the conquest of power by the working class and its allies. We can and must struggle for this, regarding it as our concrete aim which is quite attainable in the course of the economic and political struggle of the working people." (*The Basic Points of the Programmatic Declaration of the Italian Communist Party at the VIIIth Congress, Materials and Resolutions, Rome, 1957, p. 909*).

Examining the political situation, which was thoroughly analyzed by the VIIIth Congress and explained by Comrade Longo in his work, it is not difficult to understand the connection of this problem with that of the allies of the working class, of the necessity to lead them, and of the diverse forms of struggle and organization of revolutionary action in different historical conditions. Comrade Longo explains how these links are realized in the Party's political platform, and at the same time shows how differently the revisionist conception presents the working class's attitude towards technological progress and structural reforms — the attitude which is seen in the light of the reformist perspective and therefore divorced from the struggle for power and in practice subordinated to the ideological influence of the ruling class. This is clearly seen from Giolitti's thesis on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the relations between socialism and democracy.

In Giolitti's opinion, the proletarian dictatorship is linked only with the violent seizure and exercise of power, under which democracy is excluded, while on the contrary the possibility of transition to socialism by peaceful and democratic means excludes the necessity of any form of the proletarian dictatorship — the first is justified for econo-

mically underdeveloped countries and the second is obligatory for more developed countries. This thesis of neo-revisionism does not differ in any way from the long-known thesis of old revisionism, with the exception of some insignificant changes in terminology. Therefore Comrade Longo had to use first of all the elementary thesis of Marxism-Leninism, beginning from criticism of the notorious idea of incompatibility of democracy and dictatorship, and the tendentious identification of democracy with bourgeois democracy. By mixing up the essence of democracy with democratic institutions existing in the capitalist countries, old and modern revisionism has always striven to make the working class respect only bourgeois democracy, while the monopoly capitalists have liquidated without hesitation the framework and forms of "its" own democracy when they hindered the exercise of its class dictatorship.

Calling on the working class, Comrade Longo adds, to worship the forms and aspects of bourgeois democracy means the masking of all the limitations and shortcomings of modern bourgeois democracy, the masking of all violations of basic rights, of freedoms and democracy, committed by the ruling groups today. It is equivalent to depriving the struggle for the observance and the extension of these rights of all the strength that such a struggle requires.

Thus Comrade Longo puts the question on a concrete foundation and links it with the factual conditions under which the struggle for democracy and for the transition to socialism are developing today in Italy. The Communists have never advocated violence for the sake of violence alone. The "violent" or "peaceful" winning of power is not a basic question for Marxism and every case depends on certain historical conditions. Recalling this, Comrade Longo shows that on the basis of the analysis of the present conditions of the class struggle in Italy, the problem of democracy is posed as that of "the struggle of socialist and democratic forces to compel the ruling class to observe at least the elementary principles of limited present-day democracy, which it violates at every step, and to constantly extend these principles and fill them with new content".

The transfer of the political leadership of the country to the working class in the framework of the Constitution would be unthinkable in general, and the existing conditions of struggle in Italy and the world over would be quite different if there were not two principle levers possessed by the Italian and international labor movement: these are a strong Communist Party as the highest form of class organization of the proletariat, and the mighty world socialist system. That is why all efforts of the revisionists are directed to shattering these two principal levers.

Giolitti especially tried to prove that Lenin's teaching on the party represented a stage that had been passed, since it is linked only with a perspective of the violent seizure of political power. Lenin laid a theoretical foundation for the principle of democratic centralism because he allegedly "wanted to emphasize with all strength the principle of centralism and to sharply limit the principle of democratism". At present the conditions of struggle have allegedly changed and therefore it is necessary to change this relationship, i.e. to strengthen democratism and the existence within the party of a "minority which could freely adhere to their own opinion and become a majority".

Comrade Longo has given a resolute rebuff to revisionists on this question. He recalled first of all that in the concept of democratic centralism the principles of centralism and democratism are neither opposed to one another nor limited by one another. On the contrary, they are mutually dependent principles conditioning one another.

In exceptional conditions, in difficult days of struggle, in a situation which is aggravated by the enemy's intrigues, emphasis should be put on the principle of centralism. In these conditions, however, "centralism can without any harm prevail over democratism, i.e. it can preserve for the Party its unity and strength, providing that under normal conditions the Party develops on the basis of democratic centralism. Thus, democratism is an essential condition for centralism, without democratism there can be no centralism. A Party can be trained to go through periods when the need for unity of leadership, that is, for centralism is supreme, only if under normal conditions of its development the observance of democratic centralism is most complete."

The necessity for democratic centralism, Comrade Longo writes, proceeds from the very nature of the tasks facing the Party. "The Party will not be genuinely Communist if it simply records what the working class thinks and feels, if it tails behind the spontaneous movement and cannot override its apathy and political indifference, if it cannot rise above the momentary interests of the proletariat and raise the masses of the people to the level of its class interests. Suffice it to enumerate these tasks of the Party in order to understand that the center alone, "the all-mighty leadership which knows all", cannot possess the ability and knowledge required of the Communist Party. This ability and knowledge are possessed by the Party as a whole, as the unity of all its members and organizations. Therefore the relations between the leadership, and rank and file members acquire essential importance and cannot fail to be those of centralism and democratism as

the two mutually dependent and conditioned principles."

Our opponents caricature the Communist Party. They see in it only one characteristic feature: it is a "highly centralized" party in which everything is reduced to the ability of the center to compel the lower organizations to obey, to the ability of the rank-and-file to march under the command of the center as in the most stupid military organization, as in a narrow putschist and terrorist organization which is divorced from reality and the people. "It is quite evident," Longo goes on, "that the Communist Party can guide the working class only if it is closely linked with the non-Party people, if the latter accept its leadership, if the Party enjoys maximum moral and political confidence among the people."

The subordination of the minority to the majority and lower Party organizations to higher bodies does not exclude discussion and differences of opinion on particular questions. On the contrary, discussions, examination, research, the comparison of opinions and experience has always been encouraged in Party organizations at all levels. However, Comrade Longo writes, we cannot allow the minority "to organize permanent groups to oppose the majority, thereby hindering its leadership and activities in order to become the majority. Were this aim achieved, the roles would be changed and again the new minority would begin the same game. Under such conditions the Party would not be a 'detachment', an 'organized vanguard' of the working class, because it would constantly waste a greater part of its energy in inner struggle to win the leadership instead of exerting all efforts to win the broad masses of the proletariat, the people, and to guide them. The proletarian party which must change the world with its unity and cohesion as a decisive weapon cannot afford such 'luxury'."

Unity and solidarity constitute the fundamental principle of the international Communist movement. The revisionists encroach on this principle in the name of autonomy, the safeguarding of national peculiarities, in the name of diversity of forms of struggles for power in various countries and under different historical conditions. In this case too the revisionists proceed not from reality but from the false understanding of it; repeating anti-Soviet slanders, they call the Soviet example

a "myth" and assert that it is imposed on other Communist parties. They forget, however, Longo says, the peculiar experience of the Chinese Communist Party, the policy drawn up by the VIIth Congress of the Comintern in the struggle against fascism and war, the policy of the Spanish Communist Party during the war for freedom and independence, the policy of building fronts of national liberation pursued by all Communist Parties in the countries which had been drawn into the Hitler adventure, the difference of methods of winning power and building up socialism in the People's Democracies. They forget, as it was put in the Basic Principles of the Program Statement of the VIIIth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, that "the Communist movement has for a long time worked out its policies taking account of theoretical principles and experience of work and struggle". Past mistakes do not belittle the great positive results achieved in the elaboration of these great political problems. But the revisionists do not realize this. At a time when the international Communist movement was engaged in the rectification of past mistakes in order to strengthen the front of struggle against imperialism, the revisionists preferred to take as their weapon the anti-Communist speculations about the disclosure of these mistakes and the dramatic Hungarian events.

The general conclusions reached by Comrade Longo a year ago are strikingly confirmed today after the parliamentary elections of the 25th of May. These elections showed that support of the Communist Party's policy by the people, far from decreasing, has increased. Comrade Longo concludes: "Those who made claims to profound investigation and impartial criticism, to the strength of their methodology and their methodological doubts, declaring that we were mistaken in everything and that we must revise our ideas and purify ourselves of the past, that the working class needs a new leadership, could themselves see that they were mistaken even in their modest calculations. The real movement disregarded their 'discoveries' and 'prophecies' and continued to advance, regenerating and steeling itself in struggle and difficulties, as is always the case with every sound and vital social and political movement, leaving on the side of the road the conceited prophets of doom."

Valentino Gierratana.

On Freedom—Genuine and Sham

"The Philosophy of Freedom," by Kenjuro Yanagida. Aoki Publishing House, Tokyo, 1957. 254 pp.

THE Philosophy of Freedom", a new book by Kenjuro Yanagida, a prominent Japanese philosopher and public figure, has come off the press. Its attraction for the reader is the importance of the theme, its broad generalizations and profound conclusions on the most burning issues of present-day public life.

The reader is induced to reflect on one of the most acute problems of practical life and ideological struggle in contemporary society. Not only that: he is also invited to ponder over the fate of many honest intellectuals in the capitalist world, who are tirelessly seeking the truth about life and an escape from the dark maze of imperialist reality. Will their most cherished dream come true — will they win freedom for all people, not for themselves alone? Which path will they take in their search for freedom?

Kenjuro Yanagida, like many thousands of other workers by brain, has chosen the only correct path—that of struggle for socialism and peace. An idealist philosopher in the past, made wise by the experience of years spent in search for the truth, he has come to adopt the only genuinely scientific philosophy: Marxism-Leninism.

The evolution of Kenjuro Yanagida's outlook reflects in many ways the spiritual evolution of the advanced sections of Japan's intellectuals today, and not only Japan's but of other capitalist countries as well.

The book under review gives the results of the author's search in the following statement: "By social position I am not a capitalist. Neither am I a worker. However, since I maintain that happiness is essential for all those who make up the majority of the Japanese nation, and that it is impossible to go against the tide of history, I have chosen to be with those who seek to build up a new society which gives freedom to all its members rather than to defend the freedom now enjoyed by the privileged few."

The road of the Japanese scholar to Marxism was neither direct nor easy. In his autobiographical "Evolution of my Outlook" Kenjuro Yanagida describes his long and hard path from idealist philosophy to dialectical and historical materialism, from the solitary life of an armchair scholar to a life full of activity on the side of the progressive forces of the Japanese people headed by the working class.

Early in the twenties, as a student of the faculty of philosophy of the Kyoto University, Kenjuro Yanagida attended lectures on Marxist philosophy

delivered by the well-known Communist Party worker Professor H. Kawakami. Kenjuro Yanagida spent many an evening in heated argument with his friend I. Iwata, also a member of the Japanese Communist Party. However, the truth of Marxism-Leninism was still beyond K. Yanagida's reach at that time. His eyes were opened to the hardships of life of the Japanese people. He was looking for a way to happiness for the people but in the middle thirties his search only brought him under the influence of K. Nisida's idealistic philosophy. K. Yanagida remained Nisida's disciple and propagandist till 1947-48.

Kenjuro Yanagida's turn from idealism to materialism was due not only to the influence of his study of Marxist literature, but, in the first place, to his profound knowledge of life gained through long experience. The defeat of Japanese imperialism in the Second World War marked a decisive turn in the philosopher's spiritual evolution. The scholar was deeply affected by the difficult economic and political situation of his country. He was impressed by the unprecedented rise in the political activity of the masses, by the emergence from the underground—for the first time in the nation's history—of the Japanese Communist Party, as well as by the immense scope of its political work among the people. Every day facts revealed to Kenjuro Yanagida the two policies towards Japan: the genuinely democratic and peaceful policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the reactionary policy of the United States. All this led Yanagida to understand the bankruptcy of his earlier convictions.

When the Japanese ruling circles started to revive militarism in 1950 in connection with the Korean war, Kenjuro Yanagida published in the press a statement on his decision to take the side of the Japanese working class, the working people, and to adopt their ideological position. He wrote in one of his letters:

"A champion of justice and a friend of the oppressed, I had no other choice than to take my place among the fighters for freedom, democracy and national independence."

At present Kenjuro Yanagida is active in the work of Japan's progressive public organizations. His knowledge of the living conditions, of the inmost thoughts and aspirations of his people, enables him to create works which are closely connected with life, and not abstract academic writings.

Kenjuro Yanagida went to the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic in 1954. This journey convinced him all the more of the rightness of the cause of socialism. He wrote a book entitled

"My Journey Into the Truth" which appeared later in the same year. This book, written in the form of traveller's notes, was intended to bring home to the Japanese people the truth about the life and rapid progress of the socialist countries.

Late in 1956 Kenjuro Yanagida started a new work, "The Philosophy of Freedom." It was a reply to the frenzied anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign launched by bourgeois propaganda in connection with the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. The book was not merely a scientific treatise intended for a few connoisseurs, but a brilliant piece of militant, scientific and political journalism intended for the broad masses of the people, and primarily for the working class and progressive youth.

The author's principal object was to expose the monstrous lies spread by imperialist propaganda about the so-called "free world," where the capitalist class in fact exercises complete rule, to show to the working people of Japan—and other capitalist countries—what genuine freedom is and how to win it.

In the foreword Kenjuro Yanagida writes:

"Our intellectuals often enter into sharp arguments on the subject of genuine freedom. But, as a rule, these discussions do not help to reveal the truth and are both fruitless and sterile. This apparently occurs because the parties go all out to defend freedom for themselves alone and have no desire to permit others to enjoy the same freedom. Some people consider it their duty to preserve the freedom which exists in our society for, in their view, it is the most valuable achievement of modern society. Others, on the contrary, know for themselves that in our present life there is no freedom for man but only oppression. That is why they realize the historic necessity to reject the old world and to build a new, free world.

"These contradictions are apparently due to differences in people's social position. One can say that the struggle for freedom too originated from the theoretical and practical struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'."

Having taken the side of the "have-nots" Kenjuro Yanagida critically examines the reality of freedom in modern capitalist society. He establishes the objective criterion for a scientific concept of freedom, and also examines the practical ways for attaining freedom.

In Kenjuro Yanagida's eyes, practice is the only reliable criterion of truth. Every day, says the author, the Japanese papers write that "we live in a free world," or that we are citizens of a "free state." And what is the true meaning of these fine words about a "free" world and state?

In his book the author quotes the testimony of living witnesses from practically every stratum of the oppressed and destitute. Here we find diaries, letters and stories of a writer, a working

woman, a student, an errand-boy from a rice shop, a boy apprentice at a confectioner's shop, town day laborers, housewives and, finally, invalids living on a miserable allowance from the state. All these materials appeared at various times in the Japanese papers. At the author's command these witnesses describe in unsophisticated language their lack of any rights, their miserable half-starved lives, their dependence on the arbitrary will of the lords of the world who even intervene in the private lives of their subordinates.

"No doubt," says the author, "our society enjoys such 'freedoms' as are unknown in the Soviet Union or China. But what sort of freedoms are they? At first glance they appear to be important. But they are based on the recognition of private ownership of the means of production and, hence, of the freedom of private enterprise, namely the freedom of free competition, the freedom of the strong to devour the weak, that is, on the recognition of the law of the jungle."

For people with capital or holding high positions in the capitalist state apparatus such "freedoms" are both valuable and desirable. "But we," says Kenjuro Yanagida, "must proceed from the interests of the working people comprising 90 per cent of the nation. Our duty is to think of them. But the interests of the latter are opposed to those of the handful of exploiters."

The author observes that the more the imperialist powers do to enslave other peoples, the more military bases they build on their territories—the more they intensify the propaganda of a "free" state in the countries they have deprived of independence, the deeper the poverty of the working people (who are compelled to abandon all dreams of freedom, and search for work so as not to die of hunger), the more anxious are the bourgeois propagandists to prove that capitalist society is free. "Hence," writes Kenjuro Yanagida, "it follows that propaganda of such ideas is at its strongest when the freedom of the people is being attacked most violently." In sorrow and wrath the author adds: "The peoples of Taiwan and South Korea as well as the inhabitants of Okinawa have the 'honor' to belong to the 'family of free nations'."

It should be noted that, as soon as an oppressed nation seeks to abandon the "family" and rises against the colonialists, the imperialist powers do not stop short of resorting to the open use of force. The attempt of the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt and the ensuing events are still fresh in the memories of people. Lately the United States and Britain have undertaken new acts of aggression against the peoples of the Middle East, who are now liberating themselves from the imperialist yoke. All these shameful actions are covered up by blatant talk about the "free world."

In the world of capitalism the freedom of one denies freedom to others. The freedom to lead the life of a parasite, which is enjoyed by the exploiting classes, denies the working people, the overwhelming majority of the nation, the elementary freedom—freedom to live.

Kenjuro Yanagida draws the correct conclusion that under capitalism the freedom of the majority is restricted not because man has yet to conquer many of the forces of nature. The progress made in science and engineering now opens practically unlimited possibilities for the creation of both material and spiritual conditions which would ensure genuine freedom to live for all people the world over. Long past are the times when the very existence of man depended on the blind elemental forces of nature. The source of the lack of freedom of the working people in the "free world" is the capitalist social system itself, for it fails to guarantee the working man the right to exist since it refuses him the right to work. This is equivalent to denying the working man and his family the right to live.

"Suppressing the sense of freedom in the oppressed classes," says Kenjuro Yanagida, "the ruling class seeks to portray the freedom it itself enjoys as something granted to all; and presenting it as an absolute ideal it tries in this way to perpetuate it. By subjecting the masses of the people to ideological pressure on these lines, the ruling class tries to inculcate in them the idea that the existing social system is eternal, as earth and sky are eternal; and it declares that any ideas or actions directed against this system are dangerous, that they undermine moral principles and run counter to morality."

The book gives a brief historical and philosophical account of the evolution of views on freedom. The author gives a critical analysis of the theories on freedom advanced by thinkers in ancient times, by the ideologists of the Middle Ages, by philosophers of more recent periods (Spinoza, Kant, Hegel), and by contemporary capitalist sociologists. He reveals the social content of their ideas and arrives at the conclusion that a genuinely scientific theory of freedom has been created only by Marxist philosophy.

Kenjuro Yanagida proves that the road to freedom is not limited to ideas alone. "Historically, genuine freedom," he writes, "does not consist merely in 'the liberation of man from matter,' but in giving freedom a material foundation. Freedom as just an idea without a material base is like a flower without roots. No matter how beautiful it may be it will soon inevitably droop and wither." Then: "The problem of bread comes before the problem of freedom. Unless one has solved the problem of bread, one cannot conceive freedom as a purely spiritual or a mental problem. Such

an approach would be both groundless and fruitless, characteristic of the idealists."

Kenjuro Yanagida is quite right in seeing the fundamental reason for the oppression of the people under capitalism in the misery of the masses and the insecurity of their life. Not even the most "generous" concept of the abstract "idea" of freedom will ever give real freedom to the people. "The idea of freedom without a material base is only a source of futile sadness for the people," notes the author.

Man cannot win freedom single-handed. It can be attained only through the struggle of the masses against the exploiters—through a struggle which arises from the objective necessity of historical progress. Genuine freedom does not mean freedom from the objective laws of development of society. Kenjuro Yanagida is consistent in bringing home the idea that freedom rests upon the knowledge of necessity and is dependent on it. He draws the conclusion: the reduction of the problem of freedom to concrete terms of social and historical revolutionary practice is one of the greatest achievements of the Marxist theory of freedom. Although freedom is unattainable without a scientific knowledge of society, the problem of freedom cannot be solved on a theoretical plan alone.

The fourth and last chapter of the book deals with the practical means for the achievement of freedom. It emphasizes that a society divided into antagonistic classes cannot offer equal freedoms to all. Freedom for the working people—the vast majority of the nation — cannot be gained without the denial of freedom to enslave and exploit, i.e. without the denial of freedom for the minority.

It is with wrath and contempt that Kenjuro Yanagida speaks of those Japanese intellectuals who reduce the great idea of the emancipation of the working people to a mere banality by demanding for themselves "freedom to utter drunken tripe over a glass of whisky." First and foremost the freedom to live, constituting the main condition for the freedom of the masses of the people, must be secured. And this is a class problem which is solved in practice by a socialist revolution. There can be no genuine freedom for society or for the individual without the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production, without the reorganization of society on socialist lines.

The book analyses at length the true nature of the capitalist states. It says that only a small minority of owners of the instruments of production—the minority which holds also political power in its hands—does its utmost to suppress and strangle the movement for freedom, for the emancipation of the working people. The basic point in the problem of human freedom is how to overcome this oppression. The author brings the reader right up to the idea that a proletarian revolution and the creation of a socialist state are a historical necessity.

Kenjuro Yanagida writes: "We are free to ignore the requirements of the epoch and to assume reactionary views and even to join right-wing terrorist organizations, but human history will engulf those who do this and will continue to follow the course prescribed by the laws of its development. Naturally difficulties are bound to arise in the way of progress and violent pressure will be exerted from time to time by capitalist reaction on the progressives, causing considerable sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals to adopt opportunist positions. But in the end the triumph of socialism over capitalism is just as inevitable as was the triumph of capitalism over feudalism.

For there is no other way to eliminate all the social contradictions resulting from the development of the productive forces under capitalism. This is the only way to the further development of the productive forces, to freeing the people from social insecurity, to delivering them from fear of war and fascism, from all that causes suffering among the people. This is the way which will enable man to extend his will not only over nature but over the life of society as well—that is to say it is the way that leads to the real expansion of human freedom."

The author calls the reader's attention to the fact that today the struggle of the working people for their economic emancipation is closely linked with the general democratic struggle for national independence and peace—against the use of nuclear, atomic and hydrogen weapons. It should be noted that neither the working class movement for emancipation, nor the struggle for national independence, nor the peace movement, can be limited to a single country.

In his appeal to the reader Kenjuro Yanagida makes no secret of the fact that the struggle for freedom requires sacrifices. When people are striving to build up a society of a higher type, it may happen that circumstances will require them to display resolve in sacrificing their property or

giving up their personal comforts. People who are slaves to their personal interests lack the energy required by such a struggle. Kenjuro Yanagida calls on the youth to enter the hard but glorious path of the revolutionaries. He writes that the wealth, happiness and freedom of the entire people are in many ways contingent on the privations which a fighter for freedom has to suffer. The man who has come to recognize the historic necessity of the struggle for freedom, and who is able to sacrifice his personal comforts for the common cause, becomes a really free man. The greatness of Marx and Lenin lies in the fact that, understanding the historic necessity which dominated their epoch, they really won spiritual freedom in the struggle for the socialist revolution.

The mass movement for freedom is growing in scope throughout the world. The peoples of dependent countries are fighting for their national liberation, for their delivery from the colonial yoke. The countries which have won their political independence are now fighting for their economic independence. The workers and peasants living in the world of capitalist slavery are fighting for their democratic rights and socialism. The progressives of the whole world are fighting in defence of peace—against the unleashing of a new war.

We are living in an epoch of great social changes, in an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, that is, in an epoch of transition from social injustice and lack of freedom to genuine human freedom for the entire human race.

A serious theoretical and political work devoted to this most important problem of our day is bound to evoke a lively response among millions of readers.

The book by Kenjuro Yanagida is a work of this order. It will undoubtedly be translated into many languages. We wish it "Bon voyage" to all countries of the world!

S. Nazar

Reviewing "Marxism Today"

REFORMISTS have long been trying to persuade the British working class that it has no need for revolutionary theory; and in their preaching of spontaneity as a sort of national characteristic of the British labor movement, reformist leaders have always had the approval of the British bourgeoisie. It must be admitted, too, that these ideas — reformism, spontaneity — have sunk deep roots in the British labor movement. But times are changing. Through the experience of the class struggle, the British working people are learning that without Marxist theory it is impos-

sible to define correctly what are the tasks, the forms and the methods in the struggle for socialism.

To further its struggle in the ideological field—for the supremacy of Marxist-Leninist principles in the labor movement; for the purity of the theory of scientific socialism, and for the creative development of this theory as applied in British conditions—the British Communist Party issues a monthly journal for theoretical discussion, *Marxism Today*, edited by the Party's General Secretary, John Gollan. The journal has been coming out in

London since October of last year, and in this short period has already attracted wide attention. Its articles are discussed among class-conscious workers, in trade-union circles, and among those intellectuals who recognize Marxist analysis as the only means for a scientific understanding of the course of events.

In every issue, *Marxism Today* treats of the vital problems arising in the fight for peace, for the easing of international tension.

Stressing the fact that the present international tension has been caused by the actions of the ruling circles of the capitalist camp, and particularly the American imperialists, the journal declares that "the aggressive alliance of the imperialist countries against the socialist world is but the form of the alliance against the advance of the people and the fight for socialism" (April 1958, p. 116). All the aggressive imperialist adventures in which the chief capitalist powers have participated since the last great war, the journal continues, have been directed either against the national-liberation movement or towards the re-establishment of imperialist rule over countries which have gained their independence.

The journal carries articles on the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries, a movement which it rightly regards as a powerful new factor in the struggle against imperialism.

In conducts a serious theoretical discussion of Britain's economic and political situation today, in the light of the problems of world capitalism; of the economic problems of British imperialism, and the relations between British and U.S. imperialists.

In its economic articles it has brought out important problems of the development of post-war capitalism in Britain—as, for example, the influence of the capital investments of the big monopolies on the economic cycle; the growing influence of the state on capital turnover; the changes in the capitalist credit system, etc. There cannot, of course, as yet be any final treatment of the changes which capitalism has undergone since the war, and the problems connected with these changes; but the very fact that these problems are raised and discussed is important.

Over a period of several months—from October 1957 through March 1958—the magazine conducted a discussion on the subject of the Marxist theory of crises and its application to present-day capitalism. This discussion clearly showed the necessity of a more thorough-going study of the processes to be observed in present-day capitalist economy.

Much space is devoted to analysis of the changes in the distribution of class forces in the country and the reflection of these changes in the policy of the different parties. The domestic political situation is widely discussed in such articles as John

Gollan's "Labor Policy Today," and "The By-Elections and Labor Party Policy"; J. Klugmann's "The Road to Socialism"; W. Wainright's "The Liberals", etc. There have been several articles by trade-union officials on problems of the British trade-union movement. Another current problem is treated in an article by A. Grant entitled "Capitalism, Socialism and the Middle Classes" (March 1958). Grant picks to pieces the reformist thesis that the bourgeoisie and proletariat as classes are disappearing, being absorbed into the "middle class." At the same time, he demonstrates factually the extent of the middle strata in present-day Britain, and shows that considerable strata of petty bourgeoisie, office employees and intellectuals can be recruited to the side of the working class.

The changes in the international situation in favour of peace and socialism, which arise from the growing economic difficulties confronting capitalism, the journal notes, are causing great changes in the political situation in Britain, and people are beginning to seek for new solutions, for new ways of progress. And this impels the British reformists to renewed activity, as may be seen by the policy documents of the Labor Party. To the aid of the Right-wing Labor leaders, denying Marxism and unwilling to admit of any basic social change, come the revisionists with their talk of "amending" Marxism, aimed at the ideological disorientation of the working people. "Revisionism," the journal declares, "means keeping a cover, facade, of Marxist terminology, whilst removing the essence of a Marxist-Leninist outlook." (February 1958, p. 47.)

Analyzing the sources of present-day revisionism, the journal demonstrates that, whatever the causes leading to the revival of revisionism in any particular country, the objective part it plays is everywhere the same. Revisionism brings division into the ranks of the working class, and does its utmost to undermine the workers' faith in socialism. That is where the danger lies, and that is why revisionism must be fought unrelentingly.

Much attention is devoted to exposures of the views now advocated by the Right-wing Socialists and, in ideological unity with them, by the revisionists in the ranks of the communist movement. This is only natural, inasmuch as Britain has been the birthplace of many of the present-day social-reformists' theoretical "revelations", and it is in books and articles by the Right-wing Labor leaders that we find the fullest formulation of modern reformist views on capitalist economy and the capitalist state.

Systematically, consistently, *Marxism Today* refutes these views, demonstrating the absurdity of all "theories" of the peaceful development of

capitalism into socialism, and exposing the maneuvers by which the British ruling circles attempt to whitewash capitalism. "Under capitalism", the January issue declares, "the owning (and ruling) class from time to time buys off and appeases the demands of the working class made in the course of the class struggle, but the intrinsic nature of the relationship continually obliges it to recoup itself and restore or augment the rate of exploitation by other means open to it" (p. 28). In an article by E. Burns in the October 1957 issue and also in various other materials we are shown how the bourgeoisie shifts onto the shoulders of the working people not only the burden of state outlays for "social needs", but also the expenses of the armaments race.

The British ruling classes, the journal points out, are strengthening their state machine in the effort to secure a more aggressive foreign policy and to bolster up the defence of their class interests against the steadily growing labor movement. At the same time, as Colin Sweet remarks in his article *Parliament and State*, an ever sharper contradiction is coming to light in Britain between the consolidation of the administrative apparatus of the state and the declining role of Parliament; and in these conditions the defense of democracy depends upon the initiative of the working class, and becomes an essential element in its struggle against imperialism (April 1958).

Commenting on the program of the British Communist Party—*The British Road to Socialism*—the journal stresses that the changes in favor of socialism which have come about in the correlation of world forces in the last forty years have made possible new ways of setting about the socialist revolution in England. The working class aims to transform so traditional an institution as Parliament into an instrument of working-class rule, removing the class of capitalists from power. But the parliamentary struggle, the magazine goes on, is not, nor can it be, the only form of struggle. It must be combined with a broad extra-parliamentary mass movement.

British Labor Party ideologists deny the necessity of proletarian revolution, asserting that the transition to socialism can be accomplished without the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of capital.

Revisionists in the ranks of the communist movement exaggerate the specific nature of conditions in Britain, and minimize the general laws of proletarian revolution; they engage in empty talk of "democracy", but ignore the class content of democracy. *Marxism Today*, refuting both the Labor and the revisionist ideologists, calls upon the British Communists for creative advancement of the theory of proletarian revolution on the basis of the concrete conditions prevailing in Britain.

Revisionist "theories", the journal demonstrates, lead inevitably to defeatist, liquidationist tendencies. Exaggeration of the role of the bourgeois state, ignoring the class nature of that state, leads to the false idea that socialism may be achieved without class struggle, by purely educational measures. And from that idea it is but one more step to denying the need for a Communist Party as organizer of the working-class struggle for socialism.

Educating its readers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the journal teaches them also the necessity of unity in the labor movement. Recognition of the need for international unity and for solidarity of all sections of the labor movement is an essential factor in working-class ideology, the journal points out; and the need for international solidarity among the working people of all lands arises from the very nature of the class struggle, inasmuch as capitalism today acts in a united international front. Every advance made by the countries of the socialist camp, led by the Soviet Union, is at the same time an advance in the struggle of the British working people for their vital interests. "Unity at home is extremely important in these days", the journal declares, "but unity abroad is equally important, (June 1958, p. 184).

Marxism Today has been launched at a time when the revisionists are intensifying their subversive activities not only in the British but in the international labor movement. Combatting the ideological foes of the working class, and furthering creative discussion of the theoretical and practical problems of Marxism-Leninism, the journal does useful work.

V. N.

Short Notices

Aidit, D. N. **Indonesian Society and the Indonesian Revolution.** Djakarta, 1958. 69 pp.

D. N. Aidit's book studies the formation and development of the Indonesian nation, the economic and political structure of the country, the history of the colonial regime and the struggle against it that led to the revolution of August 1945.

The book summarizes the experience of the revolution of national liberation and analyzes its specific nature—the combination of aims of the national revolution (against imperialism) and the democratic revolution (against the big feudal landowners). The author makes the point that the democratic revolution in Indonesia is a revolution of the people's democratic type in which the leading force is the working class, and that the main blow was struck at the colonialists, the compradore bourgeoisie and the feudalists and not at the national bourgeoisie who, together with the petty bourgeoisie, formed a considerable force in the revolution. The application of correct tactics in respect of the peasantry who constitute 60-70 percent of the population and in respect of the national bourgeoisie, says Aidit, is important in establishing a national united front in Indonesia. In conclusion he speaks of the prospects for the development of the revolution in the country and the tasks of the Indonesian Communist Party.

The book is a profound Marxist-Leninist investigation of problems of the national liberation movement under present-day conditions, taking Indonesia as an example.

Gomulka W. **Przemowienia.** Warszawa. 1957, 481 s.

Gomulka W. **Speeches.** Warsaw. 1957, 481 pp.

GOMULKA'S speeches throw light on the general trend of the policy of the Polish United Workers' Party in the difficult period of the country's development from October 1956 to September 1957. On the basis of a critical examination of the mistakes and shortcomings of the past he outlines the path for the further building of socialism in the country.

Gomulka points out the specific features of socialist construction in Poland but stresses the significance of the general laws of socialist development to which he gives first place. He criticizes those who deny or underestimate these general laws that have been tested in practice in the Soviet Union. In his defense of the ideological unity of the Party and of the principles of Marx-

ism-Leninism, Gomulka exposes the roots of dogmatism and roundly condemns revisionism; he denounces all attempts to falsify socialist ideology with the aid of any sort of nationalism or revisionism and dogmatic distortions of that ideology. A large part of the book is devoted to a substantiation of proletarian internationalism, to the tasks of strengthening the socialist camp and cooperation between the Communist Parties.

In his speeches Gomulka makes a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the Party that serves to strengthen its bonds with the masses in the concrete conditions of socialist construction in Poland.

Kovar L. **KSC v boji za jednotnou frontu proti fasismu.** Praha, 1958. 341 str.

Kovar L. **The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the Struggle for a United Front Against Fascism.** Prague, 1958. 341 pp.

THIS account of the struggle of the Czechoslovak Communist Party against fascism between 1933 and 1935 is based on the author's study of documents. It exposes the false slogans of "defense of democracy against attacks from the Right and Left" used by the bourgeois government to mask its campaign of terror against the working class and anti-fascist movements.

Kovar points out that the objective of the reactionaries—the isolation of the Communist Party from the masses—was not achieved, the Party retained and expanded its influence among the masses and was itself steeled. Despite the resistance put up by the leaders of the right socialists and the bourgeois parties, the CP fought for the creation of a broad anti-fascist front based on the unity of the working-class movement and the bringing together of all democratic elements. At the VII Congress of the Communist International the CP, on the basis of its own experience, made an important contribution to the development of new tactics in the anti-fascist struggle. Great attention is paid to the measures adopted by the Party at that time that stress international proletarian solidarity—action taken in defence of G. Dimitrov and Ernst Thaelmann, support for German anti-fascists, etc. The great help afforded the anti-fascist forces by the consistent peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR is also revealed.

Kovar's book is of interest as one of the first Marxist monographs investigating a comparatively little studied period in the history of the CPCz.

Codovilla, V. **Articles and Speeches.** 1926-1956. Moscow, 1957. 362 pp.

THIS Russian edition contains Codovilla's articles and speeches from 1926 to 1954 published in 1954 in Buenos Aires under the title: *Nuestro camino desemboca en la victoria*, to which has been added his report to the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist Party in June 1956.

The reader is able to follow the most important stages in the history of the Communist Party of the Argentine, its struggle for peace, the national independence of the country, democracy and socialism. Great attention is paid to the imperialist enslavement of the Argentine, the agrarian problem and the party's work in the rural areas. A special place is given to a Marxist analysis of the social content of Peronism that took advantage of the postwar economic situation to establish a fascist-type regime serving the interests of the landed oligarchy and foreign capital.

Codovilla outlines the problem of the struggle for trade union unity, for the unity of the working class movement and the creation of a national democratic front of struggle for peace and against the oligarchy and imperialism and stresses the identity of the national and international tasks of the Argentine working class and its vanguard.

The book throws light on the most important specific features of the anti-imperialist and communist movement in the Latin American countries.

Kun B. **A Magyar Tanszkoztarsasagrol.** Budapest, 1958. 648 l.

Kun B. **On the Hungarian Soviet Republic.** Budapest, 1958. 648 pp.

THE Publishing House of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has published this collection of articles and speeches by Bela Kun, the leader of the Communist Party and a member of the Government of the Hungarian Soviet Republic (1919).

The book covers the period of preparation for and the victory of the proletarian revolution in Hungary in 1919 and of its defeat. Bela Kun's articles and speeches deal with almost all aspects of the struggle of the Hungarian Communists at that time. Side by side with the correct Leninist solution of the problems of the revolution they also show the inconsistency of Bela Kun and the Hungarian Communists in the struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in the country and to suppress the counter-revolution. In defense

of the memory of the Hungarian Soviet Republic against the calumny that poured upon it, Bela Kun, on the advice of Lenin, made a detailed analysis of the mistakes made by the republic which were, in the main: failure to carry out an agrarian reform, a policy of compromise in relation to the leadership of the Social Democratic Party which, in the final analysis, betrayed the proletarian revolution, the factual dissolution of the vanguard of the working class and weakness in implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bela Kun's book is an important source for the study of the history of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and is, at the same time, a valuable contribution to the treasure house of the experience of the working class struggle for the winning of power and the strengthening of its dictatorship. Such is the significance of the publication of articles and speeches by Bela Kun, a Communist revolutionary devoted to the cause of the working class.

Ferenc Munnich, a comrade-in-arms of Bela Kun in the revolutionary struggle, has written a comprehensive foreword to the book.

Mao Tse-tung. **On the Question of the Correct Solution of Contradictions among the People.** Peking. 1957. 38 pp.

MAO TSE-tung's book criticizes the dogmatic denial of contradictions in socialist society and, on the basis of a profound analysis of the social situation in modern China, shows the character of these contradictions, the dialectics of their development and concrete forms in which they express themselves depending on historical conditions and class relations in society.

In his examination of the ways and means for solving contradictions in the economic, political and ideological life of the Chinese people, Mao Tse-tung stresses the importance of the timely and correct recognition of contradictions as they occur, through close contact between the leaders and the masses.

Mao Tse-tung's book analyzes the functions of the democratic dictatorship of the people in China and explains the relation between democracy amongst the people and the dictatorship, manifested by the suppression of the enemies of the people. In the course of this analysis it provides a comprehensive Marxist definition of the concept "people".

The book is of great theoretical and practical importance not only for the work of the Communist Party of China but also for other Communist and Workers' Parties.

Thorez M. **Encore une fois la pauperisation.** Paris, 1957. 30 p.

Thorez M. **More about Impoverishment.** Paris, 1957. 30 pp.

THOREZ'S booklet is a continuation of a former work, *New Data on the Impoverishment of the French Workers* (1955).

Thorez exposes the wiles of the bourgeois apologists, the reformists and revisionists, who try to deny the impoverishment of the working class under capitalist conditions. He cites numerous facts confirming the Marxist-Leninist theory of the impoverishment of the working class. At the same time, on the basis of a summary of modern tendencies in capitalist development in France, an analysis of the social consequences of automation and the growing interference of the bourgeois state in the economy, he reveals new ways in which the law of absolute and relative impoverishment of the workers is expressed in the intensification of labor, the mass down-grading of the workers, chronic inflation, growing taxation, etc. Contrary to the contentions of the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists, the workers, Thorez points out, are able to obtain new articles for domestic use, etc., that enter into the value of their labor power, not on account of their growing incomes but by denying themselves other vital needs. Thorez refutes the opinion of the reformists on the so-called automatic improvement of the condition of the workers as a result of technological progress and draws attention to new methods of combining the political, economic and ideological struggle of the working class.

The book is a well-argued defense and a further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the impoverishment of the working class under capitalism.

Ulbricht, W. **Die Staatslehre des Marxismus-Leninismus und ihre Anwendung in Deutschland.** Berlin, 1958. 63 S.

Ulbricht, W. **The Marxist-Leninist Theory of the State and its Application in Germany.** Berlin, 1958, 63 pp.

ULBRIGHT examines the question of the state in Germany after the Second World War. He reveals the radical difference in the social and economic foundation of the People's Democratic State established in the Eastern part of Germany and the West German monopolist state and quotes data on the class structure of society in the Democratic and Federal Republics. A special section of the book analyzes the essence of state power in the German Democratic Republic.

Special attention is devoted to theoretical problems of the state and law in the transition period from capitalism to socialism; they are examined in close connection with the practice of socialist construction. Ulbricht points to the need of the further development of socialist law in the German Democratic Republic and also underlines the tasks confronting science in connection with the state and law. In his analysis of the problem of German unity he deals with the question of the creation of a confederation of the two republics.

Ulbricht's book is a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state in concrete conditions of the development of the people's democratic state and of socialist construction in Germany.

Khrushchov, N.S. **For a Lasting Peace and Peaceful Coexistence.** Moscow, 1958, 367 pp.

KHRUSHCHOV'S speeches and his talks with press representatives in 1957 are devoted mainly to the important problem of the struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace throughout the world. In them a number of important problems of peace and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are examined.

Khrushchov reveals the content and objective foundations of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and shows that the "position of strength" policy is doomed; he shows the nature of the new type of international relations existing in the socialist camp, relations that are based on fraternal solidarity and socialist mutual aid.

The book examines the contradictions existing between the two systems and points out that the irreconcilability of socialist and bourgeois ideology does not make war fatalistically inevitable. Socialism will win without a war because its advantages are more clearly made manifest in a peaceful competition with capitalism, and socialist ideas are gaining ground with growing sections of the people.

Khrushchov shows that the allegations of bourgeois propaganda to the effect that the socialist countries "export revolution" are unfounded and stresses the point that socialism must inevitably replace capitalism in all countries and that the process will be the internal affair of the people concerned.

This collection gives a Marxist interpretation of the most important world events and answers a number of the most crucial questions of our times.

Letters and Notes

A Letter from Bogota, Colombia

TO the Editors of World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism):

Dear Comrades,

It was with great satisfaction that we in Colombia learned of the forthcoming publication of your journal.

I am happy to have the opportunity of using this platform of Marxist-Leninist thinking to raise some of the questions uppermost in the minds of the peoples of Latin America.

We have unbounded possibilities of securing an abundance of material blessings and a happy life for our citizens, but North American imperialism, which is keeping the entire continent under its boot, is savagely exploiting our countries and retarding our industrial and economic development. Penetration of Yankee capital into Latin America has increased sharply in the past few decades. In Colombia, for instance, direct capital investments by the U.S., which amounted to \$117 million in 1943 now exceed \$300 million (not counting the investments in joint-stock companies and trading enterprises).

There is a community of interests and hopes all the way from Patagonia to North Mexico. We must force our industrial development, raise our economy, but the chains shackling us to imperialism are preventing us from doing that.

U.S. imperialism is maintaining its rule in Latin America by mercilessly tyrannical methods, without even bothering to make a show of bourgeois democracy. After the Second World War, military dictatorships were planted in Colombia, Cuba, Venezuela, Peru, Paraguay and Bolivia with fire and sword. But in all these years, the peoples of Latin America have not ceased their struggle against North American domination and have scored quite a few successes. The failure of the "positions of strength" policy has led to a tremendous upsurge of the national-liberation movement and democratization in the American continent. The reaction of our peoples to the recent visit by the American Vice-President Nixon strikingly showed how bitterly they resent the U.S. dollar policy.

The experience of the post-war years is of tremendous importance for the struggle the Latin-American peoples will have to wage in the immediate future to achieve full national sovereignty.

We can win this struggle if we secure unity among all patriotic forces and, mainly, unity among the working class, which at the moment is being hindered by sectarianism and narrow-mindedness.

The workers are not the only people fighting for national independence. There is a desire to throw off the yoke of Yankee imperialism among all walks of life, from the proletariat to the national bourgeoisie and even among certain landlords, and they are ready to make their contribution.

Latin-American Communists would like to use *World Marxist Review* as a forum for exchanging opinion on the problem of setting up a united anti-imperialist front and of the role of the working class in this front.

We fully realize that the big issues facing our peoples can be settled only on the path of peace and peaceful co-existence of all the nations inhabiting the globe.

Today, world developments are leading our countries towards trade with all states which respect our right to self-determination and build up their relations with us on the principle of equality. The time is ripe for holding conferences of Latin-American countries to examine their economic problems and the means of ensuring national sovereignty. Such conferences should work out measures enabling our produce to reach all countries and allowing us to buy machinery and equipment with which to develop industries of our own.

The remarkable offensive by the socialist camp in the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence of all peoples is exercising a strong influence on the minds of the people of our countries, who realize that the triumph of the forces of socialism would result in a durable bulwark guarding the friendship and well-being of the whole of mankind.

The time is now favorable for achieving unity among our peoples in the joint liberation struggle and for contributing towards the great battle for peace throughout the world and for the peaceful co-existence of all countries without any discrimination whatever.

For the victory of peace and socialism!

With fraternal greetings,

Bogota, Colombia.

Filiberto Barrero.





