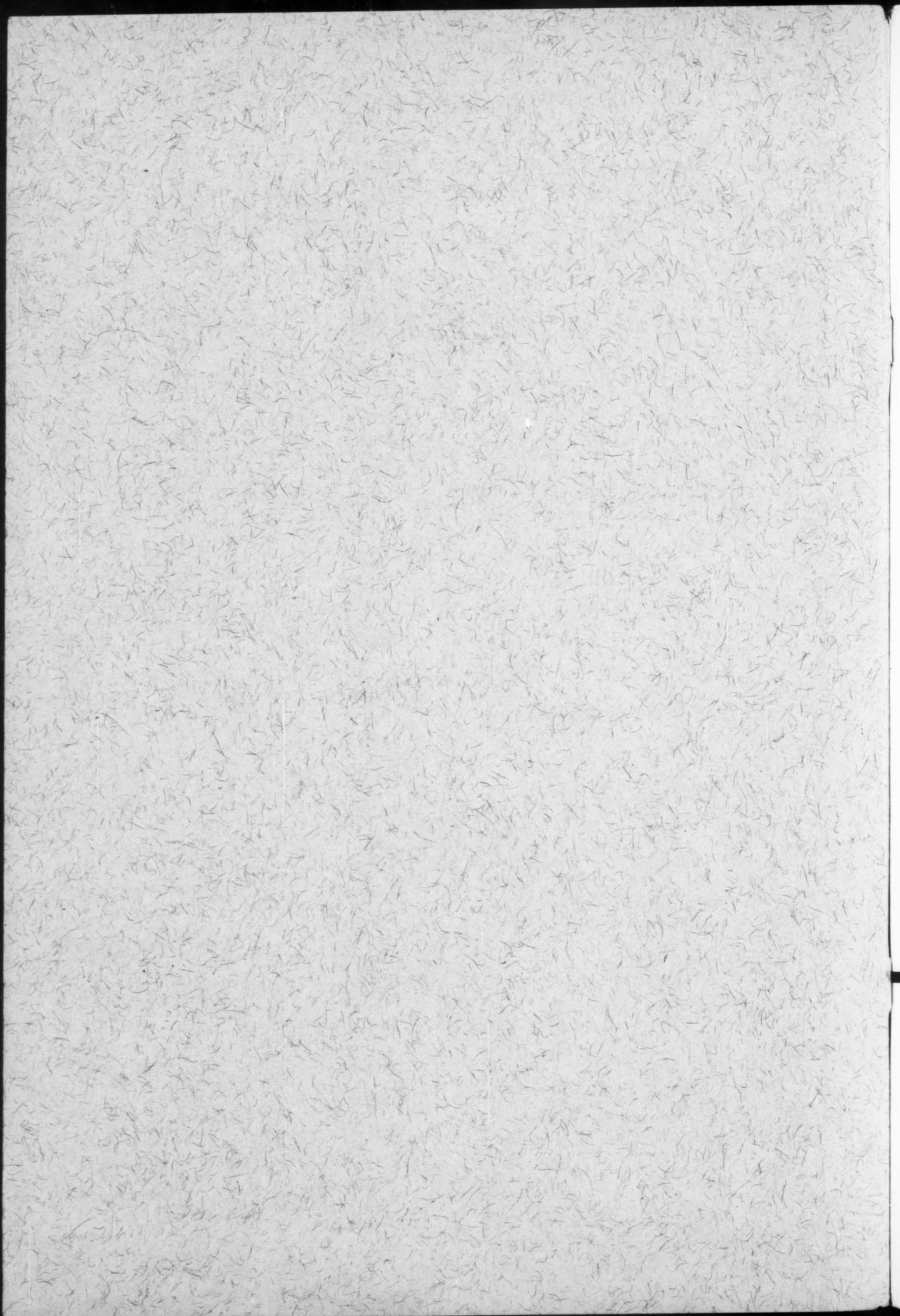


Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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PROBLEMS
OF PEACE
and
SOCIALISM



World Marxist Review:

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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An Historic Event

THE Khrushchov-Eisenhower exchange of visits inspires the people of the whole world with hope. Everybody feels, and justly so, that a decisive step has been taken towards relaxation of international tension, that the danger of war has correspondingly receded.

It was not so long ago that the slogan of imperialist policy was to "thrust" socialism back by means of an aggressive war. Today mankind is witness to an unprecedented event that is indicative of the changes that have occurred in the world: the head of the Soviet Government was invited to Washington by the President of the United States and the Americans have accorded him a warm welcome. The long struggle waged by the masses has created the conditions in which a radical change in the relations between the capitalist and the socialist systems may take place, opening new perspectives in line with the heartfelt desire of the peoples for peace.

This great achievement is the work of the peoples themselves. We owe it to the fact that in the countries where the workers are in power the people have developed an unexcelled economic, scientific and technological *might* capable of bringing any would-be aggressor to his senses and creating for the socialist system a prestige which is becoming a "material force" among the masses. The Soviet Union is using its technological superiority primarily for peaceful purposes, for expanding productive capacity for the benefit of society; after putting into commission an atomic power station and launching the first atomic ice-breaker this is also seen in the feat of sending a rocket to the moon. As the public sees it, imperialism, which seeks to establish the domination of small privileged groups over the people, is opposed by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp which are anxious to use the achievements of progress for the boundless extension of man's dominion over nature.

The easing of international tension is the work of the peoples also because it is the outcome of their long years of *struggle*. The fight for peace, which for the first time has assumed an organized character, is inspired by the scientific principles contained in the ideological treasury of the working class. It is expressed first of all in the foreign policy of the socialist states, particularly of the Soviet Union. The workers of the world

see for themselves how the policy championed by Nikita Khrushchov has been confirmed by reality, and its effectiveness is obvious to all. It finds expression also in the work of the Communist and Workers' Parties which are implementing the ideas proclaimed in the Peace Manifesto (1957, Moscow), as well as in the activity of the World Peace Movement whose say on the issue of war and peace is determined by its ability to unite the masses and mobilize them for action in the defense of peace.

The rapid growth of the socialist world and the persistent struggle of the masses headed by the working class have wrought an essential change in the correlation of forces on the world arena. Appreciating this, though in differing measure, the masses note with deep satisfaction the current developments in international relations. The tangible changes in the policy of a number of big capitalist states, the United States above all, are by no means accidental. They are not the result of the subjective views of statesmen. They are objective causes that constitute a restraining force on the designs of the imperialists.

The imperialists are facing serious economic difficulties, such as curtailment of production and powerful strikes in a number of countries—the miners' strike in Borinage, that of the metal workers in Argentina, and of the steel workers in the United States. They are fettered by the trade restrictions with the East, restrictions which they themselves imposed. Internal contradictions between the various imperialist groups have sharpened: economic contradictions between the rivals, as for instance, between the supporters of the "free trade zone" in Europe and the Common Market supporters; political and military contradictions, within NATO in particular; the contradictions between the groups of capitalists in a number of countries.

The imperialist bourgeoisie is sensitive to the bankruptcy of its colonial policy in respect to peoples who immediately after World War II took the path of national liberation. More and more countries are breaking free from colonialism, and every day changes the aspect of vast areas of the globe. The more far-sighted sections of the imperialist bourgeoisie are forced to realize a fact which calls in question the basic lines of their policy in the last few years, namely, that pacts like NATO

have not solved the problem of political unity among the countries of the capitalist world. All the pacts are impotent both in the face of the economic, military and scientific successes of the socialist countries, on the one hand, and of the peace-loving aspirations of the peoples in the capitalist countries on the other. Moreover, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism—features of this policy—are now in contradiction to the national-liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples, thereby creating additional difficulties for the imperialists in their relations with the young independent nations. In advanced capitalist countries the militarist policy which also burdens the working people with the costly arms drive has aggravated the class contradictions and stepped up the resistance of broad sections to governments which are rightly considered adventurist.

The imperialists hoped that the use of military force and the kindling of local conflicts, or even a world conflagration, would be the best means of overcoming their difficulties. However, the continuation of this course has led to a crisis of the "Atlantic" system. The fact that at present the results of the policy of the imperialists have a boomerang effect is a reflection of the logic of history. The more experienced bourgeoisie has come to realize this fact. The policy pursued by Dulles, whose main line was "brinkmanship," the policy wrecked by the Suez gamble, has entered a blind alley.

Hence the search for another road — a straight one or a detour, through hesitation and contradiction — the search undertaken by influential bourgeois circles chiefly in Britain and America in spite of the reserved stand and even hostility of the groups in power in West Germany and France. Hence the extension of trade, visits by American and British businessmen to the USSR and China. Hence the political talks: Macmillan's visit to Moscow, the Geneva conference and the Khrushchov-Eisenhower meeting.

This evolution in international affairs confirms the ideas advanced first by the 20th and later by the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The facts testify to the soundness of the main idea set forth in the Central Committee report to the 21st Congress: "... even prior to the full victory of socialism on a world scale, with the preservation of capitalism in a part of the world, a real possibility for excluding world war from the life of society will emerge." Tens of millions of people through-

out the world are beginning to appreciate these ideas; they are beginning to understand that they are a realistic perspective within reach. People pay due tribute to scientific socialism and the country which has proclaimed the task of building communism. Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence, which the Soviet state has maintained as its policy ever since the day in November 1917 when the young republic called on the working people of all countries to "free mankind from the horrors of war and its consequences" to our times when the Land of Soviets has in many fields surpassed the highly developed capitalist countries. has gripped the minds of the majority of mankind.

The peoples have adopted a serious attitude towards the present signs of relaxation in world tensions, because they know that the leaders of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are acting sincerely and without any ulterior motives in an effort to further ease tensions. In contradistinction to imperialist politicians, they have no need to disguise their intentions which coincide with the aspirations of the masses and meet with their approval despite the fabrications of bourgeois propaganda. It is precisely for this reason, as was to be expected, that some reactionary circles are distorting the principles on which the policy of the socialist countries is based. Even now we hear the voices of reactionaries who seek to misrepresent the concept of peaceful coexistence, to create the possibility of continuing the cold war in new ways, to present existing differences as irreconcilable and ultimately to instil the idea that peaceful coexistence should be based on mistrust, on preparedness for war with each side shutting itself up in hostile silence. This is not the "co-existence" for which the people yearn. The peaceful coexistence wanted by the peoples envisages competition in all fields of activity aimed at raising the standard of living; it also contemplates co-operation. Such cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit should be aimed at improving the conditions of the people of all countries, at extending trade, rendering aid to the underdeveloped countries, furthering scientific achievements and solving international issues. Such co-operation, which is both possible and necessary, is a component part of genuine peaceful coexistence and one of the main objects of the policy of the socialist countries. The working people of the world expect the Western powers to take this road.

The peoples know that they will have to exert no small effort to arrive at this new stage. Peaceful coexistence is still on the agenda: it has not yet been achieved still less made secure. And if war is no longer an inevitability, peace, too, has not yet been guaranteed. The progress that has been made is indicative of the need for the peoples to go on with unrelenting determination and vigilance in their fight for peace. An important step has been taken. It depends on the fight of the masses for peace under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' parties whether they will be able to consolidate and safeguard this success from the inevitable attempts on the part of some imperialist groups to nullify it, should it appear to the latter that tension better suits their economic purposes.

Peaceful coexistence is a condition which cannot be decreed. To uphold it pressure and *constant mass action* are needed to overcome the difficulties, vacillations, retreats—permanent features of the policy of capitalist states, since this policy is determined by the class interests of the ruling bourgeois circles. We need only to look at the attitude of some rather influential militarist circles in the United States or in the German Federal Republic to see that at any moment they consider opportune they may make an attempt to kindle the flames of war in some part of the world. As we know, any "local" war nowadays, in view of modern armaments, contains the danger of developing into a world catastrophe. Hence the establishment of a durable peace is not a process that develops automatically the moment the first achievements are registered, it is a process which needs constant and considerable effort. The peoples know this and they

will not be satisfied with words, they *demand action* in accord with words. That is why they want the meetings and talks to result in the solution of key problems, above all, in the ending of nuclear weapons tests, in measures that would ensure early disarmament, abolition of military bases on foreign soil, and European security through a peace treaty with Germany. That is why the working people appraise the proposal on universal and complete disarmament made by Nikita Khrushchov at the 14th General Assembly Session as an event of historic importance. Acceptance and implementation of this proposal would really guarantee lasting peace. The more unanimous and stronger the action of the masses for peace, the more they will help to solve these vital issues, the sooner will the cold-war men be isolated, the sooner will peace be ensured.

The working class, guided by its communist vanguard, will continue to play the principal role in securing world peace. For the first time in history a definite class has set itself the task of abolishing war, for the first time in history this class has the necessary means to achieve this end. Today everything favors this prospect; the working class will realize the words of Karl Marx, "that as opposed to the old society with its economic misery and political madness, a new society is being born whose principle in international affairs will be — *peace*, for every people will then have but one ruler—*labor!*" The struggle of the working class has already created conditions that are more favorable than ever for the unification of peoples in a mighty front of struggle for peace. The foundation of this front will be the *unity of all working people* in advancing towards mankind's cherished dream: "Peace to the world!"

Competition and Co-operation

— Peaceful Coexistence

Adam Rapacki

ON September 1, 1939, the first Nazi bombers appeared over Warsaw. From then on the conflagration spread to the whole of Europe and enveloped the world.

Now, twenty years later, the war industry in West Germany is again working at full capacity. Cargoes of arms continue to arrive in her ports, and cries for revenge and conquest resound loudly. And as was the case twenty or thirty years ago, the scramble for profits and anti-communism prevent influential imperialist circles from soberly assessing the situation in the world and the real interests of their countries.

Today, however, the international picture is different from what it was twenty years ago.

Alongside the powerful Soviet Union there is the socialist camp which is acquiring an ever greater weight in shaping the destiny of the world. Much experience has been accumulated in the ten years of struggle for peace. The liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is steadily sapping and abolishing the positions of colonialism. The working-class movement and the peace forces are now in a position to resist war much more effectively than ever before.

That is why, recalling September 1939, the Polish people say: "Never again!"

Socialist Poland has overcome the backwardness and stagnation of prewar times. It is linked by alliance, co-operation and mutual aid, by identity of interests and ideology, with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Poland could not have existed as a socialist state outside the camp of socialism. Moreover, it could not have existed as an independent state had it not been a member of this camp.

* * *

Nowadays war can be averted thanks to the existence of the socialist world system. Experience constantly confirms the soundness of this thesis expounded by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union. The subsequent 21st Congress declared that the socialist world will, in the near future, surpass the capitalist world in total output. Thus there are now greater possibilities for resolving the historical controversy between socialism and capitalism through peaceful economic competition, and not through war. It is becoming increasingly evident that in this competition the ultimate victory will go to socialism.

This perspective is becoming clear not only to a growing number of working people, but also to large sections of the bourgeoisie. The ultra-aggressive imperialist circles, however, continue to draw their old conclusions. They hold that since capitalism is losing in the peaceful competition it might be better to try their luck in a risky military gamble. But not all the bourgeoisie think in this way. Some sections draw other conclusions: even if socialism should win the peaceful competition with capitalism, war would be a still greater evil for the bourgeoisie, to say nothing of its dire consequences for humanity as a whole. And with the further growth of the socialist countries and the peace forces and the liberation of colonial peoples this idea will gain wider recognition among the bourgeoisie.

The Soviet-Polish Statement of July 22, 1959, justly pointed out: "The public and political forces in the capitalist world are becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that no policy from strength can halt the growth of the socialist forces, or stifle the national-liberation movement. *Only peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between the two systems can prevent war* (my italics—A.R.).

The conditions for peaceful coexistence between socialism and capitalism are developing and are bound to develop.

Striking illustration of this process in favor of socialism and peace are the changes that have taken place in the world in the past two or three years. An important new

feature is that these changes have occurred in a way that is most convincing to the public, a way that nullifies the propaganda which tries to belittle this fact. The achievements of Soviet science and engineering—sputniks, intercontinental and space rockets; the remarkable progress made by the Soviet Union, People's China and all the socialist countries in economic development; the perspective of further economic growth; the cementing of unity of the socialist camp on the principles of proletarian internationalism—all signify a new situation in international relations.

It should be noted further that the past few years have seen the astounding success of the peoples fighting against colonialism. Twice in the past three years the big imperialist powers have sent troops against the young and poorly armed Arab states, and twice they have had to retreat.

In these circumstances the Western concept of the positions of strength policy has entered a stage of deepening crisis. The working people in the Western countries, even those who until recently believed imperialist propaganda, are becoming more convinced that the socialist camp has no intention of attacking anyone, and the fact that it is now stronger than the capitalist world in no way changes this attitude which derives from its basic principles and from the interests of the working people of our countries and of the whole world. The working people in the West see the pointlessness of the arms drive. Ten years ago, when the world learned that the Soviet Union also possessed atomic weapons, imperialist propaganda called on the peoples of the capitalist countries to intensify their effort to "retain the military superiority over the East." Today the people are asked to exert incomparably greater efforts in order to "counterbalance the military superiority of the East." The question arises: where is the guarantee that the new efforts will yield better results than the previous ones? Where will this folly land us? This explains why in many cases the Anglo-American rulers are unable to continue their "tough policy." It is worth noting that the public all over the world hears appeals for co-operation with the socialist countries from such prominent figures in the USA as Cyrus Eaton, George Kennan, Eleanor Roosevelt, the economist James Warberg and from some of the senators.

Indicative of the new attitude of some bourgeois circles towards the cold war pol-

icy are the changes now taking place in the political life of Britain. Formerly, the call for an international detente was confined to some groups in the Labor Party, whereas now similar calls are made by a number of Conservative leaders. Recent discords among the Christian-Democratic leaders in West Germany also testify to a changed viewpoint among bourgeois political groupings in Western Europe.

We see that Western bourgeois circles are searching for a new policy which would take greater cognizance of the world balance of forces and of the aspirations of the people. No matter how restricted the searching may be and whatever its purpose, it leads to recognition of objective reality and, therefore, benefits peaceful coexistence. Guided by their peace policy, the socialist states will meet these attempts halfway; they will carefully consider any initiative aimed at easing world tensions.

It goes without saying that the processes mentioned above are resisted by the imperialists who up to now have profited from the cold war and reposed their hopes in it. This applies chiefly to the imperialist circles with a stake in the arms drive, those who bank on establishing, strengthening or retaining their supremacy over the weaker partners and competitors and even dream of destroying socialism. These circles have strong positions in the USA and exert a big influence on the policy of other Western countries.

The Adenauer group in West Germany is now the most aggressive imperialist force. The militarist elements there are trying might and main to prevent any lessening of international tension and to intensify the cold war. They reject everything that furthers normalization; they resort to more active methods of sabotaging relaxation of tension, to the policy of accomplished facts which could seriously aggravate the international situation. The danger of the more aggressive imperialist forces using similar methods grows in the measure that it becomes more difficult for them to overcome the crisis of the positions of strength policy. This explains why it is so essential now to settle the issue of West Berlin which Adenauer and the circles associated with him have turned into a powder magazine in the heart of Europe. That is why it has become necessary to settle the German issue in a way that would facilitate relaxation of tension, disarmament, normalization of the sit-

uation in Europe and create favorable conditions for negotiations between the two German states.

It is clear that if the German Federal Republic continues to be the most aggressive force and, as Adenauer would like to see it, a kind of "Piedmont" of German imperialist expansion, it will not be able to retain for long its present positions in the world. On the other hand, the international position of the peace-loving German Democratic Republic is being strengthened more rapidly than ever.

Despite the efforts of the cold-war men the positions of strength policy is showing signs of cracking. The policy of any Western state that does not take this factor into account is doomed to failure. The crisis of the positions of strength policy is also manifest in the diminishing prestige of the countries which persist in pursuing this unwise policy. This directly applies to the United States. The positions of strength policy towards the socialist camp, the policy of neo-colonialism towards the countries shaking off the foreign yoke, of imposing the "leading role" of the United States on the Western countries—this entire system is now in conflict with the international situation. Having proved unsound, it is beginning to crack. The United States will not be able to retain its positions on such political foundations.

* * *

The existence of states with different systems is an objective fact, independent of the will or wishes of people. This, however, does not mean that a wall of hatred, fear and enmity should divide them.

The antagonisms between socialism and capitalism, between Marxism and bourgeois ideology cannot be abolished. Socialism and capitalism cannot exist without competition. The point is that it should be peaceful. This is what we want, and the trend of developments is in this direction.

On the other hand, these systems cannot but co-operate with each other. No one in the socialist world has ever thought of peaceful coexistence as coexistence between two isolated and exclusive camps. Peaceful coexistence presupposes exchanges. It must, therefore, find manifestation also in international co-operation.

Even in the grim years of the cold war its advocates could not stop exchanges between capitalist and socialist nations. The attempts to organize an economic blockade

of the socialist camp turned against those who initiated it. The advocates of the cold war did not succeed either in breaking cultural ties between the peoples living under different socio-economic systems.

Relations between the socialist countries rest on mutual co-operation and aid arising from the identity of interests and aims. The greater the co-operation and mutual aid among the socialist countries, the more successfully and rapidly their economy develops, the greater as well will be their possibilities for and their interest in trade with the capitalist countries. Experience is the best confirmation of this basic trend in our policy. Trade between the socialist and capitalist countries is steadily growing. With regard to Poland we can say that beginning with 1953 its trade with capitalist countries has been expanding simultaneously with the growth of trade with the socialist countries.

Trade with the newly liberated countries is developing more rapidly, because the socialist states encounter fewer obstacles there on the part of the apologists of economic isolation. Relations between the socialist camp and the vast majority of these countries are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Progress is also being made in scientific and technical exchanges between the socialist and capitalist countries. Needless to say, were the Western powers to abandon the policy of discrimination our trade with them would expand much more quickly. It is also clear that this would benefit both sides. The same can be said about cultural exchanges.

The broader exchange of exhibitions and reciprocal visits by artists, scientists and engineers observed in recent times are positive factors, demonstrating that life forces its way despite the obstacles and barriers of the cold war, that the consistent policy of coexistence pursued by the socialist countries yields good results. It is significant that these exchanges are welcomed not only by the socialist countries but also by representatives of the capitalist countries concerned.

All the socialist countries have their specific interests and maintain traditional economic and cultural relations with various capitalist countries. They are making use of their opportunities, contributing thereby to international co-operation and peaceful coexistence. In many parts of the world geographic and economic conditions (territorial proximity, mutually complementary econo-

mies, common interests in the proper use of waterways and natural resources) necessitate regional systems of coexistence and co-operation. Such conditions, for example, prevail in the area of the Baltic Sea and in Scandinavia. Poland attaches great importance to co-operation between the countries situated in this part of Europe. The significance for peace of such regional systems is all the greater because they are situated at the juncture of the socialist and capitalist worlds, at the juncture of the opposed military groupings.

International developments in recent years show that the socialist and capitalist countries can co-operate also in the political sphere, on questions on which it is possible to find a common language and the solution of which would help to ease world tensions.

There are military groupings in the world. The socialist camp is not responsible for this state of affairs, nor is it interested in preserving this division. This camp will continue to develop, and will cement its unity. Such is the historical necessity, such are the profound interests of all the socialist states, such is their common aspiration. It does not follow from this that the antagonisms between socialism and capitalism are bound to take the form of a division of the world into opposed military blocs.

The Warsaw Treaty members have repeatedly stressed that the conclusion of this treaty was made necessary in view of the Atlantic pact, West German remilitarization and the revanchist policy of the Bonn Government. They have also expressed their desire to replace the existing military groupings by a system of collective security. But our proposals to this effect were repeatedly rejected by NATO, and we had to search for partial solutions in this sphere. In the final count a system of collective security should be a political guarantee of peaceful coexistence. However, the world is now divided into military groupings, and we must draw correct conclusions from this situation. This explains in particular why the Soviet Government calls for negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw pact, for a non-aggression pact between them and for creating conditions in which the division into opposed military blocs would raise fewer obstacles to international co-operation. The same idea underlies the initiative displayed by the other socialist countries, for example, Poland's proposal for an atom-free zone in Central Europe. This zone could become an

important link in an atom-free belt dividing the two groupings from the Adriatic to Scandinavia. It would considerably lessen the tension, create a climate of mutual trust and lead to peaceful co-operation.

The Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva was an important event. The four big powers, meeting again after a long interval, made new efforts to resolve two pressing problems resulting from World War II: a peace treaty with Germany, and Berlin. Delegations from the two German states participated for the first time in examining the problems concerning their country.

A careful and frank discussion of these issues helped to clarify the positions and removed not a few misunderstandings. On some points the positions drew closer together, and this found expression in the communiqué. It would be naive, of course, not to see that there are still essential differences between the two sides. It is necessary, therefore, to make new efforts in order to reach mutually acceptable agreements at further sessions of this conference and, above all, at a summit meeting.

We hold that, despite the fundamental differences, the countries of the two systems can hold discussions, compare views, reach durable agreements and, consequently, co-operate in the political sphere. Of course, durable political co-operation comes up against serious difficulties, and in the future, too, it will not be a smooth road. Therefore, economic, scientific and cultural co-operation between the socialist and capitalist countries should not be made dependent on the progress in political co-operation. It is undoubtedly easier to overcome difficulties through the first three channels.

Improvement in Soviet-American relations is of immense significance for preserving peace. The Soviet Exhibition in New York and the American National Exhibition in Moscow, the recent visits of Mikoyan and Kozlov to the United States and Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union and Poland—all are definite steps aimed at improving the relations between states with differing systems.

The Khrushchov-Eisenhower meeting acquires great importance. Khrushchov's visit to the United States and Eisenhower's return visit to the Soviet Union are welcomed not only by the Soviet and American but also by other peoples.

Only recently many American politicians rejected the very term "coexistence" out-

right, denouncing it as a "communist trap." Now, however, because of events and the growing strength and prestige of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries they have to admit more and more the viability of the policy of peaceful coexistence and the hopelessness of the cold war policy.

We think that better opportunities are opening up for contacts leading to unity of action by the entire international working-class movement. The interests of peace, of resolving vital international issues, impel us to find a basis for Communist-Socialist co-operation, for co-operation of the organized working-class movement and of all the peace forces.

This is evident from the speeches made by prominent Socialist leaders at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist International in Hamburg last July. Despite the contradictory resolutions and the anti-communism of many leaders, the congress called for an early summit meeting, prohibition of nuclear tests, disengagement in Europe, general and all-round disarmament with effective control and inspection, thus expressing the sentiments of the rank and file and supporters of the Social-Democratic parties. This is a good sign.

The Hamburg congress and its resolutions brought to light important changes in the working people who are influenced by the Social-Democratic movement. Is it not possible, in view of the sound conclusions drawn by the congress, to find an acceptable basis for rallying the working-class movement and all progressive forces? In this way the world labor movement could, in our opinion, greatly contribute to peaceful coexistence.

* * *

The socialist countries attach great importance to the work of the United Nations and other international bodies. In accordance with the principles deriving from its Charter, the United Nations can play a big role in furthering international co-operation. But it will be able to implement these principles only if it becomes the universal and recognized organization of the nations. And this recognition must be ensured by all its members and leading bodies. In this respect the United Nations encounters difficulties arising from the still persisting efforts of some Western powers to turn it into an instrument of their policy. Similar designs killed the effectiveness of the League of Nations, making it impossible for the League

to play any part in preventing the Second World War. A glaring example of these efforts is the fact that People's China is still outside the United Nations. It is symbolic that at the last three sessions of the General Assembly the majority of delegations turned down the proposal of India—co-author of the Panch Shila policy—to restore the rights of People's China—another co-author of this policy.

The attempts of some Western powers to turn the United Nations into an instrument of their narrow interests are unwise and harmful. They are unwise because the United Nations would lose its moral prestige and could no longer be an effective organization. They are harmful because it would cease to be a factor of international co-operation. These attempts, however, now have less chance of success because the international situation no longer favors them. The socialist countries are engaged in constructive activity in the United Nations and in its various bodies. Experience has shown that it is possible to begin with modest but fruitful results which improve the international climate and broaden exchange. We could cite by way of example the European Economic Commission which is now much more frequently searching for agreement. Although the road is not always smooth, we consider that further constructive work in the United Nations and in the other international bodies will gradually meet with more understanding and appropriate reaction on the part of the other countries.

* * *

Nowadays those who openly oppose international co-operation with its indisputable advantages for peace are few in number. There are two policies in the world. One is the positions of strength policy, the policy of maintaining and even exacerbating international tension, of aggravating international issues, of strengthening imperialist groups and subordinating other capitalist nations; the policy of the arms drive and imposing one's will by means of force or the threat of force. The other policy is motivated by the principle that knotty international problems can and should be settled only through negotiation, that it is necessary, therefore, to strive for agreement and, in order to reach it, to promote peaceful coexistence and co-operation in all spheres. We are ready to co-operate even with those countries which still pursue the first policy. But we cannot fail to note that this imperialist

policy runs counter to international co-operation and the interests of the nations and is suffering one defeat after another. The other policy—the policy of lessening tension and of coexistence—presupposes internation-

al co-operation. This is the policy of the socialist countries.

International co-operation is necessary in the interests of all nations, in the interests of life and progress.

Peace Does Not Come, It Has To be Won*

Jean Dienne

III

The Principles of the Movement

THE World Peace Movement unites and organizes all men and women anxious to work for peace, who approve the collectively worked out policy to reach this great objective. This desire, and not political convictions, is the criterion for participation in action for peace. To organize the peace movement on the basis of political discrimination would be tantamount to denying the very principle of coexistence, and, in the long run, render all action futile. The common sense of the people will certainly move them to doubt the good faith of those who for purely tactical considerations favor negotiations, good-neighborly relations, conciliation and co-operation in foreign policy, but who, in their own countries or national movements, foster division, mistrust and prejudice vis-à-vis people with whom they do not see eye to eye politically.

IV

The Peace Movement and the Communists

The Peace Movement has taken the right stand in vigorously denouncing discrimination against Communists. Rabid anti-communism is simply a negation of the peace struggle.

It is the aim of the Communist parties to realize the cherished hopes of humanity, and they are putting all their efforts into the fight for peace and uniting the people in this struggle, for this is a fight for happiness—happiness as the Communists conceive

it. The Peace Manifesto adopted by the 64 Communist and Workers' parties attending the celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution enunciated this point of view and set the Communists the noble and urgent task of fighting for peace.

We Communists regard the Peace Movement as a broad democratic and integrated movement. Our attitude towards it is determined by a simple and unambiguous principle: we want to act together with all who sincerely and effectively oppose war; we co-operate loyally, and will always do so in any action for peace, without seeking to impose on others political convictions they do not as yet share with us, without accepting views with which we disagree, and without participating in action that runs counter to our principles. We believe that the public will acquire experience in the struggle and, with our help, will judge who is right and who is wrong.

Because the movement is an alliance of broad groups and forces, we cannot impose a rigid anti-imperialist attitude on any one. Imperialist policy, however, is constantly giving birth to, and nurturing causes of, war (the Communists are not alone in observing this). Hence, we have to combat any manifestation of imperialist aggression; in this sense, by virtue of objective reasons, the activities of the Peace Movement lead in an anti-imperialist direction.

Moreover, we Communists are the irreconcilable enemies of colonialism; we are fighting to end it for all time, and we support all movements which have this objective. We explain that achievement of national independence by the oppressed peo-

*Continued from No. 9, 1959

ples and the national-liberation struggle in the colonies are *in themselves* important contributions to the cause of peace. This is true not only of the anti-colonial struggle, but of the fight for economic independence now being waged by the people of those countries which are sovereign in theory only; this, by the way, is a feature of the mass movement in the Latin American countries. But in the great effort for peace, into which all should be drawn, we do not insist that everyone adopt our point of view. We ask no more than sincere participation in solving the problems on which agreement is possible. It is easy to see that colonialism in its diverse aspects (colonial oppression, refusal to grant independence, interference in internal affairs, using the resources and territories of other peoples for military purposes) kindles conflicts and war. Large numbers of people who are not communist-minded are beginning to realize that the manifestations and effects of colonialism should be combated; and this imparts an anti-colonial direction to the Peace Movement.

On their part the Communists are ready to co-operate with everyone (even with those who oppose their ideological and economic views) in working for peace and in rallying the masses for this purpose.

Peace cannot be won by waiting until there is universal agreement with us on all points. The key to victory lies in effective mass action based on a constructive policy. It is from experience gained in mass action, in the common struggle with its accompanying political discussion, explanation and information that the people learn to discern at whose door the responsibility should be laid, learn to understand each other better. Mass activity in its many aspects is the major factor in the struggle for peace. And the World Peace Movement is *the principal organizational form without which joint struggle by the peoples cannot develop successfully.*

The World Character of the Peace Movement

Peace is the common objective, the common need and the common hope of people everywhere without exception, be they in the capitalist, socialist or dependent countries. One of the chief ways by which the capitalists seek to impose their will on mankind is to divide the peoples. The imperialists must be opposed by the united strength of the people of all countries. A

socialist world and a capitalist world now exist, both on the same planet, and their peoples are equally interested in peace. The establishment of a truly world peace movement, of genuine unity between the people in the socialist and non-socialist countries in the fight for peace—this is one of the most important aspects of this struggle.

There is sometimes a tendency among peace supporters in the capitalist countries to attach greater importance to the peace movement in the non-socialist countries and to look upon the movement in the socialist countries as something purely formal (since the governments there are pursuing a peace-loving policy and the war danger emanates from the West). This is a highly erroneous tendency. By participating in international campaigns and extending contacts with the peace movements in other countries, the people in the socialist countries are making a tremendous contribution to the common cause.

In some non-socialist countries whose governments are conducting a peaceful policy, one frequently hears the question: "Why should we bother about a peace movement when our government is pursuing an effective peace policy?" The existence and consolidation of a whole group of non-socialist states sincerely conducting a peace policy is, undoubtedly, one of the most recent and most positive factors of the peace effort. Although their policy is one of neutrality, their contribution is valuable. We need only recollect Bandung to appreciate the part played by these states. The Bandung conference reflected the historical fact that the world now has a peace zone including not only the socialist countries but states which, although not socialist, pursue a policy with an anti-imperialist and peaceful orientation. Despite the efforts of the imperialists to split this zone and undermine the solidarity of the peoples in it, the Bandung spirit, with its ten principles of national liberation and peaceful coexistence, is spreading and gaining strength. The Cairo Conference and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee are important milestones.

Africa and Asia, which in the past have so often been an area of conflicts stirred up and sustained by the imperialists, are now a mighty force effectively opposing the strategic plans of the architects of aggressive "pacts." They have become a major bulwark of peace. It should be pointed out that the peace policy of the neutral states

rests on a particularly sound basis and has more chances of success in countries with powerful peace movements; these movements place the tasks of peace before the people, deepen the class consciousness of the masses, foster in them a spirit of friendship with all nations, promote mutual understanding and the idea of an alliance between the peoples. Are not mutual understanding and solidarity essential for the success of the common struggle?

The international character of the movement is best seen in its striving for unity to achieve a definite, common objective such as cessation of the nuclear tests, or prohibition of nuclear weapons; in its effort to focus world attention on the danger to peace in this or that area, as happened during the wars in Korea and Vietnam, or at the time of the aggression against Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan, and now, today, on the German question. *This ability to draw the attention of the masses throughout the world to any concrete question which in the given situation constitutes the focal point in the peace struggle, imparts strength to the World Peace Movement and enables it to unite all peoples in effective action.*

Rapprochement of the World Peace Forces

One of the results of the hate campaign that was stirred up by the imperialists in the 'fifties—a campaign spearheaded against the World Peace Movement and its affiliated organizations—was that considerable numbers were withdrawn from the peace struggle, that is, “neutralized.” This was the case with most of the Social-Democratic parties. The position has changed greatly today. Many organizations not yet convinced of the need for joint peace action have, nevertheless, felt the impact of the Peace Movement. Some of the social forces most open to anti-communist influence, such as the British Labor Party, the West German trade unions and the World Council of Churches are adopting a stand identical with or similar to that of the peace fighters on questions of atomic weapons, disarmament, a nuclear-free zone and a number of other issues. It is typical of the situation today that new forces have appeared which are in no way connected with the World Peace Council and yet uphold one or more of its slogans. Not infrequently the new organizations are headed by people far removed from the World Peace Movement, at times even by active anti-Communists. The movement against atomic death in West Germany, the

National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in the United States and the nuclear disarmament campaign in Britain are all of this order. An altogether different attitude has been adopted by the All-Japan Council for the Prohibition of A- and H-bombs, with which the World Peace Council is working in close co-operation. This Council has made an important contribution to the struggle against nuclear weapons and has helped appreciably to consolidate the unity of the peace forces.

There have been instances of leaders of these movements deliberately seeking—and making no attempt to conceal this—to set up their own organizations to offset the influence of the World Peace Movement. Nevertheless most of them are drawing considerable numbers of people into action for aims which are often the same as those of the World Peace Movement and in line with the aspirations of the people. Time and again experience has shown that the masses learn to overcome their mistrust and to become conscious of the need for unity in the course of struggle. Lack of unity among the peace forces generally continues to be the main weakness of the struggle. It can safely be said that views on the major political aims have now come so close that the lack of will for joint action is the main obstacle to progress of the movement. The important thing now is to seek for ways and means of drawing closer, to gather together the dispersed energy of the peace organizations, including the new ones, such as the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. A special responsibility devolves on the Communists. Their task is much harder than it was ten years ago. In solving it they should rely on the rich experience accumulated in the past decade.

A decade ago there was no organization capable of uniting the scattered peace forces into a single world movement. Now the national peace movements that are to be found everywhere have developed and become tempered. They have learned to use their own judgment, to react quickly to any threat to peace, to use the methods and approach best suited to the customs and traditions of people. They have learned to link the general peace issues with the particular issues of nations and parts of the world. And at the same time the national peace organizations are linking their activity with international issues making it part of the common peace movement. They are much more conscious

—and this should be noted as a new and important factor—of the need to strengthen their ties with other national peace movements. Indeed there are now problems which affect whole groups of states simultaneously. Latin America is an example: is not the struggle for economic independence in this part of the world an aspect of their common peace struggle? Joint struggle on a world scale will grow if there is greater activity among the peace forces in each part of the world, if the people in groups of countries are drawn into action, as is happening under the impact of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

End the Cold War

At the present stage the peoples are confronted with a number of problems which determine the kind of action to be taken for peace. In the main these problems are: prohibition of nuclear tests and disarmament, peaceful coexistence and co-operation, national independence, and frank and effective negotiations. Against this background the peace movement considers its main task to be to end the *cold war*.

As was pointed out at the Stockholm Jubilee Session of the World Peace Council last May, the Movement does not regard this objective as a distant one, but as a task that can and should be carried out quickly, for with the growing production of nuclear arms it is becoming increasingly difficult to eliminate the danger arising from the cold war policy. What, in this context, tends to engender a conflict? As the World Peace Council noted, *the main danger arises from the German problem*. "We cannot forget," states the Council's resolution on Germany, "that in the Federal Republic this weapon is in the hands of militarists who bear the main responsibility for two world wars. . . . Influential groups in the Federal Republic, with government sympathy and support, want a revision of Germany's present frontiers. . . . Bitter experience has shown that when real power is in the hands of these militarists, neither the German people, nor any of the neighboring peoples can live in safety."

Thus it is impossible to continue to conceal indefinitely the incessant rearming of West Germany, the equipping of her army with nuclear weapons. No country will be safe if a conflict is sparked off in Central Europe. To settle the question peacefully by summit conferences, to sign a peace treaty with Germany, in the interests of all peoples and, first and foremost, of her neighbors—

that is the *immediate task* to which the movement calls the attention of all peace-loving forces.

As the May 1959 Stockholm Appeal stated, the peace supporters are waiting for new East-West meetings in order "to prevent the armed clash to which the situation in Germany may lead, in order to remove the horror of nuclear war from the peoples and open the way to disarmament and world co-operation." The World Peace Council calls on the peace forces to urge the prohibition of atomic weapons and an end to nuclear tests; to demand that the de Gaulle government revoke its decision to test the "French" A-bomb in the Sahara which would endanger the health and the lives of many in Africa, and spoil the prospects of a detente. The Council also called for disengagement in the areas where peace is threatened, first and foremost in the heart of Europe, and urged all partisans of peace to make the public demand for a lasting peace known to the forthcoming conference of the heads of government: by holding peace relays, sending petitions, deputations from factories, residential districts and peace committees. *Public pressure can decisively influence the talks that have been initiated*. The prestige of the peace movement and its ten years' experience can and must be utilized to ensure the success of the meetings now being held and, eventually, of the summit conference so ardently desired by the people.

The cold war, particularly the form it has taken in Germany, is the source of widespread alarm also to those not directly in contact with the World Peace Movement. Thus the movement can be broadened through agreement and alliance with these groups; this would multiply the forces of the peace fighters tenfold, an invincible force would emerge, one which no government can fail to reckon with if it does not wish to be placed in an awkward situation by its own people.

Against this background we perceive two aspects of the task devolving upon the World Peace Movement, and arising from the present situation: first, to broaden and strengthen the movement—we should not depart from this aim even though the barometer shows signs of an international detente—and, second, to secure unity with other peace supporters.

We Communists will spare no effort in solving this task. On us lies the responsibility to show how to "banish war from the life of society."

The Triumph of Marxism-Leninism in China

Liu Shao-chi

TEN years have passed since the proclamation of the Chinese People's Republic.

The Chinese revolution is the continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution which opened a new era in the history of mankind and initiated the process of changing the world. The success of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the victory of the anti-fascist war in which it played a leading part, and the rise of a number of socialist states in Europe and Asia testify to the fact that the advent of socialism and the downfall of capitalism are irrevocable. The victory of the Chinese revolution has further changed the face of the world. It made an immense breach in the imperialist front in the East, thereby dealing a mortal blow to the colonial system. The new China became a member of the socialist camp, a big, close-knit family headed by the Soviet Union, comprising one-third of the world's population and inhabiting a vast territory on two continents. For the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, who have been or still are under the imperialist yoke, the Chinese revolution has a tremendous appeal. They know that they can and must do what the Chinese have done. These facts testify to a further change in the relation of forces between capitalism and socialism.

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The victory of the Chinese revolution has freed the productive forces of society, enabling socialist construction to make seven-league strides and to effect rapid changes in a formerly backward and impoverished country.

In the first three years following the liberation (1950-52) China rehabilitated her national economy, with the result that the highest indices for industrial and agricultural output of the old China were either reached or surpassed. In the 1953-57 period the people carried out their first five-year plan, thereby raising the overall industrial output by 41 per cent and agricultural out-

put by 25 per cent. The share of industry in the national economy rose from 26.7 per cent in 1952 to 40 per cent in 1957. This signified that the initial base for industrialization had been built. In 1958 China launched her second five-year plan, and made the big leap forward. As against 1957 industrial output rose by 66 per cent, while that of agriculture—by 25 per cent. This year, too, we are continuing our rapid economic development. As compared with last year overall output will go up by 20 per cent—by 25.6 per cent in industry and by 10 per cent in agriculture. The second five-year plan targets, initially set for 1962 in steel, coal, steel plant and electrical equipment, metal-cutting lathes, cotton yarn, timber, grain and cotton will either be reached or surpassed. The productive forces are developing at a rate unprecedented for any capitalist country, a rate unthinkable in the old China.

The words of Karl Marx: "Revolutions are the locomotives of history," have been fully justified. Without the democratic revolution which led to the defeat of imperialism, the downfall of feudalism and bureaucratic capital and without the socialist revolution which abolished capitalism, the rapid development of industry, agriculture, science and culture would have been impossible; without these revolutions the present situation, when the entire people are enthusiastically working for socialism and communism, would not have arisen. The revolution has given boundless hope to the people and has opened bright perspectives.

The victories won by the Chinese people over the past ten years constitute a triumph for Marxism-Leninism; they have been won under the leadership of the Communist Party thanks to the general line of the Party in the democratic and socialist revolutions and in socialist construction.

During the democratic revolution Mao Tse-tung repeatedly enunciated the following idea: "... the revolutionary movement led

by the Communist Party is, on the whole, a single movement encompassing both the democratic and the socialist revolution. . . . Only by appreciating the difference between these revolutions and the link connecting them is it possible to provide correct leadership for the revolution in China." Our Right-wing opportunists, like the Mensheviks of Russia, erected a Chinese wall between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution; they failed to see the interconnection between the two revolutions. On the one hand they did not see the perspective of the democratic revolution evolving into a socialist revolution, while on the other the "Left"-wing opportunists, like the Trotskyists in Russia, did not see the difference between the two revolutions and tried to implement the socialist tasks at the stage of the democratic revolution to the end. At the democratic stage the bourgeoisie. These two deviations caused much harm to the Chinese revolution. As opposed to "Left"-wing and Right-wing opportunism, the correct course in leadership as represented by Mao Tse-tung provided, on the one hand, for implementing the Marxist-Leninist theory of the two stages of the revolution, for distinguishing between the tasks of the democratic and socialist stages, and on the other, for implementing the Marxist-Leninist theory of permanent revolution, for co-ordinating the two stages of the revolution, for preparing the conditions that would make possible the immediate transition to the socialist stage after the triumph of the democratic revolution.

The leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, ensured through its Communist Party, was the key to the complete victory of the democratic revolution and its development into the socialist revolution. No bourgeois party could have offered a consistently anti-imperialist and anti-feudal program or could have carried out the democratic revolution to the end. At the democratic stage the general line of the Party was to rally under the leadership of the proletariat, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, all the progressive forces and to wage a consistent struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capital. Mao Tse-tung formulated this line in the following words: "A revolution of the popular masses under proletarian leadership, a revolution spearheaded against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capital."

China was a vast backward country with an 80 per cent rural population of which 70 per cent were poor peasants and farm

laborers. The peasant question was, therefore, the central issue in the democratic revolution. The reactionary power in the old China was notorious for its brutality, the revolutionaries were subjected to wholesale arrests and physical destruction. And so at the democratic stage of the revolution the Communist Party retreated deep into the rural areas and for twenty-two years headed the armed struggle for capturing the cities. The Party implemented the "mass line," it relied on the political consciousness and the organized strength of the peasantry, it rallied the peasants to save themselves, to expropriate the landlords, to take the land and keep it, it did not pursue the bourgeois policy of "bestowing" land on the peasants. (The "mass line" was carried out also after the proclamation of the People's Republic when the agrarian reform was implemented.) This enabled the Party to create in the rural areas a reliable revolutionary base, to build up an army and strongpoints, to raise the level of revolutionary activity and discipline of the masses of poor peasants to that of the proletariat; it was from their midst that the Party received the manpower reserves and materials needed for the People's Liberation Army. From its bases the Communist Party waged a revolutionary war. In these areas it implemented a land reform and carried out economic and cultural development. In fact, this was a long rehearsal in preparation for the nationwide victory. During the rehearsal the masses were educated, the army was steeled, revolutionary forces were accumulated, cadres were trained and the Party leadership gained rich experience.

In view of the fact that a close worker-peasant alliance had already been forged we were in a position to solve the question of a united front with the national bourgeoisie. In our country we distinguished two sections of the bourgeoisie. The first—the bureaucratic or the comprador bourgeoisie—was an instrument of imperialism, a supporter and ally of the feudal lords and a bitter enemy of the revolution. It was imperative to wage a decisive struggle against it. And the second—the national bourgeoisie, which was oppressed by the imperialists, the feudal lords and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This section stood for independent development. Under these conditions its participation in the revolution or its neutrality were possible. However, this bourgeoisie was weak and dual in character, it was both revolutionary and reactionary. It constantly vacillated and occupied an intermediate position. This fact

necessitated, on the one hand, an alliance with it on definite terms and joint struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capital, and on the other, combating its conciliatory tendencies. In pursuing this policy we built up the forces of the revolution, won over the intermediate sections, isolated the reactionaries and firmly maintained the proletarian leadership around which the masses were rallied.

At the democratic stage both the Right-wing opportunists (who denied the link between the democratic and socialist revolutions), and the "Left"-wing opportunists (who confused the two revolutions) failed to comprehend the importance of the peasant question and for this reason could not find a correct solution to the problem of the bourgeoisie. The Rightists pursued a line of surrender to the bourgeoisie, maintaining that the democratic revolution served mainly the aims of the bourgeoisie. They did not rely on the worker-peasant alliance but sought to establish a united front with the bourgeoisie, to enter into an alliance with it, refusing to combat it. Thus they discarded the principle of proletarian leadership. When the bourgeoisie betrayed the revolution, the revolution suffered defeat and the cause of the working class and the masses suffered grave injury. This meant that when the conditions for the revolution were ripe and it was necessary to take every advantage of them in the decisive battle, the Rightists hesitated to press for victory and even stood in the way of achieving it. The "Leftists" did not wish to enter into an alliance with the small and national bourgeoisie. Moreover, they were wrong when they held that the main blow should be struck at the intermediate forces, when they denied the need and the possibility of rallying or neutralizing the various intermediate forces. As far as the national bourgeoisie was concerned, they fought against it, they did not enter into alliance with it, and, what is more, did not wish to utilize the contradictions among the enemies or to concentrate the forces for a blow against the main enemy. The result was that they, too, renounced the principle of proletarian leadership, while the working class had to fight single-handed and the revolution was defeated. Both the "Leftists" and the Rightists had one thing in common: they ignored the revolutionary demands and the fighting spirit of the peasantry; they did not believe that we could hold out in the rural areas by creating bases there, that by isolating the towns we could finally capture

them. That is why, under certain circumstances, the two deviation trends could be substituted one for the other. Take Wang Ming, for instance. During the Second Civil War he represented the third "Leftist" deviation, and in the war against the Japanese invaders he was the most outstanding Right opportunist.

The Marxist-Leninists headed by Mao Tse-tung steered the Party in the struggle against both "Left" and Right opportunism, and thanks to this the revolution began to develop along a correct course, gaining one victory after another.

The people's revolution emerged victorious under the leadership of the Communist Party, overthrew the reactionary Kuomintang and smashed its oppressive bureaucratic and military machine. The People's Republic, proclaimed in 1949, is in effect the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this way the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution was effected. In the fundamental question of the revolution, namely that of power, the founding of the People's Republic marked the completion of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution. The proletariat, in addition to fulfilling its leading role in the democratic revolution, firmly established its hegemony in the sphere of state power with the result that when the task of building socialism arose the question of winning power was no longer on the agenda. This was due to the fact that in the course of the democratic revolution the Party never lost sight of the ultimate goal—the socialist revolution—that in the course of the long revolutionary struggle it made every effort to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat.

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In March 1949 Mao Tse-tung pointed out at a Central Committee meeting that with the victory of the revolution throughout the country the basic contradictions outside China would be those between the Chinese people and imperialism, while those inside China—between the people, on the one hand, and the landlords and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, on the other—would give way to contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie, that is, between socialism and capitalism. At that meeting he advanced the basic political line for the solution of these contradictions. Although in the immediate years after victory the people were still solving some of the tasks of the democratic stage—primarily agrarian reform with a view

to abolishing the feudal landlords as a class—the transition to socialism had begun in 1949. The working class, with the support of the masses and with government help, expropriated bureaucratic capital and took over the key points in the economy; it created a large socialist sector and worked to make it the leading sector in the national economy.

Late in 1952 when the national economy had been rehabilitated and the remnants of feudalism had in the main been eliminated, the Central Committee headed by Mao Tse-tung adopted the general line for the transitional period, that is, for the simultaneous conduct of the socialist revolution and socialist construction; it defined the tasks arising from the gradual implementation of socialist changes in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and trade, the tasks for the gradual socialist industrialization of the country. This line was brought forward at a time when the people were waging war against American aggression and helping the Korean people. On the one hand, we were waging a decisive struggle against American imperialism which sought to strangle the new China, and in this struggle we rallied the people and won a great victory; on the other hand, we carried through the socialist changes and went ahead with construction.

This line made possible the transition from a complex economic structure (which included socialist, capitalist and small-commodity sectors) to a unified socialist economic structure. At the time some people denied the need for the transition to socialism. They either sought to develop capitalism or to bring the revolution to a standstill in order to retain for a prolonged period both the socialist and capitalist sectors. The Party line stressed the need for the transition from capitalism to socialism and rejected all Rightists views. At the same time it confirmed the need to effect gradual socialist changes in capitalist industry and trade, thereby rejecting the views of the "Leftists" who wanted to do away with capitalism overnight.

In implementing socialist changes in agriculture and in the capitalist industry and trade we carried out a number of measures in keeping with the specific conditions of our country.

In agriculture we carried out three interconnected measures. First, immediately after the agrarian reform mutual-aid production teams were set up on the basis of individual

farms. These teams contained rudiments of socialism and first appeared at the time we established the revolutionary bases. Second, on the basis of this movement producer co-operatives began to be organized; a feature of these was the pooling of the land on a share basis and unified management. Land and the most important implements were still privately owned by the members. These co-operatives were of a semi-socialist character—producer co-operatives of the lower type. Third, the land and the most important farm implements were socialized and fully socialist producer co-operatives were created; these were of the higher type.

Our Party held a discussion on agricultural co-operatives at which various views were expressed.

One view was that because of the low level of industrialization it would be impossible to mechanize agriculture, therefore, it was neither possible nor advisable to accelerate the organization of co-operatives in the rural areas. This view has been refuted by facts. Although mechanization was lacking co-operation was successful.

Another view was that a rapidly developing co-operative movement would result in lower yields. This view was likewise disproved, for far from falling, the yields increased and at a fairly high rate. Still another view was that accelerated co-operation would cause dissatisfaction not only among the upper section of the middle peasants—the measure would be supported only by the poor peasants and, in other words, would be detrimental to the worker-peasant alliance. However, this view too was refuted. Thanks to our policy of rallying the upper sections of the middle peasants, of gradual compensation for the farm implements and cattle which they contributed to the co-operatives, and to the growing yields, the overwhelming majority upheld this measure.

In a word, the facts show that our policy of co-operation immediately after the agrarian reform on the basis of "make hay while the sun shines," on the basis of the successful experience of the existing co-operatives and the method of gradual involvement, is a Marxist-Leninist policy. Had we immediately after the agrarian reform halted the development of the revolution, permitting the spontaneous growth of capitalism in the village and the polarization of the peasants, we would have encountered far greater resistance and difficulties when launching the co-operative movement.

How did we carry out socialist changes in capitalist industry and trade? We did this chiefly by utilizing, restricting and transforming them through various forms of state capitalism and finally, by socialist nationalization. Initially, state capitalism found expression in the supply of raw materials to private capitalist enterprises, distribution of contracts, centralized purchase and sale of the goods on agreed terms. As far as capitalist commercial enterprises were concerned, they were allowed to conduct trade operations on a commission basis. At a later stage state capitalism took the form of joint state and private management of the former capitalist enterprises. Gradually all capitalist industry and commerce were brought under joint state-private management on a branch basis. Over a certain period the capitalists will be receiving a fixed rate of interest on their investments.

On this question, too, our Party held discussions at which various views were expressed.

One view was that capitalist industry and commerce should be utilized but not restricted or transformed; some advocates of this trend maintained that we were imposing too many restrictions and transforming capitalist industry and commerce too soon. In reality, this was an effort to preserve the capitalist system for a long period. But prolonged co-existence of capitalist exploitation and socialist ownership within a country is impossible, for one must inevitably gain the upper hand.

Our policy towards capitalist industry and trade was that of gradual transformation and redemption; the bourgeoisie enjoys electoral rights and is represented in government bodies. Some maintained that this was "too great a compromise." The advocates of this view were of the opinion that after the victory it was impermissible to retain a united front with the national bourgeoisie. They insisted on treating it in the same way as the landlords and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie: that is, to expropriate it straightaway and deprive it of electoral rights. They forgot that under certain conditions the proletariat should pursue a policy of buying out the property of the bourgeoisie, a policy which corresponds with the interests of the working class. This was repeatedly pointed out by Marx and Lenin. Under proletarian dictatorship the bourgeoisie need not necessarily be deprived of electoral rights. In his work *The Proletarian Revolution and the*

Renegade Kautsky, Lenin wrote: "... the question of restricting electoral rights is a national and specific, not a general, question of dictatorship."

Did we pursue a policy of "class compromise" in solving the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie? Of course not. To doubt this is a delusion or a distortion indicative of ignorance in the realm of Marxist-Leninist theory. In solving this contradiction we pursue a policy of uniting with the national bourgeoisie and at the same time waging struggle against it; this policy is a firm class policy of the proletariat which has nothing in common with that of "class compromise." The socialist changes effected in our country fully confirm this.

In a word, this policy sapped the resistance to socialist changes. Moreover, in the course of the gradual transformation, capitalism was made to serve the interests of socialist construction on definite terms. The result was that we abolished capitalism completely as far as ownership of the means of production was concerned, and we are now re-educating bourgeois elements into people living by their labor. This is a Marxist-Leninist policy in keeping with the requirements of conditions in China.

The method of gradual transition did not protract this process as some thought it would. On the contrary, the changes were very rapid. By the latter half of 1955 the countryside had been reorganized into co-operatives of the higher type. In 1956 we completed the reorganization of capitalist industry and commerce by bringing them under joint state-private management on the branch principle. Simultaneously the handicraft industry was reorganized on a co-operative basis. Thus in less than seven years after the proclamation of the People's Republic we had already carried through the socialist changes in agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and trade and, in the main, had solved the question "who beats whom" in respect of ownership of the means of production. And this was done without any upheaval or dislocation. Industrial and agricultural output rose steadily.

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Has the socialist revolution been completed with the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production? Some people are of the view that this is the case and that there is no need to develop it further. We hold that this view is erroneous

and that the socialist revolution has not been completed. It is necessary to go on with the revolution, to carry out the socialist revolution to the end. The capitalists are still receiving a fixed interest. Economically the class contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie have not been completely resolved. Even after the bourgeoisie has been abolished economically as a class, its outlook, political influence and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois habits will continue to operate for a long time and will be in contradiction with the socialist system. The Rightist bourgeois elements may take advantage of an opportune moment to launch an attack against socialism with a view to restoring capitalism, and in some cases their onslaught may be very dangerous. That is why the socialist revolution should not be restricted solely to the economic front, it should be extended to the political and ideological fronts. In his work *On the Question of the Correct Solution of Contradictions Among the People*, Mao Tse-tung gave a clear elucidation of the matter. He writes: "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the sphere of ideology is a long, complicated and at times a very bitter struggle. The proletariat seeks to transform the world in accordance with its outlook; the bourgeoisie, too, seeks to transform the world in accordance with its outlook. In this sphere the question has not yet been finally solved: who will win and who will lose—socialism or capitalism? In proportion to the entire population and to the intelligentsia as a whole, the Marxists are still in the minority. That is why, as in the past, Marxism should develop in struggle."

Political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie throughout the entire transitional period is inevitable. Like the waves of the sea, it has its ups and downs, it is stormy at times and at times is relatively calm. It will fade away only after the political and ideological influence of the bourgeoisie has been completely abolished.

In order to carry out the socialist revolution to the end two types of contradictions—those between us and our enemies and those among the people—should be distinguished, according to Mao Tse-tung; different methods should be used for the solution of these contradictions. Mao Tse-tung also outlined the course "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools compete." In

1957 our Party initiated the movement for improving the style of work, aimed at regulating the relations among the people; the Party fought the frenzied onslaught of the bourgeois Rightist elements. The result was that the initiative of the masses in socialist construction was considerably activated. A hard blow was struck at the exploiting classes in the political and ideological fields. The Party outlined the course "policy is the commanding force," it strengthened its leadership in all spheres, brought harmony into the relations between the center and the localities, between the leaders and the masses. In addition it proclaimed the slogan: "Uproot superstition, free the mind from fetters, develop the Communist style, bolder imagination, bolder discussion and bolder action." The Party led the masses in revising or abolishing irrational rules and systems. In the sphere of education it charted a revolutionary course: education should serve the policy of the proletariat, it should be combined with productive labor. Thanks to these measures "a stimulating political situation is evolving in our country," said Mao Tse-tung, "a situation in which there is centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, a unified will and ease and joy in the hearts of all." Early in 1958 our Party formulated the general line: "exert every effort to advance towards socialism by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results."

Inspired by this line the people have displayed a magnificent spirit and enthusiasm. Last year they effected a big leap forward in the national economy; people's communes were organized in all the villages. Science and technology, culture and education likewise, registered big advances. This was the result of the consistent carrying out of the socialist revolution, correctly solving the contradictions among the people and, hence, of the complete liberation of the productive forces.

Our Party held discussions on the difference between the two types of contradictions, on the great leap forward and the people's communes. Various views were expressed. The Party, headed by Mao Tse-tung, upheld the correct line, refuted the erroneous views and rallied the Party and the people for new victories of socialism.

Some say that the existence of contradictions between us and our enemies in the transitional period is quite natural, whereas contradictions among the people under socialism are incomprehensible. They think that these two types of contradictions need not

be distinguished. This is a wrong view. To distinguish between these contradictions is of vital theoretical and practical importance for the correct conduct of the class struggle in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, for the correct solution of the contradictions among the working masses, contradictions that do not come within the category of class struggle.

Apart from the contradictions between us and our enemies there are numerous contradictions among the working people as, for instance, contradictions between the working class and the peasantry and between mental and manual labor, contradictions generated by their distinctions. There are also contradictions that have arisen due to the influence of the habits and ideology of the exploiting classes, which have remained in the minds of working people.

As to contradictions between the productive forces and the production relations, between the economic basis of society and the superstructure, and also the contradictions that arise from correct and erroneous views in the minds of people, advanced and backward views, these contradictions have always existed and will continue to exist. Under socialism the character of these contradictions is fundamentally different from what it is in an exploiting society. The view that under socialism or with the entry into communism after the abolition of classes there will be no contradictions among the people is totally erroneous, running counter to Marxist-Leninist theory.

The social contradictions are reflected in the political and economic life of our country. They are also reflected in inner-Party life. That is why we must learn to distinguish between these contradictions and solve them correctly. Only in this way will it be possible to abolish the anti-socialist forces, to complete the re-education of the bourgeoisie, the upper sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals drawn from that class, to normalize relations between the people and advance our cause. Under socialism and communism the unity and struggle of opposites, the solution of contradictions, will continue to be the motive force of progress.

If one fails to distinguish between the two types of contradictions existing under proletarian dictatorship, erroneous deviations may appear. If one fails to see the contradictions between us and our enemies or to distinguish these from the contradictions among the people, fails to realize that the

method of dictatorship should be applied to the first type of contradictions, that is, the method of isolation, differentiation, punishment or suppression, and seeks to resolve them by methods applicable only to those of the second type, mistakes will be unavoidable. And, conversely, if one fails to see the contradictions among the people or regards these contradictions as contradictions between us and our enemies, or overestimates the latter contradictions, fails to realize that the method of democracy should be applied to the contradictions among the people (that is, "striving to rally the masses and by criticism or struggle to achieve unity on a new basis") and seeks to resolve the contradictions of the second type by methods applicable only to those of the first type (that is, not by persuasion but by suppression), mistakes will, likewise, be unavoidable. Moreover, under certain conditions these two types of contradictions may develop into their antithesis and, unless our methods are adapted to the change, mistakes will be unavoidable. We know of numerous cases where our comrades erred in this question. That is why it is so important to get a thorough understanding of it.

Some used to say that our policy "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools compete" was a policy of bourgeois "liberalism," of so-called liberalization. Others feared that it would lead to the growth of anti-socialist poisonous weeds, to the sprouting of bourgeois ideology. This view is also wrong.

We are pursuing this policy because we have confidence in the leadership of our Party, because we have faith in the vast majority of the people, in the superiority of the socialist system and the soundness of Marxist-Leninist theory. This is not bourgeois "liberalization," it is a firm class policy of the proletariat. Its implementation is aimed at encouraging the flowering of science, of the arts and culture, the development of Marxism and socialist ideology. As long as bourgeois ideology exerts its influence in society, this policy will help the proletariat to vanquish the bourgeoisie politically and ideologically. This policy is also applicable in resolving the contradictions among the people. Under socialism Marxist ideology should develop in struggle against non-Marxist ideology. Socialist ideology should consolidate its positions in the struggle against the various trends of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. As far as the various views that have currency among the

people are concerned, the people should be given the opportunity to express themselves, and discussions should be held at which criticism and persuasion should be used; this is the only way in which correct views can be developed, erroneous views overcome and the problems confronting the country resolved.

True enough, the bourgeoisie will try to make use of the "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools compete" course to carry on their anti-socialist activity. However, at present when the proletariat is in a superior position such attempts will not be very dangerous. We have never said that anti-socialist speeches and actions on the part of the bourgeoisie are permitted by law under proletarian dictatorship. We have always proclaimed that in our garden one hundred socialist flowers should bloom, while anti-socialist poisonous weeds should be uprooted. The question is what is the most effective way of destroying these weeds? Under socialism, while the bourgeoisie still exerts political and ideological influence, anti-socialist weeds will continue to exist and they will always try to appear in the guise of fragrant socialist flowers. When people lack experience in uprooting poisonous weeds, they often fail to distinguish them from fragrant flowers and even at times welcome the disguised weeds, taking them for flowers. In certain cultural institutions there were comrades who, fearing the growth of weeds, encouraged development of what they took to be flowers. As a result many useful flowers mistaken for weeds were suppressed, while many disguised weeds were allowed to grow in some of the dark corners. Many of these comrades erred and displayed innocence. In reality poisonous weeds concealed beneath the surface of the soil are more harmful to the proletarian dictatorship. So there is nothing wrong in permitting the growth of weeds on the surface of the soil, moreover, it is good, for the masses can learn to identify them and acquire the know-how with which to combat them; in this way it will be possible to make a hundred socialist flowers bloom and to uproot the anti-socialist weeds. That is the method we used in 1957 to fight the Rightist bourgeois elements and with the support of the masses to repel their frenzied onslaught.

The facts show that the "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools compete" policy, far from weakening Marxist ideology, fortifies it, far from weakening the struggle of the masses against reactionary

ideology, steps it up. This policy serves the proletariat and not the section of the bourgeoisie opposed to socialism.

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Last year our country made a big leap forward, and no one can deny this fact. However, some maintain that the big leap was something extraordinary, that mass movements in economic development can only bring about chaos in production, and even though there might be a leap, the outcome will be disproportions in the economy and, hence, the big leap cannot be durable. This view is totally erroneous.

We would like to pose the question: is it good or bad to organize mass movements in economic development? Our socialist construction signifies the conscious effort of millions of people. Without this spirit there can be no socialist construction. The 650 million people of China, free and organized, are indeed a powerful creative force. In the drive for iron and steel last year, tens of millions of people, forgetting about sleep and food and thinking least of all in terms of reward, displayed a communist spirit in building the new life. As a result the iron and steel industry was rationally located throughout the country and its rate of development greatly increased. Thanks to the broad popular movements numerous medium and small-scale irrigation systems were built, hundreds of thousands of small and medium enterprises were established. Thanks to the organization of the masses, the socialist emulation and the movement "follow the lead of the advanced, catch up with them and learn from them," the production capacity of many large enterprises and labor productivity rose rapidly. Many large projects were completed in less time and at less expense. Facts show that organizing the masses in socialist construction helps to accelerate economic development.

Mass movements are not something temporary or accidental. To effect a rapid change in our backward country is the heartfelt desire of the 650 million people of China. Since they have won freedom only under socialism, their desire will be translated into action similar to that of a mighty stream pouring down from high mountains. With correct leadership these mass movements will become a constant factor facilitating rapid economic development. They are developed under the centralized guidance provided by the Party, which consists in linking political work with economic construction, political

education with material incentives, for policy is the soul, the guiding force. This is the source of our mass movements and of their activity in socialist construction; it is thanks to this that the masses made every effort to advance and, relying on the workers, peasants and technicians, launched a technological and cultural revolution, boosted output of means of production and made the most efficient use of modern equipment. If we proceed with this policy our economy will undoubtedly maintain a high rate of development for a long period of time.

When mass movements are initiated certain established production procedures may be violated. However, this is true only for those that retard development; at the same time new procedures stimulating production are worked out. Last year the mass movements helped us to regulate the relations between the people in the enterprises, to implement a system of workers' participation in managing the enterprises and of leading personnel participating in manual labor and to promote close co-operation between leading cadres, workers, technicians and managers under the leadership of the Party committees. We revised irrational rules and improved management methods with the result that production increased. The socialist system is not something immutable. The motive behind breaking down old procedures and establishing new ones is to reveal and utilize the advantages of the socialist system. In doing so mass support should be secured, old habits retarding the development of the productive forces should be combated, and relations of production and the superstructure in general should be improved with a view to meeting the requirements of the growth of the productive forces. This line, if pursued, will greatly facilitate technical reconstruction, the development of the productive forces and the big leap forward in national economy.

Lenin said: "... it is important to understand how infinitely false is the usual bourgeois concept that socialism is something dead, immutable and unchangeable, whereas in reality it is *only* with the advent of socialism that the rapid, real and truly mass movement—with the participation of the *majority* of the people and afterwards with all the people — gets under way in all fields of public and personal life."* During the big leap forward which started last year we witnessed the birth of a vast movement of this

kind in our country. Those opposed to the mass movements remained aloof from them, condemned them, tried to dampen the mass enthusiasm, to sow resentment and pessimism. Their attitude was not a communist attitude, it was bourgeois.

Some claim that a rapid rate of development may violate the objective economic laws, that it may result in disproportions in the national economy. The facts, however, refute this. Our leap is a new phenomenon in keeping with the laws of socialist economy. Objective economic laws should not be violated, they should be observed. If they are violated rapid economic development is impossible. The general line of the Party includes a series of policies for "simultaneous development." They consist of the following: with priority to heavy industry simultaneously to develop industry and agriculture, both heavy and light industry; with centralized leadership, comprehensive planning, division of labor and co-ordination simultaneously to develop national and local industry, simultaneously to build large-scale, medium and small enterprises, to develop modern methods of production simultaneously with simple methods. The people described these policies as "walking on two legs." They are a guarantee against one-sidedness in economic development as, for instance, against concentrating wholly on industry while forgetting about agriculture, giving preference only to heavy industry while overlooking light industry, building only large enterprises at the expense of medium and small enterprises, paying attention only to centralized management of industry and disregarding local activity, concentrating on modern production methods and discarding simple methods. The general line in economic development provides for combining objective possibilities with subjective activity, studying proportional requirements and observing objective laws. The balance established between the branches of national economy during the big leap, that is, the relationship between industry and agriculture, between heavy and light industry, as well as between accumulation and consumption, is on the whole a sound one. Certain partial and temporary disproportions which appeared were soon eliminated. Such temporary things are bound to occur. Our policy, if pursued without deviations, will guarantee against large-scale disproportions, the effects of which may be felt for a long time.

Our planning, of course, should be instrumental in ensuring harmonious development

*V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

of all branches. Our object is to ensure a high rate of balanced development. This is not an easy task, for under such conditions the risk of unbalance is always greater. However, we must not be guided by the saying: "Fear the wolf ahead or the tiger behind;" we should not seek quiet and balanced development through a slow rate. The knowledge of objective laws and generalized experience will help us to achieve a balanced and swift development.

The rate cannot be uniform year in and year out. It may sometimes be fast, sometimes slow. That is the normal thing. It can safely be said that our economy will develop steadily in the years ahead and we will be able to maintain a high rate.

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The people who disapprove of the big leap and the mass movements also condemn the people's communes. They maintain that the latter were "organized prematurely," that they are "mismanaged" and that "they are above the level of social development and consciousness of the people." Such judgments are absolutely unfounded.

Some maintain that the people's communes are not dictated by objective necessity. This is wrong. These people do not understand that the communes are a new social organization born out of the producer co-operatives of the higher type. This form of organization was created by the peasant masses of China to meet the requirements of the development of productive forces. It is the product of last year's sweeping advance in agriculture, in the construction of irrigation systems, it is the result of the part played by the peasants in building industry, of the growth of socialist consciousness among the peasants. The peasants realized that to build irrigation systems, industrial enterprises, to ensure the all-round development of the various branches of agriculture and to co-ordinate labor on a large scale, it would be necessary to emerge from the restricted confines of the producer co-operatives. They proposed that on the basis of the latter a new form of organization with certain new relations of production be set up—this new form is the people's commune. The people's communes, each embracing several thousand and in some cases over 10,000 households, has a large labor force, several tens or even hundreds of thousands of acres of land; they can organize labor more efficiently, use the natural resources to greater effect and facilitate the gradual mechanization and electrification

of agriculture. Cultural and educational work, as well as collective well-being, can be considerably improved. A great economy in labor has been achieved as a result of the organization of public dining halls, creches and the introduction of other measures aimed at improving the well-being of the members. Women are thus free for other work. Although the communes are only one year old they have already demonstrated their vitality. That is why the mass movement for the communes meets the needs of the peasants and their desire to develop agriculture and change the face of the poor and backward village. It is in keeping with the laws of historical development in China. This movement did not originate at the call of any individual, nor will it collapse because somebody speaks against it.

Some people hold that because the communes still retain collectively-owned socialist property, they do not differ from the producer co-operatives of the higher type; hence, as they see it, there is no need to organize people's communes. They fail to see that the commune which was born out of the producer co-operatives has acquired a new content, hence the two forms differ in many respects. The communes combine industry, agriculture (including land cultivation, forestry, cattle breeding and auxiliary occupations and fisheries), trade, education and military training; side by side with production household needs are catered to, and local administration is fused with the commune management into a single body. The co-operatives did not have these features. The property in the commune is socialist property. It consists of the collectively-owned property of the production teams (the former producer co-operatives), which is the basic form of property and of the property owned by the entire commune, which is now of secondary importance. The latter contains elements of national property and was not known to the producer co-operatives. Due to the fact that each year the production teams transfer a portion of their accumulations to the commune for construction of industrial enterprises, due to the growth of the latter, as well as to state aid, the property owned by the commune as a whole will increase and will gradually become the basic form of property, while that of the teams will be of secondary importance. Although the property of the commune is still of secondary importance, it has great perspectives. When it becomes the basic form of property in the communes it will serve as

the foundation for the transition from the collectively-owned form to the national form of property.

As to distribution, the communes are practising payment in accordance with the work done. Side by side with this there is also in many communes distribution of products free of charge; this form contains rudiments of distribution according to needs and was not practised in the producer co-operatives. Its main purpose (as a rule this supply system comprises 20-30 per cent of the income) is to provide for the non-able-bodied and children. This is a good form of social security and aid to large families. It meets the present needs of the masses. This is not, of course, implementation of the communist principle of distribution according to needs.

Some people think that the people's commune should be communist in character and should exercise the principle of distribution according to needs, otherwise it should not be called a commune. Under present conditions, they hold, the organization of communes is utopian. This is a wrong approach. They fail to understand that the present commune is only an initial form, a form characterized by great flexibility. It is capable of combining the productive forces organized on various levels—corresponding to the socialist and communist stages with their respective production relations. This form corresponds to the present level of collectively-owned socialist property in China and will correspond to the future level of national property. It corresponds to the socialist principle of distribution according to the work done and will correspond to the future communist principle of distribution according to needs. There are grounds for believing that the commune will, even under communism, continue to function as the basic form of social organization. As Mao Tse-tung put it, the system of communes is indicative of the process of development. The people's commune facilitates the rapid development of agriculture, and economic progress, in its turn, will facilitate development of the commune both in content and in form. It has opened the way to the gradual transition from collectively-owned to nationally-owned property and even to the future transition of our countryside from socialism to communism. It would be wrong to think that communes can realize their ideals at the very beginning. Moreover, it would be wrong to think that since they develop gradually they have been organized prematurely, that

it would have been better not to have organized them at all or even to dissolve them.

Disapproval of the big leap forward and of the communes is tantamount to disapproval of the general line of our Party. Who are the people who disapprove of this line? Those who do so are Right-wing opportunists. They are the apostles of bourgeois ideology in our Party. When the internal and external enemies attack us they seize on our shortcomings (which the Central Committee has long identified and rectified) as a pretext to deny our achievements and to slander our cause. They seek to obstruct our advance, to prevent the continuation of our leap this year and the implementation of the general line of the Party. The VIIIth Central Committee meeting has pointed out that Right-wing opportunism is the main danger at the moment. The most important task of the moment is to combat Right-wing opportunism, overcome it and abolish its consequences.

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Thanks to the correct policy of our Party we have registered great achievements. We are successfully combating Right-wing opportunism. Responding to the call of the recent Central Committee meeting, the masses are enthusiastically working to increase production and observe economy, they have repelled the attacks of the enemies at home and abroad, including the Right-wing opportunists.

Not only has our Party one common cause with the people, it is also working for a cause which is part of the world cause of socialism. In the course of the revolution and the period of construction China has been aided by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; the progressive forces of the whole world have expressed their sympathies with our country and have rendered it support. We are linked with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in inviolable bonds of friendship. Our slogans are: "Long live the unity of the great Chinese people!" and "Long live the unity of the peoples of the world!" In this unity lies the invincibility of our cause.

All our victories testify to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. There was the view that Marxism was applicable only to the developed capitalist countries and not to the economically backward countries, to the West and not the East. After the victory of the October Revolution in Russia and the revolution in China some asserted that Marxism

was applicable only to the East and not to the West. Both these views are inventions of the reactionaries and their stooges. Actually ever since the appearance of Marxism its soundness has been continually confirmed by the revolutionary experience and the development of the economically advanced and economically backward countries of East and West alike. The revolutionary struggle of the masses in any country begins and develops in a variety of conditions. However, despite the differences, the general trend, as outlined by Marxism, is common to all countries and cannot depart from the historical track just as the earth in its movement around the sun cannot depart from its orbit.

The Communist Party of China which has led the revolution to triumph is guided by Marxism-Leninism. As Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism has been combined with the

concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." The Party under Mao Tse-tung's leadership has made every effort to solve the various problems of the revolution and of socialist construction, to apply the general theses of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country. The spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas in a large country like ours, and our achievements in the revolution and in construction are, undoubtedly, a tremendous contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism. Naturally, revolution and construction in China have their own peculiar features. Certain vital features may reappear in other countries as well. From this point of view the Chinese experience is of international importance.

Forward under the banner of Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the world victory of Marxism-Leninism!

New Problems and Accelerated Socialist Advance in Bulgaria

M. Grigorov

SEPTEMBER 1959 marks the fifteenth anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. During this period our country passed through one of the most difficult and crucial stages of its development along the path to socialism and communism—that of the socialist reconstruction of the national economy. We have completed the transition from capitalism to socialism. Socialism now reigns supreme in all spheres of the national economy: industry and transport are the property of the people, trade and the credit system are under their control, while nearly all the peasants have been organized into co-operatives. Exploitation of man by man has been abolished for all time. Although the victory of socialism has been assured, the building of socialist society has not yet been completed.

A New Stage

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is on the threshold of a new stage in its develop-

ment—the stage of accelerated economic, scientific, technological and cultural advance. The new stage brings with it the fundamental task of laying the material and technical base for socialism in the minimum time. This implies a large-scale use of machinery throughout the national economy, even and balanced development of all industries, including agriculture, higher labor productivity and, on this basis, steadily rising popular consumption. This, in the aggregate, will mean completion of the building of socialist society and creating the conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

Fulfilment of this task would be unthinkable without the co-operation of the socialist world system, first and foremost of the Soviet Union which, when it has fulfilled its seven-year plan, will have made an important step towards communism. This plan is of tremendous significance for the entire socialist camp and the whole world. The task before us is

no specific Bulgarian development. The experience of the past few years has shown that many of the socialist countries are at the beginning of a new stage in their march to communism, expanding rapidly in keeping with their conditions and possibilities.

The socialist world has reached this new stage thanks to its achievements in the years since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The new stage expresses the necessity and the possibility of winning the competition with the capitalist system, of ensuring the victory of the forces of peace over the forces of war.

We Bulgarian Communists regard it as our national and international duty to accelerate the rate of our country's development. This will mean raising the standard of living still more rapidly and will enable us to do our bit in consolidating the strength of the socialist camp, in ensuring the triumph of world peace.

The Bulgarian people's efforts are part of the general advance of the socialist countries towards communism. They find confirmation in Khrushchov's speech at the 21st Congress of the CPSU: "The economic law operating under socialism is planned, proportional development, with the result that countries economically backward in the past are able rapidly to make up for lost time and to raise their economic and cultural levels by drawing on the experience, co-operation and mutual assistance of the other socialist countries. In this way the economic and cultural progress of all the socialist countries is evened out. There is no doubt that with the further growth and strengthening of the socialist world system, all the socialist countries will develop with increasing success. The conditions necessary for their transition from the first phase of communism to the second will be created at an increasingly rapid pace."

Proceeding from the laws operating in the socialist world, Khrushchov drew the conclusion that the socialist countries would pass to communism more or less simultaneously. This is a conclusion of tremendous theoretical and practical importance for the Communist parties in all the countries taking the road to socialism. It provides them with a clear perspective, gives free rein to the initiative and energy of the masses, thereby enabling them to make fuller use of all the opportunities for a more rapid advance. The Communist parties are well aware that the needs of the economic laws of socialism are not met mechanically, that they require the conscious activity of the masses. With this in mind the Bulgarian Communist Party has

drawn up a program for accelerated economic development over the period 1959-1965.

Main Features of the New Economic Program

The program which Comrade Zhivkov set forth in his report to the March session of the People's Assembly, sets targets over the next 5-6 years which at the old rate would take from 10-15 years to reach. We will thus make a big leap forward in industrial and agricultural development.

The country was industrialized during the first two five-year plans. Output rose ninefold in 1958 compared with the 1939 level. Priority will continue to be given to industry, first and foremost to heavy industry. As against 1957 (the last year of the second five-year plan) total industrial output will increase from three to four times by 1965.* The industry will aim at satisfying the country's ferrous and non-ferrous metal requirements and supplying non-ferrous metals for export. Rapid expansion is envisaged for the machine-building and metal-working industries. They will be producing more than three times as much by 1962, and output will increase fivefold by 1965. A modern machine-building industry will facilitate and speed up the mechanization of industry and agriculture.

For the rapid expansion of industry and other branches of the economy, the power problem will have to be solved. By 1965 coal output will increase 3-4 fold, and electric power production fourfold, amounting to 10 billion kwh.

The program envisages the rapid expansion of the chemical industry. Its output will increase sevenfold and that of light industry threefold. Production of cotton and wool fabrics, footwear and foodstuffs will be especially big.

Agriculture will develop rapidly. Numerous facts testify to latent reserves in agriculture. For several years now it has lagged behind industry. Compared with the average yearly output for 1932-1938, agricultural production (in comparable prices for 1955) rose 43 per cent in 1958, whereas industrial output increased ninefold. The new program plans to increase total agricultural output to a sum of 60 billion levas by 1965—a fourfold increase against the 1957 level. To make this possible the crop area will be increased to five million hectares and the irrigated area by two million hectares (about five times). The considerably increased production of artificial fertilizers will mean that by 1965

*All figures given below are compared with the year 1957.

there will be an average of 300 kg. of mineral fertilizers to the hectare (as against 45 kg. in 1958). There is a lot of hard work ahead in livestock farming: it is planned to double the number of cows and sheep, to increase the number of pigs and poultry nearly five-fold in each case.

The high rates of increases in the basic industries, including agriculture, will almost treble the national income by 1965.

Our achievements have brought the benefits of socialist economy and culture to the people who in the past lived in want.

Our working people have won social gains undreamed of under capitalism. Higher wages and lower prices for consumer goods have in the second five-year plan period alone raised their real incomes by 71 per cent. They have a free health service. The people's government has raised workers' pensions and has granted pensions to peasants in co-operatives.

No fees are charged for education in any schools, including those of higher education. Enrolment in 1958 rose by 240,000 as compared with 1939-40. In 1958-59 there were 56 students per ten thousand inhabitants. In this respect Bulgaria occupies one of the first places in the world.

Housing construction has developed on a big scale. Many workers now live in comfortable dwellings provided by the state. Rents do not exceed 4-5 per cent of the average monthly wage. An ever-increasing number of workers and other employees are building their own homes out of their personal savings and with state help. The rapid advance of co-operative farming has created the conditions for extensive housing construction in the villages. Since 1950 some 416,000 new houses have been put up in the villages; this means that village housing has been increased by 34 per cent.

These improvements are the fruits of the first stage of our advance. But the Communist Party and the Government regard these successes as only the beginning, the starting point for still greater gains. The chief aim is to improve conditions for the people.

With the further expansion of the material and technical base for a socialist society vast quantities of manufactured goods and farm produce will be made available, living standards will rise sharply and the advantages of socialism will stand out still more strikingly. Popular consumption (compared with 1957) will double by 1962 (as against the earlier planned increase of 40 per cent) and by 1965 will rise threefold.

Conditions for Fulfilling the New Program

As the foregoing figures show, the Central Committee of the Communist Party has drawn up a truly magnificent program for economic development. The rates envisaged have raised doubts in the minds of those who are divorced from the realities of life and have no faith in the people. The Party and the people discussed the new program, made thousands of valuable suggestions and approved it.

What circumstances have led the Party to say that the main conditions obtain for translating the program into reality, that it is not born of haste and subjective evaluation?

First, the production capacity of our factories, which has grown over the past few years but has not yet been fully utilized.

Second, the greatly increased production potential of our co-operative farms, which have become stronger organizationally and economically. This has enabled them to expand their material and technical base and create the conditions for rapidly developing agricultural production.

Third, the new cadres, who have developed in the past few years—party and state leaders, experienced executives, scientists and experts in industry, building, agriculture; highly-skilled workers and co-operative members, who are steadily raising labor productivity.

Fourth, the nationwide movement after the VIIth Party Congress (June 1958) to fulfil the third five-year plan (1958-62) in three-four years.

When the Central Committee decided on the rate of economic development over the next 6-7 years, it proceeded, as it always does, from the fact that mutual help and co-operation would expand between the socialist countries and that international socialist division of labor and co-ordination would continue to develop in the interests of the socialist countries. The support in our struggle for accelerated economic development is, first and foremost, the Soviet Union which is giving us fraternal economic, scientific and technical aid.

The program is being carried out successfully. In the first six months of this year our industry produced 23.4 per cent more goods than in the same period for 1958 (during the second five-year plan industrial output showed an average yearly increase of 12.7 per cent). Agriculture has also made a big advance.

We are meeting with a number of difficulties in fulfilling our plan—shortages of raw materials and equipment, inefficient leadership

and conservatism in some places. But with the people's help, the Party is successfully overcoming these.

Science is being called upon to play a big part in solving the new tasks. The Party and the Government are taking the necessary steps to reinforce the Academy of Sciences with a view to improving research, particularly in the physical and mathematical, chemical and technical sciences.

Some Major Problems

It would make for a one-sided and incorrect conception of the efforts made by the Communist Party and the Government to accelerate economic advance, if we failed to mention some of the important problems arising from the new program, because the raising of living standards and further development depend in large measure on their solution.

What are these problems?

First is the question of higher remuneration for workers, specialists and co-operative members. The basic principle of remuneration will continue to be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." Experience has shown that this principle alone provides the necessary material incentive to work better. Violation of it in some spheres of economic and cultural life is a big obstacle to our development. We must make good these mistakes in order to make full and better use of all the advantages of socialist distribution.

The Central Committee suggests that with the growth of the national income wages for lower-paid workers and office employees should again be raised in the next few years to bring them up to a minimum of not less than 600 levas (against the present minimum of 400); pensions, too, should be increased. This however does not imply renouncing the policy of steadily reducing retail prices.

The standard of living depends not only on the wage but also on the number of earners in the family. Hence the cardinal task is to develop industry so that all able-bodied members can be engaged in socially useful labor. To relieve women of unproductive household chores, improve the diet and care of children, it is intended to build a large network of nurseries and kindergartens, public catering establishments, kitchens and laundries.

All this is not only of economic but also of political significance, for these measures will further strengthen the family as the nucleus of socialist society and create a climate conducive to training youth in the

spirit of communism, a climate in which there will be no room for philistine prejudice.

Considerable changes are being made in the method of remunerating the members of co-operatives. The average rate per workday has risen from 10 levas in 1952 to 18 in 1957. But this is not merely a matter of increasing the rate of remuneration. As agricultural production goes up, the peasants acutely feel the shortcomings of the old, primarily payment-in-kind form of remuneration, preferring to receive payment in money and to sell their surplus to the state. It has become the established practice everywhere in the agricultural co-operatives to make advance monthly payments in accordance with the number of workdays registered. This steady source of income throughout the year enhances the interest of the peasants, strengthens labor discipline and develops labor initiative.

The second major problem is that of the transition to a seven-hour working day (or a five-day week), and to a six-hour day in work involving onerous and harmful labor conditions, without reduction in wages. The transition will be gradual. It will call for the most rational use of technology to ensure fulfilment of the broader economic plans without increasing the amount of physical labor. Successful experiments are being made in this direction at some enterprises.

The program envisages important measures for raising the cultural level. The end result will be that the essential distinctions between town and country, mental and manual labor are wiped out.

Large-scale building of cultural and public service establishments—at state expense and partly by the co-operatives—is under way in the villages. The Central Committee has set the task of providing each village in the near future with a group of public establishments, seven in all, to include: a school, a well-equipped public kitchen, public baths and laundry, a kindergarten and a nursery, sports and recreation facilities, and a medical establishment.

The abolition of distinctions between mental and manual labor is a difficult and complicated process. The conditions for solving this problem began to be created when we embarked on socialist construction; at present, however, the process is developing rapidly. One of the chief means of overcoming the distinctions between mental and manual labor is that of properly organized education, its link with production, that is, the introduction over the next few years of universal polytechnical secondary education. The new

law on public education, adopted last July, will ensure the development of education along these lines.

The fulfilment of the new program will strengthen the moral and political unity of the working people still further. "The result will be," said Todor Zhivkov, "... that conditions will be created for a new, genuinely communist unity of our society not only on the basis of the abolition of exploitation of man by man, as was the case hitherto, but on a qualitatively new basis, on the basis of gradual abolition in the future of the economic and cultural distinctions between the working people."

Changes in the Forms and Methods of Management

The new stage in Bulgaria's development has necessitated profound changes in the structure, forms and methods of state and economic management.

In the recent period the Central Committee has often encountered a great disparity between the forms and methods of the work of government and economic bodies and the requirements of our socio-economic development. This was felt with particular force after the VIIth Party Congress, when the nationwide movement was launched for building socialism at a more rapid pace. The elements of excessive centralization, of a narrow departmental approach and bureaucracy in the management of enterprises, financing and planning in industry, building and agriculture proved to be great hindrances to stimulating the initiative and the energy of the masses, to making fuller use of the internal resources of the economy, to accelerating the rate of development. To tolerate any longer some of the old forms and methods of management would mean dooming the popular movement to failure. This the Communist Party could not, and did not, allow to happen. With the people's help, it examined all aspects of the problem of reorganizing the structure and methods of management and brought them into line with the requirements of our economic advance.

What are the major principles of the reorganization?

The basic principle was and remains the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. The experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and the experience of other socialist countries, our own included, confirm that socialism cannot be built successfully unless centralism and democracy in the leadership of the country are observed, unless

these two organically linked and inseparable aspects of the principle are carried further and applied to the concrete situation.

The main objective is to bring management still closer to the enterprises, to eliminate excessive centralism and narrow departmental interests, to broaden democracy by giving scope to the creative initiative of local workers and the people and enhancing their role in economic management. It was for this reason that a number of economic ministries were abolished and their functions transferred to the people's councils in the regions. This has made for more efficient management of enterprises, building and other projects.

On the initiative of the Central Committee the People's Assembly passed a law concerning new administrative and economic areas. Thirty such regions have now taken the place of more than 100 districts and 13 regions that were abolished. The new regions have been vested with the power of independently solving a wide range of economic and cultural problems. This has had the effect of enhancing the role and responsibility of regional Party, government and economic bodies and organizations, of stimulating their initiative and encouraging them to be more active, to take action without waiting for instructions "from the top," as they formerly tended to do.

The new districts, however, are not isolated, exclusive administrative-economic units. The reorganization has not abolished centralism in management, either in economic or cultural development on a regional and countrywide scale, or in the economic spheres upon which the orientation and rate of development largely depend. Hence it has nothing whatever in common with the views of the Yugoslav revisionists on the "withering away" of the state at the present stage of social development, or with their anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist homilies on the diminishing importance of centralism in management.

Drawing on the Soviet as well as on our own experience of planning, the Central Committee has decided to make some important changes in planning methods. The old way of drawing up economic plans at higher levels without the constant and sufficiently active participation of experts and people on the spot who, after all, are the ones that best know the potentialities of their enterprises, began to stand in the way of progress. And not only because it interfered with disclosing and utilizing internal reserves but because it cramped the people's initiative in fulfilling and over-fulfilling the economic

tasks. These plans will now come from below, and experts and working people will play a bigger part in drawing them up. The final touches will be added by the central economic bodies and the State Planning Commission with due regard to the country's balanced economic development. This method is best suited to the tasks of our accelerated advance.

The reorganization is already yielding good results. But the Party does not regard the new forms and methods of management as something static, they will be constantly perfected.

The new stage in the development of the socialist world, Bulgaria included, poses the task of reorganizing the Party's organizational and ideological work. It is more imperative now than ever before to enhance the Party's role in the life of the masses.

The Party is giving much thought to ideological work; it appreciates the fact that the building of communist society is a complex process, one that involves not only the creation of a material and technological base for the new system, but calls for the education of the people in the spirit of communism.

The main thing at the present stage is that the reorganization and improvement of Party work should help forward the new and important tasks; new theoretical problems arising out of the advance to socialism and communism should be posed and solved in time; we must be more active in combating bourgeois ideology and revisionism, in combating the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people.

The Communist parties have recently been equipped with a new and powerful ideological weapon — Khrushchov's report to the 21st Congress of the CPSU. The theoretical elaboration in this report of the major present-day problems connected with the transition from socialism to communism are of international significance. It shows to all socialist countries their common path of moving to the higher phase of communism, with due regard to the specific forms and ways of this transition.

It now devolves on workers on the ideological front to elaborate the problems of our development; in this they should be guided by the theoretical propositions of the 21st Congress of the CPSU, the tasks and theoretical evaluation in the materials of the VIIth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Comrade Zhivkov's report to the National Assembly; they should elucidate these problems to the Party members and to the people.

There is animation in all spheres of ideological work—theoreticians and lecturers, journalists, writers and cultural workers are rallying closer round the Party—all want to be well equipped in carrying out its tasks.

The Party and the people have made it their cause to fulfil the program of Bulgaria's accelerated development along the path of socialism and communism. We are firmly convinced that our working people, relying on the growing fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and co-operation with the other socialist countries, will carry out the task of completing the building of socialism.

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Progress in Socialist Construction in the German Democratic Republic

Heinrich Rau

THE establishment of the German Democratic Republic marked a turning point in the history of Europe. A democratic state in which the power belongs to the workers and peasants appeared for the first time on German soil, thereby laying the foundation for a future united democratic German state and opening before the people a future without wars and social upheavals. The birth of this state was the heaviest blow to German imperialism and militarism since their defeat in 1945.

For ten years now the GDR has been traversing the path from capitalism to socialism. The success in laying the foundations for socialism has accelerated the change in the relation of forces in Germany in favor of peace, democracy and socialism and has enhanced the international prestige of our Republic.

The Change to Socialist Revolution

Neither the social, economic or political situation, nor the class consciousness of the German workers had matured for carrying out a socialist revolution immediately after the war. The task at that time was to heal the split in the working class and to build a united workers' party based on Marxist-Leninist principles, a party which would be able to rouse the people to abolish the legacy of capitalism, rehabilitate the country and direct the building of a new society in East Germany.

The anti-fascist democratic revolution was led by the Socialist Unity Party.* The job was to round off the bourgeois democratic revolution which had not been completed in 1848 and 1918, remove monopoly capital from power, destroy the roots of imperialism and provide the economic and political conditions for developing the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. In effecting these changes our Party followed

Lenin's teaching on the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution.

In the work of transforming the old society the working class and its party have pursued a democratic policy, a policy aimed at organizing and steadily increasing production along new lines. The economic directives published by the Communist Party** at the time stated that the German economy could be restored neither on the principles of the fascist-type management nor on the basis of the "laissez-faire economy" of the period up to 1933. They also stated that the task of building socialism could not be put on the agenda of the day. The German economy, it was pointed out, could only be developed under a new democratic system, and its planning should take cognizance of the economic and political conditions and of the needs of the people.

A new economy, the directives read, could only be built by the working class playing the leading role—a role ensured by the right of trade unions to have their say in industrial affairs.

In the course of the democratic transformation the imperialists, Junkers and war criminals were removed from power. The basic means of production became the property of the people, and this provided the necessary conditions for the leading role of the working class in the economy. The capitalist system with all its antagonisms and disproportions was, in the main, abolished. Thus the working class in the German Democratic Republic uprooted the political and economic foundations of imperialism. The Socialist Unity Party took the initiative in all this and showed the people the road to a bright and peaceful future.

In 1949 the USA and German imperialists set up a separate West German state destined to become the basis for the resurgence

*The result of the merger of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in 1946.

**Later included in the *Principles and Aims of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany*.

of imperialism and militarism. In consequence, the democratic forces in East Germany established a state of workers and peasants in order to block the way for the revenge-seeking imperialists to the East and to make the annexation of this part of the country impossible.

With the establishment of the German Democratic Republic on October 7, 1949, and the consolidation of worker-peasant rule, which exercises the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we entered the second stage of the revolution—the building of socialism. The political and economic gains registered by the Republic enabled the Second Party Conference (1952) to declare that we had begun to lay the foundations of socialism. This declaration was enthusiastically received by the working class.

Eliminating the Disproportions

The task of the new stage was to eliminate the disproportions retarding rapid socialist construction and to extend the socialist sector and socialist ownership in all spheres of the economy. This task determined the economic policy and the political struggle of the working class and its Party. The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party showed how the job was to be tackled and the difficulties overcome. The drive for more output was linked with the need for higher productivity, efficient methods of planning and economic management. Socialist methods of management and planning were introduced in conditions of bitter ideological struggle against opportunist and revanchist views.

Reorganization of the state administration proceeded simultaneously with changes in industry, agriculture, transport and in home and foreign trade. During the past years we have built socialist production relations and in the main have abolished exploitation of man by man. The steady, planned growth of the economy has begun. Each year sees greater economic progress. The systematic expansion of the socialist sector is furthering the operation of the economic laws of socialism. At the same time the working class is learning these laws and how properly to apply them. There is nothing blind or spontaneous in this process, it is taking place under the leadership of the Central Committee and the local branches of the Socialist Unity Party.

The strenuous efforts of the working people in laying the economic foundations for socialism can be appreciated only if we recall that the economic construction in East

Germany met with much greater difficulties than in West Germany.

Up to 1945 heavy industry had been mainly concentrated in the western part of the country. This part accounted for nearly 80 per cent of the mining, about 85 per cent of the iron and steel and some 79 per cent of the machine-building industries, whereas the eastern part had specialized in machine-tool and machine-building, and in the chemical and textile industries which received raw materials primarily from the western provinces. In violation of the Potsdam Agreement, the German and other Western imperialists pursued the policy of breaking up the economic entity. This widened the disproportion between the mining and manufacturing industries—a consequence of the former capitalist structure of the economy and of the war devastation.

To eliminate this disproportion we, in addition to rehabilitating the economy, had to build new important branches of heavy industry, notably heavy machine-building. The German Democratic Republic could not have accomplished this task in the space of a few years had it not been for the fraternal assistance of the socialist countries and especially of the Soviet Union. Deliveries of machinery and foodstuffs, and the credits granted by the Soviet Union enabled our working people to rehabilitate industry, agriculture, transport and the supply system which had been disorganized by the Nazis. Our progress in socialist construction is a brilliant example of the solidarity of the socialist nations, proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

New branches of industry and enterprises appeared during the first five-year plan. Among them are steel and rolling mills in Brandenburg and Hennigsdorf, a large iron and steel works in Stalinstadt. The old rolling mills were enlarged and reconstructed. Thus the republic now has a metallurgical base which, to a considerable degree, supplies the manufacturing industry with steel and rolled metal. In the same period we built new heavy machine-building works producing basic industrial plant. Among the new shipyards are the Stralsund and Warnow yards capable of building ocean-going vessels. Many branches of engineering, particularly the machine-tool industry, the manufacture of textile machinery and equipment for the chemical and food industries, for cement works and sugar refineries, as well as the electrotechnical industry, the production of

optics and precision instruments, have been enlarged and modernized.

Thus in the space of a few years we considerably reduced the disproportions in the economy and built the heavy industry needed for planned socialist construction. However, we should not disregard the fact that despite this progress, our Republic does not as yet cover its requirements in raw materials for the machine-building, chemical, textile and light industries. We still import large quantities of coal, coke, iron ore, rolled metal, non-ferrous metals, oil, wool, cotton and timber, relying first of all on the aid of the socialist countries.

The new system has ensured a rapid growth of industrial output. Despite the war devastation the 1936 level of industrial output was reached in 1950. And by the end of last year the gross industrial output had risen 2.6 times as compared with the prewar figure.

Laying the Foundations for Socialism

Only a constantly expanding socialist sector can form the basis for a rapid and stable advance in all branches. This explains why the drawing of the middle sections of town and countryside into the work of socialist construction became one of the main problems that arose before our Party and the government during the first five-year plan and especially the second.

This was and remains an important and difficult task, taking into account the high level of the capitalist sector and the existence of a large number of small farmers, handicraftsmen and private builders, privately-owned enterprises in transport and retail trade. The task is made doubly difficult by the fact that the German Democratic Republic has a relatively open frontier with the capitalist West the pernicious influence of which makes itself felt in various ways.

In overcoming these difficulties we can point with pride to our success in transforming the private economy. Applying the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and developing new methods and forms of socialist construction, we are tackling this task without encountering additional big difficulties although the entire process is attended by a sharp class struggle.

Substantial progress has been made in setting up agricultural co-operatives. The socialist sector accounts for nearly 50 per cent of the arable land. Large-scale socialist farming is an essential factor for steady agri-

cultural expansion. In recent years the co-operatives have harvested much better crops than the individual peasants, thereby demonstrating the advantages of large-scale socialist production. By the end of the last year over 350,000 peasants had been organized into some 10,000 co-operatives. Co-operation made rapid progress particularly after the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party. This is one of the reasons for the increased output of marketable produce by the farms.

An outstanding part in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture is played by the machine and tractor stations (MTS). Between 1950 and 1958 their number rose from 514 to 600, and the tractor park from 11,000 to more than 37,000. Last year the MTS had 3,600 trucks, 4,000 combines, nearly 11,000 potato-picking and 4,400 beet-picking machines. Whereas in 1950 the MTS cultivated 5.4 million acres, by 1958 the figure had risen to 54 million.

Last year we raised an average of 1,000 kg. of grain per acre. Between 1950-58 the head of cattle per 250 acres rose from 53.9 to 60.3, pigs from 69.1 to 116.6.

The development of the co-operatives was accompanied by sharp class struggles and an ideological struggle within the Party. Some members expressed revisionist views, as was the case in other socialist countries. They suggested, in particular, that the "unprofitable" co-operatives should be dissolved, the rate of co-operation slowed down and the socialist reorganization of the countryside allowed to take care of itself. This controversy continued till the beginning of 1958. The Fifth Party Congress denounced the revisionist and reformist theories, removed their spokesmen from Party leadership and government work and reaffirmed the correctness of the Party's general line of building socialism.

Good headway has been made in drawing artisans and retail traders into socialist construction.

In 1953 forty-seven handicraft co-operatives with 1,100 members produced goods to the value of less than one million marks. Last year there were 2,000 co-operatives which united 61,500 handicraftsmen and produced goods to the value of 603 million marks.

Privately-owned enterprises are being drawn into socialist construction through state participation in their affairs. In the course of this process they become semi-state enterprises. More and more employers are finding this form advantageous. Proof

of this is the rapid growth of semi-state enterprises in recent years. In the two years 1957-58, the number of these enterprises rose from 144 to 1,541; the number of workers employed—from 14,000 to 130,000, while overall output was 11 times greater. In 1958 the semi-state enterprises increased their output by 21 per cent as against the previous year, the figure for the privately-owned enterprises was only eight per cent.

With a view to winning retail traders, a special form of trading on an agency basis has been introduced. By including contracts on a commission basis small tradesmen and the owners of hotels and restaurants receive guarantees they never had under capitalism. By the end of last year over 9,000 retail traders (12 per cent) had concluded contracts with socialist trading enterprises which now account for 73 per cent of the entire retail turnover.

The present socio-economic structure shows that, in the main, the foundations of socialism have been laid: 89 per cent of the gross industrial output is produced by the socialist enterprises—84.8 per cent by the state and 4.2 per cent by the co-operative enterprises. In the countryside, the producer co-operatives cultivate about half of the arable land; the other half is tilled by small farmers with up to 50 acres each.

The substantial gains in the economy find expression in the growth of the national income and the higher standard of living. Between 1950 and 1958 the national income per head of population more than doubled and per capita consumption rose from 1,336 to 2,692 marks. During the same period the state increased allocations for education, vocational training, sport, public health and social welfare from 523 marks to 763 marks per head of population.

In 1949 the population bought goods to the value of 13.8 billion marks; last year the retail trade turnover reached 38.2 billion marks. The growth is explained by the fact that the consumer goods have become cheaper as a result of over 20 successive price reductions.

These achievements are the result of the consistent policy of ensuring peace, building socialism and raising living standards.

The German Democratic Republic is now a highly developed industrial state; it has gained considerable positions on the international arena, especially in the sphere of economic and trade relations. Our republic occupies a leading place in Europe for the

machine-building, chemical, textile and other light industries; it occupies a notable place in Europe and the world for per capita output of electricity, brown coal, basic chemical products, cellulose wool and artificial fibres, potassium and artificial fertilizers. Among the socialist countries the German Democratic Republic is the biggest exporter of machines. The export of machines, industrial plant, electrotechnical items, precision instruments and optics, measuring and testing apparatuses is very important for the other socialist countries and also for trade with many capitalist states, especially with formerly colonial and dependent nations. Our Republic trades with nearly all the countries of the world.

Thus, using the experience gained by the working class in the struggle for power and building socialism in the different countries, especially the Soviet experience, the Socialist Unity Party is applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of our republic.

The struggle of our Party for building socialism is further practical confirmation of the soundness of Marxism-Leninism and enriches the international working-class movement with new experiences, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory. In many respects the practical and theoretical problems of our socialist construction are of international significance, since our experience (like that of Czechoslovakia) is the experience of a country which was highly developed industrially in the past.

The German Democratic Republic proves by its example that socialism can ensure a higher rate of economic, technical, scientific and cultural development and raise the living standards to a considerably higher level than capitalism not only in underdeveloped countries, as the reformists and other bourgeois theorists claim, but also in highly developed industrial states.

The Main Economic Task

The German Democratic Republic is a component part of the socialist world. It maintains fraternal relations with all socialist states and, together with them, works unswervingly to ensure peace in Europe and elsewhere. Our main task in the fight for peace is to do away with the aftermath of the war through a peace treaty, to guarantee peaceful development in Europe, prevent the atomic armament of West Germany and eliminate the source of provocations in West Berlin.

A decisive condition for this is the victory of socialism in the Republic which will enable us to demonstrate to all Germans the superiority of socialism over capitalism. As already stated, we are building socialism with an almost open frontier with the German Federal Republic. There is no other country in which the capital city is divided into two sectors representing two different social systems. People can easily cross the border; two different currencies and trade systems come into conflict here. Two diametrically opposed ideologies, cultures, two worlds of art and literature simultaneously and in varying degree exert influence on the masses. The competition between socialism and capitalism proceeds in more open and sharper forms.

In the competition with capitalism all the socialist countries are solving one and the same task—to overtake and surpass the leading capitalist powers in per capita output. This task can be solved by creating the material and technological base of communism and the prerequisites for switching to distribution according to need.

But each socialist country is tackling this task in its own way, taking into account its specific conditions and possibilities.

In view of the peculiar conditions under which the competition with capitalism in our country is taking place, we formulate our chief economic task in the following way: to surpass West Germany within the next few years in per capita consumption of all basic foodstuffs and manufactured goods. By doing this we shall convince all Germans of the superiority of socialism, thereby promoting the growth of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in West Germany.

The advocates of the atomic war policy and the German militarists are planning to complete by 1961 the atomic armament of the aggressive West German army, which is part of the NATO armed forces. As for us, we shall complete by that time our main economic task. And this will be our contribution to peace and the strengthening of the world socialist system.

Fulfillment of our chief economic task is linked in our republic, as in all other countries, with the rapid growth of production on the basis of modern technology and higher productivity. We now have a good basis for this. In the past months we have considerably surpassed the targets originally set in the second five-year plan for rate of growth and volume of output. The achievements in industry and agriculture have en-

abled our Party and the government to abolish the last remnants of food rationing. As a result, we have already outstripped West Germany in per capita consumption of a number of basic foodstuffs. This applies not only to bread, cereals and vegetables, but also to butter, meat, fats and sugar. The initiative displayed by the working people in fulfilling the plan for the first six months of this year shows that our chief economic task and the seven-year plan enjoy the support of the population. This is a good basis for the success of the plan, which was discussed at the meeting of the Central Committee last September.

This plan envisages a nearly twofold increase in industrial output. To achieve this goal our Party has launched a large-scale campaign for the reconstruction of industry. This reconstruction presupposes the introduction of modern technology, mechanization and automation, thus ensuring higher productivity and a higher rate of industrial growth.

It is necessary to make the maximum use of and further develop the planned division of labor and co-operation between the socialist countries for the purpose (as the 21st Congress of the CPSU pointed out) of accelerating economic advance by each socialist country and the entire world system of socialism.

With further economic expansion and its consistent policy of peace, the international prestige of the German Democratic Republic will grow. The achievements of the Republic have helped it to gain de facto recognition, expressed in its participation in the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva on equal footing with West Germany. The question of peace in Europe or any other question concerning Germany cannot be settled without our Republic.

The Socialist Unity Party and the government, whose correct policy, confirmed throughout the past ten years by our achievements, enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the population, will do everything in their power to solve the German problem, lessen international tension and ensure peace in Europe. That is why we insist on the early conclusion of a peace treaty, as proposed by the Soviet Union, and on the solution of the West Berlin issue, since we see in this the only real way to create the political conditions for a democratic and peaceful unification of Germany through a confederation of the two states. This would be in the interests of peace, in the interests of the people of Europe and the whole world.

Britain, Oil and Middle Eastern Liberation

R. Palme Dutt

THE new problems of the Arab liberation movement, illustrated in the recent tension between the United Arab Republic and Iraq, or in the difficulties of the internal political development in the various Arab countries, can only be correctly seen and judged, not merely on the basis of the internal situation in these countries, but in relation to the still powerful, aggressive and disruptive role of British and American imperialism in the Middle East.

1. Oil and Politics

For the imperialists the Middle East means above all oil. The politics of the Middle East are for them the politics of oil.

The enormous increase in the volume of output of Middle Eastern oil in the most recent period is often not fully realized. Middle Eastern oil resources are estimated at two-thirds of world oil resources. In 1938 the output was 16 million tons. In 1946 it was 35 million tons. In 1958 it was 215 million tons. This is a sixfold growth during the twelve years since the war. By 1966 the total is estimated to reach 400 million tons.

On the basis of this increasing volume of output profits have poured into the Anglo-American oil monopolies in increasing abundance. Although the United States monopolies have now won for themselves the major share, equivalent to nearly three-fifths of the total oil concessions, the British and Anglo-Dutch share still represents 35 per cent. The conventional picture of the equal sharing of these profits with the Arab governments is misleading. The fifty-fifty division is only of the profits made up to the port of shipment of the crude oil. But the biggest profits are made after this from the tanker transport, refining and marketing.

The Arab Statistical Office has made its calculation of the profits of the overseas oil monopolies during 1958, which shows a considerably higher figure for the total extracted by imperialism from Middle Eastern oil than

the figure of £431 million recorded profits of the British oil monopolies as given by the *Financial Times*. According to these returns the cost of production of a barrel of crude oil (42 gallons) was 2/6d, or 3/4d a gallon. This low price at the point of production reflects the intensity of exploitation of the oil workers, and may be compared with the pithead price of coal in Britain which multiplies from four to six times by the time it reaches the consumer. The multiplication fiftyfold to one hundredfold in the case of Middle Eastern oil, while partly reflecting the greater costs of refining, transport and distribution, mainly reflects the much greater intensity of colonial exploitation.

Even if we take the published figure of £431 million as the recorded profits of the British oil monopolies in 1958 this was more than the total profits from British engineering, shipbuilding and iron and steel put together. Thus Middle Eastern oil has represented the decisive basis of the economy of British imperialism since the war, and has provided the essential foundation of that "booming prosperity" which contained the secret of the conversion of the deficit on the balance of payments into a surplus. British imperialism has floated to its very temporary and unstable postwar economic triumphs on a sea of oil.

The British monopolists have shown themselves ready to commit every crime and aggression, and engage in ceaseless wars, against Egypt or Yemen or Oman or the invasion of Jordan during the past three years alone, in order to maintain their Middle Eastern domination and exploitation.

Early in the 20th century the British Government, under the inspiration of Winston Churchill, directly purchased the majority of the shares in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (now the British Petroleum Company). This carried forward the similar method previously adopted by the British Government under Disraeli for the purchase of the majority of the shares in the Suez Canal Co. Today the

leading Labor economist Douglas Jay, in the issue of *Fabian Journal* for July 1959, proclaims as the proof of the advantages of the share holding theory of socialism the benefits that have accrued to the state from part ownership of British Petroleum where the capital appreciation since 1912 has been "90-fold." Here we have the very heart of Fabianism, modern reformism and the theories of Mr. Gaitskell. "Socialism" on the basis of colonial slavery and plunder.

In 1913 the British Government, through the initiative of Winston Churchill at the head of the Admiralty, began the conversion of the British Navy from its previous dependence on Welsh coal to Middle Eastern oil with the launching of the Queen Elizabeth. It was with reference to this that Colonel Lawrence wrote, frankly recognizing that the purpose of his subsequent highly publicized and romanticized Middle Eastern adventures was oil, "not archaeology."

The First World War was fought between British and German imperialists above all for the domination of the Middle East.

In the Second World War, at the crucial moment during the summer of 1940 when the menace of an alleged imminent Nazi invasion was prominently held before the people as the supposed main pre-occupation of the Government, in practice the Government, again by Churchill's decision, showed the real conception of strategy, which was not publicized, by sending Britain's main armor to Egypt for the key battle from their point of view—the domination of the Middle East.

Just as the strategy for the domination of India ran like a red thread through the government politics and ministerial crises of the late 18th century and 19th century in Britain, so the strategy of the domination of the Middle East has again and again dominated the political situation in Britain during the 20th century. The Lloyd George Government fell in 1922 over the crisis of Chanak, i.e., the Middle East. The Labor Government fell in 1951 over the crisis of Abadan. Sir Anthony Eden fell in 1956 over Suez.

All this points to the conclusion that we should not too lightly assume that British imperialism, because of the defeats that it has suffered, has abandoned its aims in the Middle East. Imperialism never gives up until its final end. Beaten on one front, the imperialists endeavor to find other ways to the accomplishment of their aims. This is the basic conflict which underlies the new problems confronting the Arab liberation move-

ment in the Middle East, illustrated most recently in the difficulties between the United Arab Republic and Iraq or in the problems of the internal situation in these countries.

II. Problems of National Liberation and the Role of the National Bourgeoisie

The central immediate question of the Arab liberation movement at the present moment may be formulated in these terms. Why, after the victorious advance of recent years, with the crushing defeat of the armed assault of imperialism at Suez in 1956 and in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958, and the victory of the Iraq revolution, should there now be following these a temporary phase of serious internal difficulties, demonstrated in the tension between the United Arab Republic and Iraq, the radio propaganda offensive from Cairo against Iraq, the military plots and problems of the internal situation in various Arab countries?

The harmful consequences of the tension between the United Arab Republic and Iraq, and the tendencies to division within the national camp, have been reflected, not only in these countries, but in a whole series of other Arab countries, in the Sudan, in Lebanon, in Jordan and in Kuwait.

The explanation offered by President Nasser, and widely echoed in the Western press, to attribute these problems to ideological questions of "communism" or an alleged "communist menace" can only be regarded as a propaganda deception. The Communists have been the foremost in fighting for the unity of the national front against imperialism and in opposing all attempts at disruption. The Egyptian Communists supported President Nasser as the representative and leader of the united national front against imperialism even while President Nasser was throwing Egyptian Communist leaders into prison.

The true explanation needs to be sought in the relation between the internal forces and imperialism. Imperialism, defeated in the military field, seeks to find an alternative path forward in the present situation, and therefore searches for elements of internal division or reaction within the victorious national camp in order to play on such divisions and thus promote its aims. It is this disruptive role of imperialism that brings to the forefront at the present time questions of the internal relations of class forces in these countries and especially the question of the role of the national bourgeoisie.

The question of the role of the national bourgeoisie in colonial and recently colonial countries has been the subject of a special seminar under the auspices of *World Marxist Review*.^{*} Sufficient to note that this question which has developed in a variety of forms through all stages of the national movement in different countries, has taken on in certain respects a new character in the recent period since the Second World War.

The victory of socialism over an extending series of countries, following the defeat of fascism, and the establishment of a world system of socialism, with the parallel weakening of imperialism and decisive change of the world balance, has opened the way to new victories of national liberation. In this situation a large number of former colonial or semi-colonial countries have won political independence while the national bourgeoisie were still in the leadership of the national movement (e.g. India in 1947).

Hence it may be said that in the recent period the world advance of socialism has given the national bourgeoisie a new lease of life in these countries. This not only applies to the winning of political independence, but also to the period immediately following political independence. The new balance of world forces, of socialism and imperialism, replacing the former absolute world domination of imperialism, has made it possible for the newly independent states, despite their economic and military weakness, to pursue in many cases an independent policy, refusing imperialist military alliances, and entering into association, as at Bandung, for the aims of national liberation against imperialism and for the five principles of peace. Similarly these newly independent states have found new possibilities of promoting their aims of economic reconstruction and industrialization through the aid available from the socialist countries.

Nevertheless, the characteristic vacillations of the national bourgeoisie between the two camps have also shown themselves in these conditions. In this situation the task of the Communist Parties in these countries has been to support all progressive steps of the national bourgeoisie in the struggle for the maintenance of national independence against imperialism, for co-operation with other newly independent countries as at Bandung, for co-operation and friendly relations with the socialist countries and for economic reconstruction and industrialization.

At the same time it has been their task to build up the mass organizations of the working class and peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the peace movement, women's and youth movement, and the like; to maintain the independent role of the Communists within the united national front; to combat all reactionary tendencies of the national bourgeoisie or surrenders to imperialism; and to represent faithfully the daily interests of the working masses, as well as the future aims of economic and social liberation.

These are the new questions now arising which find reflection in the new situation in the Middle East, and especially in the relations between the United Arab Republic and Iraq or in the internal situation within these countries.

III. Contrasting Class Background and Political Development

Egypt and Iraq represent the two main countries in the Arab Middle East in the modern period. But there are significant differences in the economic situation, class structure and political development of these two countries, which are important for understanding present problems.

Egypt is the biggest country of the Arab Middle East, with a population of 23.5 million. Iraq has a population of 6.5 million, of whom 1.5 million are Kurds.

Egypt is the oldest, longest established Arab country, with a long established bourgeoisie. Iraq, though a successor to many ancient states from the dawn of human civilization, became a modern state after the First World War, and has only a much later emerging and weak bourgeoisie.

Egypt, while originally of primary importance to the Western powers in the 19th century as a route to India and the East, and specifically from the second half of the 19th century as the base of the Suez Canal, developed further as a cotton colony of imperialism. The exploitation of cotton meant above all the exploitation of the peasantry, while at the same time there developed a commercial bourgeoisie, with considerable wealth and cosmopolitan connections, but limited scope within Egypt, and seeking to expand especially into other Arab countries. Iraq developed as an oil colony of imperialism, which meant the development of a small but highly concentrated proletarian base represented by the oil workers.

The political reflection has corresponded to these conditions. In Egypt the older political

^{*}See Nos. 8, 9, 1959.—Ed.

parties of the earlier stages of the bourgeoisie, though at times partially reflecting the national struggle, became habituated to holding office within the imperialist framework. The Communist movement has had a long history but has encountered difficulties, which prevented it from playing a direct leading role in the modern period of the national revolution.

In Iraq, on the other hand, in face of the white terror maintained by the British rulers and their puppets to crush the repeated revolutionary uprisings and popular unrest, there was no scope permitted even for the most moderate political parties of the national bourgeoisie. The political parties of the national bourgeoisie which developed were weak, but more open to the influence of democratic and progressive tendencies. The Communist Party, which from 1930 onwards developed as the strongest political party in organization and support of the people, and most capable of conducting the fight in face of the white terror, was able to take the lead in building up a united national front of all democratic opposition parties.

Thus the Egyptian national revolution headed by the group of patriotic officers led to the dissolution of the older parties, while at the same time no direct political role was played by the mass movement or parties representing the popular masses, and the political form of national unity found expression in a single national union under authoritarian control.

In Iraq, on the other hand, the establishment of the United National Front of democratic parties, with the Communist Party playing an active role, preceded the revolution and was able to co-operate with the patriotic officers of the army in carrying through the revolution.

These differences in the class structure and political background are important for the subsequent events and new developments.

IV. Path of the Egyptian Revolution

The national revolution led by the Officers' Committee in 1952 overthrew King Farouk and the court clique of big landowners. Thus the victory of the national revolution represented the victory of the national bourgeoisie. The emergence of the national bourgeoisie had been closely associated with the development of the Misr group of companies* since the 1930's, and these had close links with the new regime.

*Monopoly association of the Egyptian big bourgeoisie since 1920, which launched the Misr Bank to promote industry.—Ed.

The agrarian law of the new regime struck a blow at the big landowners. The ceiling imposed of 200 acres, or, with the allowance for the landowner's family, 450 acres, involved a significant program of redistribution of land, on terms which mainly benefited the upper and middle peasantry.

On the other hand, the attitude to the working class was revealed during the first weeks of the new regime, when the strike of textile workers at Kafr el Dawar was ruthlessly suppressed and two strike leaders were sentenced to death and hanged. A political regime of repression of the Left was maintained, with imprisonment of the principal communist leaders. The Communist Party, in common with all political parties other than the National Union controlled by the government, was banned. While Trade Unions were legalized, and some limited social reforms including provisions for a minimum wage were carried through, control of the trade unions was maintained in the hands of the government by the nomination of the leadership.

In relation to capitalist interests, the new regime struck at those which had close links with foreign capital. The Misr group rapidly expanded as a state-encouraged monopoly combine, extending its grip over all sections of Egyptian economy apart from agriculture.

The critical economic situation arising from the colonial economy inherited from the previous era was expressed in the characteristic colonial features of lack of industrial development and over-crowding of agriculture (20 million peasants with only six million acres of cultivated land). Hence the essential immediate economic tasks were the development of industry and the extension of irrigated land by such projects as the Aswan Dam. Industrialization and the Aswan Dam became the two pillars of the program of the new regime.

During the first period, from 1952-1955, the orientation was turned towards the West to look for loan capital for industrial development and assistance in construction of the Aswan Dam. Every effort was made to woo foreign investors, with offers of 51 per cent shares in the new enterprises to be established. But the results proved disappointing. Western capital was distrustful and hesitant, the conditions and rates of interest proposed were onerous. There was no readiness to assist industrialization. Above all, any proposals for aid or credits were always tied up with political conditions, and especially with the demand to join the projected imperialist

military alliance for the Middle East which subsequently took shape as the Baghdad Pact.

Hence from 1955 the Egyptian revolution entered on a path of development of increasing independence from the West. In 1955 the steel industry was launched with a big internal loan.

From 1955-57 this independent and progressive orientation of the Egyptian revolution became more and more marked. The Western powers sought to exercise pressure on Egypt by making the supply of arms for defense (at the same time as Israel with Western military support was conducting a series of aggressive offensives against Egypt) conditional on Egypt accepting Western plans and joining the Baghdad Pact or similar alliances. The Egyptian Government under President Nasser was able to counter this pressure and maintain its independence. This was accompanied by increasingly close economic relations with the Soviet Union, People's China and other socialist countries and with India.

In 1956 followed the triumphant victory over the assault of Anglo-French imperialism in the Suez war. This victory was made possible by the strength of the world peace forces, with the Soviet Union playing a decisive role. During 1957 this progressive development was further continued. An ambitious Five-Year Plan of national development was inaugurated, with the aim to increase production by 80 per cent. A certain measure of relaxation in the anti-democratic system took place, with the release of many of the Communist prisoners, the foundation of new press organs which partially reflected left tendencies, and the widespread sale of Marxist literature.

By 1958, however, a turn began, opening a less favorable phase in the development of the Egyptian revolution. The Egyptian big monopolists, leading the national bourgeoisie, and closely linked with the Nasser Government, had now swollen rapidly and were seeking outlets for further expansion to dominate the other Arab countries. The first step along this path of expansion was the incorporation of Syria into Egypt to form the United Arab Republic in February 1958. This step was at the time precipitated by the open imperialist threat of armed intervention against Syria. But what had previously been discussed was a federal union. What was put through at very short notice, was a complete fusion, with Cairo as the center. This fusion was mainly instigated by the reactionary Baath Party, which feared the advance of the Left, progressive democratic and communist influence in Syria, and therefore sought to

counter this by introducing the Egyptian model of the suppression of parties and democratic rights. In return the Baath leadership received most of the governmental posts in the new subordinate Syria which was thus turned into a province ruled by Cairo. Subsequent experience rapidly disillusioned the Syrian bourgeoisie, as well as popular opinion, and led to increasing dissatisfaction in Syria with the fusion.

From the moment of the victory of the Iraq revolution in July 1958, the decisive turn in the role and policy of the leadership of the United Arab Republic became manifest. Now it was evident that the Iraq revolution represented a higher stage of Arab liberation with full participation of the popular masses.

The first hope of President Nasser in face of the Iraq revolution (whose outbreak had caught him unawares at a time when he was paying a visit to President Tito) was that it might be possible to absorb Iraq in the same way as Syria had been absorbed into the United Arab Republic, with consequent dissolution of political parties and subjection to a single president with autocratic powers. But when it became clear that such absorption was not acceptable to the new revolutionary regime in Iraq, which preferred the form of Arab federal union on the basis of equality, the attitude of President Nasser and Cairo Radio towards the new regime in Iraq became one of open hostility. After the failure of the Aref plot in autumn of 1958, and of the subsequent Rashid Ali plot in December, there followed the attempt at an armed counter-revolutionary coup at Mosul in March, 1959. In this attempted military coup the closest implication of agents of the United Arab Republic and propaganda backing by Cairo Radio was unconcealed; and the Iraq Government was compelled to insist on the recall of a number of diplomatic representatives of the United Arab Republic from Baghdad.

Following on the fiasco of the attempted Mosul coup, a series of very violent tirades was launched by President Nasser against communism in all the Arab countries (falsely counterposing communism to national liberation), and against Premier Kassem and the Iraq Government in particular. At first this verbal offensive was directed also against the Soviet Union, but following the very temperate, but firm remarks of Premier Khrushchov, this aspect was toned down. Economic relations were maintained, and even further developed with the Soviet Union, as in the conclusion of the contract for the construction of the Aswan Dam in June 1959. But the danger-

ous reactionary anti-Communist and anti-democratic offensive was maintained in full force. By the summer of 1959 there were reported to be 2,000 Communists in prison in Syria and 1,000 in Egypt. The propaganda campaign of hostility towards Iraq was also continued.

Western imperialism has sought to take advantage of the differences between the United Arab Republic and Iraq, and to exploit to the full the anti-Communist tirades of President Nasser as a welcome conversion and justification of the Western political viewpoint and strategy. On the other hand, divisions have shown themselves in the ruling imperialist circles on the attitude to President Nasser. One school of thought, with the representatives of the Labor Party especially vocal in presenting this viewpoint, have advocated full support for President Nasser as no longer the principal bogey of Western imperialism, but now the leader of the anti-Communist crusade in the Middle East and therefore the best champion of the West. As against this, important ruling sections in Britain have counselled caution, recognizing that the Egyptian monopolists are still the strongest representatives of the Arab national bourgeoisie, and that their vital interests are in conflict with the interests of imperialism.

From the standpoint of the international democratic and progressive movement it would be premature to judge the present phase of the Egyptian revolution as the last word, or the present role of President Nasser as equivalent to a political realignment moving over to the side of imperialism. Undoubtedly the dangerous anti-Communist and anti-democratic measures within the United Arab Republic, and the campaign directed against other Arab countries or other sections of the Arab liberation movement in these countries, weaken and disrupt the national liberation movement, and thus in fact play into the hands of imperialism. On the other hand, the deeper contradictions between the interests of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie and of imperialism remain a constant factor. Equally the requirements of peace, of advance against the new imperialist aggression and of economic reconstruction make essential the maintenance of friendly relations and co-operation with the socialist countries. Further, despite the present repression the democratic forces in Syria and Egypt are likely to have an increasing influence on the further course of development. In particular, in Syria the obviously harmful economic and political effects of the present form of fusion may

compel readjustment towards less restricted forms with more scope for democratic development.

V. The Iraq Revolution and Its Significance for Arab Liberation

The Iraq revolution of July 1958 has represented the highest point of the Arab liberation movement. Its special significance may be set out in the following factors.

1. Iraq was the main base of imperialism in the Middle East. It was simultaneously Britain's main oil colony in the Arab world, and the key military base through the airfield at Habbaniyah for the domination of all the countries of the Middle East. The Canal Zone until the enforced withdrawal had been the main supply depot for the Middle East, but Habbaniyah was the main offensive striking point. Against the revolutionary struggles of the Iraqi people the most merciless terrorist regime was maintained under the hated Nuri and his agents. When the plan was adopted to set up a military alliance against the liberation movement in the Middle East, its center was placed in Baghdad to constitute the Baghdad Pact combining the Western imperialists with the old Turkish oppressors, with the military dictators of Iran and Pakistan, and with the butcher Nuri as the only Arab "representative."

The overthrow of the British-maintained militarist regime and military base in Iraq was thus the most decisive blow against British power in the Middle East.

2. The Iraq revolution was marked by its speedy, thoroughgoing and effective character from the outset. At a single blow the total removal of the royal puppets and the butcher Nuri left no immediate organizing center at the outset to serve as a rallying point for the counter-revolution. For this reason, although American and British military forces were already stationed in Lebanon and Jordan, no basis of internal support could be found within Iraq to provide a pretext and starting point for their intervention. Intervention would have had to take on the character of direct armed invasion against the entire Iraq people, and proved impossible to attempt.

3. The Iraq revolution was from the outset a popular revolution with full participation of the organized strength of the people. The formation of the United National Front of the four opposition parties, the Istiqlal and Baath parties on the right, and the National Democratic Party and the Communist Party on the left, preceded the revolution. Thus the situation was brought about that, when

the patriotic officers in the army, who were in touch with the United National Front, were able to carry through their military action, there was immediate mobilization and consolidation of all the forces of the people to follow up the military action and bar the way to counter-revolution.

Following the revolution, the popular basis was further reinforced by the development of the mass organizations of the Trade Unions, the peasants, the Peoples' Resistance Units for the defense of the Republic, the partisans of peace, the women, the youth, the students and many other associations representative of all sections of the people united in support of the revolution.

4. The Communist Party, as the strongest political party with the most outstanding record of previous revolutionary struggle against imperialism and its terrorist regime, was able to play a key role in building the United National Front before the revolution and in mobilizing the forces of the people for the defense of the revolution and further promotion of its aims.

5. The important preliminary steps taken along the path of agrarian reform, and economic and social measures, helped to undermine the basis of counter-revolution from the side of the landlords and reactionary sections, and to strengthen the support of the working class and peasantry for the revolution.

6. The correct national policy in relation to the Kurdish quarter of the population, by avoiding the dangers of Pan-Arabism and recognizing the full equality of national rights in Iraq, not only solved a problem which could otherwise have become a source of division and danger for the revolution, but won added strength of support for the revolution. The value of this was abundantly demonstrated in the suppression of the Mosul attempted counter-revolution.

7. On the basis of this mobilization and consolidation of the people in support of the revolution the speedy defeat of all attempts at counter-revolution during the first year was outstanding. This was equally shown in relation to the Aref plot, the Rashid Ali plot and attempted Mosul counter-revolution. The political trials of the former agents of imperialism and the counter-revolutionary plotters helped to expose them in the eyes of the people.

8. The correct approach to the question of Arab unity, for it to be realized on the basis of federal unity, allowing for local differences and development and institutions, in place of fusion under a single autocratic

center, corresponded to the interests of the whole Arab liberation movement.

During the present period many new problems of the internal development of the revolution have arisen. New attempts have been made to organize counter-revolution with the connivance of imperialism, as well as new attempts of reaction within the country to disrupt national unity by conducting a campaign of provocation against the Communist Party and the progressive forces. Propaganda from the side of imperialism and of Cairo Radio sought to stimulate such disruptive developments.

The situation in Iraq is still moving at a very rapid pace, and any description at this moment is likely to be outdistanced by events. There is no doubt that many and varied dangers from imperialism and internal reaction can still confront the revolution. But the outcome will depend on the relation of political forces; and the strength of mass organization and political awareness, with the active role of the Communist Party, can exercise a decisive influence on this outcome. For this reason we can have grounds for confidence that the national liberation movement of the Iraqi people, which has successfully surmounted so many dangers and trials during its first year will succeed, by the support of the masses, in solving the new problems now arising, defeat all new attempts at imperialist intervention or internal disruption, and combine national unity with the advance of democratic rights and the economic and social interests of the working people.

VI. Conclusions for Britain

The present situation in the Middle East is of especial and direct concern for the working class and democratic movement in Britain. The internal development within these countries can only be decided by the people themselves. But it is necessary for the popular movement in Britain to recognize that British imperialism, although junior now to American imperialism, is still in many respects the most active and aggressive power in the Middle East.

It is true that the United States monopolists have wrested from Britain the major share of Middle Eastern oil. But Middle Eastern oil plays a far more decisive role for the economy of British imperialism and the British balance of payments than in the case of the United States, where it represents only one of many sources of income. Hence for the British imperialists the issue of domination in the Middle East is seen as a life and death

question, as was shown in the desperate adventure of the Suez war.

Further, Britain has a longer record and traditional background and close knowledge as directly concerned in the Middle East for over a century and as the dominant power in the Middle East since the end of the First World War. The basis of British power in the Middle East has been the basis of military conquest; and though the defeats and enforced withdrawals of the recent period have heavily cut this down, Britain still remains the most openly aggressive and active imperialist power in the Middle East. United States penetration has pursued its own characteristic methods, by which the attempt is made to present the United States as a "non-colonial power" and "opposed to colonialism," deploring aggressive colonial adventures such as the Suez war, abstaining from direct membership of the Baghdad Pact* (though associated with some of its committees), and pursuing only the alternative path of financial "aid" and the Eisenhower Doctrine. Needless to say, the military invasion of Lebanon last year sufficiently exposed these pretensions. But the present wars of imperialism in the Middle East, in Oman and Yemen, are being conducted by British imperialism. The British imperialists, defeated elsewhere, are now concentrating especially on the Gulf area which represents the richest expanding prospect of oil development in the whole region (Kuwait alone represents half of current British controlled oil production in the region).

From this the practical conclusions for the democratic movement and supporters of peace in Britain follow.

First, to exert every effort to curb and bring to an end the new aggressions of British imperialism in the Middle East, and specifically the present criminal wars of aggression in Oman and Yemen.

Second, to awaken understanding that the national liberation struggle of the Arab people is not finished, and that imperialism is still in every way seeking to foment division and disruption and thus to prepare the conditions for new intervention and aggression. Therefore it is essential to be on the alert for sharp new issues which may arise.

Third, to develop solidarity with the working class and democratic movement in the

Middle Eastern countries, including support for democratic rights and for the release of the imprisoned Communists and Left leaders in the Egyptian and Syrian regions of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and the Sudan.

Fourth, to promote solidarity and friendship with the nationals of the Arab Middle East in Britain, and to give practical support to any campaign they may be waging on behalf of their national claims in relation to the British Government or organizations.

Only in this way will it be possible to end the past record of wrongs done and hostility caused by the aggression of British imperialism and its plundering role in the Middle East, and to open the way to a new basis of peace and friendship and fraternal relations of mutual benefit between the Arab and British people.

Once the Arab people of the Middle East have become masters of their own land and its oil resources and are able to carry out their economic re-organization to end the old colonial poverty, this will correspond to the true interests of all peoples in the world, including the British people. It will not mean, as imperialist propaganda falsely claims, that the oil supplies required by Britain and other Western countries would then be cut off, any more than the nationalization of the Suez Canal meant that the Suez Canal became closed to Western traffic. On the contrary, it will be in the interests of the free Middle Eastern countries to sell their oil in exchange for supplies they need. But the oil will be available to Britain and other countries on the basis of equal exchange of goods for goods (thereby also promoting employment in Britain) in place of the present basis of colonial plunder. This change will injure the British monopolists, but benefit the British people.

On behalf of the British Communist Party we proclaim our solidarity with the Communist parties, the working class and democratic movement and the national-liberation movement of the Arab Middle East in the common struggle for the victory of their economic and political liberation from imperialism, which is so closely bound up with the cause of the victory of the working class and socialism in Britain.

*Now Centrad Treaty Organization (Cento).—Ed.

The Communist Party Is a Party of Action

Leon Bohr

"Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in that it is a remarkable combination of sober scientific analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with recognition of the decisive significance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative work and revolutionary initiative of the masses, — and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organizations and parties able to establish contact with other classes."

(V. I. Lenin, *Against the Boycott*)

HOW far away we seem to be from the days when Marx wrote: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it." Marxist theory has not only correctly interpreted the world, it has become a guide to action for millions of people. The rise of the socialist world system, the disintegration of colonialism and other epoch-making changes of which we are witnesses, are the result of active struggle waged by the masses, a struggle in keeping with the pressing needs of social development.

The Communist and Workers' parties, marching in the van of the masses, basing their activity upon a sober analysis of the objective state of affairs, interpret life correctly in order to help the masses in changing it. There is nothing surprising in the fact that those who want to save capitalism at any cost are trying might and main to shake the working people's belief that revolutionary changes in capitalist society and the victory of socialism are inevitable, and to impress upon the masses the futility of their efforts to consolidate the new social system.

But, say the apologists of capitalism, the objective grounds for revolutionary struggle have disappeared, capitalism has ceased to be, or is about to cease being, capitalism. "People's capitalism," "democratic capitalism," "the essential elements of socialism in capitalism," "diffusion of property," "disappearance of the proletariat," "the second industrial revolution," "the supra-class state," — these are some of the catch phrases that have been given currency in the past ten

years to show that the Communists are calling on the people to fight a non-existent enemy. As always, the reformists come to the aid of the ruling class by supplying arguments allegedly drawn from practice. As for the revisionist elements in the communist movement, those who cloak bourgeois views with Marxist phraseology are a godsend to the capitalists.

To explain away the various theories aired by modern apologists merely by the malicious intent of their authors would be to simplify matters. Capitalist development does not proceed along straight lines. It gives birth to many contradictory tendencies and not infrequently people put different constructions on one and the same development. The achievements of the socialist camp, for example, are revolutionizing the minds of the masses in the capitalist countries, stimulating the urge to follow the example set by peoples who have put an end to capitalist exploitation. At the same time, paradoxical though it may be, the achievements of socialism encourage the sentiment that now, with the socialist world rapidly gaining in strength, the bourgeoisie is forced to make concessions and therefore socialism can be achieved in the capitalist countries by using the reformist recipe, without class struggle and revolutionary changes.

Capitalism can still maneuver in many ways: it can combine the monopoly forces, as the Common Market has shown; it can maintain a relatively high business activity on the basis of the arms drive; it can create a boom in the countries adjacent to the social-

ist camp; improve things for some sections of the working class at the expense of other sections and of the colonies. All this creates objective grounds for building castles in the air and entertaining false notions.

Clearly it is important for the Communist parties to make a daily study of the general laws of capitalism, it is essential to be able to distinguish behind the external, transient factors what exactly constitutes the objective basis of the struggle for socialism. Only if this is done will the Party's tactics measure up to the requirements of the working class and, simultaneously, take into account the peculiar features of this or that country.

An incorrect appraisal of the real situation will always have repercussions and lead to tactical mistakes. We know that the Iraqi Communists have made a big contribution to the people's liberation struggle, but they failed to draw the correct conclusions from the character of the revolution in their country—a bourgeois-democratic popular revolution. As the decision of the July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party states, the Party wrongly assessed the political situation in the country, overestimating its own and underestimating the role of other national forces in defending the Republic. Belittling the role of the national bourgeoisie engendered mistakes of a subjectivist character and this weakened the positions of the Party.

Instances are known in the history of the communist movement in different countries of an incorrect assessment of objective factors resulting in leftist mistakes or, on the contrary, leading to Right-wing opportunism. Hence revolutionary Marxists study the contemporary processes on an international and national scale.

In recent years the Communist parties have done much theoretical work, generalizing the processes taking place in society today. This scientific analysis confirms that capitalism, notwithstanding the changes it has undergone, is still the old capitalism, that it will not now, as it did not a century ago, voluntarily depart from the arena, that it can bring incalculable suffering and disaster upon mankind. And this means that the need to fight capitalism has neither passed away nor lessened in the past few years; on the contrary, it has grown immeasurably.

At the same time modern capitalism creates the conditions for the growth of forces capable of taking an active part in the struggle for socialism. The greater concentration of capital, strengthening of the monopolies,

growth of state-monopoly capitalism and exploitation of the colonies have adversely affected not only the working people and the petty bourgeoisie, but also the non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie. The result is that these strata are being forced to rise against the monopolies. Thus capitalist reality is paving the way for the consolidation of a mighty social force capable of effecting radical changes.

Only Struggle Makes Possibility Into Reality

Historical development is subject to objective laws, but these laws do not operate automatically. In contrast to the laws of nature, the laws of social development reveal themselves through the activity of people. The modern productive forces have long since outgrown the confines of capitalist ownership, which has become a brake on progress. But the pressing need for public, socialist ownership is fiercely resisted by the classes who are outliving their day, and antiquated production relations can be replaced only through the conscious activity of the forces interested in progress.

History has provided us with many facts showing that possible urgent changes were not effected, although a revolutionary situation existed, because there was no subjective force capable of making the possibility into reality. Not every revolutionary situation gives rise to revolution; revolution takes place only when, to the subjective changes "... is added the ability of the revolutionary class to carry out revolutionary mass actions sufficient to break (or undermine) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, 'falls', if it is not 'brought down'."*

After the Second World War the balance of forces changed to such an extent that the prospect of winning power by peaceful means, without a civil war, opened up to the working class. But this by no means signifies that the role of effective actions diminishes. On the contrary, for the prospect to be turned into reality the continuous growth of a large-scale class struggle by the working class, peasant masses and middle sections against monopoly capital is necessary.

Both subjectivism, which ignores objective reality and leads to political adventurism, and fatalism, which not infrequently is used as a pretext for passivity, are alien to Marxism.

Analyzing life as it is, the Communist parties of many countries believe that despite

*V. I. Lenin, *The Collapse of the Second International*.

the objective difficulties, the results could have been different had the parties acted more energetically, had they been more resolute in overcoming the shortcomings.

An article spearheaded against inertness, in the May issue of *New Zealand Labor Review*, organ of the Communist Party of New Zealand, typifies this self-critical approach. It points out that there are greater possibilities now in New Zealand of getting better results than at any time in the past few years, but that the inertia of some of the members stands in the way. "Such people just go on about their jobs every day, meet in their branches to discuss the routine business, mostly consisting of picking up the papers to take out to the survivors of those old faithfuls who have been reading our paper for years . . . They have found a comfortable, interesting life 'interpreting' the world. They want the world to change but cannot see that they are not doing what is needed to make it change . . ."

For a long time now the Communist parties in some European countries have been working under very difficult conditions. There has been a drop in the membership, their influence among the masses has declined, their vote has decreased and circulation of the Party newspapers has fallen. But they are not explaining this away by objective factors alone, they are seeking and finding ways of improving their work.

It is no accident, for example, that after several years of stagnation the Communist Party of Sweden has again begun to win new members, its influence is growing and circulation of its publications is increasing. This, as its press notes, is the result of the Party learning from the lessons of the past, of overcoming passivity in its organizations, and of going out more boldly among the masses. The same goes for a number of other parties, which do not hesitate to lay bare their mistakes and weaknesses.

On the other hand the Party publications indicate that some branches seek to excuse not only their failures, but also their inactivity, by all sorts of reasons beyond their control, particularly by boom conditions. The *New Zealand Labor Review* criticized those members "... who have a sneaking feeling that if only there were a slump the working people would come flocking to us and we would have no more of the hard grind of going out to them and working, working, working, to win them to the ideas of socialism." Such Communists, it appears, believe that active and successful work is only possible against a

background of rising unemployment, crisis or other such upheavals. Reasoning of this kind, as the Communist press justly notes, reflects the pernicious influence of bourgeois propaganda which tries to fob off the idea that communism can only find fertile soil in the backward countries, and that to attain its ends it is anxious to see crises and upheavals.

No matter, how the situation develops, it cannot justify inertia. New conditions call for different forms of struggle. The facts, incidentally, refute that the working masses cannot wage a successful struggle during boom periods. After the Second World War, when there was an industrial upsurge in a number of the Latin American countries, considerable social gains were won. In Argentina, for instance, the mere threat of a strike sometimes compelled the employers to grant concessions.

Just as favorable circumstances alone do not ensure success, but only if the members are active, so an unfavorable situation does not justify waiting for "fair weather." This explains why a militant spirit, revolutionary initiative and the will for action are always to be found in the Marxist-Leninist parties, who have faith in themselves and in the masses whom they are called upon to organize and lead.

Unity Comes With Action

Imperialism objectively creates the conditions for building broad unity between democratic forces in the struggle against the monopolies. Unity does not simply signify identity of interests on the part of classes, social groups and mass organizations but, first and foremost, joint action. And this united action must be organized.

An important condition for unity is to heal the split in the working class. But the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders are resolutely opposed to this. Their policy of class collaboration and their hostile attitude towards Communists are the main obstacle to the unity of the working class and the democratic forces. Any consolidation of the Communist positions strikes more fear into the hearts of these leaders than any strengthening of the bourgeoisie. As developments in France have shown, they not only flatly refuse to co-operate with the Communists, but openly side with reaction in the struggle against them. The treacherous policy pursued by men like Guy Mollet, Saragat and Spaak is constantly being exposed by the Communists. To cease the fight against these Right-wing leaders would

make it easier for them to spread the ideology of class collaboration among the masses, that is, of subordinating the working class to the bourgeoisie. But the Communists take into account that there is a difference between the Right-wing leaders and the rank-and-file Social Democrats, that there is growing antagonism between this leadership and the rank-and-file. A split has taken place in some of the Socialist parties and Left groups have made their appearance. Alongside the Social-Democratic Right-wing parties there are Left parties. The Left forces prevail in the leadership of the Socialist Party of Japan. Even at the recent Congress of the Socialist International, where the pillars of anti-communism and the avowed opponents of united action were assembled, voices were raised in favor of unity. The Congress leadership, as we know, concealed from the delegates the letter sent by the Central Committee of the CPSU expressing the hope that it would discuss the problems of overcoming the "evil of the war danger" and the "evil of hunger." Acting in this manner the Social-Democratic leaders have shown that they are turning their backs on this noble objective to which not only the Communist parties, but also the masses are striving. However, despite the leadership's opposition, some delegates advanced the demand for co-operation with the Communists in the peace effort. And although the Congress resolutions made no mention of the need to overcome the division in the working-class movement, we cannot but note that many Social Democrats feel the necessity for a new line, a line that would further the unity of all the democratic forces. It would be a mistake not to take this into account.

When the Communist International was taking shape it was imperative to make a break with the opportunism of the Social-Democratic parties, otherwise the party of a new type could not have been formed. At that time revolutionary Left elements left the Social-Democratic parties and formed the core of communist organizations. In those conditions the revolutionary Marxists mercilessly exposed not only the Rightists, but also those who used "left" phraseology in upholding opportunism. That was the only attitude possible at the time. In the subsequent years, when the Marxist-Leninist parties had been built up and acquired stature, when capitalism had recovered from the upheavals of the immediate post-war years, the thesis in the Program of the Communist International adopted in 1928 that

the Leftists were "the most dangerous faction of the Social-Democratic parties" began to be a hindrance to the struggle against the Rights, for now it was a matter of the Lefts who were coming to the fore in the process of the stratification of the Social-Democratic parties and moving away from the Right-wing leaders. Yet the Communists were criticizing the Lefts as traitors. This resulted at times in the Communists being the ones to throw the more or less militant elements in the Socialist parties into the arms of the Rights.

But this wrong attitude has long since been abandoned. Communist criticism is no longer spearheaded mainly against the Lefts; while not being urged to join the Communist Party, their co-operation is being sought. The Communists are aware that not all Socialist parties are identical. When recently Deputy Giovanni Tonetti, a veteran leader of the working-class movement, withdrew from the Italian Socialist Party and decided to join the Communist Party, the Central Committee explained that the decision to accept Tonetti should not be interpreted as an intention to seek the withdrawal from the Socialist Party of members who were striving for unity and a revolutionary policy. Had the Communists insisted on this, it would have contributed to switching the Socialist Party to the Right, and this would have been injurious to the working-class movement and democracy.

Although the Communist parties decisively oppose reformism, they seek, jointly with the Social-Democratic and other parties to win democratic reforms and better conditions for the working people. They are prepared, moreover, to act together with these parties with the object of winning power for the working class and building socialism. The objective situation is such that the democratic and social regeneration of many countries may come about not as a result of the activity of the Communist Party alone; the possibility of agreement and joint work by the various political forces should not be ruled out. The Social-Democratic leaders' favorite argument against co-operation is that after winning power the Communists will "swallow the Socialists." But, as we know, in no country where the working class has come to power, including Russia, did the Communists ban reformist parties simply because of their reformism. The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries left the working-class movement of their own accord and sided with

the counter-revolutionary camp. In some of the People's Democracies the Communist and Socialist parties have merged voluntarily. Different parties continue to function in some of the socialist countries: the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the Democratic League and other parties in China, the Socialist and People's parties in Czechoslovakia, the United Peasants' and Democratic parties in Poland, etc. The Communists say outright that they regard joint work with non-communist parties after winning power as being not only permissible but desirable.

The experience accumulated by the Communist parties shows how diverse are the roads leading to unity with the Socialists. This experience tells us how important it is to approach their leading bodies with proposals for co-operation on common or particular questions. But when this approach becomes the main thing, and the importance of establishing contacts with the lower organizations of the Socialist parties, the rank-and-file Social Democrats and all democratic forces is underrated, the result is usually no unity.

On questions of vital concern to the masses the main thing is to build unity from below, to strengthen the Left trends in the Social-Democratic parties, trade unions and other mass parties and organizations. The Finnish Communists, for example, have had considerable success in establishing unity with the Socialists primarily because they display initiative, advance slogans and carry out measures which meet with the sympathy and support of the Socialist workers. The experience of the Communist Party of Japan, which is successfully co-operating with the Socialists, confirms that it is not enough to speak of the desirability of unity, it is important to establish it on concrete issues.

When the Communists put forward a demand which everyone recognizes as necessary, even the diehard opponents of unity are powerless to turn it down, for it ceases to be a communist demand and becomes a general one. And, conversely, it would be wrong of the Communists to refrain from supporting demands in the interests of the masses merely because they are made by the Socialists. On the contrary, they have every reason to uphold such proposals, to fight for them consistently and, possibly, even more resolutely than the initiators themselves. Unity derives strength not from stressing ideological differences, but from struggle in which the masses are no longer mere

onlookers and judges weighing the pros and cons, but active participants, jointly working for results and judging the parties according to their deeds.

Strengthening unity of action makes it easier for the working class to extend its alliance with the various sections of the population. Success depends on this policy. In the struggle against the Franco dictatorship, for example, the Communist Party of Spain is prepared to co-operate with diverse anti-Franco forces, including the Monarchists and Catholics. Fifteen political parties and organizations representing all sections of the population took part with the Communist Party in the preparations for the strike last summer. The Italian Communist Party does not stipulate organizational forms of co-operation or common agreement between the opposition forces as a condition for joint action. It seeks to further the movement by establishing closer relations between the forces participating in it on individual questions; it advances slogans on which practical action is possible. Thanks to this the Italian Party has been able to unite various organizations, including bourgeois organizations, in the struggle against the Christian-Democratic Party, which represents monopoly interests.

The Communist Party of Colombia is successfully implementing a policy of broad alliances; it fully appreciates the difficulties of conducting this policy, knowing how easy it is to make mistakes. At a regional Party conference in Valle del Cauca last spring it was stated that "to unite for the purpose of concluding agreements solely in favor of an ally, or to forget our own organization in these alliances would be just as wrong as to isolate the Party from the masses on the pretext of preserving the purity of Marxist ideology." The conference criticized the erroneous tendency to "enter into alliances for the sake of the alliances and not for concrete aims. To hold that an ally should not be told of his mistakes or inconsistency is to take the wrong view. Criticism by the Communists should, clearly, be timely and mainly constructive and based on safeguarding the common interests of the alliance and its integrity."

Broad alliances are being sought by the Communist Party with the object of drawing into the struggle all sections of the population opposed to monopoly rule. To achieve these alliances the Communists are ready to compromise and hence, to make concessions, bearing in mind what Lenin said on the

tactics of compromises: "The whole point lies in *knowing how* to apply these tactics in order to *raise*, and not *lower*, the *general* level of proletarian class consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and win."*

Winning the Leading Role Is a Day-to-Day Fight

The Communist parties, the champions of the vital interests of the working people, are called upon by virtue of social development to play the leading role in the struggle for democracy and socialism. But their leadership will be recognized by the masses not because Marxist-Leninist theory substantiates the need for this, but only when experience convinces them that the Communists are in the van, that they are the best leaders.

There are many parties on the political arena, each trying to win over the masses and gain their support. The policy of broad class alliances means that Communists have no fear of competing with any party and feel certain that sooner or later the masses will find out who is right. This, however, is not a passive wait-and-see process, it is policy in action.

Even the smallest party can influence the political life of the country if it senses its pressing needs and not only proclaims corresponding slogans but fights for their realization. Examples can be cited from the history of any Communist Party to show that its stand on one question or another was of decisive importance. Some years ago the Netherlands government resolved to cancel the V-day celebrations. The anti-fascist content of this holiday ran counter to the government's policy of supporting West German armament. The Communist Party protested. And the protest was so much in tune with public sentiment that it immediately received broad support. The biggest parties — the Labor Party, represented in the government, and the Catholic People's Party—could no longer defend the government openly. They sought to compromise, suggested that the celebration should be limited to half a day, but in the long run, under pressure from the masses, they were obliged to retreat. V-day is still being celebrated in Holland. In the autumn of 1958 the Communists and public organizations in Austria protested vigorously against the preparations for a European SS rally and succeeded in getting it stopped.

These examples show that the influence exerted by the Communist Party can be far

greater than its numbers. These examples also show that the fight for the leading role must continue from day to day. The Party should not rest content with individual successes, but regard them as steps towards still bigger achievements. This point was emphasized at a recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, where it was pointed out that although the Party exerts considerable influence on the country's political life, it has "not yet achieved a leading position in the working-class movement. Although active in organizing the struggle under a nationwide plan for united action, it has not made the necessary efforts to develop unity of action at the plants and factories and in the regions, in accordance with the Party's independent policy in those cases where there was no plan for united action."

The documents of the Japanese and other Communist parties have repeatedly pointed out that a Party that confines itself to propaganda will not only fail to be in the vanguard and the leader of the masses, it will not go very far in politically educating the working people. Political education is inseparable from action, for only struggle enhances the class consciousness of the masses, shows them what they can do, widens their horizon and molds their will. The Communist parties can, therefore, win the leading role in the working-class movement only if they prove to be parties of action, give the people a clear perspective, organize and carry out the struggle to achieve tangible results. Unless this is done the Party's claim to the leading role will be futile.

Every question affecting political life, living standards or social relations cannot fail to be of interest to the Party. But putting forward slogans and demands does not necessarily mean to react and show initiative. Even in local elections the platform is sometimes so comprehensive and of such a general political character that it is taken for a policy statement and not regarded as something to be fought for right away. The way to win the working people lies through action for their day-to-day needs. And the best results are achieved by those parties which, in addition to general programs, have well thought-out plans of action for the urgent demands of the working people.

Only in battle will the Party and masses grow and gain in strength. Unless the muscles are trained they become flabby and incapable of performing the work required

*V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.

of them. Communists are well aware that if the Party shows its face only during election campaigns or card exchanges, it will inevitably become less militant and may not be able to cope with its tasks even when the situation is more favorable. It is a dangerous thing in politics to overestimate one's possibilities, but it is equally harmful to underrate them, to remain in the background instead of being in the forefront.

Cohesion Is the Basis of Leadership

The ability to lead the masses depends in large measure on unity inside the Party. A Communist movement closely linked with life naturally feels the impact of the processes taking place around it, of the uneven economic and political development particularly inherent in the capitalist system in the epoch of imperialism. But it is a fact that despite ebbs and flows, the temporary weakening of separate parties and anti-communism, the overall communist movement is growing stronger.

On the eve of the Second World War there were 58 Communist parties in the capitalist countries with a membership of 1,500,000. Now there are 71 with more than 4,500,000 members.

The number of Communists in Western Europe has risen from 388,000 to nearly 2,400,000 over the past 20 years. In Britain, Sweden and Belgium (to which bourgeois propaganda and revisionists always point in the desire to prove that in these countries communist ideas are not widespread), where in the past 20 years the Communist parties have gone through periods of growth and decline, the communist movement on the whole is making progress. In Britain, for instance, the membership, although it showed a decline in recent years, now stands at 27,000 as against 17,000 in 1929. In Sweden it has risen from 9,000 to 24,000. And in other European countries the Communist parties have grown on an average 1.5 times. In Italy and France they have become a powerful political force.

The successes of the communist movement are most striking in the Asian countries, where there are now 1,900,000 Communists. The communist movement has grown rapidly in the Western hemisphere. If we leave out the Communist parties of the United States and Canada, where the membership has fallen as against the 1939 level, we shall see that the total number of Communists on the American continent has grown

greatly. Africa had less than 3,000 Communists, there are now about 50,000. In Australia and Oceania the movement is so far numerically small, but the number of Party members has nevertheless grown 1.5 times in the past 20 years.

Rising membership and growing influence of the Communist parties go hand-in-hand with their ideological and organizational strengthening. This was strikingly demonstrated in the struggle against revisionism, which showed how important it is to continue to strengthen the Party organizations.

The militancy of the parties depends on their cohesion which, in turn, is largely determined by inner-Party work, but activity outside, among the masses, should not be underrated. When a Party is taking shape, time is naturally needed—what Lenin called the process of embryonic development—before the minimum conditions are created for it to go amongst the people. But when the Party organizations have already taken shape, the question cannot be posed thus:—what comes first—strengthen ourselves or intensify activity among the masses?

A Party organization cannot hope to become stronger if it turns inward, if it becomes isolated from the masses, among whom its organizational and propaganda forces can work to good effect. Mass work and inner-Party work are not two independent, but two inter-connected, spheres. They are two aspects of an integral whole. Inner-Party work is not an object in itself, it is needed for successful activity among the masses, for strengthening contact with the people.

The revisionists did no little harm to a number of Communist parties. By undermining the unity of the parties and diverting their attention from work among the masses, they weakened the positions of the Communists among the people. While revisionism was, and remains, the chief danger, and the work of combating it must continue, it is essential consistently to overcome sectarianism, which hinders the parties from establishing closer contacts with the masses. Sectarianism makes inner-Party life an end in itself, tries to explain the shortcomings in Party work by the lack of class consciousness of the masses. It is self-complacent and, what is more, this is the dangerous self-complacency of inactivity.

The recent XVth Congress of the French Communist Party again focused attention on the need for unremitting struggle against revisionism and sectarianism, especially now,

when the task of going among all sections of the people, of working in the mass organizations has acquired decisive significance. The need to strengthen contact with the masses, stated in all the Congress documents, determines the character of inner-Party work. The task now is to strengthen the factory, rural and other branches and to form new ones. The Congress theses stress that the branch is the core of the Party in its daily struggle for peace, democratic liberties and unity. "One of the weaknesses not yet outlived in the Party is that still not enough new, young and dynamic forces are being recruited . . . As a rule, this is due to a lack of understanding of the role of the Party as a party of action." The Congress stressed that "the training of an activist cannot be separ-

ated from struggle in the very thick of the masses.'

In the recent period many Communist parties have devoted considerable attention to inner-Party work, to activizing the branches, insisting that all members take part in Party life, that recruitment of new members becomes a regular feature and not only during recruiting campaigns. All this attests to the desire to strengthen contact with the masses and to organize them, to the will for really vigorous action.

The forms of the struggle are determined by and vary according to the situation, but in all circumstances they call for initiative, for the will to work for the triumph of communist ideals.

***In the Communist
and Workers' Parties***

Solidarity With the People of Algeria

A MEETING of three North African Communist Parties—Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia—was held last August. The joint statement adopted noted a certain relaxation in international tension as manifested, for example, in the exchange of visits between Khrushchov and Eisenhower. This development, while it may exert a positive influence on world peace, does not alleviate the tensions between the peoples of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia on the one hand, and French imperialism, on the other.

The statement points out that the meeting was held at a time when "the French colonialists, conscious of their military failure and of the impossibility of overcoming the resistance of the Algerian people, are pursuing a policy of deception; by lauding the myth about 'French Algeria' they are trying to convince us of the advantages of the 'Constantine Plan' and of the 'elections' conducted by the colonialist army. Exploiting the lack of resolve shown by the governments of Tunisia and Morocco in executing the decisions of the Tangier Conference and also the economic difficulties resulting from colonial rule the Gaullist politicians resort to artful maneuvers to split the North African countries and to isolate Algeria, resorting even to military provocations and economic pressure on the two independent states.

"In view of this grave situation the three Communist Parties maintain that the question of the day is the independence of Algeria. In order to hasten the end of the war and bring nearer the hour of freedom for the Algerian people, they believe that it is necessary to intensify the armed struggle in Algeria itself and for Morocco and Tunisia to render unconditional support and more aid to it. In this connection the Tangier decisions should be implemented, that is, the unity of Maghreb should be realized by co-ordinating the policies of the three North African governments and setting up joint organizations, such as the Permanent Secretariat and the Consultative Assembly.

"It is essential that Morocco and Tunisia should defeat the policy of splitting Maghreb . . . pursue the struggle against colonialism, reinforce their independence, insist on the withdrawal of troops from Bizerta and the occupation troops from Morocco and on the return of the occupied territories to the latter. They should unhesitatingly reject all colonialist projects such as the French-Maghreb Community or the Mediterranean Pact which seek to perpetuate colonial dependence and refuse to recognize the right of the imperialists to the oil resources of the Sahara."

Under the Tangier agreements, the statement goes on, neither Morocco nor Tunisia are obliged

to accept any commitments in relation to France or its NATO or Common Market partners who support the colonialist war in Algeria. Neo-colonialism, irrespective of its form, must be rejected. "The only way is to utilize the domestic resources: make the fruits of independence available to the people, carry out agrarian reform, nationalization, planned development and gradual industrialization; democracy should be guaranteed and extended with a view to cementing the unity of the people and arousing popular enthusiasm for economic construction; a policy of positive neutrality should be pursued and advantage taken of the favorable international situation, particularly the disinterested aid of the socialist countries."

"The three Communist Parties," the statement continues, "pledge to work tirelessly in the spirit of Bandung to strengthen the solidarity of their peoples with all the Afro-Asian countries still engaged in the anti-colonial struggle and supporting the cause of the Algerian people."

"They maintain that it is necessary to consolidate unity with the fraternal Arab peoples, particularly the Iraqi people in their struggle against the intrigues of the imperialists who are seeking to split the patriotic forces, to abolish the democracy established in Iraq and to nullify the gains of the revolution of July 14."

The three Parties maintain that the reprisals taken against the Communists and other democrats in Syria and Egypt bring grist to the mills of the imperialists. "These reprisals and the anti-democratic policies have detracted from the prestige won by the Egyptian people when they nationalized the Suez Canal and defeated the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression. Such reprisals are harmful also to the solidarity of the Arab countries which is so vital to them, they retard the movement toward unity which can be achieved only on the basis of democracy, the voluntary principle and respect for the interests of each country. The three Parties pledge to strengthen the friendship between their countries and the countries of the socialist camp whose powerful support for the cause of Algeria was emphasized by the warm welcome accorded the Algerian government delegation in the Chinese People's Republic and in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They pledge to work for broad co-operation with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, whose disinterested eco-

nomic and technical aid enables the newly independent states to defy the intimidation and pressure of the colonialists."

The Communist Parties "confirm the need to fortify the militant solidarity of the three nations and the forces of peace and progress in France headed by the French Communist Party, forces which, despite the adverse conditions, are waging a struggle against the war in Algeria. They hold that intensification of the struggle in France against the war in Algeria, for a solution of the Algerian problem by way of negotiations with the Algerian government, can bring nearer an end to the conflict and open prospects for mutually advantageous co-operation between the Maghreb countries and France on the principles of equality and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each country."

"They urge the Arab peoples, all the Afro-Asian countries, the international communist and working-class movement and all the forces of progress and peace to strengthen their solidarity with the Algerian people. The Communist Parties pledge to step up activities aimed at securing success for the policy pursued by them in the interests of the peoples of the three countries. By doing so they will help to achieve the aims of the national-democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. They will redouble their efforts in order to strengthen the national alliance of all the patriotic forces on the basis of the anti-colonial struggle, respect for democratic freedoms and independent organization."

"The Communist Parties of Morocco and Tunisia express their solidarity with the fraternal Party of Algeria. They hail the participation of the Communist Party of Algeria in the liberation war and highly appreciate the policy of national unity as expressed in the decisive support of the Provisional Government and the National Liberation Front in the anti-imperialist struggle."

As in the past, the statement continues, the three Parties will apply the universal scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in their countries and will resolutely combat revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism. They reaffirm their support for the Declaration of the 12 Communist and Workers' Parties and proclaim their unshakable fidelity to proletarian internationalism.

Forty Years of the Communist Party of the USA

LAST September marked the fortieth anniversary of the Communist Party of the United States, the founding congress of which was held in Chicago in 1919.

The international communist movement and all progressive forces of peace pay tribute to the courageous and staunch struggle waged by the American Communists. The U.S. Communist Party is working under extremely difficult conditions. After the war Congress passed a number of anti-communist laws banning Party activity in the trade unions and public organizations. The Party was declared a "subversive organization" and many of its leaders were imprisoned. The revisionists, too, did much harm. But despite the persecutions and the revisionist attacks the Party, active in the struggle of the masses, is confident that it will grow and extend its influence.

The Party is conducting a discussion in preparation of the XVIIth National Convention to be called in December. The draft resolution reviews the issues confronting the country, questions of tactics and inner-Party work. The document points out that as we enter the 'sixties mankind is at the threshold of the potential era of peace and abundance for all. The perspective of abolishing such scourges as hunger, oppression and war is now within reach. In all spheres of American life, it goes on, far from diminishing, the difficulties are growing because monopoly capital is thwarting the realization of the great hopes promised by the future, it is the source of the unending threat of war, insecurity and economic slump. It is on monopoly capital that the American people should exert pressure. The monopolists are finding it increasingly difficult to carry on their suicidal cold

war policy. The yearning of the people for peace compels them to take steps toward peace. The exchange of visits between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchov is a truly tremendous achievement in the struggle for peaceful co-existence.

The successful fight for unity, against the revisionists, doctrinaires, sectarians and factionalists has enabled the Party to activize its work among the masses. Its influence among the masses and its contacts are growing. Nevertheless, the draft points out, the cardinal problems of replenishing the Party, of building it and creating a broader united front have yet to be solved. Therefore the principal tasks are to overcome the isolation from the main sections of the labor movement, to strengthen the Party base, its ties and influence among the workers in the basic industries—both Negroes and whites, and the youth. The vanguard role of the Party calls, above all, for the maximum extension of organizational and political initiative at all levels.

The Communist Party maintains that it is most important to study and develop the principles of Marxism-Leninism, boldly to solve the new problems confronting the working class and the country. So that we may make our Marxist contribution to the common welfare, increase our influence among the masses and build a mass party we, Communists, must extend the propaganda of socialism. We must show that, given the socialist reorganization of society, our country with its great working class, immense resources and high standard of technology can enter an era of economic, cultural, social, intellectual and democratic prosperity such as no generation of Americans has ever dreamed of.

Lessons of the Nationwide Strike in Spain

THE meeting of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party held in the second half of August approved the statement, adopted by the Political Bureau in July, on the peaceful nationwide strike (June 18) against the Franco dictatorship. The Central Committee recommended that this statement, jointly with the Central Committee theses on the 20th anniversary of the termination of the Civil War, should be studied in all Party branches.

The statement points out that besides the Communist Party 15 other parties and organizations participated in calling the strike. In the course of a few weeks preceding June 18 the forces united against Franco launched an unprecedented political campaign. The government and the emigré Right-wing Socialist leadership are clamoring about the "failure" of this action because it fell short of what had been expected by the organizers and the people. The purpose of this propaganda is clear

— to demoralize the working class, the peasants, intellectuals, petty and middle bourgeoisie, to make them doubt their strength, perpetuate the split in the ranks of the opposition and prevent any repetition of the strike.

The thousands of strikers in Madrid, Alicante, Barcelona, Asturias, Santander, Quipuzcoa, Seville and Aragon, the statement goes on, are the pride of the working class and the entire people. An outstanding fact hushed up by Franco propaganda (a fact testifying to the importance of the strike) was the participation of 200,000 agricultural laborers in Andalucia and Extremadura. "For the first time in Spanish history a vast mass of agricultural laborers took part in a purely political strike. . . . This testifies to the degree of consciousness of the rural masses, to the fact that conditions are maturing for political changes in Spain."

The vanguard which organized the strike enjoyed the support and sympathy of big sections of working people, intellectuals, the overwhelming majority of the petty bourgeoisie and also considerable sections of the middle bourgeoisie. The armed forces, too, were largely sympathetic.

The fact that the strike did not acquire a general character was not at all due to low political consciousness on the part of the workers and the people generally. They have given numerous demonstrations of their hatred for Franco. Expressions of sympathy for the strike did not necessarily indicate that people were ready to take part in it. "Only the struggle can convince the masses to align themselves with the vanguard. . . . What was lacking was not political consciousness, but organization." The reason for this was not the organizational weakness of the opposition forces, although they need to be strengthened, but the fact that the unity of opinion on holding the strike, which was achieved at the top, has not yet led to unity at lower levels—in the enterprises and in rural and urban areas.

The twenty years of disunity have implanted skepticism and apprehension in respect to the ability and willingness of some bourgeois and Social-Democratic leaders to establish unity, since repeated proposals for the unity so eagerly desired by the masses, the conditions for which they created by their struggle, have been turned down more than once. If the proposals of the various parties and groups which summoned the workers to strike had appeared two months earlier, in other words, if unity had been achieved at the top, these doubts could have been dispersed. Timely achievement of unity among the leaders would have engendered numerous unity committees at rank-and-file level, committees capable of properly organizing the strike.

On the other hand, the Central Committee drew the conclusion that bilateral agreements between

the Communist Party and the political forces which took part in the action, although they marked a considerable step forward, were, nevertheless, not the most effective form of unity. A coordinating committee which could have appeared before the people as organizer and leader of the strike was lacking. Given this leading body, committees could have been formed all over the country capable of enlisting "not only the united forces, but also those sections which have not yet identified themselves with one or another group. . . . *The main organizational task which has yet to be solved is that of organizing mass unity.*"

"Even our Party," the document goes on, "though successful in many instances in forming strike committees and pickets, failed to pose this question correctly and with sufficient clarity. We failed to point out with due persistence that the principal object was to bring unity even to the remotest corners. . . . We failed to explain that unity in the enterprises and at the bench, even if it did not assume the form of strike committees or pickets, could have resulted in the setting up of bodies capable of heading this action and initiating the mass movement."

Another factor which hindered unity at rank-and-file level was the removal and in some cases the imprisonment (between October 1957 and June 1959) of thousands of trade union delegates elected by the workers. In Madrid, for instance, on June 16 and 17, some 500 active workers were arrested, workers who enjoyed prestige in the most important enterprises. It follows, then, that "side by side with the legal forms, with the election of trade union delegates, underground committees should have been formed at each enterprise, committees that would co-operate with the legal bodies and, when arrests occurred, would replace them as leaders of the struggle."

The results of the political strike were affected by the tactics which, in a way, were of a defensive nature; the workers were instructed to turn up for work on June 18 and start the strike there. Thus "the decisive struggle for the strike was launched at the last minute and in the worst possible conditions, whereas it should have been begun during the preceding weeks and months thus eliminating the need for the workers to turn up at the factories on June 18." That was how the farm laborers and the building workers in Andalucia and Extremadura acted: they did not come to work at all.

The Central Committee laid bare the attitude of the emigré Socialist leaders who speculated on the threat of unemployment and predicted thousands of dismissals in the event of the strike being launched; this attitude affected many working people. It is known that as a result of the government "stabilization plan," dictated by the inter-

national banks and Spanish monopoly groupings, several hundred thousand more people will be unemployed in the next few months, the currency devaluation will mean a further rise in the cost of living and reduction in real wages, while thousands of small employers and shopkeepers will be ruined. Yet this catastrophe, now threatening Spain and already making itself felt, can be avoided, although not by meekness and docility. The emigré Socialist leaders "have taken a disgraceful stand contrary to the will of the branches of their Party in the country, the Socialist Union in the universities and the Catalanian socialist movement, i.e., contrary to the will of the Socialists fighting inside Spain."

The Communist Party has exposed a number of intrigues sparked by the scandal connected with the transfer of capital to foreign banks, a fact testifying to the lack of confidence on the part of the big bourgeoisie in the possibility of maintaining the dictatorship. These intrigues, indirectly supported by the emigré Socialist leaders, were aimed at persuading Franco to clear the way for Don Juan, the pretender to the Spanish throne, with a view to replacing the fascist dictatorship by a monarchy of a dimly constitutional nature and thereby preserving power in the hands of the monopolist oligarchy. This attitude tied the hands of the liberal and bourgeois-democratic opposition. Franco's refusal to make way for Don Juan forced the manipulators to resort to the dangerous course of a military coup which, they thought, would deceive the opposition and render it inactive. In these circumstances the workers and the entire people were faced with the need to show that there was another way out by means of which, without resorting to armed force, the problem could be solved in a really democratic manner. This way out was the nationwide strike directed against the dictatorship, i.e., a general political strike of the working people of town and countryside actively supported by other social sections: petty and middle bourgeoisie, civil servants and intellectuals, a strike that would have the sympathy of the army and police.

The statement contains the Communist Party's proposals for developing and consolidating the results achieved in the struggle for unity. The task now is to strengthen and extend unity, to rectify mistakes and overcome shortcomings; this work should be started at rank-and-file level. From the start it is imperative that no wedge be driven between those who took part in the June 18 strike and those who did not.

The statement points out: "If the general feeling among those who lacked the courage to join the strike on June 18 was bitterness and twinges of conscience, a few weeks later it dawned on the vast majority of the people that they should have

taken part in it, that their indecision was a mistake; their faith in the Communist Party and the other groups which called the strike grew stronger and they resolutely condemned those who deceived them."

The Communist Party suggests a round-table discussion on how to continue the work, the measures to be taken to develop the struggle and the possibilities for extending it, bearing in mind the participation of the forces which abstained and, possibly, the participation of army officers and men. The time has come when the anti-Franco forces are beginning to pay serious attention to the possibility of setting up a representative national body, of a possible provisional government and of working out a common political program. A round-table meeting could be the first step in this direction. "After June 18 and the several weeks of intense nationwide struggle which preceded it, the strength of the Party was manifested in such a clear and unmistakable form that it will impel those who hope to solve Spain's political problems without due regard for the working people and their Party to think and act more discreetly."

In the face of the economic catastrophe, the onset of which is beginning to be felt, the Communist Party suggests organizing, under the slogan of national reconciliation, a resolute campaign encompassing all classes and social sections affected by this danger, including the proletariat, peasantry and non-monopoly bourgeoisie, with a view to abolishing the Franco dictatorship and establishing a democratic system.

Taking note of the fact that in the course of the preparations for the national strike the Party had grown considerably, the Central Committee posed the task: "To turn the Communist Party into a party uniting tens of thousands of members whose active leadership would manifest itself wherever the need to defend the interests of the working class and the masses arises. This decisive turn, dictated by the current situation and made possible by present conditions, envisages a bolder advancement of young cadres from the ranks of the workers and intellectuals, cadres that have been molded in the recent period; it stresses the need to get rid of narrowness and conservatism in matters concerning organization and leadership." In addition to Party organizations the Central Committee called for the setting up of hundreds of communist youth and women's groups throughout the country.

The courageous example of Simon Sanchez Montero, member of the Political Bureau and leader of the Madrid Communists, arrested in connection with the strike, will act as a spur to the recruiting of new members both in Madrid and all over the country.

The Central Committee meeting noted that "the catastrophic consequences of the 'stabilization plan', now beginning to make themselves felt, confirm the correctness of the slogan of the nationwide strike and the need to prepare for decisive action against Franco by extending unity, developing local action and strengthening the Party organizationally."

Greeting those who were arrested for taking part in preparing the strike, the Central Committee urges that a campaign be launched throughout the country for an amnesty for those imprisoned and for the political emigrés. All organizations and all Communists should display maximum initiative in working for unity of action among the forces opposed to Franco.

Working Out the Agrarian Policy of the Party

ELABORATION of an agrarian policy was one of the highlights of the preparations for the Sixth Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party. The Central Committee report stated that until recently, despite an improvement, Party work among the peasants had not been satisfactory. Party functionaries had not as yet a proper understanding of agrarian relations, and many tended to shun work in the countryside.

Shortly after the C.C. plenum which endorsed the report, many functionaries were sent to the villages. They stayed there six months, acting on the principle: work, eat and live together with the peasants and agricultural laborers. Since this was the first undertaking of its kind, some mistakes were made. Some comrades adopted a "teacher" attitude, while others kept aloof from the peasants. There were instances of peasants avoiding heart-to-heart talks. But on the whole, the Communists acquired useful experience in this work. It brought out the importance of research, of the need to sum up facts and impressions and, by so doing, enrich the experience the Party has already gained.

The 'go to the villages' movement ended with a national conference of the Party on the peasant question. This conference helped to clarify the Party's agrarian policy at the present stage.

The Indonesian revolution, basically an agrarian one, is essential for the successful advance and industrialization of the country. Yet the revolution can be victorious and the survivals of feudalism uprooted only when imperialist domination is completely abolished. Hence the primary task of the Communists is to win the peasants for the anti-imperialist united national front. The conference brought to light the relationship between the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks of the revolution. These tasks cannot be separated one from the other; at the same time they cannot be carried out simultaneously. Both the Dutch and the U.S. imperialists have relied upon feudal elements in order to exploit our people and exert influence on the government. The Indonesian diehards, who represent the interests of the landlords, are at the beck and call of the imperialists and act as their

agents. Thus the Indonesian revolution has two main enemies—imperialism and feudalism. The tasks of the August Revolution (1945) will be completed only when these enemies are defeated.

The majority of our people are peasants (middle and poor peasants and agricultural laborers) who are exploited by the landlords. In view of this, the revolution in our country will be triumphant only if the peasants are drawn into it. But they must be sure that the revolution will safeguard their interests, give them land and abolish feudalism. The Communist Party puts forward the slogan—"land to the tillers," and unswervingly fights for confiscation without compensation of the land held by landlords and its distribution among the peasants. But the Party holds that this program cannot be implemented at once; it must be carried out by stages, as the revolution develops.

Imperialism is the most bitter enemy of the revolution. Imperialist oppression weighs heavily on the entire people; it is more intense than feudal oppression. For this reason all the revolutionary forces should for a certain period concentrate on the struggle against the foreign enemies, against imperialism. At the present stage of the revolution the strategic aim is to eliminate the two chief enemies—imperialism and feudalism, but tactically we should first solve our contradictions with the imperialists and their overt agents. This does not mean, of course, that while the contradictions with imperialism are being solved the struggle against feudalism should be halted. We must organize campaigns for lower rents and loan interest, for abolition of compulsory deposits, "pologoro" or compulsory labor, etc. These demands do not affect land ownership as a whole, with the exception of the land held by the landlords who have sided with the counter-revolutionary rebels.

The conference put forward, as a national demand, the "6-4" slogan which means that the peasants working on the land of landlords should receive at least six parts of the harvest with landlords getting at the most four parts. It was also stated that the landlords should receive not less than 25 per cent of the harvest (with the exception of those landlords who already receive

less). This shows that the Party firmly adheres to its standpoint of not confiscating the land of the landlords who do not side with the counter-revolutionaries.

The "6-4" demand has been enthusiastically welcomed all over the country; it is rejected only by the landlords who have gone too far in their resistance to the revolution. This demand is a solid basis for a broad united front of the peasants. For the next few years the revolutionary peasant movement in Indonesia will develop under the "6-4" slogan.

But does this mean that the Party's main slogan — "land to the tillers" — should be shelved for the time being? The conference agreed that this slogan can be implemented in part even now, that the peasants should be given the land confiscated from the landlords who have allied themselves with the counter-revolutionaries, and also the excess land bought up by the government on the basis of legislation restricting the size of holdings. This land should be turned over to the peasants without compensation. In addition, reserve or uncultivated lands can also be distributed.

The conference formulated the Party's stand on the co-operative movement. The working people form co-operatives with a view to uniting their forces in the struggle to lessen exploitation by the landlords, money-lenders and capitalists and to raise the level of production. At the present stage the co-operatives, which the Party calls for, are not socialist units—the conditions for this do not yet exist. But everything must be done to ensure the development of the co-operatives along progressive lines, to prevent their becoming an instrument for the exploiters. The co-operatives should serve the interests of the agricultural laborers and poor peasants; they should be run by people who firmly adhere to three basic principles: the voluntary principle, observance of identity of interests, democratic management and leadership.

The conference pointed to the fundamental difference between the working people's co-operatives and the capitalist-run co-operatives advertised by Hatta, the leader and theoretician of the bourgeois co-operative movement in our country. Hatta claims that his kind of co-operatives will help overcome the economic crisis, that they are the only means to ensure the well-being of our people. This "theory" is designed to lull the people, to divert them from the struggle to end imperialist and landlord domination by revolutionary means.

The Hatta co-operatives do not improve the conditions of the working people. In fact, they recruit their members by means of force; people are made to join automatically or on the thinly concealed orders of the government apparatus. The rich members of these co-operatives do not work, they act like bosses and are in no way

different from landlords, capitalists and money-lenders.

Our Party holds that working people's co-operatives should be established even if there are only seven or eight members to begin with. There are three types of co-operatives: credit, trading and producer. The Party's activities in forming co-operatives should not divert the Communists from strengthening the revolutionary organization of the peasants. On the contrary, the co-operatives must assist this organization, for the greater the success in the struggle for land and smaller deposits, the more favorable will be the conditions for the co-operatives.

To arouse the peasants various organizations must be established to cater to their needs. Savings-banks, cultural groups and mutual aid teams should be given correct guidance and developed. If the Communists work perseveringly in all these, sometimes very simple, forms of organization, their influence among the peasants will grow, the political consciousness and degree of organization of the peasants will be gradually enhanced and the worker-peasant alliance guaranteed. The Communists must study agriculture and take on themselves a share of the responsibility for ensuring adequate supplies of food for the people. The Party is popularizing five methods for raising the rice yields: deep-ploughing, close planting, more fertilizer, better seed and better irrigation.

The Indonesian proletariat needs an anti-imperialist united national front which would include all classes and groups affected by imperialism. The composition of the front may vary from time to time, depending on the tasks confronting the revolution at any particular time. This front will be strong only if it rests upon the alliance between the leader of the revolution and its basic force, in other words, upon the worker-peasant alliance. In the countryside, we rely on the poor peasants and agricultural laborers, strengthen the alliance with the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants. As a rule, the latter lease a part of their land, lend money, exploit the laborers and are semi-feudal by nature. The worker-peasant alliance is the basis of the national front. And if in the face of the imperialist offensive, the bourgeoisie or part of it refuses to participate in the front or betrays it, the revolution will, nevertheless, go on.

The conference pointed to our weaknesses in organizing the peasants and indicated the practical ways and means of overcoming them. Some Party workers think that the only way to raise the militancy of the peasants is to bring their organizations to the level of trade unions. Indeed, the strength of the trade unions lies in their centralization in each enterprise and industry on a national and then on an international scale. The workers were "educated" in this by the capitalists who

are very much inclined towards centralization and concentration. But this is not the case with the enemy of the peasants. The landlords live in the villages, and the forms of oppression used by them vary from region to region, from island to island. For this reason the resistance of the peasants should be organized in such a way as to take into account the specific features of each region. Attempts to organize it on a trade-union pattern would in our conditions result in rigidity, and this retards the initiative of the peasants.

The conference paid considerable attention to the ideological strengthening of the Party. If a mass peasant movement is to spread throughout the country there can be no place for landlord ideology in the Party committees and the revolutionary peasant organization. Yet by virtue of family or other ties, some members of Party committees and the revolutionary peasant organization have not yet rid themselves of landlord ideology. There

have been instances of conflict between their individual interests and the interests of the peasants, between the individual interests and the requirements of the Party program. In this connection the conference stressed the importance of the ideological training of the Party cadres.

The Party demands that each member should prove his loyalty to the peasants by practical deeds. A higher ideological level of the cadres is an essential condition for the correct realization of the Party's "6-4" slogan as the general demand of the peasant movement. The carrying out of this slogan will add to the prestige and raise the membership of our Party.

These, then, are some aspects of the problem to be further elaborated by the Sixth National Congress of the Party.

B. HUTAPEA,
*Member of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Indonesia*

The Swiss Party of Labor and the General Election

ELECTIONS to the National Council of the Federal Parliament are to be held towards the end of October. The Party of Labor is putting up candidates in five cantons. In some of the other cantons it is advising the electors to vote for the Social-Democratic candidates, but not for those who advocate equipping the army with atomic weapons.

The elections are especially significant to the Party of Labor, being the first general election since the grave crisis experienced by the Party—particularly in the German-speaking part of the country—in connection with the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary in 1956. Anti-communist propaganda, while still being conducted, is losing its effect.

The Party is working under adverse conditions. Civil servants cannot openly associate themselves with it. Workers employed in private enterprises can allow their names to go on the Party ticket only at the risk of victimization. The Party cannot get halls for meetings and its paid advertisements are not accepted by the papers. Trade unionists who side with the Party are expelled by the Right-wing union leaders. Despite all the difficulties the Party is conducting an active campaign. It is the only party which both in and out of Parliament speaks for the people, upholds its political position, without concealing its aims and solidarity with the world socialist movement.

In the current campaign the Party has made peace the central issue. In the conditions of the

country this means above all combating armaments. Allocations for the army, increasing year by year, are in excess of one billion Swiss francs and will soon comprise half of the federal budget. The government, contemplating a still further increase in military expenditure, has, in principle, expressed itself in favor of atomic weapons. The Party of Labor is waging a persistent struggle against this dangerous policy. At times its position is supported in Parliament by some Social-Democratic deputies.

A vital issue is the restoration and extension of democratic rights. Victimization and eviction for membership in the Party of Labor, as well as obstruction to its deputies, testify that some sections of the people are deprived of political rights. The right to form unions and freedom of assembly have, in effect, been abolished. Censorship of correspondence and telephone tapping, shadowing citizens and informing on them are an everyday occurrence. These anti-democratic measures are spearheaded not only against our Party but in general against the overwhelming majority of the workers and progressives.

The Party is campaigning vigorously against the violation of democratic rights. It calls for the extension of democracy, for the right of factory and office workers to discuss questions pertaining to the management of the enterprises and to take decisions on such matters. The Party is also campaigning for political rights for women.

Another issue in the campaign is that of public welfare. A large section of the people, particularly

the aged, the sick and the invalids are in a critical situation. Only in the cantons where the workers have strong influence are social insurance benefits (though inadequate) paid. Old-age pensions (where they exist) are less than 20 per cent of average earnings. Pensioners of 75 and older get even less. Invalids also get very low pensions, three-fifth getting no pensions at all. Social insurance for mothers is being sabotaged, just as old-age pensions have been sabotaged during the 23 years since the referendum was held, and pensions for invalids — in the course of 34 years.

The Party is demanding a radical improvement in the social insurance system and the setting up of a unified system of social legislation which would provide subsistence level allowances for the aged, for families who have lost the bread-winner, for the sick, invalids and those in need.

Although not a single house was destroyed in neutral Switzerland during the war, there is an acute housing shortage, particularly in towns and industrial areas. Since export of capital pays higher dividends as compared with investments in building, very few houses are being built. Young couples are either unable to find flats or are forced to pay 25-30 per cent of their earnings for a room. Many families have been living in temporary buildings or primitive huts for years. The people occupying old houses enjoy rent controls. But the landlords are demanding the annulment of all restrictions on rent; if they win, rents will go up from 30 to 50 per cent. The Party of Labor is fighting to preserve this law. It demands measures against profiteering in housing, it calls for large-scale public construction to overcome the housing shortage and to keep rents at normal levels.

Considerable attention is paid also to such questions as reducing the hours of labor, raising of wages, a three-weeks' paid holiday, combating the rise in prices, taxes and foreign policy.

If at present the working class has little chance of success in the elections, the blame lies with the Social-Democratic leaders. They, on all vital issues both inside and outside Parliament, adopt the same attitude as the bourgeois parties, while in their hatred of the socialist world their newspapers often surpass the bourgeois press.

This policy, naturally, has caused disappointment in broad circles. In the past two years the Social Democrats have suffered defeat in the cantonal elections. Their new program, timed for the elections, has thrown Marxism overboard. Class struggle has been declared an antiquated concept. Private ownership of the means of production is no longer disputed. Instead of socialism it contains such meaningless formulas as "man should be given the opportunity to develop freely, to apply his ability irrespective of social or property status." This program, which in effect recognizes the capitalist system, has evoked favorable comment in the Big Business press. On the other hand, it has brought disappointment to many rank-and-file Social Democrats. Apparently increasing numbers of Social-Democratic supporters will refrain from voting in the current elections. In this way the bourgeois parties will be able to win without necessarily increasing the number of their supporters.

The Party of Labor is now the only party of socialism. It is waging a struggle to win over the majority of the working class. It has not yet made good the losses it suffered in the German-speaking part of the country. However, it has retained its unity and during the past year has even made a number of gains. In the Italian-speaking part of the country it polled 80 per cent more votes than in 1955. In Zurich it managed to maintain the positions won in 1955. At the municipal elections in Geneva it increased the number of its representatives from 11 to 18, polling more than 25 per cent of the votes.

Our Party seeks to retain the positions won in the elections prior to 1956 and to improve its positions in the French-speaking part of the country. This, of course, is a modest aim which can be achieved through intense struggle. The loss of about half the membership in the 1956-1957 period in the main centers of the German-speaking part was a big blow. Despite this the spirit is full of vitality and there is the will to fight for a policy that will meet the interests of all working people.

Marino BODENMANN,
Member of Politbureau, C. C. of
the Swiss Party of Labor

The Organizational Structure of Rural Party Branches

(Correspondence)

Dear Comrades:

In recent times the producer co-operative movement in the German Democratic Republic has made good progress. In the Halle area, for instance, there are producer co-operatives in 93 per cent of the communities. In 56 communities all the farmers are members of co-operatives. In this connection many questions of work in the villages, in particular that of the organizational structure of the Party, appear in a new light. Whereas in the recent past not all the co-operatives had Party branches, today, after the amalgamation of the co-operatives, nearly all have their own Party organizations. For instance, the Party branch in the co-operative at Milzau consists of 30 members. There are five Party groups in the work teams. True, there are still co-operatives that have no Party branches, but they are becoming fewer in number, and the time is not far off when each co-operative will have a strong Party organization.

The Party membership in the rural areas is constantly growing and the best workers are joining. In addition to the co-operative Party branches there are numerous territorial Party organizations in the countryside. In the same village of Milzau the territorial organization has 33 members.

The problem is how to ensure that all rural Party members irrespective of their place of employment should work to advance agriculture, remold the village way of life and promote culture. There are various considerations in this respect. Some think that it would be advisable to merge the co-operative and territorial organizations so that the forces would not be dispersed, while others maintain that this measure would be inadvisable. If a co-operative branch is weak there is the danger that when the merger takes place its members will get lost among the others. There is also the argument that since the territorial organizations carry on considerable local activity in the National Front and other mass organizations a merger would not be opportune. It is beyond doubt that there is a need for Party committees which would guide the work of all the branches in the rural areas — in the producer co-operatives, territorial organizations, schools, and at the local enterprises. We still lack experience in this field, and we are seeking for new ways. It would be interesting to know how these problems are solved in the fraternal parties.

Josef FIEDEL,
organizer in the Halle Area Committee,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany

*Replies by Comrades from the Bulgarian Communist Party
and the Rumanian Workers' Party*

IN the course of the struggle for the socialist reconstruction of the countryside in Bulgaria the organizational structure of the Party branches was changed. The Party sought for forms which would create the most favorable conditions for competent leadership. Thus in 1955 the district committees were reorganized. Each committee had a group of instructors headed by the secretary, and their task was to render direct aid to the co-operatives and machine and tractor stations. Some 2,500 comrades were sent from the towns to the rural areas and they brought a fresh current into the work of the rural organizations.

After the Seventh Party Congress (June 1958), when the country entered upon the final stage of building socialism, a nationwide movement for the fulfilment of the third Five-Year Plan (1958-1962) developed. Against the background of this movement it became evident that the existing structure and forms of state administration and economic management were beginning to retard the acceler-

ated advance towards socialism, they could no longer facilitate the all-round participation of the working people in running the country and managing the national economy. That is why last March the management was reorganized on the territorial principle — all the intermediate links were abolished. The former 13 regions and 117 districts were replaced by 30 administrative economic regions. The new regional people's councils are unified organs of state power and management designed to give direct guidance to all economic and cultural activity on the territory of the particular region. The principal administrative units in the regions are now the urban and rural communities, while the local government bodies in the communities are the town and village councils. The important process of amalgamating the co-operatives, which had continued for several years, had been completed by the time this step was taken. The former 3,450 co-operatives were reorganized into 978, each of which cultivates the crop area

in all the villages comprising the rural community.

Naturally the question of Party leadership arose on a new plane. It was necessary to find an organizational structure for the Party apparatus and branches which would facilitate to the maximum degree leadership of the economic and cultural activity and create the best conditions for initiative on the part of the Party organizations and for the development of their organizational and political work.

Local Party organs of two types were set up: regional and town (communal for the rural areas) committees. The regional committees guide the activity in the towns directly through the town committees and in the villages through the communal committees. Previously the regional committee guided the work of the Party organizations in the rural areas through from nine to fifteen district committees, with each district committee supervising the work of 30-70 rural branches. Now the regional committees direct the work of from 19 to 40 communal committees and of from 10 to 20 factory Party branches which are not subordinated to the communal committees. For instance, the Pazardjik regional committee guides, through 19 communal committees, the activities of the agricultural co-operatives of the region and directs the work of 15 Party organizations in industrial enterprises, machine and tractor stations and state farms.

Communal committees have been formed in the centers of the amalgamated co-operatives (which simultaneously are administrative rural community centers). They supervise the work of the Party organizations in the districts under the jurisdiction of the local people's councils (with the exception of the branches in the enterprises, major building sites and state farms which are directly controlled by the regional committees). The communal committee, which supervises from three to nine Party branches, usually has from five to eleven elected members. As a rule, these comrades are nominated from the villages comprising the community (i.e., the amalgamated co-operative).

There is no set pattern for allocating work among the members of the committee; the comrade in charge of propaganda acts as deputy secretary. The other comrades are usually responsible for individual assignments. We do not encourage one member being continuously responsible for the work of the same branch.

As a result of the reorganization it has become possible to send more well-trained comrades to work in the localities. In the Sofia region, for instance, among the chairmen of the agricultural co-operatives there are five former secretaries of district Party committees, four former chairmen of district people's councils, an instructor of a re-

gional Party committee, a chairman of a district co-operative union. Among the secretaries of the Party committees in the rural communities there are nine former district secretaries, two former chairmen of district people's councils, six heads of departments of district Party committees and an instructor from a regional Party committee.

The rural Party branches vary considerably in structure. Not being in favor of splinter organizations, we form Party branches in clearly defined production units. At present in the villages comprising a single community, new production units — work teams and farms of the amalgamated co-operative (in place of the former smaller co-operatives) have been established; for this reason in villages where there is only one work team, one Party branch is formed which is directly supervised by the communal committee. In a village with more than one work team a Party branch, including all the Party members in all the work teams and the farms, is organized; the work teams and farms have their own Party organizations as well as groups that do not enjoy the rights of Party branches. Sometimes Party groups are set up in sub-teams. Of late there has been a tendency to organize branches in each work team and this tendency is being encouraged by the Central Committee.

The Communists working in rural areas outside the co-operatives belong to the Party branches in their office or enterprise, and if there are no branches there they belong to the territorial Party organizations.

The Radnevo community in the Staro-Zagorsk region has 13 Party branches: ten in the village of Radnevo (in the agricultural producer co-operative, machine and tractor station, secondary school, gypsum works, industrial producer co-operative, consumer co-operative, granary, hospital, railway station and one territorial) and three others in the other villages of the community.

There is no hard and fast rule as to how the village Party organizations are set up: they are organized wherever necessary and wherever the conditions are favorable. Lack of uniformity in this respect is not dangerous as far as dispersal of effort is concerned because the work of all the Party organizations within the confines of a single community is guided by the communal committee.

Our experience in reorganizing Party work is still limited and does not permit us to make any final conclusions; it has, however, demonstrated the advantages of the new structure. This, of course, does not mean that in future the need may not arise to introduce certain corrections with a view to improving it.

Nadya ZHIVKOVA,
Head of the Department of "Party and Youth Organizations," Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

Village Party committees were first set up in Rumania in the spring of 1958. They function in villages having as a rule no less than three Party branches. Of the 4,314 villages in the country 2,877 have Party committees.

The experience of the past three years has shown that this step has justified itself. The committees guide the work of the Party branches on the collective farms, agricultural co-operatives of the lower type and territorial Party organizations and give political guidance to the people's council, trade unions, and the Youth League. The Party branches in the machine and tractor stations and state farms and those in local and regional enterprises are directly supervised by the district committees.

The committees are elected annually at the general meetings of the Party members in the village. They range from seven to eleven members with from two to four alternate members. In certain cases, by decision of the regional committee, the secretaryship is a full-time job. Seventy-five per cent of the secretaries are former industrial workers with considerable professional experience as well as experience in Party work.

The creation of village Party committees has facilitated the enlistment of the advanced rural forces for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. In the village of Biled, Timisoara district, there were in 1956 a collective farm and an agricultural co-operative of the lower type which embraced 500 families. Each had its own Party branch. There was, in addition, a territorial Party organization. They worked in isolation, dealing only with their "own" matters although there were questions of concern to all Party members, all the more so because there were still several hundred families, primarily middle peasant households, not encompassed by the socialist sector. The moment the Party committee was set up all the members were enrolled for political work among the individual peasants. The committee organized visits to the co-operative and also an exhibition of its products. Active political work has helped to secure 100 per cent collectivization of the Biled households.

The village Party committees are aided by the secretaries and the bureau members of the Party branches, propagandists, members of the people's councils, teachers, agricultural specialists, doctors and leading members of the co-operatives. At their meetings the activists discuss the important problems of farming, cultural and educational work. Constant attention is paid to strengthening the

Party branches and helping them in economic management. At present many branches are busy with economic matters and help to achieve considerable successes in reconstructing agriculture along socialist lines.

Although the main attention is centered on problems of production, the Party committees carry on extensive political and educational activity and arrange cultural events. In Sinpetru, Stalin region, with a mixed Rumanian-German population, the Party committee jointly with the Youth League committee and the people's council has carried out numerous useful measures. An amateur entertainment troupe was organized consisting of Rumanian and German boys and girls. In addition a mixed choir, three dance ensembles, two amateur theatrical groups and a brass band were organized. Lectures are regularly delivered at the Club in the Rumanian and German languages. The joint activities have cemented the friendship among the peasants and have deepened their political consciousness.

Questions of concern to all the villages are discussed by the Party committees. Here is an example. In Gelu, Sinnicolaul Mare region, there was only a four-year school where the teaching was conducted in Serbian. Children who wished to attend the higher classes had to walk nine kilometers to the next village. The premises were not adequate for a seven-year school. The Party committee placed this question on the agenda of a Party meeting, which was also attended by 60 non-Party people and Youth League members. It was decided to build a school by mobilizing local resources. After the meeting the Party branches together with the non-Party activists set about enlisting voluntary workers to build the necessary classrooms. The work was completed in a few months.

Pooling of the village Party members has resulted in things being done which could not have been done by separate Party organizations. Sfintu Gheorghe, Bucharest region, consists of three villages. Here in the valley of the Yalomita River there was much unused land. The village Party committee rallied the peasants of the three villages to drain the land. This measure yielded an extra 200 hectares of arable land.

Not all the Party committees are equally successful. But the structure of village Party branches that has developed in recent years has justified itself. The village committees play an important role in mobilizing the efforts of the local Communists for fulfilment of the tasks set by the Party.

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Short Notices

AUSTRIA

CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE GENERAL ELECTION

DURING the last general election in Austria the Communist Party lost its seats in Parliament. The anti-democratic electoral system had on previous occasions deprived the Communists of fair representation proportionate to the number of votes polled. Although the Party lost some votes, the 142,000 electors who voted for it are entitled to claim five seats.

After numerous Party conferences, meetings of activists and Party branches, the Central Committee discussed the election results and the tasks facing the Party. The resolution noted that the outcome indicated a considerable weakening of working-class positions; the success of the Socialist Party which polled a majority of the votes, far from strengthening the working class, furthers the policy of class conciliation which tends to fortify the positions of the capitalists and other reactionaries. It shows that the gains made by the working class in the favorable economic conditions of the past few years have been used by the Right-wing Socialist leaders to spread ideas of "social partnership" and illusions about a "regenerated" capitalism.

These leaders have restrained the workers from militant action for their class demands and have forced them to put up with the policy of class collaboration within the framework of a government coalition between the Socialist and People's parties. At the same time the Socialist leaders adroitly put the blame for the infringements of workers' rights — intensified exploitation, rising prices, etc. — on their partner in the coalition — the People's Party which in the eyes of the public was the "real" ruling party, while the Socialist Party, equally responsible for government policy, was held to be in "opposition." The Socialist Party made full use of the threat of one-party rule by the People's Party in the event of the latter gaining one more seat; it claimed that the maintenance of the coalition was the sole guarantee against fascism.

These were the main reasons for the loss of votes by the Communists, for the decline of their political influence among the working class, which was also largely due to the anti-communist baiting which reached its height at the end of 1956. For a long time the concentration was on explanatory

work inside the Party. This lessened the opportunities for working as a powerful factor in the class struggle and for replying effectively to the demagoguery of the Socialists. The resolution pointed out that these factors were complicated by weaknesses of a subjective nature: there was less popularization of the successes of the socialist countries; the Party's program — Austria's Road to Socialism — was not pushed with sufficient energy; a section of the membership which dropped out of active work stood aside during the general election.

In view of the forthcoming municipal elections in Vienna and the elections for the production councils in the factories and workers' chambers, the Central Committee has placed a number of tasks before the Party organizations. Most urgent is the need to popularize the achievements of the socialist countries and to take the offensive against the opponents of socialism; an intensified struggle against revisionism which still remains the main danger in the Party and, further, a decisive rebuff to sectarianism and dogmatism; the recruitment of new members chiefly from among the youth; the correct combination of old, tempered cadres and young cadres; closer contact between the Party leadership and the rank and file.

The Communist Party will, as in the past, support any measure taken by the Socialist Party in the interests of the working people, and will continue to criticize it if it fails to make use of the opportunities to fight the capitalists. The Communist Party will intensify its efforts to build a united working-class front and will resolutely fight against anti-communism which seeks to split the working class. It will explain to the people the grand prospects that would be opened up in a socialist Austria.

AUSTRALIA

MORE LIFE IN PARTY WORK

THE decision adopted by the Central Committee early this year to strengthen the Party has infused new life into the Party. Efforts are being made in the branches to increase membership and boost the sales of the *Tribune*, *Guardian* and *Communist Review*.

Every issue of the *Tribune*, a weekly, carried material on increasing sales. A good method is to go out boldly to sell the paper in the streets, at workers' meetings and in the hotels. When a member first goes on the job he should be accompanied by an experienced comrade until he gains the know-how. Once a start has been made with street sales everything is done to ensure regular sales.

Sharing the experience of selling the *Tribune* in Sydney a comrade writes that he has found it

much easier to maintain steady sales by taking every opportunity to respond to the growing interest of the workers in socialism and the socialist countries. One evening after a meeting he was kept busy until midnight answering questions on the Soviet Union and China. Holding talks and discussions is a sure way of evoking interest and winning new readers. *Tribune* sellers no longer encounter hostile attacks as was the case at the height of the cold war. At the Communist Party (West Australia) State Conference examples were cited illustrating how a number of workers joined the Party after they had been drawn into discussions and attended the branch study on theory.

The South Australia State Committee also conducted a Party week of intense propaganda activity. At a well-attended meeting of the branch leaders it was decided to hold 12 factory-gate and lunch-hour meetings, a public rally with a speaker who had just returned from a tour of China and the Soviet Union and to distribute 20,000 leaflets dealing with the aims and policy of the Communist Party.

Gains have been registered in recent months. A number of Party branches have increased their membership by 10 per cent.

GUATEMALA

STRENGTHENING THE PARTY IN THE RURAL AREAS

MORE peasants are joining the Guatemalan Party of Labor. The peasant members revere their Party and are helping it in many ways. In connection with the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Party, celebrated on September 28, a novel fund-raising method was devised. In some districts the peasants jointly cultivated small plots and the money raised from the sale of crops from these plots was handed over to the Party.

Although peasant unions have been prohibited, the peasants get round the ban by establishing various committees, for instance, committees for building a church, school or water supply system. Committees against infringements on the part of landlords are likewise being set up. Influential people are joining these committees and the meetings provide favorable opportunities for establishing personal contact and exchange of views.

The active participation of the peasants in the municipal and congressional elections is of considerable importance. Most of the congress members representing the democratic forces have been elected in the districts where the land reform has been implemented and where as a result of

the work done by the Party the political consciousness of the people is higher. During the recent elections in the Suchitepequez department, thanks to the stand taken by the peasants, a democratic candidate was elected for the first time since the fall of the democratic government.

LEBANON

FREEDOM FOR FARJALLAH HELOU

THE call of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lebanon to save the life of Farjallah Helou, secretary of the Central Committee, arrested by the UAR authorities in Damascus, has evoked active support among the population.

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lebanon," says the appeal, "calls on all Lebanese, all patriots and democrats of Lebanon and the other Arab countries, irrespective of political convictions, to raise their voices and demand from the UAR authorities and responsible Lebanese officials action to save the life of Farjallah Helou and to free this patriot and democrat."

Hundreds of delegations representing people of various political views have visited Beirut, some of them numbering from 200 to 400 people. Their petitions carry the signatures of thousands of people. All the districts of the capital, all the towns and many villages have sent delegations. Workers in the textile mills and printshops, restaurant and hotel employees are taking action to free Farjallah Helou. No small part in developing the movement in the rural areas is being played by the agricultural laborers. Numerous delegations are being sent by the intellectuals who are likewise forwarding petitions and telegrams. A group of scientists called on the President of the Republic. A number of towns have sent petitions on behalf of merchants. The mothers of the country sent one of the biggest delegations. Sixty children—friends of Farjallah Helou's daughters—sent a telegram to the government requesting it to return the father to his children. Over 3,000 people from different parts of the country have visited Patriarch Meushi requesting him to intercede for the life of Helou. Three hundred men and women from the south of the country have visited the Embassy of the UAR. They also met their parliamentary deputies who expressed their solidarity with those fighting for Helou. The delegations from Tripoli, a women's delegation from Beirut, and several peasant delegations gathered

at the headquarters of the government. They were received by the Prime Minister who pledged support for their demand.

The movement for the release of the patriot is a national issue taken up by the people of Leba-

non. The National Congress, uniting representatives of various political parties, has protested against the arbitrary arrest of Farjallah Helou, who is one of the founders of the Congress. A national committee for his release has been formed.

Exchange of Views

European "Integration" and Contradictions of Capitalism and the Working Class

A seminar on the theoretical aspects of West European "integration" was held in July at the Editorial Office of World Marxist Review in Prague. Contributions were made by Marxist theorists: W. Stein (Austria); P. Alberdi (Argentina); B. Wolstein (Belgium); J. Schmidt (GDR); J. Wolff (Holland); D. Sokolow, W. Rydygier (Poland); A. Arzumanyan, J. Kapelinski (USSR); J. Pronteau, F. Nicolon, J. Breteau (France); O. Baumann (FRG); K. Hermansson (Sweden); J. Langr (Czechoslovakia). Written contributions were received from E. Burns (Britain), B. Manzocchi, E. Peggio, A. Esposto, C. Levrero (Italy).

The seminar was opened by Prof. Rummyantsev who made a short speech on behalf of the Editorial Board of World Marxist Review. The contributions (abridged) are printed below. The Editorial Board invites readers to join in the further elaboration of this problem.

Socio-Economic and Political Background to West European "Integration"

A. Arzumanyan

1. The Drive Towards "Integration." The Common Market

ON March 25, 1957, in Rome, the representatives of six states — France, the Federal German Republic, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg — subscribed to agreements to set up the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). The former envisaged the formation of a common market which was also to include the colonial possessions of its members-states (Eurafrica plan). The treaties were ratified in 1957.

The Common Market, Euratom and Eurafrica treaties are no isolated acts, but form a highly

important link in the plans and policy for European "integration." In the postwar period they have found expression in a series of practical steps: economic (Benelux, the European Coal and Steel Community, Organization for European Economic Co-operation, etc.), political (numerous conferences on the "unification" of Europe, European Council, plans for a European political community) and military (Brussels Treaty, Western European Union, participation of a number of West European states in NATO).

European "integration" entered a new stage on January 1, 1959 — the stage of practical implementation of the Common Market. Trade tariffs am-

ong the six member nations were cut by 10 per cent early this year and import quotas increased by an average of 20 per cent. Labor and capital, it is envisaged, will move freely within the Common Market. These and other measures aim at achieving economic unity among the countries in question and at consolidating their political alliance.

The objectives of European "integration," needless to say, go much farther than the adoption of measures to set up a common market. The idea is to establish an economic and political community of the major continental West European countries, in other words, to form an imperialist United States of Europe.

The policy and practice of European "integration" is a new imperialist development. Its advocates assure the people that by organizing the Common Market the six nations will dismantle the barriers dividing Europe, wipe out the contradictions between the Western European countries, put up a milestone on the road to a "regulated and planned" "people's" capitalism "free from conflicts," give wide scope for the development of productive forces and improve living standards.

But the Common Market does not even distantly resemble this picture. European "integration," the product of Western European continental imperialism, is a measure to protect bourgeois interests against the working class. The monopoly-backed governments who subscribed to the Rome treaties were least of all concerned about the people, who were not consulted on the matter. The Common Market treaty is a deal between the monopolies.

It is, in fact, a state-monopoly agreement among six Western European countries to re-divide markets among the imperialists. In the capitalist world, the frontiers of which have narrowed considerably, a continuous struggle is in progress between the conopolies; rival groups, both at national and international levels, arise and, after a time, disintegrate. Each imperialist group seeks domination. American imperialism — the most powerful of all — is bent on world domination. British imperialism is resisting. The "Little Europe" nations, too, are clinging to their old positions and are battling for new positions on the world market.

It is sometimes asked: is a Common Market feasible? Is not the whole idea stillborn? Marxists have never denied that agreements of the EEC type are possible. Lenin wrote: "Of course *temporary* agreements between capitalists and between the powers are possible. In this sense the United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists . . . but what for? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty."*

These words lay bare the essence of the Common Market, show what is behind the plans for Western European "integration."

Why is it that the monopoly bourgeoisie of "Little Europe" have chosen this particular time to organize their Common Market? Has there not been a spate of speeches in the past, too, on the need for the economic and political unification of Europe? What are the reasons for Western European "integration" at the present time and what lies behind it? The emergence of the Common Market is not merely a question of implementing the foreign policy plans of the United States or the schemes of West Germany, although the creation of the Common Market furthers U.S. policy and occupies an important place in West Germany's projects. It would be wrong to regard the Common Market as the result pure and simple of the foreign policy of either the United States or Federal Germany, or of both together. The complex social phenomena of European "integration" in general, and the Common Market in particular, can be understood only by studying the basic laws of social development with due regard to the changes that have taken place in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism. In analyzing these developments we should bear in mind the gap between the productive forces and the production relations of modern capitalism, the intensified class struggle, the uneven development of the capitalist countries and the extremely acute problem of markets in the capitalist world in general and Western Europe in particular.

2. The Main Trends in Post-War Capitalist Development

The expansion of the productive forces on a world scale tends to internationalize economy, to do away with national exclusiveness and leads to socialism. This is an objective trend which is becoming more pronounced with the growth of the world economy and the world market. This trend, Lenin said, is characteristic of a "mature capitalism heading towards a socialist society."* However, there is an irreconcilable contradiction between this undoubtedly progressive trend and the imperialist means of translating it into reality. Imperialism cannot exist without violence and lawlessness, coercion and inequality, without nations and countries enslaving other nations and countries, without exploitation of colonies and underdeveloped countries. There cannot be any genuine co-operation between the peoples under imperialism, and while the monopolies and finance capital created the single world capitalist economy, the international division of labor carved the world

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

*V. I. Lenin, *Critical Notes on the National Question*.

into metropolitan countries and colonies, industrial and agrarian countries.

Socialism alone removes all obstacles to the economic rapprochement of peoples and countries, paves the way to an integrated economic system, genuine internationalization of production and exchange, voluntary economic co-operation among the peoples and consolidates the economic and political independence of the socialist nations. Socialist production relations reinforce the economic bonds within the community of the socialist states, promote the most rational international division of labor, specialization and co-ordination. This in turn advances the national economy, improves the well-being of the people, cements the unity of the socialist camp and strengthens the positions of world socialism.

The transition from capitalism to socialism, which we are now witnessing, has influenced the entire course of postwar development. The Soviet Union, the first socialist state, is fulfilling its basic economic task — to overtake and outstrip the United States in per capita production. By the time it has completed its seven-year plan and the Chinese People's Republic and the other socialist countries their development plans, the socialist world system will be producing more than half the world output. This will ensure the superiority of socialism over capitalism in production — the decisive sphere of human activity.

People all over the world are finding socialism increasingly attractive. The conditions for mankind's transition to socialism have already matured. This is particularly true of the European countries. For it is here that capitalism has long been "over-ripe," that the contradiction between the productive forces and production relations is especially sharp; that economic, social and political antagonisms have become acute. And it is here that the two systems — the socialist and the capitalist — stand face to face. In Germany they meet within the confines of one country; and one part of Germany — the German Democratic Republic — is on the way to socialism. In France and Italy powerful revolutionary forces are repelling the onslaught of capital.

Thus the steady advance of world socialism and the decline of colonialism form the economic, social and political background to the process of Western European "integration." This process is, in effect, the capitalist reaction to the development of the world productive forces, now imperatively calling for socialism. "Integration" is an attempt to "reconcile" capitalist economy with the productive forces which have outgrown their national boundaries, to adapt it to the requirements of economic internationalization which has grown tremendously in our days — days of an unprecedented

technological revolution and planned socialist economy.

One of the main reasons for the establishment of the Common Market was the desire to unite in a common economic struggle against socialism, the need to buttress capitalism's economic positions at one of its weaker spots — Western Europe. The sponsors of the Market make no effort to conceal this. The following statement by Fritz Berg, chairman of the Federal Union of German Industry, is significant in this respect: "Western economic development so far has not been able to accept the challenge presented by Soviet economic development. The defensive military alliance between the Western countries must be complemented by economic co-operation."*

The economic "integration" of the six countries is bound up with their political and military treaties. These countries form part of a general system of military and political alliances and blocs within the Western Union and NATO, and it is not fortuitous that NATO's leaders have warmly welcomed the Common Market. Political and military contacts between the "Six" are now being extended, as indicated by the German-Franco-Italian "armaments triangle" and Euratom. The latter, in fact, aims at arming the "Little Europe" countries, particularly the German militarists, with nuclear weapons.

The military and political "integration" of the "Six," while spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries, is at the same time a means for joint political and military action against the democratic forces in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in colonies of the Western European powers (Eurafrica). The Common Market is also a weapon of inter-imperialist competitive struggle of the "Six" against Britain and, in some measure, the American monopolies.

3. Specific Features of West European "Integration"

The European Economic Community has a number of features common to Western Europe as a whole and to the six signatories to the Rome treaties in particular.

Special contradictions and conflicts have sharpened in Europe. The class struggle has assumed formidable dimensions and is of a much more pronounced political character than it is in Britain or the United States. The continental European countries have powerful Communist parties and strong trade unions. In Italy and France the influence of the Communist parties grew particularly during their struggle against fascism, for independence and democracy.

*Western World, June, 1959, p. 56.

For a number of reasons the French and Italian bourgeoisie have not succeeded in building up, through corruption and bribery, a broad section of privileged workers, while the disintegration of the petty bourgeoisie is a much more painful process in these countries. Millions of ruined peasants, handicraftsmen and shopkeepers waver between support for the ultra-reactionary elements of finance capital (fascism) and alliance with the working class (popular front). Hence the failure to establish a two-party system of the Anglo-American type, and the profound crisis of bourgeois parliamentarism.

When the bourgeoisie find their positions weakening they seek help from reactionaries abroad. And, as the facts show, when their rule was jeopardized, they opened the frontiers to foreign troops in order that these could crush the revolution. After the political and military defeat of fascism, the state power of the Western European monopoly bourgeoisie was in danger. Therefore they sought salvation in alliance with the U.S. imperialists.

Confronted with the historical necessity for the transition to socialism, and now that the forces capable of effecting this transition exist, the imperialists are forming "Holly Alliances" to protect capital, setting up military blocs and military bases with the object of interfering in the affairs of other countries and suppressing revolution.

Thus the Common Market is spearheaded against socialism. Adenauer views it as a means of protecting German imperialism from German socialism, de Gaulle looks on it as a means of consolidating the reactionary regime in France and of solving her colonial problems, while Italy's Christian-Democratic Party considers it a safeguard against the Left. All of them, jointly with the United States, seek to "protect" imperialism from communism through the Common Market. We see, then, that the Common Market is bound up with the growing social contradictions in a number of Western European countries, with the desire of the imperialist bourgeoisie to "make common cause in crushing socialism."

But the plans for "integration" would not be practicable without being based on such economic prerequisites as highly developed state-monopoly capitalism and intertwined Western European monopolies.

The monopolies of the six countries reached agreement because their interests over the past few years have been closely interlocked. Many of the concerns and trusts have had business contacts in the past. But the recent developments have no precedent. The European Coal and Steel Community marked a new stage in strengthening the bonds between Little Europe's monopolies. Con-

tacts have been extended, particularly in the past two years.* It would be naive to deny, on the grounds that the monopolies continue to remain national, the new content brought into Little Europe's economy by the unity and rapprochement between the monopolies. Agreements concluded between influential bankers and financial groupings attest to the new degree of rapprochement between the Western European monopolies; there has been nothing like this before.

It should be stressed that the interweaving of monopoly interests is taking place in a highly developed state-monopoly capitalism in Western Europe. This provides the basis for far-reaching agreement between international monopolies with government participation — the Rome treaties are an example. The fact of a bourgeois government taking upon itself the task of signing monopoly agreements on such a big scale is evidence of further state-monopoly fusion.

Involving the state in capitalist production to ensure monopoly interests is a feature of imperialism and signifies the further development of monopoly capitalism. State-monopoly capitalism is determined by the nature of the monopoly, and, for the monopoly to develop, government intervention is needed. Such, in essence, is the objective process arising from the concentration and centralization of capital. State-monopoly capitalism has welded the combined strength of the monopolies and the government into a single mechanism.

Since the war the share of state-monopoly capitalism in the industry of a number of Western European countries, especially France, has become considerable.** The activities of the state as employer are accompanied by large-scale redistribution of the national income, 40 to 50 percent of which passes through government financial and economic channels.

The high degree of development attained by state-monopoly capitalism in France and West Germany and the close interlocking of the monopolies in these countries enabled the French and West German monopolies to arrange an inter-government deal. And, in the final count, this is the foundation upon which the entire policy of West European "integration" now rests.

The very name, Common Market, testifies to the acuteness of the market problem. Ever since the general crisis of capitalism set in, and this is particularly true of the postwar period, the capitalists have had difficulty in marketing their goods. Des-

*This refers primarily to the leading trusts, industrial and banking concerns in West Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg. There are close cartel ties among them, reciprocally owned shares, common boards of directors, joint use of patents, etc.

**This can be seen in a large number of state-owned industrial and trading concerns such as the National Society of French Railways, Air France, and the Renault automobile works.

pite its absolute expansion, the capitalist world market has relatively narrowed compared with the more rapidly developing production potential. This relative narrowness is explained by the low standard of living of the working people, by the fact that the capitalist world has shrunk territorially, that the imperialist powers are retarding industrial advance in the underdeveloped countries. Their policy of placing restrictions on East-West trade is yet another obstacle to a bigger capitalist world market.

The market problem is now a burning one in Western Europe where the oldest and biggest countries are situated and where the highly developed productive forces are in imperative need of more extensive markets. It was not fortuitous therefore that West Germany, France and Italy were particularly interested in "integration." Of the major European capitalist countries Britain alone has not been "integrated." But Britain is a nation apart, for she leans upon a vast empire in which she finds ways and means of overcoming internal difficulties.

It should be borne in mind too that Western Europe was the greatest loser of colonies and, therefore, of vast markets.

The constantly growing need for markets is a major objective reason for the economic "integration" of the "Six." "Integration" is not indicative of "harmony of interests" in the capitalist world, as the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists assure us, but rather of the trade war and strife within it; it is in effect an agreement — concluded by one group of imperialist monopolies and nations and spearheaded against others — to divide markets into spheres of influence.

The uneven development of Western European capitalism is yet another important contributory factor to the establishment of the Common Market.

Economically the Western European countries have developed unevenly since the war. West German imperialism, to take a case in point, has become much stronger.* The powerful French, Italian and Belgian monopolies with their firm hold on promising industries and modernized branches of heavy industry have come to the fore. And it is the appetite of these big monopoly and state-monopoly groupings that has been whetted by the new outlets for their products. In their view the Common Market will help to tip the scales of Western European economic and political influence in their favor, to change the role played and the place occupied by Western Europe in the economy and policy of the capitalist world.

Uneven capitalist development has, in the past, driven imperialist Europe into warring alignments.

The capitalist system is now counterposed by a socialist system that is becoming increasingly powerful with every passing year. The growing national-liberation movement has shaken the capitalist world, and new, influential social forces are aligned against the forces of war and reaction in the capitalist countries. In this situation it would be very dangerous for the Western European nations to fall back on the old method of redividing markets through war.

And if in the past the monopoly bourgeoisie, of Western Europe in particular, freely risked going to war in the scramble for markets, raw material sources and spheres of investment, now, after their experience of two world wars, and especially in face of the growth of the socialist world, they know full well that war among the major imperialist powers in the West would mean the end of capitalism. Nor can they hope to gain new markets by colonial conquest, for the successful national-liberation struggle promises to abolish colonies altogether.

And so Little Europe's imperialists are seeking to solve their market problem in some other way — with the help, for example, of European "integration." But no cardinal solution is feasible.

Lastly, in studying the motives behind "integration" we should have in mind the common interests of the "Six" and the rest of the capitalist nations, first and foremost Britain and the United States.

The alliance between the Federal German Republic and the French monopolies is undoubtedly the hard core of European "integration." Their economic collaboration has been accompanied by rapprochement between the two states, as the "Bonn-Paris axis" shows. At the recent inter-parliamentary conferences in Bad Neuenar and Bad Godesberg it was openly stated that the purpose of the alliance was joint struggle against the forces undermining imperialism, against the "two variants of one and the same enemy" — socialism on the Elbe, Rhine and Seine, and the national-liberation movement in Algeria. In their drive against the French working class, the French monopolies look for support to the West German reactionaries; they are counting on utilizing the Ruhr in their fight to sustain colonialism. All this is regarded as the "natural" condition for their active backing of Adenauer's revenge-seeking, bellicose attitude on the German question.

The political deal between the French colonialists and the Bonn militarists covers the manufacture of nuclear weapons, their united stand to block any prohibition of nuclear tests and joint action to prevent any easing of tension. The desire among some circles in the United States and especially in Britain to normalize relations with the

*In 1958 Federal Republic exports approximated those of Britain which occupies second place in the capitalist world.

Soviet Union and the other socialist states has given rise to considerable dissatisfaction among Right-wing political circles in France and West Germany — the main Common Markets partners. The French leaders dread an agreement to stop atomic tests, because that would prevent France from joining the "nuclear club," while the West German politicians fear that the Western Powers might agree with the Soviet Union on the German question, which would be detrimental to Bonn's plans for revenge. In France, Federal Germany and other Common Market countries influential reactionaries dream of a strong and independent Western European continental military bloc based on the Common Market. But there is no question, needless to say, of any break with the NATO anti-communist front.

We have outlined the main social, economic and political process behind the European "integration," and the international background against which the "integration" is proceeding.

4. Limits and Prospects of "Integration"

There is an irreconcilable contradiction between the objective of the "Six" — a big multi-nation economic unit with a regulated economy — and the means for achieving this.

The imperialist bourgeoisie want to take the edge off the antagonisms peculiar to monopoly capitalism without changing property relations and retaining state-monopoly regulation. This just cannot be done. If state-monopoly regulation on a national scale runs counter to the very nature of capitalism, it is obvious that any attempts to regulate the capitalist economy on an international scale only sharpen the contradiction.

The talk about the need for "harmonious" development, for national economic planning, cannot be taken seriously as long as the social essence of capitalism — private capitalist property — is retained, for this gives rise to class antagonisms and class struggle. Planning is not simply a matter of calculation and adjustment, but of realistic utilization of the productive forces in space and time, under definite, to be precise, socialist, production relations. Planning should ensure genuine harmony of the interests of society, a harmony which rules out antagonisms between people. This calls for removal of the private property barriers, for transition to public ownership, for abolition of monopolies, in other words, for a society in which there will be no exploitation. The Common Market is designed to consolidate private property and the capitalist order. It cannot make for harmonious development of the national economy or abolish class antagonisms.

The European Economic Community, the architects of European "integration" hope, will solve

the market problem. We do not deny that Little Europe's market may grow for a time, as a result of squeezing out other capitalist countries, of technical progress and structural changes in the economy of the "Six." But the problem will eventually become more acute, for its roots lie in the contradiction, inherent in capitalism, between production and consumption. The Common Market cannot eliminate this antagonism, so that the imperialists will continue to struggle for markets, raw materials and spheres of investment. Individual capitalists and monopolies will be in the field as well as the huge international state-monopoly alliances and associations.

The "integrators" hope to utilize the collaboration between the capitalists in the Common Market countries in order to weaken the working-class movement and set up more favorable conditions for a new offensive against living standards and democratic rights of the working people. Meanwhile the Common Market is creating the prerequisites for intensified class struggle, and it is clear that the Western European monopolists are bent on solving the "integration" problem at the expense of the working class. Therefore the struggle against the united front of finance capital will bring home to the workers the need to overcome the split in the ranks of the working class.

Not only does the Common Market represent a threat to the proletariat, but through it the monopolies aim at expropriating small property in industry and agriculture. With the setting up of the European Economic Community, increasing numbers of small producers — peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, etc. — will be ruined. It cannot be otherwise: the Common Market structure is conducive to the influential monopolies, the initiators of "integration," waging a competitive struggle on a larger scale.

Common Market activities are not confined to exploiting the working people of "Little Europe." Its designers have bigger expansionist plans. They hope to turn Africa into a reliable hinterland for the Western European capitalists. One of the major objectives of "integration" is to build up a powerful raw material and industrial base for the "Six" in the African colonies, primarily in those belonging to France. But these designs fail to take into account the rapidly developing liberation process of the colonial peoples in Africa.

The monopolies behind the EEC undoubtedly have a number of common interests based upon an identity of class aims and tactics arising out of the balance of forces in the world and in Europe. But it is equally certain that the Common Market partners are mainly out for monopoly superprofits. And it is precisely here that we find

the source of the contradictions in the Common Market.*

The contradictions between the Common Market and Britain have sharpened appreciably. Britain's ruling circles have always been suspicious and mistrustful of blocs likely to isolate Britain from the Continental market, and their reaction to the Common Market continues to be negative. They are alarmed, too, at the prospect of the Western European countries entering into a political bloc which would signify the end of Britain's traditional balance of power policy.

The attitude of the United States to European "integration" is determined primarily by the latter's reactionary, anti-communist aims. Politically the United States is interested in the Common Market inasmuch as it strengthens NATO's economic base. Economically the U.S. monopolies hope, with the help of their subsidiaries, to penetrate into the Common Market and reap the fruits of "integration."*** But U.S. economic and political interest in the Common Market is far from implying that there will be no conflicting interests between the Little Europe imperialists and those of the United States.*** This shows the fallacy of hopes that the Common Market will consolidate capitalist unity.

But it would be wrong to belittle the significance of the Common Market and the other Western European "integration" forms, because they are a distinct kind of deal between the monopolies,

*These contradictions arise in large measure out of the economic structure of the "Six." Manufactured goods: industrial equipment, means of transport, consumer goods, etc., are the main exports of the principal EEC participants—West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium. There is also keen competition in agriculture.

**In 1958 more than a quarter of U.S. exports went to Western Europe.

***A source of conflict is the increasing competitive capacity of some Western European goods vis-a-vis U.S. goods, since wages in Europe are lower than in the U.S. Moreover, the Common Market countries are insisting that the U.S. reduce customs tariffs.

far-reaching inter-state monopoly associations embracing the major Western European continental countries. The sober reality is that EEC aims at a joint struggle by the imperialist forces of Little Europe against the socialist world, the democratic and socialist forces in Western Europe, and the national-liberation movement. The Common Market is also designed to enhance the influence of an "integrated" Europe in the capitalist world, to re-divide markets. In this context European "integration" is a factor to be reckoned with.

It is spearheaded against international security and the interests of the masses. "Integration" widens the gap between military and economic alignments in Europe, thus creating an additional source of tension; it strengthens the positions of West German imperialism, thus encouraging the aggressive tendencies of German revanchism. "Integration" contains the threat of joint action by internationally linked capital against the working class and the people in the Western European countries, the threat of a new attack on living standards and democratic rights.

Monopoly capital in these countries is taking joint action against the working class and peasants. Hence, joint action on an international scale is needed by the working class and the peasantry in combating the monopolies. The Communist Parties tell the working people how the Common Market will affect their economic and political interests.

We must dispel the illusions about the Common Market sown by reformists and revisionists. A Marxist-Leninist study of this new and complex phenomenon — the Common Market — will furnish a powerful ideological weapon in combating the reformism of the Social-Democratic parties, in the struggle against revisionist elements of all hues.

European "Integration" and the Strengthening of German Imperialism

O. Baumann

1. European "Integration" and the Sharpening of Imperialist Contradictions

IN a militarized economy, economic potential is the basis of military potential. The NATO Allied Command has raised the question of pooling the economic resources of NATO member-states, but the contradictions between the blocs of imperialist powers are an obstacle to this. In contrast to the considerable military integration in NATO there is economic disunity of countries at different levels of industrial and technological development. To overcome this recourse was made to partial integration. Thus the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), the European Payments Union (EPU), the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and other supranational organizations came into being.

But the agreements between the Western European imperialist powers are merely a reflection of the balance of forces obtaining at the time these treaties were signed. The contradictions between the member-states of these groupings are growing, thus weakening the European economic alliances and agreements. NATO lacks the "inviolable unity" its architects would like to see. Each EEC member is out to get everything it can at the expense of the others.

Tension arose in the relations between Britain, France and West Germany late in 1958 and the early months of 1959 as a result of the efforts to set up a European Free Trade Area. Britain has flatly refused to abandon Imperial Preferences and at the same time is apprehensive of being squeezed out of the Western European market. She is, therefore, in favor of a "Free Trade Area."

In the face of British objections and without waiting until the Free Trade Area negotiations were completed, six European nations signed an agreement to set up the Common Market. The West German monopolies, eager to go ahead with their strategic plans and anxious to acquire a trump card in the forthcoming talks with Britain, were the force behind this step. Herman J. Abs, leading West German monopolist and chief of the Deutsche Bank, was quite frank on this point: "If there were no Rome agreement* (imperfect as it is in detail)," he wrote in *Europäische Wirt-*

schaftsgemeinschaft, "and were the 'Six' not resolved to carry it into effect, there would be little hope of broad economic co-operation in Western Europe in the near future."

The German imperialists, desirous of weakening Britain, are trying to compel her to come into the Common Market in one way or another and on their terms.

Since Britain is the strongest country in the capitalist bloc outside the Common Market, plans were made to ease some countries, Switzerland, for example, out of it and thus force Britain to give way. But as the newspaper *Industriekurier* of May 20, 1959, put it: "The idea was just beginning to take shape that joining the Common Market might be the right form of co-operation when London suddenly announced a new agreement to set up a competitive free trade area in Europe to include not only Britain and the four Scandinavian countries but also Switzerland and Austria." The initiative came from the Swedish government. The Swedish Minister of Trade, speaking in Parliament, declared that France and West Germany were interested merely in strengthening their own positions.

There are many in Britain who do not want to see the building up of a strong Germany. On November 20, 1958, the *Daily Mail* wrote that Britain should not have allowed Germany to begin to dominate Europe politically and economically, and that the only effective counterweight to a powerful Germany would be an equally strong Britain. And when Britain refused to fall in with Bonn's line, leading West German newspapers, the *Industriekurier* in particular, carried anti-British articles. In an editorial headed "Western Solidarity or British Cotton" (May 21, 1959) the paper sharply criticized the President of the British Board of Trade for going to Moscow. It accused the British of going there with the intention, in the event of a successful Foreign Ministers' conference and increased trade with the East, of beating their West German competitors. "Possibly Sir David Eccles will soon have to be advised by the London Cabinet that in certain cases Western policy is more important than the sale of British cotton," concludes the newspaper.

*The Common Market treaty—Ed.

The small European countries are also seeking for a "weapon against the Common Market." Switzerland, for example, has imposed tariffs to protect her industry from foreign competition; the new tariffs are also intended to be used as a trump card in negotiations with the EEC.

There is a sharp conflict of interests in ECSC. The crisis in Western Europe's coal industry has led the High Authority, in which there is a Benelux majority, to apply the ECSC treaty "emergency" Articles 58 and 74, which fix production quotas and restrict coal imports. The West German coal barons, who have no desire to forego profits to suit the Belgians, are strongly opposed to this. To maintain their own production at a high level they would like to see the Belgian pits closed down. Employers' associations in West Germany have asked their government to prevent these emergency articles being applied under any circumstances.

The High Authority insisted on its proposal being put to the vote in the Council of Ministers. This was done, but met with fiasco because West Germany, France and Italy — each with its own particular interest — opposed it. The French mines were less affected than those in other countries, while the Italian concerns who import coal are interested in buying cheap American coal.

The West German monopolies are at loggerheads with the High Authority on other points. According to the latter's resolution of February 18 last, three companies selling Ruhr coal are to be wound up by March 31, 1960, because they pursued a joint sales policy. But the High Authority, it appears, has brought a hornet's nest about its ears, because the agreement on the markets of the Ruhr coal concerns has been in existence since the inception of the Rhine-Westphalia Coal Syndicate in 1892-1893. To add weight to their decision, the Authority intends to send officials to Essen to go into the activities of coal-marketing firms. This has evoked opposition in West Germany. The West Berlin *Tagesspiegel* commented on April 26 that the Authority's decision had worsened relations to the degree that "further fruitful co-operation will be rendered more difficult or hardly possible." *Die Welt* (May 7-8) suggested that another Presidium should be elected "with a Frenchman or German, or perhaps an Italian at its head." There were to be no Benelux representatives.

A controversy has broken out between West German and French steel concerns. Devaluation of the franc has resulted in some French steel being offered in the Ruhr at lower prices than Ruhr-produced steel. The West German monopolies are insisting on higher turnover taxes to level out prices. At the ECSC annual meeting Hans Guenther Sohl, General Director of the Thyssen iron

and steel works, gave warning that "unless a solution is found the German steel industry will be forced, when exchange rates go up, to ask for prices which will not only cover them against any market risk, but also against any losses it may incur through prices fixed out of political considerations."

As long as France needed to import fuel she was glad to buy Ruhr coal. Now, however, French concerns have acquired pits in the Ruhr. The French imperialists furthermore hope not only to cover their fuel needs with Sahara oil and natural gas, but also to export these commodities to other Western European countries.

There are, too, the plans to build a pipeline from the Mediterranean to the Upper Rhine. These plans are of great strategic importance to NATO, and meet the wishes of both French and American oil monopoly groups and the West German IG-Farben concern. The major enterprises of these monopolies will turn more to oil rather than coal.

The foregoing explains why France is no longer economically interested in the ECSC treaty in its old form, and why Jeanneney, Minister of Industry and Commerce, urged revision of this treaty at the European Parliament at Strassburg last April.

These are not the only contradictions between the "Six." Others came out during the negotiations on the Common Market Treaty and, as it gets going, are becoming more pronounced.

On January 1, 1959, tariffs were cut 10 per cent. To even out prices, Holland retaliated by increasing the turnover tax on 125 items up to 6.5 per cent; the Benelux countries indirectly raised tariffs on wine and other items, while France levied dues to the extent of 0.2 per cent on all goods subject to customs duties. In its own way each country is trying to circumvent the disadvantageous treaty articles.

Hopes that the interests of the small partners would be taken into account have been dashed. Speaking of the situation in the ECSC, Dr. Van der Beugel, former Dutch Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and now Vice-President of the KLM air line, said that at the first symptoms of a crisis everyone ceased to show any interest in the small partners. Everything revolves around West Germany or France; Holland should think about herself.

The contradictions between NATO's European member-states vary. Some are becoming sharper, others milder, while still others are temporarily fading into the background. Study of the antagonisms between the capitalist states and monopolies in Western Europe might lead one to assume that the chief conflict is between Britain and the Common Market. Actually the hub of the ques-

tion is the economic and political struggle between Britain and West Germany for domination in Western Europe. The stronger West Germany becomes, the sharper will be the contradiction.

2. German Imperialism and European "Integration"

The partial integration of the Western European economy has strengthened German imperialism. This suits the plans of the U.S. imperialists who have chosen the German imperialists as their principal ally in Europe in pursuit of their schemes for world domination. With this in view they used their whole bag of tricks to strengthen German imperialism, sabotaged the Potsdam Agreement and encouraged every measure to build up the German imperialists, beginning with Marshall Plan credits and finishing up with Western European integration in its various forms. The European Payments Union (EPU) has become an instrument furthering the expansion of West German foreign trade. West German industry is now exporting about 15 per cent of its output. Some 70 per cent of this is sold in Western European countries, primarily those affiliated to the Common Market. Foreign trade expansion is taking place at the expense of the steadily growing indebtedness of the partner-states. By mid-1958 the Federal Republic had a favorable balance of \$4.061 billion in the EPU, whereas France showed a deficit of \$2.32 billion, Britain \$1.259 billion and Italy \$592 million. Much of the gold and currency reserves of these countries found their way to West Germany. Last year the Federal Republic's gold and currency reserves were in the neighborhood of 24 billion D.M., while those of France fell to five billion D.M.

The European Coal and Steel Community has been to the advantage of the German imperialists who accounted for 54 per cent of the coal. If we add the Saar output, the total exceeds 60 per cent. With the Saar, West Germany's share in the steel output amounts to over 50 per cent.

As a result of these agreements German imperialism has been the first to benefit from the continued uneven economic and political development. The West German monopolies want the ECSC Treaty revised so that this body should be absorbed in the EEC, since the latter is more in line with the present relation of forces. They support the attacks on the ECSC by France who also wants the treaty revised, although for different reasons.

The EEC strengthens the positions of the German imperialists, ensures them economic and political leadership in Western Europe. They are more interested in EEC than any of its other member-states. Adenauer's pronouncement in the

Bundestag way back in February 1952 showed that Western European "integration" coincided with the German imperialists' aggressive plans: "There is no other way for us to regain Berlin and the Eastern regions of Germany," he said, "than by a united Europe."

The main blow is directed eastwards, first and foremost at the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Poland. To carry out its plans German imperialism needs assurance in the West. As the balance of forces has clearly tipped in favor of the socialist camp, it is imperative, more so than in Hitler's time, for German imperialism to have available the military and economic resources and manpower of all other capitalist countries. It is not in a position forcibly to seize the European resources it requires. And, having chosen the relatively "peaceful" way of "cold seizure," it is working hard for Western European "integration" knowing that it holds the strongest economic positions there. German imperialism has again become the greatest economic power in Western Europe. Since 1948 some 300 billion D.M. have been invested in the West German economy; the Federal Republic is doing more investing than any other leading capitalist power—in recent years up to 25 per cent of the national income. Britain and the United States have invested up to 15 per cent, France 18 per cent and Italy 19 per cent.

This huge investment more than doubled industrial production in the FRG between 1950 and 1957; in Italy output rose only 77 per cent, in France 57 per cent. Federal Germany's share in the industrial output of the Common Market countries was 41 per cent in 1957, that of France, including the Saar, 28 per cent, and of Italy 17 per cent. With the economic absorption of the Saar, West Germany's industrial production will be equal to that of Italy and France taken together.

In a number of basic industries her share is still greater, machine-building accounting for 55 per cent of the EEC output. The share of France, including the Saar, amounted to 23 per cent, Italy 15 per cent. Electric power production is an important index. In 1958 average monthly output in West Germany, including the Saar, was 8.1 billion kwh, in France 5.15 billion and in Italy 3.7 billion.

The economic power of the German monopolies is largely explained by the intensive exploitation and low wages of the West German workers. If we take the average hourly wage of the French worker as 100, the corresponding figure for Britain in October 1956 was 93, for West Germany it was 89. The rapidly growing concentration of capital and industry is yet another reason for West German economic strength. Nineteen closely associated

monopoly groups dominate the economy. The share of joint stock companies with a total share capital of 100 million D.M. and upwards rose from 25 per cent in 1938 to 46 per cent in 1958. There were only 25 companies of this kind in the 1938 Reich, today the Federal Republic has 51.

West Germany has 1,091 plants and factories each employing 1,000 or more workers, i.e., more than all her partners in the EEC. It has twice as many big plants (employing over 1,000 workers) as France, more than three times as many as Italy, 14 times as many as Belgium and nearly 11 times as many as Holland. The West German monopolies are therefore in a much better position than their Common Market competitors to organize large-scale standardized production.

An important means by which German imperialism increases its economic influence in Western Europe is the export of capital. Between 1952 and 1958 West German monopolies invested nearly 2.2 billion D.M. abroad, the average yearly growth in the past few years amounting to nearly 500 million D.M. Some 800 million were invested in the Western European countries, chiefly in France, Switzerland, Holland and Italy. The export of private capital is effected mainly by the big monopoly groupings, primarily the iron and steel, chemical, electro-technical, machine-building and automobile industries, and the banks.

The Deutsche Bank is closely linked with the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas. They have jointly organized the European Industrial Development Society to study the problems of financing enterprises within the EEC and in the French colonies. Both are members of Consafrique, a banking consortium whose objective is economic penetration of the African colonies of the EEC member-states. The Dresdner Bank, the second largest in the Federal Republic, also has close links with the French banks. It plays a leading part in the consortium of which the Banque de l'Union Parisienne is the most important on the French side. The principal aim of this consortium is to allocate funds for and to co-operate in Common Market projects.

There are similar links between industrial concerns, the Federal Republic being in the main represented by such firms as Phoenix-Rheinrohr A. G. (Thyssen group), Mannesmann A. G., Goesch-Werke A. G., the Kloeckner and Krupp concerns, the Dortmund-Hoerder iron and steel combine, the Haniel and Flick concerns and the state-owned Vereinigte Aluminium-Werke A. G. In this way Germany imperialism is carrying out its colonial plans with EEC aid.

Under pressure of the acute colonial crisis, the older colonial powers—France and Belgium—have been compelled to let other imperialists have

gradual access to their colonies. And West Germany is making the most of the opportunity; with a powerful economy behind it, the Federal Republic has taken the road of so-called collective colonialism. It has increased exports of capital and goods, securing for itself cheap sources of strategically important raw materials. Thus, without possessing any colonies of its own, West Germany is becoming a colonial power.

Even more important than the export of private capital is the export of state capital. The German imperialists, for example, are putting some 840 million D.M. into the Eurafrika project. In 1957 France received 1.132 billion D.M. in the form of credits, troop maintenance costs, etc., for the Algerian war. Early in 1958 the Federal Republic allocated to France 420 million marks out of a joint credit granted to France by the United States, West Germany, the International Monetary Fund and the European Payments Union. When the franc was made convertible the Federal Republic gave France financial aid in the form of a credit amounting to 252 million D.M. and favorable terms for paying her trade and credit debts. Total West German capital exports, private and state, are nearing the 20 billion D.M. mark.

These facts testify to the strength of German imperialism, to its aspirations for Western European domination.

This expansionist policy is actively supported by the U.S. monopolies. Out of global strategic consideration U.S. imperialism wants a stronger NATO — the chief medium of implementing its policy. Measures for integration in Western Europe enhance the economic potential of the monopolies, stimulate the concentration of economy, and reinforce NATO as a military and economic center.

The big American monopolies already hold powerful economic positions in the Western European countries and are steadily extending these, thanks to increased capital exports to the Common Market area. Through their subsidiaries they enjoy all the rights and privileges the Common Market grants its members.

The United States is keenly interested in the West German economy, which occupies a leading place in the European groupings. Reports are continually coming in about new American investments in the Federal Republic. Many firms, such as ARMCA in Cologne, General Foods in Hamburg, Caltex Oil in Duesseldorf and Goodyear Tire and Rubber, etc., have been added to the list of long-established American firms operating in West Germany — Esso, Opel, Ford, Mobil Oil and Kodak. Hartrich, chairman of the American Club in Duesseldorf, has stated that the number of American-controlled companies had grown from 160 to 400 in the past four years.

The economic position built up by the U.S. strengthens its political influence in Western Europe, and the more German imperialism — their main ally — is brought into the game, the more this influence grows. The U.S. imperialists are doing their utmost to build up the West German war potential, while the German imperialists in their turn are helping to further U.S. plans, since their implementation will reinforce the German military machine. Special importance in this context is acquired by the European agreements on the use of atomic energy.

3. Euratom and the Atomic Armament of West Germany

Bonn's War Minister Strauss has named three essentials arising from his government's policy: to have the latest in weapons, to be ready to use them, to win public support for the militarist policy. The German imperialists are making a big effort to make good their lag in the production of atomic and rocket armaments. The Federal Republic was the first Western European state to sanction the locating of American atomic bases on its territory. This was followed by the European Atomic Energy Community Treaty in 1957 and in 1958 by the decision to equip the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons. At the same time all the institutions concerned with nuclear technology were amalgamated. The German Atom Forum was set up which unites the Workers' Nuclear Technology Union, the German Atomic Energy Society, the Atom for Peace Union and the so-called Physical Research Society, which is a screen for the IG-Farben, AEG and Siemens monopoly groupings, as well as influential iron and steel concerns (including Krupp and Flick) and the big banks. According to Dr. Siegfried Balke, Federal Minister for Atomic Energy and Water Economy, all that had been achieved in this sphere up to the autumn of 1958 was only a beginning: "We shall have to play the part of junior partner at least for a time. But international co-operation will promote the rapid development of research and technology in the Federal Republic."

According to the Euratom Treaty, the aim of the Community is to create the conditions required for the earliest possible development of a nuclear industry in Western Europe, to develop research, facilitate investment, ensure a regular and equitable supply of raw materials and nuclear fuels to all users in the Community. At first glance these aims appear to be peaceful. But subsequent events, particularly the collaboration between Adenauer and de Gaulle, have laid bare the real content of Euratom and of the Bonn-Paris-Rome Armaments Triangle associated with it. In effect this is a means of turning atomic energy and rocket tech-

nology into a weapon of the German and French monopolists. The Saint-Louis Ballistics Research Institute was made into a joint undertaking within the Triangle. About 100 German experts are working there under Prof. Schardin, most of them former employees of the Berlin-Gatow Air College.

The German monopolies are finding Euratom advantageous. They, and their partners, are benefiting financially, for they are contributing a mere 28 per cent of the expenditure, while all the plants and installations are at their complete disposal. Under the Treaty they can obtain important raw materials and have access to corresponding bodies and institutions. To cite a case in point, the European Atomic Energy Agency, with Eurochemie, an allied body, maintains in Belgium a plant for processing nuclear fuels, headed by Director Poland of West Germany. Access to the research results of the member-states will enable the West German monopolies quickly to catch up in atomic technology. And, finally, direct collaboration with the United States is being established through Euratom. The U.S. has granted the countries affiliated to Euratom \$135 million in credits plus the benefit of American know-how.

West German monopoly groups are making full use of their trans-Atlantic ties. In December 1957, DEMAG, North American Aviation, and Atom International Divisions set up a subsidiary to handle the design and manufacture of atomic reactors. The Siemens concern signed an agreement on co-operation in atomic technology with Westinghouse Electric, one of the two largest American electrical concerns with which it has worked since 1924. Under this agreement Siemens will share Westinghouse Electric's experience in atomic energy. An agreement has been signed between the Mallinckrodt Chemical Works, the first American company to extract pure uranium, and the West German Degussa, giving the latter the exclusive agency and sales rights on the European Continent, etc.

There are close links between the West German and United States monopolies in rocket construction. The former are acquiring U.S. licences and American production methods. On Strauss' instructions the American Hawk AA rocket is to be produced by German, French and Italian plants.

The German imperialists are taking steps to secure a place for themselves in the development of atomic and rocket equipment. For them Euratom is an important means of realizing their aggressive designs. Nuclear weapons will be in the hands of those who, alone in Europe, are making territorial claims on neighboring states. Clearly, this is a situation fraught with grave danger.

(To be continued)

A Renegade's Publicity Stunt

IN these hard times for the French bourgeoisie it badly needs allies to combat the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Conscious of the prestige enjoyed by the Communist Party, the latter-day apologists of anti-communism do not scruple to take even revisionists and renegades to their bosom in order to gain their reactionary ends. Hence anti-communism in France along with its evangelists of the Malraux and Raimond Aron type, spiritual fathers like the Jesuits Calvez and Bigot, has its rearguard led by revisionists of the Lefebvre ilk. It has, too, adroit publicity agents. And this we should bear in mind when reviewing Fougeyrollas' *Marxism in Question*.^{*} With a view to publicizing the "latest" renegade arguments against Marxism in general and Marxist philosophy in particular, the author has brought together all the anti-Marxist shibboleths bandied about by bourgeois philosophers, revisionists and Jesuits over the past ten years.

To all appearances, the publicity purpose has been attained. The bourgeois press^{**} gave the book its blessing. François Fejto, an avowed adversary of socialism, praised it for "systematic exposition, lucidity . . . and variety of concepts."

While the first two merits are wrongly ascribed, the third is unmistakable. In the effort to "disprove" Marxism, the author has reproduced anti-Marxist arguments without even attempting to unify his "critical" thought. The book is an example of the eclecticism and compilation from bourgeois sources typical of the renegade thinking of today.

I

Despite the variety of concepts the book has one aim—to emasculate Marxism of its revolutionary essence. From a seemingly calm review of some of the problems of Marxist philosophy Fougeyrollas switches to a scathing criticism of its fundamental tenets. He "proves" in the end that scientific socialism no longer holds good and should be replaced by bourgeois reformism. In its political designs the book is even worse than many of the writings by bourgeois and Catholic "subverters" of Marx, who at least pretend at times to be impartial, and this keeps them, for the sake of propriety, from transcending the boundaries of "pure science." But Fougeyrollas does not stop

halfway and fortifies his "rebuttal" of Marxism with opportunist practice in politics.

Marxist philosophy without materialism, theory artificially severed from practice, and the aims of the revolutionary working-class movement isolated from the activity of its Party—such is the gist of the "various standpoints" from which Fougeyrollas assails Marxism.

By treating Marxist theory as divorced from practice, Fougeyrollas deprives Marxist philosophy of its objective content. Materialism, in his opinion, is the stumbling-block of Marxism. "The revolution carried out by Marx for ridding philosophy of dogmatism and turning it into a pure method could not be finally completed. The materialist postulate in the form presented by Marx remained as a sediment in the Marxist world outlook" (page 17).

Thus we get a crude distortion of the essence of the revolution effected by Marx and Engels in philosophy. To turn Marxist philosophy into a "pure method" is tantamount to making the Marxist method subjective. The well-known words by Engels about overcoming the pre-Marxian speculative philosophy, which replaced the real inter-connection between things and phenomena by artificial ones, are interpreted by Fougeyrollas in a way to make it appear that Marxist philosophy aims at separating the world outlook from the material world. It will be recalled, however, that Marx and Engels, extending the tenets of philosophical materialism to social life, always stressed the objective content of their method, its conformity with the science of nature and society. In his *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* Engels wrote that according to Marxist philosophy it is necessary to "comprehend the real world—nature and history—just as it presents itself to everyone who approaches it free from preconceived idealist crotchets." This means that Marxist materialist philosophy, notably its dialectical method, is not an empty form which can be applied indiscriminately to any content. On the contrary, it generalizes theoretically the latest achievements of science as a whole. It is not a "pure" but a concrete method based on the facts of history; it is simultaneously a theory, a science of the laws of nature and society and of their specific reflection in the mind of man. Marx repeatedly stressed that the historical process cannot be understood through speculative reasoning based on pure logical

^{*}P. Fougeyrollas, *Le Marxisme en question*. Paris, Ed. du Seuil, 1959, 173 pp.

^{**}See, for example, the weekly *Express* and the philosophical journal *Esprit*, July-August, 1959.

thinking and divorced from the real interconnection of man with nature and society.

Portraying Marxian materialism as an "element of dogmatism," Fougeyrollas tries to disrupt the organic unity of Marxist philosophy, and counterposes materialism to dialectics in order to separate the latter from reality. He tries to change dialectics from an effective instrument of knowledge and revolutionary transformation of the material world into speculative philosophizing, in an existentialist way, on the tragic insoluble contradiction of human life.

II

Making materialist dialectics subjective, Fougeyrollas denies that class struggle is inevitable in an antagonistic society. This struggle, in his view, has nothing to do with the mode of production. Denial of the intrinsic connection between the materialist concept of history and the Marxist theory of class struggle is the first logical consequence of severing dialectics from materialism, the first stage in "overcoming" Marxism as proclaimed by Fougeyrollas.

The theory of class struggle is an organic component of historical materialism. The history of Marxism demonstrates that the final shaping of materialism and its extension to social life was made possible above all by the discovery of the historical significance of class struggle. Through this discovery Marx and Engels put an end to the idealist concept of society as being a product of the intellectual labors of individuals. Society was seen as the object of human activity conditioned by the production relations in the given epoch. Class struggle as the outward manifestation of the conflicts between labor and capital ceased to be something episodic, as claimed by bourgeois apologists. It was explained as being a regular feature, as the main expression of the inner dialectics of the antagonisms inherent in capitalist society. Activity aimed at changing the relations of production is practical, material and revolutionary. Its highest form is socialist revolution, and its exponent is the revolutionary proletariat.

By denying class struggle as the motive force of social development and reducing it to purely economic struggle for the immediate interests of the workers, Fougeyrollas reveals his inability to grasp the essence of social phenomena. For him the subjective factor in history is negligible, while history itself becomes a mystical scene with people acting independently of society and the latter developing without their social activity. Thus people cease to be the makers of their history and become mere spectators of the historical drama. Denial of the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalism, which finds expression in class struggle, leads Fougeyrollas to propound the eternity of capitalism. All this is dished up as "scientific objectivity" and "conscientiousness," while the author imagines that

by siding with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat he has "overcome" the one-sided Marxist approach.

In point of fact, the Marxist concept of objective analysis of social phenomena presupposes partisanship as an essential element and calls for the study of history from the standpoint of the most progressive class—the proletariat. The proletariat is the only class in capitalist society which is vitally interested in abolishing private ownership. Its class interests fully coincide with the objective historical process. Thus knowledge of the inner laws of capitalism leads in practice to siding with the militant proletariat. In this case a consistently scientific viewpoint coincides with partisanship. The Marxist method of examining social phenomena from the standpoint of dialectics, particularly its kernel—the struggle of opposites—is a hundred times deeper and infinitely more objective than the superficial bourgeois objectivist tendency arbitrarily to select facts and compare different points of view.

Charging revolutionary Marxism with a fatalistic approach to history is merely the other side of Fougeyrollas' nihilistic attitude towards the conscious class struggle of the proletariat. His book fully confirms the well-known words of Lenin that the theory of spontaneity is the basic element of opportunism. It became clear why Fougeyrollas, having turned the Marxist theory of class struggle into a narrow economic concept, is unable to explain either the revolutionary militancy of the workers or the selfless activity of the Communists who are ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause of the proletariat. He is surprised at the revolutionary heroism of Communists and, like the Belgian reformist Henri de Man, seeks to decipher the "moral and psychological motives" behind their behavior which continues to mystify him.

III

By isolating class struggle from social development Fougeyrollas counterposes the productive forces to the production relations. The driving force of class society, in his view, is not the inner dialectics of the productive forces and the production relations, which is also manifest in class struggle, but simply the progress of technology.

Exaggerating in a metaphysical way the role of technology in history, Fougeyrollas completely ignores the production relations which determine the nature of one or another socio-economic formation. He examines only the instruments and machinery used in production and takes no interest in the no less important question: what are the social conditions in which this production takes place and who appropriates the fruits of social labor, in what way do the production relations affect the productive forces? How could one understand, if one

were to believe Fougeyrollas, that in the space of little more than forty years the USSR has grown from an economically backward country into a mighty industrial power? Fougeyrollas, of course, does not explain this, for the simple reason that his purpose is not to throw objective light on reality but to smear the Soviet Union, the international communist movement and Marxism-Leninism as a whole.

The paradox of his "theory" is that, rejecting the Marxist concept of historical necessity, Fougeyrollas himself falls into fatalism of the worst type. In his search for an alternative to scientific communism he has had to fall back on the long discredited technocratic ideas and associate himself with reformists like Blum, Trotskyites of the Burnham type and the ideologists of monopoly capitalism. In an attempt to substantiate his views on social development Fougeyrollas invokes Simone Weil (a French philosopher who before the war propounded the theory of eternal oppression and the hopeless position of workers) and Burnham, the American fascist-like technocrat. The subjectivist, pessimistic preaching of these apostles of "eternal oppression" about an alleged substitution of managerial rule for the private ownership system is invoked to confirm Fougeyrollas' denial of the fact that conscious working-class struggle is inevitable. Thus the large-scale industry of modern capitalism, which dehumanizes the worker and turns him into an appendage of the cumbersome mechanism, is advanced as "proof" of perpetual dehumanization and of the eternal existence of the mechanism. Fougeyrollas overlooks the entirely different role of large-scale industry under capitalism and under socialism. His eyes are closed to the fact that under capitalism it serves only the selfish interests of private owners and oppresses man, whereas under socialism it benefits all the working people and is the most effective means of delivering man from the forces of nature and from exploitation.

Distorting the materialist concept of history Fougeyrollas denies the objective laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism. The overriding purpose of his sophistic critique of Marxism is to disprove scientific communism. He tries, in particular, to present Marxism not as a scientific history, an instrument for changing the world in a revolutionary way, but merely as a dubious hypothesis. Marxism, in his view, cannot discover the objective laws of history. It is called upon, he says, to provide only a method of "understanding" history (see p. 124). This definition brings us to the heart of Fougeyrollas' fatalism. The "method" of social science, just mentioned, has nothing in common with Marxism and is borrowed by the author from the bourgeois sociology of Max Weber.

Fougeyrollas considers as unfounded the Marxist concept of the historical necessity of socialism. "Despite the scientific discoveries made by Marx in sociology, political economy and history, it seems to me," writes Fougeyrollas, "that he failed to impart a scientific character to socialism. This does not mean that it is wrong to wait for socialism to come or that we should not work for it while we wait. We just do not think that there is a scientific guarantee of achieving socialism" (pp. 138-39).

"The movement is everything, the goal is nothing," wrote Eduard Bernstein who, falsifying Marxism, sought to separate scientific socialism from the working-class movement, to reduce the latter to the trade union struggle for better conditions of selling labor power to the capitalist. Fougeyrollas also reaches this conclusion in his efforts to show the scientific groundlessness of socialism and communism.

The author denies that the concept of socialism is scientific and turns it into a purely subjective and, in the end, fanciful concept of human freedom in general. This concept of freedom is characteristic of subjective idealism—the bourgeois standpoint from which the renegade Fougeyrollas criticizes Marxism. In the preface to his book it is precisely this freedom that he promises to fight for. But the Marxists pose the question of freedom plainly: freedom from what? The Communists in the capitalist countries are thoroughly conscious of the aim of their struggle—emancipation of the working people from capitalist exploitation. Fougeyrollas has chosen a different aim and different ways and means of achieving it. His ideal of freedom, judging by the book, is emancipation of the working people from Marxism, not from capitalism, separation of scientific socialism from the working-class movement.

* * *

To enhance his reputation Fougeyrollas declares that he disagrees with Marxism on "ideological" issues. This statement is evidently designed to impart an emotional shading to the book. But judging by the degree of his understanding of Marxism-Leninism, we can say that it is simply a label to cover up his political betrayal of the French working class. Fougeyrollas has never understood Marxism-Leninism. *Marxism in Question* is the book of a one-time fellow-traveller who arbitrarily and dogmatically interprets theoretical propositions. He severed his casual and purely intellectual ties with the Party after the exposure of the personality cult at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and joined the anti-communist crusade. Thus, if objectively the book aims at undermining the ideological principles of the Communist Party, subjectively it is a justification for apostasy.

The departure of people like Fougeyrollas from the Party is a sign of the cleansing process which developed in the Communist parties after the exposure of the personality cult. By parting company with Fougeyrollas and other unstable fellow-travellers of the petty-bourgeois type, and by winning thousands of men and women loyal to

communism, the French Communist Party has grown stronger. Leading the working people in the battle for democracy, the Party persistently exposes the unscrupulous writings of bourgeois erudites or their associates among renegades of the Fougeyrollas type.

Indrich SROVNAL

Chronicles of Economic Construction in the Soviet Union*

DURING the forty-two years of its existence the Soviet Union has accumulated vast experience in socialist construction. The international significance of this experience can hardly be overestimated. It is studied in all countries by millions of people who draw from it confidence in the ultimate triumph of communist ideas.

Time has confirmed Lenin's prophetic words about the significance of socialist construction in Soviet Russia. "This experience," he said in 1918, "will never be forgotten. This experience . . . cannot be lost, no matter what vicissitudes the Russian revolution and the international socialist revolution may pass through. It has entered into history as a gain for socialism and on it the future international revolution will erect its socialist edifice."**

In this connection the four-volume symposium of important Party and government decisions on economic questions is of considerable interest.

Some 600 decrees, resolutions and decisions concerning industry, agriculture, construction, transport, trade, economic management, planning, the supply of machinery and raw materials, wages, labor, etc., reflect the important stages of the struggle waged by the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Party, for socialism and communism.

The symposium expresses the profoundly scientific character of the economic policy of the Soviet state and refutes the claims of the Right-wing Social-Democratic and revisionist "theoreticians" that the CPSU underestimates theory, concentrating its efforts only on the economy.

* * *

Lenin worked out a plan for the socialist reconstruction of the country. This plan envisaged socialist industrialization, co-operation in the countryside and the cultural revolution. He considered

democratic centralism as a vital principle of socialist economic management which makes it possible properly to combine centralized management with the maximum development of mass activity.

But before the Party could start work on this plan, it had to withdraw the country from the imperialist war and secure peace in order to lay the foundations for socialist economy. The Decree on Peace, adopted by the Second Congress of Soviets on the second day of the revolution, underlies the Leninist program of peace. A just, democratic peace without annexations and indemnities, and negotiations as a means of settling outstanding issues—these points of the Decree have become the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy, principles consistently observed by the Soviet Government throughout the subsequent years.

The Congress also adopted the Decree on Land. Private ownership of land was abolished. The land was turned over to the toilers without compensation. Lastly, the Congress formed the first worker-peasant government and charged it with the task of carrying out its program of peace and socialist construction.

The symposium shows how the Party and the government set about realizing this program and shows the successive measures taken to reconstruct the economy.

Of paramount importance was the nationalization of the factories, mines, rail and water transport, banks, etc., which was carried out during the first months of Soviet rule. It should be noted that the government strictly adhered to the provisions of socialist law. "No one shall be deprived of his property without a special state law on the nationalization of banks and syndicates," said Lenin in his appeal to the people on November 5 (Nov. 18 New Style), 1917. (See Vol. I.)

The peace-loving character of the young Soviet state is also evident in other documents. In December 1917 the Soviet Republic, devastated, encircled

**Economic Directives of the CPSU and the Soviet Government*, 1917-1957. Vol. I (1917-1928), 879 pp; Vol. II (1929-1945), 888 pp; Vol. III (1946-1952), 704 pp; Vol. IV (1953-1957), 864 pp. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1957-1958.

***Lenin, Speech Delivered at the First Congress of Economic Councils*.

by hostile capitalist states, announced the task of "going over immediately to the production of consumer goods so needed by the country" (from the Appeal of the Council of People's Commissars to the Workers of Russia). The Soviet Government enacted the decree on the 8-hour day, introduced workers' control in the factories and established economic management bodies in the center and in the localities (the Supreme Council of National Economy and Economic Councils).

The Communist Party and the government displayed concern for the economic development of the country and its reconstruction along socialist lines even during the grim years of the Civil War and the foreign intervention when the country underwent incredible suffering and when all efforts were subordinated to repelling the enemy. All their measures were imbued with care for the people.

When the foreign and domestic enemies had been crushed the Party and the government turned to peaceful construction. The documents testify to the tremendous work done by them in the matter of rehabilitating and developing industry and agriculture, improving the finances and trade. Special mention should be made of the decisions concerning the electrification plan known as GOELRO. In the words of Lenin this was the first plan for rehabilitating and modernizing the national economy. We should also mention the decision of the Tenth Party Congress on the transition to the New Economic Policy (NEP) after the Civil War.

NEP was the economic policy of the proletarian state during the transition from capitalism to socialism. It was based on the economic alliance of workers and peasants and envisaged recognition of capitalist elements and a certain freedom of trade, with the key positions remaining in the hands of the state. The main principles of this policy are now being applied and developed in the People's Democracies in conformity with their particular conditions; their aim is to ensure the victory of socialist over capitalist elements.

The further development of socialist construction was mapped out by the 14th Party Congress (December 1925) which became known as the congress of socialist industrialization. "In the sphere of *economic development*," reads the resolution, "the congress holds that in our country, the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, 'all the conditions obtain for building a complete socialist society'" (Lenin). The congress decided to "continue the industrialization, expand the output of the means of production and accumulate reserves for economic maneuvering." As is known, the industrialization ensured the economic independence of the USSR and paved the way to the victory of socialism.

In the course of the industrialization it became especially imperative to switch agriculture to a socialist footing, because the rapid growth of socialist industry necessitated a rapid rise in agricultural output, and this could have been achieved only by the peasants taking the socialist road. The 15th Party Congress (December 1927) has gone down in the history of the Party as the congress of collectivization.

The symposium shows how the Party, guided by Lenin's co-operative plan and relying on large-scale socialist industry, succeeded in switching the millions of peasants from the small, backward farming to large-scale socialist farming.

The documents published in Volume II show how the Party led the people in the struggle to fulfil the five-year plans and brought the country to the victory of socialism. The first five-year plan turned the Soviet Union into an industrial power. During the second five-year plan period all exploiting classes were abolished, as were the factors engendering exploitation of man by man and the division of society into antagonistic classes. The Soviet Union entered the stage of *completing socialist construction and of the gradual transition from socialism to communism*.

But this peaceful labor was interrupted by the invasion launched by fascist Germany and her allies. In the course of the war the Soviet people not only upheld the freedom and independence of their country and their socialist gains, they also liberated the peoples of Europe from fascist enslavement.

The symposium shows how, in the grim conditions of the war, hundreds of enterprises were evacuated to the Urals, Western Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia, and how production was quickly organized in the new locations. The evacuation signified, in fact, new large-scale construction carried on at an unprecedentedly rapid rate. New factories were built to meet the needs of both the army and the civilian population.

With the liberation of the occupied areas the work of rehabilitation was begun even while the war was still in progress. The Party and government decisions (Vol. II) concerning the restoration of the shattered Moscow and Donbas coalfields, of iron and steel plants and of the industry and municipal economy in Leningrad, increasing oil output in the Volga region, in the Urals, Kazakhstan and Central Asia, the urgent restoration of the machine and tractor stations and collective and state farms in the liberated areas, resumption of work on the Nevinnomyssky Canal, etc., are a chronicle of the labor exploits performed by the people.

Bourgeois propaganda expended no little effort in trying to prove that after the war the Soviet

Union did nothing to ensure a state of peace and thus created tension in Europe. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Almost immediately after the cease-fire in Berlin, the State Defense Committee adopted a decision (May 26, 1945) on the reorganization of industry in view of the cut-backs in war production. A whole number of enterprises were reconverted to civilian production. In a month and a half the government and the Party announced measures aimed at developing cotton-growing in Uzbekistan—the chief cotton grower in the country—and a month later the government decided to “regard a steady rise in the output of consumer goods and foodstuffs as the most important task . . .”

In a brief space of time the Soviet Union reached and considerably surpassed the pre-war level of production. Economic construction developed in a big way during the past six years, when the Party initiated far-reaching, revolutionary measures in the political and economic spheres. These measures have resulted in tremendous progress in industry, agriculture, science, culture and in raising the standard of living. We have in mind the measures for a sweeping advance in all branches of agriculture (outlined at the meeting of the Central Committee in September 1953 and at subsequent meetings); management reorganization in industry and building (1957); changes in the material and technical maintenance of the collective farms (1958), etc.

Readers will no doubt be keenly interested in the Party and government decisions (see Volume IV) adopted during this period.

Students of Soviet economic policy will be interested in the documents relating to the cultivation of the virgin lands. Thanks to this undertaking some 90 million acres of land were brought under the plough in the space of three years (1954-56).

The symposium contains the resolutions of the 20th Party Congress (1956) on economic construction. The main feature of our era, declared the Congress, is the emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and its transformation into a world system. To the “positions of strength” policy of the imperialist states the Soviet Union counterposes its traditional policy of peace aimed at lessening international tension and averting war, a policy based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence.

A growing role in the economic and cultural construction is being played by the trade unions which unite 53 million factory and office workers. In this connection the reader will certainly be interested in the decisions of the December (1957) meeting of the Central Committee “Concerning the Work of the Trade Unions” (Vol. IV).

* * *

The 21st Congress (1959) of the Party had a tremendous impact on the international situation. By virtue of its scientific elaboration and its combination of theory and practice, the program of the all-round building of communist society adopted at this congress and embodied in the seven-year plan is a striking example of creative Marxism. The Congress considered that in the next seven years the principal economic tasks of the Party would be the all-round development of the productive forces, and, on the basis of priority expansion of heavy industry, the achievement of a level of production in all branches of the economy that would be a decisive step towards establishing the material and technical base of communism and ensuring the Soviet Union's victory in the peaceful economic competition with the capitalist countries.

N. MOROZOV

Have Marxists Revised Their Views on Capitalism?

(Apropos of an article by Harry Schwartz in *The New York Times*)

THE June issue of *World Marxist Review* carried an article by the American Marxist Victor Perlo on the various forms of state-monopoly capitalism in the USA. In a reference to the "anti-crisis measures" taken by the American monopolies through the medium of the government machinery which they control, the author showed that some of these could exert a temporary and partial influence on the course of the capitalist cycle. Perlo added that a number of Marxist economists, himself included, had tended to under-rate the effectiveness of these measures.

In an article by Harry Schwartz headed "Red Revises View about Capitalism" *The New York Times* interprets Perlo's views as a "retreat" from "the Communist line on the inevitability of capitalist depressions" and claims to see a "significant break with traditional Communist thinking."*

Over the years the apologists of monopoly capital among journalists and professors have let no opportunity slip of distorting the statements and writings of Marxists. To reply to all the anti-Marxist nonsense is of course out of the question, there simply isn't the time. But I should like to say something about this particular piece in *The New York Times*, because the reader not acquainted with the ways of the propaganda used by the scribes of capitalism might get the impression that Victor Perlo really was revising fundamental Marxist views on capitalism and that by publishing his article the Editorial Board of *World Marxist Review* approves the "retreat" from the views on the inevitability of capitalist crises.

In the first place it should be stressed that nowhere has Perlo stated that crises are no longer inevitable under capitalism. On the contrary. In his summing up of "anti-crisis measures" of the monopolies, he says that "the monopoly-controlled state cannot heal the incurable ailments of capitalism or free capitalist reproduction from contradictions. In the final analysis state-monopoly capitalism aggravates the contradictions in the capitalist economy, contradictions which are the cause of economic crises."** Harry Schwartz twists Perlo's conclusions and gives them the opposite construction. He quotes Perlo on the temporary influence

of the state-monopoly capitalist measures on the course of the cycle and adroitly palms them off as a denial of the inevitability of crises. The idea is conveyed that even the "Reds" are beginning to realize that the capitalists can cope with all their troubles. Actually these measures cannot abolish the periodic crises of over-production. Nor can they strengthen capitalism—in point of fact they have the opposite effect. Even bourgeois economists recognize that chief among the "anti-crisis" measures is the *unprecedented arms drive* and the consequent huge increase in military spending. Ever since the end of the war when stress was laid on militarization of the capitalist economy, arms manufacture, or production of means of destruction, has become a constant and integral factor of capitalist reproduction. The fact that over 20 per cent of U.S. industrial output is earmarked, directly or indirectly, for military purposes testifies to the role arms manufacture plays in the process of capitalist reproduction. The monopolies use the Government machinery under their control to secure higher profits. Seventy per cent of the output of 15 of the 25 trusts which in 1958 obtained big contracts went to fulfil government armament orders.*

The rapid uplift of the war industry, its maintenance at a high level, temporarily influenced the course of the capitalist cycle. Militarization of the economy has been an important factor during periods of recovery and boom in the U.S. Appreciating the importance of armament contracts in raising production, the monopolies and their spokesmen have demanded bigger military orders each time they encountered market difficulties. The arms drive enabled the United States rapidly to overcome the 1948-49 crisis. The decline in 1953-54 was also halted and quickly overcome thanks to the high level of armaments production. And Eugene Varga was right when he said in connection with the 1957-58 crisis that the sharp increase in U.S. government spending on armaments, roads, etc., moderated the impact of the overproduction crisis.** But when we speak of the moderating effect of the intensified arms race on economic crises it should be stressed that the

**The New York Times*, June 27, 1959.

**Victor Perlo, "State-Monopoly Processes in U.S. Economy," *World Marxist Review*, No. 6, 1959, p. 52.

**Business Week*, June 13, 1959.

**Eugene Varga, "The Capitalist Economy in 1958 — Some Characteristic Features," *New Times*, No. 5, p. 12.

arms drive has engendered simultaneously far more dangerous consequences than any arising from the severest crisis.

Many economists have observed that parasitism and decline of capitalism are becoming more pronounced with the increasing militarization of the economy. The fact that a considerable and constantly growing sector of industry in many capitalist countries is directly or indirectly engaged in the production of weapons of destruction, and that expanding military production has become an integral factor of capitalist reproduction, shows that monopoly capitalism is becoming increasingly parasitic. *This means that the danger of the most aggressive imperialist powers using their stockpiles of weapons of destruction is growing, that there is a real danger of war.*

As we have said, the sharp rise in armaments production since the latter half of 1949 enabled the U.S. speedily to overcome the 1948-49 crisis and to pave the way to the war in Korea with its toll of human lives, devastated cities and destruction of productive forces. Nor should we forget that while the fascist regime established by the German monopolies almost succeeded in avoiding the 1937-1938 cyclical crisis by greatly accelerated armaments production, the Second World War—the consequence of this drive—brought death to tens of millions of people, razed thousands of towns and villages and destroyed vast quantities of the means of production and consumer goods. Another result was the further weakening of capitalism as a whole. And although the peace forces are now so numerous that they can, provided adequate vigilance is observed, prevent new wars, the war danger must be reckoned with in any study of the imperialist powers' military preparations. The militarization is also having a disastrous effect on living standards and adversely affects the capitalist economy.

Schwartz tacitly ignores the results of "government anti-crisis measures." Militarization of the capitalist economy entails huge military spending and this signifies an enormously swollen budget. Budgetary expenditure in the USA, which in 1938 stood at \$6.9 billion dollars, rose to 80.9 billion in 1958-59, with overall direct military expenditure rising from 1.1 billion to 45 billion. Direct and indirect military spending accounted for 76 per cent of the total expenditure for the 1958-59 fiscal year.

To this should be added the money spent by the government on other state-monopoly measures. One example is the buying of agricultural products with a view to maintaining high prices. In *The New York Times* for May 20 we learn that this buying has resulted in stocks valued at \$12 billion piling up in government-owned

warehouses. And although the monopoly spokesmen affirm that the purchases are made exclusively in the interests of the small farmers, in point of fact (and this can easily be proved), they benefit only the big farmers. Professor Wiegand (Carbondale, Illinois), points out that the billions of dollars allocated by Congress have found their way mostly into the pockets of the big employers whose farms bring in an income without state aid, while the small farmers live in want.*

State spending has increased tremendously as a consequence of these state-monopoly measures and can be covered in one of two ways: either by greatly increased taxation, or by adding to the national debt. There is nothing surprising in the fact that taxes in the U.S., which in the 1937-38 fiscal year amounted to \$5.8 billion, rose in 1944-45 to 44.5 billion and to 68.2 billion in 1958-59. The national debt, which in 1938 stood at \$37.1 billion rose to 285 billion in 1958-59. The state paid out \$7.9 billion in interest alone in the 1958-59 fiscal year, i.e. 10 per cent of the total budget. These payments derive chiefly from the taxes paid by the working people and partly from government loans. And because of greatly increased taxation the standard of living is deteriorating.

Purchasing power, due to the inflation caused by the accelerated arms drive and other state-monopoly measures, is shrinking. Concealed inflation, which has more than halved the purchasing power of the dollar compared with prewar, in addition to its detrimental effect on living standards, is steadily weakening the American economic system. *The New York Times*, which always extols the stability of the U.S. economy and which with the aid of its correspondent Harry Schwartz has even tried to see in Victor Perlo's conclusions recognition of the stability of American capitalism, is alarmed at the concealed inflation. It reported recently the difficulties experienced by the U.S. Treasury in exchanging the maturing securities for new issues. Although short-term certificates bearing a higher interest rate were offered, the holders of old securities (to the amount of \$2.1 billion) turned down the exchange offer and demanded payment in cash. They obviously feared that the new issue carrying a fixed interest rate would depreciate with the growing inflation. *The New York Times* had this to say in a leader: "When the public won't scramble for United States Treasury issues on terms as attractive as these it bespeaks serious concern for the state of the nation's financial position."*** This is not the self-confident tone of Harry Schwartz's article.

The soundness of Perlo's point that crises cannot be abolished by state "anti-crisis" measures finds

**Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, February 8, 1958.

***"High Road to Inflation," *The New York Times* editorial, February 10, 1959.

further confirmation in the fact that there have been three crises of overproduction in the postwar years (1848-49, 1953-54, and the much more severe crisis of 1957-58). That these crises were not as devastating as the world economic crisis of 1929-33 is explained not only by the vast production of weapons of destruction and other capitalist "anti-crisis" measures, but by a series of specific factors which have been examined in Marxist literature in recent years. The fact that the three crises did take place is not denied by the apologists of capitalism, though for demagogic reasons they describe them as "recessions." My reply to *The New York Times* would not be complete without touching upon yet another misrepresentation on the part of Mr. Schwartz, one with which he ends his article and which is the pearl of his apologetic inventions. Picking up Perlo's point about the temporary and partial influence of state-monopoly measures on the course of the cycle, he concludes that it calls into "implicit question the 'inevitability' of the capitalist doom predicted by Marxist-Leninist theory." By means of this distortion Mr. Schwartz evidently wishes to convince readers that Marxists "implicitly" believe in capitalism's ability to assure its existence for all time through state regulation.

To this we reply first that we, Marxist-Leninists, have never deduced the inevitable collapse of capitalism from cyclical crises of overproduction alone. Periodic economic crises are inevitably en-

gendered by the internal contradictions of capitalism and are bound to recur as long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist. But internal contradictions give rise to other consequences. The *general crisis of the capitalist system* set in as the result of the sharpening of these contradictions during the First World War and particularly as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Throughout this crisis—which is not a periodically recurring crisis, but a prolonged and continuous process which will continue until socialism prevails throughout the world—capitalism has been declining. And nothing can stop the decline; it proceeds apace *irrespective of the severity or otherwise of the periodic economic crises*. The facts are the best proof of this. Although none of the post-war economic crises has been anything like the world economic crisis of 1929-33, the capitalist system is disintegrating on an unprecedented scale and with increasing speed. A billion people are now living in the countries of the socialist world and another 800 millions in countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke.

To the falsifiers from *The New York Times* who affirm that Marxists call into "implicit" question the theory of the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism we would say that the facts prove that capitalism is crumbling before our very eyes and that this process is gaining momentum.

J. L. SCHMIDT

For New Achievements in Building Socialist Culture

THE Congress of Socialist Culture held recently in Prague took place eleven years after the Congress of National Culture in 1948 which, shortly after the victory of the people over reaction, called upon all sincere cultural workers to take part in building socialism. Since then the Communist Party has done much to raise cultural and educational levels and to encourage public activity. In a relatively short period the Czechoslovak people have won outstanding successes under the leadership of the Communist Party in fraternal unity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries: the foundations of socialism have been laid and exploitation of man by man abolished; for the first time the people have become the real masters of their country.

The XIth Congress of the Communist Party laid down the general line of completing socialist construction in Czechoslovakia. This task cannot be

accomplished successfully without the workers in all branches of culture. Hence it is necessary to overcome the influence of bourgeois ideology and educate citizens worthy of the communist epoch. In the light of these tasks the Congress of Socialist Culture discussed the vital problems of cultural development.

Among the 2,150 delegates were the Minister of Public Education and Culture and leaders of rural clubs, the President of the Academy of Sciences and school teachers, artists and writers, cultural workers from factories and villages and representatives of the public organizations. The congress was preceded by large-scale preparatory work in which thousands took part.

At the end of last year the Central Committee of the Party called upon the art workers and the cultural establishments to discuss the problems of cultural development in the light of the decisions

of the XIth Party Congress and to outline the tasks in the fields of art, science and culture. This appeal was enthusiastically welcomed. The tasks advanced by the Party were discussed at congresses and conferences of scientific and art workers.

The Second Congress of Czechoslovak Composers early in 1959 summed up the results of their work during the past ten years. Music, now accessible to all the people, has become a vital need of society. Many criticisms were levelled at the poor quality of dance music and musical comedies. The inadequate help given by composers and musical critics to amateur groups came under fire. The congress gave a new impetus to the musicians in their work on modern subjects.

Of considerable political significance was the Writers' Conference held last March, which discussed the need for books that would reflect the communist ideology and the struggle for the communist morrow. It was imperative to overcome bourgeois ideology among some writers which led them to misinterpret the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU; it was imperative to unmask ideological opponents who sought to disrupt the unity of our writers and to help those who had vacillated ideologically. The conference rallied the writers on the principles of socialist realism, and directed their efforts and talent towards writing good literature.

The Congress of Socialist Culture was preceded also by the festival of Czechoslovak films in Banská Bystrica, by the congress of architects and the national conference of amateur art workers.

Artists, writers, scientists, composers, teachers and journalists held over 2,000 talks in factories and in co-operatives with an overall attendance of nearly 250,000. At these friendly talks workers and peasants criticized their works and made valuable suggestions.

These talks showed the cultural workers that consulting with the people, getting to know their lives was the way to improve their work. Their talks confirmed that the people support the demands which the Party makes on these workers. People want books and films that truly reflect the present-day life. The meetings and talks helped many artists to gain a better understanding of what is needed in the arts. The wisdom of the words: "He who wants to be closer to the people, must rise very, very high" was fully corroborated. And this is in contrast to the patronizing formula of bourgeois educationalists and reformists: "To get closer to the people one must descend to their level." Socialist society rejects the bourgeois tendency to imply by "popular" something that is of little value and insipid. That is why it decisively combats the pseudo-art which is an insult to the intelligence of the people.

The main task of the Congress of Socialist Culture was to discuss how, while implementing the general

line of the XIth Party Congress, to complete the socialist revolution in culture. In advancing towards a mature socialist society we shall create new material and cultural values. Proceeding from this thesis of the XIth Party Congress, the Cultural Congress concentrated attention on the new that is appearing and developing in our society, on elements containing the shoots of communism. The delegates spoke about the gradual elimination of the contradictions between mental and manual work, between town and countryside, about overcoming the old division of labor; about everything that releases the energies of man and strengthens the moral and political unity of the people.

A principled stand on ideological problems was adopted in a lively discussion of the work of clubs, newspapers and journals, publishing houses, unions of writers and composers and the scientific and cultural establishments. After the opening report by L. Stoll and the speech by I. Hendrich (Secretary of the Central Committee) the delegates engaged in a free and comradely discussion which lasted four days and gave a clear picture of the development and the tasks of Czechoslovak socialist culture.

The cultural level of our people is high. Our country with a population of over 13 million has about 15,000 libraries with 19 million books. Last year 11,000 clubs organized 637,000 cultural entertainments with an attendance of 75 million. Some 3,500 state cinemas gave over one million performances with an attendance of 184 million. More than 12 million attended the 28,000 performances staged in the 76 (including 12 opera) theatres. Together with the state cultural and educational establishments rural clubs enrich the cultural life of the people; they are a good basis for amateur art activities.

The socialist revolution has released the creative energies which had been suppressed by capitalism. Where, if not in a socialist country, could 150,000 people attend the performance of Smetana's opera *Libuse* given by the National Theatre on June 28 in Devin? Where, if not in a socialist country, is the creative activity of the people encouraged by the state? Growing numbers are creating new art values and enriching the life of society.

The education of the new, harmoniously developed man of socialist society presupposes struggle against the survivals of bourgeois ideology, superstition and prejudices, petty-bourgeois sentiment and egoism. Two or three years ago some of our intellectuals underestimated the class struggle. Having rejected the wrong thesis about a sharpening of class struggle under socialism, some cultural workers all but rejected class struggle. They tended to forget that class struggle goes on regardless of their subjective wishes, since remnants of the

exploiting classes which exist in our country are fostered by the imperialist world.

The congress demonstrated the unity of the cultural workers around the Communist Party. The reactionaries had pinned their hopes on "differences" between our cultural workers and the Party. In this, however, they were disappointed. Our cultural workers, who have gone through a sharp ideological struggle during the past three years, rebuffed the attacks of international revisionism, exposed and defeated revisionist tendencies; they have emerged much stronger from this struggle and have rallied their ranks still closer.

The delegates brought out shortcomings in the sphere of culture and noted that some branches were lagging behind. They criticized those art workers who do not give enough help to the amateur art groups and made proposals aimed at improving the aesthetic education of young people, at popularizing the latest discoveries in science and technology and improving the work of the cultural establishments.

The delegates urged the art workers to establish closer contact with the people, to reflect present-day life in their works. An apt remark in this connection was made by a librarian from the town of Kadan:

"Dear writers, we invite you to visit us not only to shake hands or to give your autographs so that our readers might say with admiration: 'Another writer has visited our 700-year-old town of Kadan.' Not at all. That is not our purpose. We have quite definite demands. We want you to reflect in your works our rapidly changing, rich and varied life. Some people say: 'It takes time to write a good book.' Write a good book by all means. Take as much time as you like, but write about everyday life, not about people with a canary, not about misfits, those who grumble about minor things and who are engrossed in personal faults as if nothing was taking place around them."

The chairman of a co-operative farm from the Liberec region also spoke on the same subject:

"Our farmers are avid readers. Our culture is beautiful and our literature has developed hand in hand with the people. Our people feel deceived when this bond is loosened. And this is what we see now. If we take the books written in the post-war years, we see that there are more good books on history than on contemporary life."

The critical remarks against writers, artists, composers, architects, theatre and film workers have one common basis: the love of the people for art and culture and a deep faith in the creators of this art. The will of the people is the same as that of the artists, and the demands made by them on art coincide with the aspirations of the artists. This was clearly expressed by the poet Frantisek Grubin who said:

"A real artist is not a man divorced from the social force which we call by that fine old word 'people'. As a man and a citizen he comes from the people. The greatest ambition of the artist is to create values without which the people cannot live, just as he cannot do without the values created by other people. He makes his contribution to the common cause. But in the battle for a new world he will help the people neither by a songlet, by a verse written by chance, nor by a picture painted in seclusion. His function is constantly to develop in man positive forces which propel him forward, to rid human feelings and relationships of age-old superstitions. He must be able to find the medium which will enable people to appreciate the beauty of the morning dew and the craftsmanship which went into the first man-made planet. His job is to bring out the best in man and to take from the people the best, most humane and progressive. And just as the single grain yields an ear of many grains, so the writer in his work should give back everything that he has imbibed from the people, but multiplied a hundredfold. His duty is to bring the future nearer to us."

The presence at the congress of fraternal delegates from the socialist countries and of progressive art workers from the capitalist world added to its political significance. The congress confirmed that the cultural development of the country goes hand in hand with the ideological struggle waged by the entire socialist camp. The congress raised aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The revolutionary development from capitalism to communism is directed by the Marxist-Leninist parties. Marxism-Leninism, the ideological foundation of Czechoslovak culture, inspires the people to complete the socialist revolution in culture.

The Congress of Socialist Culture proceeded from these principles when it opened new vistas before the art workers and rallied them in the struggle for the flowering of socialist culture.

F. TODT, Z. URBAN

CORRECTION:

In the "Reviews in Brief" section of the September issue of WMR (p. 89), the title of the first work reviewed was omitted. It is: "*From the History of the Working-Class and Revolutionary Movement.*" Moscow, the USSR Academy of Sciences, 1958, 795 pp.

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NEW BOOKS

Below are listed a few of the many interesting Marxist works that have been published recently. The list will be continued in forthcoming issues of the magazine.

(Titles of works in other languages are given in English)

- A. Adamov. *The Paris Commune. March 18-May 28, 1871. Anthology.* Paris, Editions sociales, 1959, 297 pp.
- D. Banfi Malaguzzi. *In Milan, in the Resistance Movement.* Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1959, 195 pp.
- G. Gandeloro. *History of Contemporary Italy. Vol. 2. From Restoration to National Revolution (1815-1846).* Milan, Feltrinelli Editore, 1959, 464 pp.
- Critique of Modern Bourgeois Philosophy and Revisionism. A Symposium.* Moscow, the Higher Party School and the Academy of Social Science, 1959, 360 pp.
- Essays on the History of Soviet Economy. A symposium.* Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1959, 406 pp.
- B. Frei. *Running Commentary. Historical Miniatures.* Berlin, Aufbau Verlag, 1959, 376 pp.
- F. Grenier. *It Happened Thus . . . (Reminiscences).* Paris, Editions sociales, 1959, 229 pp.
- M. Kazandzhiev. *The Economics of Socialist Agriculture.* Sofia, 1958, 404 pp.
- St. Koiev. *The Struggle of the Bulgarian Communist Party for a People's Front. 1935-1939.* Sofia, the BCP Publishing House, 1959, 208 pp.
- J. Kowalski. *Essays on the History of the Labor Movement in Poland. Part 1. 1918-1928.* Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1959, 340 pp.
- M. Magnien. *Tibet without Mystery.* Paris, Editions sociales, 1959, 196 pp.
- Materials on the National Policy.* Peking, Renmin Chupanshi, 1958, 142 pp.
- M. Ovsyannikov. *The Philosophy of Hegel.* Moscow, The State Social and Economic Publishing House, 1959, 306 pp.
- V. Petr. *The International Conditions for Completing the Building of Socialism in Czechoslovakia.* Prague, Statni nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1959, 104 pp.
- Recollections of Veteran Workers. A Symposium.* Peking, Kunjren Chupanshi, 108 pp.
- A. Rubakin. *Imperialism and Deterioration of the People's Health.* Moscow, The State Social and Economic Publishing House, 1959, 515 pp.
- A. Todorov. *The Struggle by Revolutionary Marxists against Bulgarian Revisionists. 1900-1903.* Sofia, the BCP Publishing House, 1959, 172 pp.
- State-Monopoly Capitalism and the Capitalist World Market.* Berlin, Verlag Die Wirtschaft, 1959, 299 pp.
- Success of Socialist Education in China. A Symposium.* Peking, Renmin Tziao Chupanshi, Vol. I. 1958, 192 pp. Vol. II, 150 pp.

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