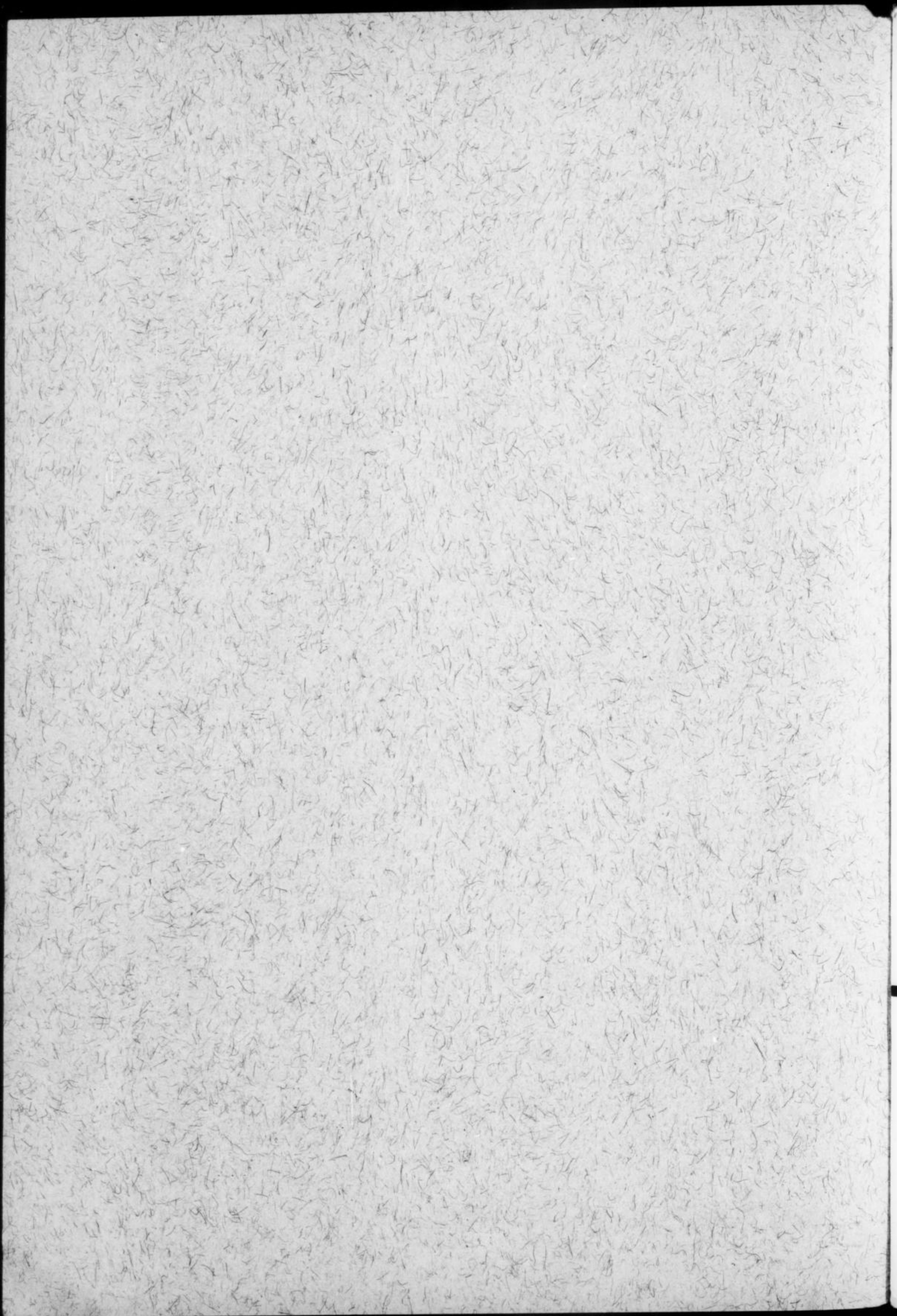


Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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PROBLEMS
OF PEACE
and
SOCIALISM



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of Communist and Workers' Parties**CONTENTS**

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The Economic Might of the Socialist World and the Consolidation of Peace

P. Rusov

THE first man-made planet launched by the Soviet Union is in orbit around the sun. The Soviet atomic ice-breaker is already at sea. A pennant bearing the coat of arms of the USSR has been delivered to the moon. A Soviet automatic interplanetary station has photographed the dark side of the moon. These developments have captured the imagination. Fantasy is becoming fact. The Soviet Union has opened the road to outer space by its achievements in science and technology.

In the age of the atom, interplanetary flights and electronics, boundless opportunities for harnessing the forces of nature are open to man who can use them to bring happiness to our planet. We should not forget, however, that nuclear energy, rocket propulsion and high-speed automation can be used to the detriment of humanity. It will never be forgotten that the powerful atom, enclosed in a bomb, was dropped on Hiroshima. Since then the nuclear stockpile has grown tremendously. New means of wholesale destruction are being devised. *But fortunately for man there exists in this era of scientific discoveries and technological achievements a rapidly growing socialist system which by its very nature is peaceful.*

Further progress depends on whether a durable peace can be secured. All over the world people are looking for a "fulcrum" to reverse the trend from the threat of war to the era of peace, from hostility to confidence. This is the imperative demand of our time. Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence is steadily winning the majority of mankind. This noble idea must become the regular basis for relations between countries not in some ideal society of "universal harmony," but in the real world of today, with its acute social conflicts and ideological struggle.

The very development of the socialist system contributes to the consolidation of world peace and to improving the well-being of the people. The growing socialist system is challenging the withering, though still strong, capitalist system to compete peacefully in economic progress, scientific and cultural achievements and higher living standards.

Which of the two systems is capable of ensuring better conditions for the people? This question, and consequently the question: to which system will the future belong, must be solved, as many Western politicians are beginning to realize, not through war but in the peaceful competition of the two systems.

I

Today millions of people are watching this competition between socialism and capitalism. The bourgeois ideologists are naturally doing everything to convince the masses of the superiority of capitalism. Books and newspapers, statistical publications and reports compiled by parliamentary commissions contain material concerning the production potentialities of socialism and capitalism. To the superficial observer it may appear that the capitalist system has ample room for expansion, because in some respects capitalism is still ahead of socialism: it accounts for 74 per cent of the world's territory, 65 per cent of its population and about two-thirds of its industrial output. But quantitative indices, important though they are, do not determine the economic strength of a social system. Economic power and the perspectives of its growth depend above all on the tendencies of development, on the character and rate of economic advance and, lastly, on the socio-economic system.

Judged from this standpoint, what, then, is the perspective?

The capitalist world system is an unstable, antagonistic combination of national economies linked together by the international capitalist division of labor. It is a transient combination of contradictory national and social forces often pursuing diametrically opposite aims. This system encompasses the big imperialist powers, capitalist countries — some highly developed, others less so — colonies and semi-colonies. Also within the orbit of the international capitalist division of labor are many former colonial countries. The share of the latter in the world's territory and population is 12 and 28 per cent respectively, while that of the colonies is 19 and 6

per cent. These countries are often described as storehouses of incalculable wealth. India alone accounts for nearly one-third of the deposits of manganese and iron ores of the capitalist world.

Seen in this light one can easily understand the weight of the blow delivered to imperialism by the countries which have won political independence and are now fighting for economic independence. And although the economic positions of the foreign monopolies are still strong in these countries, most of them are no longer reserves of imperialism, for they have alignments with the progressive anti-imperialist forces. Breaking with the unequal international relationships and entering into economic exchange with the socialist countries, the young independent states are freeing themselves from the fetters of the international capitalist division of labor. The final disintegration of colonialism will add to the general instability of the capitalist system.

The economies of seven powers—the United States, Britain, Federal Germany, France, Canada, Italy and Japan—comprise the nucleus of the capitalist world system. In these countries, with 15 per cent of the world's territory and 17 per cent of its population, over half the world industrial output is concentrated. But their economic potential cannot be placed on the scales of history as a single entity. Their economies are weakened by fierce competition. Contrary to the claims of the imperialist theoreticians, the formation of supranational state-monopoly unions, far from eliminating this competition, tends to accentuate it and change its forms. U.S. monopolies versus the Japanese and West European, Federal Germany versus Great Britain, the Common Market versus the free trade zone, country against country, bloc against bloc, trust against trust—such is the picture of the economic relations in the capitalist world. The capitalist system, moreover, is being sapped by internal antagonisms: anarchy of production, crises and class struggle.

The socialist world system is developing along fundamentally different lines. Common ownership of the means of production and the abolition of antagonisms have engendered in each of the socialist countries entirely new interstate relations based on the principles of internationalism, friendship and mutual aid.

A feature of present-day economic cooperation between the socialist countries is the emphasis on the sphere of production

rather than trade. Another feature of this cooperation, possible only under socialism, is the co-ordinated economic planning, which gives a clear perspective of the development of each country, enabling it to utilize its resources most effectively. Planning and research are co-ordinated by the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and its subcommittees in keeping with the economic advance of the socialist countries on a mutually complementary basis. Planned co-ordination conserves the efforts of the socialist countries and enables them to carry out development programs which would be beyond reach of each country separately. Illustrative of this are the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, common grid systems and large-scale serial machine-tool production. Work is now under way for a unified grid system for the European Peoples' Democracies and the European part of the USSR. Plans have been drawn up for joint construction of a pipe-line to bring oil from the Volga region to Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

This socialist international division of labor is being extended in every way. True, it is too early to claim that it has already taken final shape; difficulties have still to be surmounted. There are still essential distinctions between the socialist countries; the most important are the varying degrees of completion of the socialist reconstruction and the varying levels of economic development.

The socialist world system is rapidly overcoming the difference in economic levels of the various countries, a difference which had its origin in the capitalist division of labor. For instance, before the war the annual steel output of the countries comprising the socialist world was 24.7 million tons. Of this amount approximately 1.3 million tons (about 5 per cent) was produced by China, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. In 1958 steel output in the socialist countries exceeded 80 million tons, of which more than 10 million (over 12 per cent) were produced by the foregoing countries. This fact is indicative of the rapid evening out of economic and cultural development in the socialist countries.

Lenin pointed out that in building the new society it is important to bear in mind "the tendency towards creating a single world economy regulated by the proletariat of all nations in accordance with a common plan. . . ." The conditions are not yet ripe for merging the economies of all the socialist countries; nevertheless, their economic affin-

ity is growing and many-sided, the outlines of the single economy are taking shape.

The socialist world system is not a temporary union of states based on transient aims but a monolithic force, an inseparable political and economic community of socialist countries knit together by common, permanent and fundamental interests. The socialist countries are united by their common socioeconomic system, by the common class nature of their state power, by common interests and aims in the struggle for socialism and communism and by a common Marxist-Leninist ideology. The indissoluble unity of the socialist countries is an inexhaustible source of strength. The great advantages of the socialist system, which is developing in accordance with the objective laws of history, multiply its economic power, ensure rapid economic progress and the advance of all its member-countries towards communism.

The superiority of the new social system is winning recognition among many bourgeois observers in the West. What is the secret of the success of socialism and what are the reasons for the failure of capitalism?—queried the French economist Jacques Gasquelle. “One nation,” he says, “is as good as another; the material wealth and means of the United States surpass those of its rivals.” “It is not difficult,” he goes on, “to guess the secret of these successes. The secret is the concentration of effort on clearly defined aims, and in giving priority to problems of common interest rather than to problems of private interest. Predominance of private interests, their conflicts, and their collusion, far from favoring common interests strangle them, thrust them into the background, retard the progress of the Western world, create confusion and discourage the youth. . . .” One cannot but agree with this. Capitalist economy cannot compete with the swiftly growing socialist economy. This is strikingly proved by an analysis of the socialist and capitalist economies and the perspectives of the two systems emanating therefrom.

II

In 1917 the share of the first socialist state in world industrial output was only 2-3 per cent. Twenty years later it was approximately 10 per cent, and in 1958 it was about 20 per cent. In 1958 the socialist world as a whole was producing over one-third of world industrial output. Compared with 1913 the USSR's industrial output in 1958 was 36

times greater while labor productivity had grown tenfold. The Soviet Union has a clear lead in the decisive fields of science and technology. These illustrations are more convincing than any words. It should be pointed out that the greater part of the path traversed was the most difficult in the growth of socialism. For the best part of thirty years the USSR was a lone island of socialism in a hostile sea of capitalist countries. Socialist construction was beset with enormous difficulties: technological and economic backwardness inherited from tsarist Russia, lack of experience in building a new society, wars imposed by the imperialists on the young Soviet state and grave damage caused by them. These were the factors which so far have prevented the socialist system from reaching the peak economic indices of the capitalist system; these factors explain why the USSR's industrial output is only half that of the U.S., and why labor productivity is also one-half or less.

Socialism has now reached the stage when all its potentialities for rapid development will be able to manifest themselves. It has entered the decisive phase of its competition with capitalism. By 1965 it will have turned the scales in world economy and will be responsible for more than half the world industrial output. This is the immediate task; its accomplishment will be the prelude to the next leap forward, namely, the solution of the main economic task of socialism—to outstrip the leading capitalist countries in per capita output and ensure the highest living standards in the world. Such is the ultimate aim of the economic competition with capitalism. But this does not mean that progress will then come to a stop. On the contrary, it will be greatly accelerated.

These are real perspectives, not imaginary ones. The competition between the two systems confirms this. The mean annual growth in industrial output of the socialist countries in the 1950-57 period was 13.1 per cent, while that of the capitalist countries was only 5.8. It is precisely the rate of development that is indicative of the *basic trend in the competition between the two systems, namely, the faster development of socialist economy*, which in the past few years has resulted in a qualitative change—faster growth of output in absolute quantities.

Already in the first years of Soviet power Lenin said that if we managed our economy rationally and efficiently, utilizing all the potentialities of the Soviet system and enlisting the creative initiative of the people, the

time would come when there would be an acceleration of social development and of the economy and culture such as capitalism never dreamed of. That time has come. The rate of growth of socialist industrial output, as can be seen from the figures below, has increased in recent years (percentage of previous year):

Countries	Mean increment in the 1950-57 period		First half of 1959
	1958	1959	
USSR	10.0*	10.0	12.0
China	26.9**	66.0	65.0
Czechoslovakia	10.8	11.3	11.0
German Democratic Republic	11.7	10.9	12.4
Bulgaria	14.0	16.0	25.1†
Korean People's Democratic Republic	44.0‡	40.0	75.0

*1957 alone; **1949-1957 period; †first nine months of 1959; ‡1954-1957 period.

The accelerated economic growth is linked with a new stage in the advance of the socialist world system—the USSR's entry into the phase of all-round communist construction and the completion by a number of People's Democracies of the building of socialism. The socialist countries are working on long-term plans which envisage a rapid growth of output. Spurred on by the scientific and technological revolution, they are utilizing the growing potential of the productive forces; production is being linked more closely with scientific achievements, technology is advancing at an accelerated pace, automation is the keynote, the chemical industry is making giant strides and investments are being used with greater effect. The creative initiative of the people is playing a big role in this program; their activity is conditioned by the fact that they are closely concerned with the steady growth of production. This is an incentive unknown to any other social system.

Notwithstanding the difficulties and temporary sacrifices of the past, the socialist system is constantly improving working conditions and raising living standards. As compared with 1940 the USSR's consumption in 1958 increased 2.8 times for sugar and 1.5 times for meat. No less instructive are the figures for the other socialist countries. Per capital consumption of fats in the German Democratic Republic in 1957 was 25.8 kilograms as compared with 11.5 kilograms in 1950; of sugar—29.8 kg. as compared with

22.9 in 1936 (average for the whole of Germany). In 1957 as compared with 1936 the consumption of meat in Czechoslovakia rose from 32.9 to 51 kg., butter from 4.8 to 5.6 kg., sugar—23.8 kg. to 33.5 kg. Another major achievement of socialism is the abolition of unemployment, and, hence, fear of the future from which the working people in the capitalist world are never free. Social security at the expense of the state, free health services and free education, a large network of rest homes and sanatoria, low rent, vast state expenditures on culture and art—all testify to the solicitude for the all-round development of the individual.

The fulfilment of long-term plans by the USSR and the People's Democracies will secure for each member of socialist society more material and spiritual benefits. In 1965 the USSR will produce 4.5 times as much food and manufactured goods as in 1940, while real earnings will go up by approximately 40 per cent in the seven-year period (1959-1965). The time is not far off when the USSR will have the shortest working day and working week in the world, when the Soviet people will have the highest living standard. In Czechoslovakia, which is today well placed among the countries with a high standard of living, per capita consumption will have risen by 45 per cent by 1965; already in 1961 the German Democratic Republic will be ahead of Federal Germany in per capita consumption of basic items. By 1965 consumption in Hungary will have risen by 40-45 per cent. These figures speak for themselves.

In the next few years the increased output of the socialist countries will secure for them further gains in the peaceful competition with the capitalist world. To be sure there are many difficulties to be overcome, but they will be surmounted by free people who already now are piloting the way to the stars. *No one is endangered by the prospering of the socialist economy. What is more, the consolidation of socialism will signify the extension of the material base of peace and the contraction of the base of war. As a reliable bulwark of peace and progress, socialism will exert a still greater influence on the international situation.*

III

While the forms in which socialism influences historical development vary, they, supplementing and furthering one another, lead in the direction of one main goal—the weakening and isolation of the forces of re-

action and war, the strengthening and consolidation of the forces of peace and progress. The very existence of the socialist states and their active, peace-loving foreign policy are a major factor contributing to sound international relations. The firm and confident voice of the socialist peoples is heard on the international arena. And because they are backed by the indomitable force of socialism, by the support of millions in all countries, even the out-and-out imperialist reactionaries are forced to listen to what they say. Experience has taught something to those politicians in the capitalist world whose gospel in international affairs derived from "positions of strength."

Today there are no invulnerable continents, nor are there any insurmountable distances. If there was a time when the imperialists of certain countries could take refuge in the thought that the conflagration of war would leave them untouched, with their coffers bulging with the profits of war production, today these hopes have gone with the wind. The aggressor in any part of the world will be punished. The capitalist world is confronted with the alternative: either peaceful co-existence, or no existence—atomic annihilation.

At the recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Khrushchov said that with the present correlation of forces on the world arena and the present level of military technology no one, unless he has lost all sense of reality, can suggest anything other than peaceful coexistence in the relations between countries with differing social systems. One often hears talk among Western politicians as to whether they should "accept" or "reject" the Soviet Union's proposal for peaceful coexistence. In my view, he went on, this attitude shows a lack of understanding of the substance of the question. The point is that in our day peaceful coexistence is a real fact, and not a request or a desire expressed by somebody. It is an objective necessity which derives from the present state of the world, from the stage of development reached by human society.

The growing strength of the socialist world system and the efforts of all the peace-loving forces have led to a definite improvement in the international climate. How is this manifested?

It is primarily in the significant relaxation of East-West tension that the prospects for strengthening peace have improved. The Khrushchov-Eisenhower meetings have imparted a different tone to the present dis-

cussions. A more sober assessment of the international situation and a more reasonable understanding of the correlation of forces are now taking the upper hand. Many of the principles and methods on which the peace-loving foreign policy of the socialist camp is founded are winning recognition. Negotiation as a means for resolving differences and controversial issues is becoming the principal method.

As everybody knows, the League of Nations tried to crack the nut of disarmament; for fourteen years now disarmament has figured on the agenda of the United Nations. The reason why the West refused to take any real steps in this direction was self-delusion about its strength; the hope was cherished that the course of history could be reversed by threat, by the so-called policy of "containment," "rolling back" and the cold war. The achievements of socialism have opened the eyes of many to the real state of affairs: militarism found itself in a blind alley. The dizzy dance of "brinkmanship" is going out of fashion. Is not the time ripe for taking the path suggested by the Soviet Union, namely that of complete and universal disarmament, and peaceful co-operation of countries with differing social systems?

Whereas the advances made by socialism have had a sobering effect on the imperialist powers, for forward looking people they are a source of inspiration in the struggle for peace and democracy. The rapid economic progress and rising living standards, the flowering of science and culture of the socialist peoples impart to the ideas of socialism a tremendous power of attraction in the eyes of the working people in the capitalist countries. The progress made in building the new society is winning more support for socialist ideas and furthers the growth of the working-class movement. There are now 33 million Communists in 83 countries; this is a powerful force of consistent and selfless fighters for peace, for the interests of the working people, a force whose strength lies in the political consciousness of its ranks, in ideological unity, organization and discipline. Imperialist propaganda, trying to instil fear in the peoples by raising the bogey of a "communist danger," indulges in falsification about the "aggressiveness" of socialism. The clearest proof of the peace-loving nature of the socialist countries is their steady progress in improving the well-being of the people. The growing popular protest against the threat of "atomic death"

and the peaceful strivings of the masses are worrying the militarists, forcing them to be less reluctant to talk.

The political and ideological impact of the success of socialism on the international situation is reinforced by the effects of its economic relations with the rest of the world. These relations, deriving from the requirements of world economic development, are an important form of peaceful coexistence. They facilitate the normalization of political relations between the countries and cement confidence among the peoples.

Co-operation between the socialist and economically backward countries is a vital factor for peace. Many of the underdeveloped countries are pursuing an independent foreign policy, they belong to the vast "peace zone." Peace is a necessity for these countries. Their opposition to war is one of the reasons why war has ceased to be inevitable. These countries have set themselves the task of speedily eliminating their centuries-old backwardness, raising their living standards and consolidating their political independence. In this they are faced with immense difficulties—the acute problem of markets, shortage of capital and lack of experience in economic development. The imperialists are trying to take advantage of this with a view to depriving them of their independence and involving them in their aggressive designs. In contrast, the growing co-operation between the economically backward countries and the socialist camp helps the former to develop their national industry, to consolidate their sovereignty and to pursue an independent policy contributing to a healthier international climate.

Co-operation between the socialist and economically backward countries is based not on principles of domination and dependence but on equality and mutual benefit. In view of the planned nature of socialism, this co-operation cushions the destructive effect of capitalist market conditions on the economies of the underdeveloped countries, encourages industrialization and helps to keep employment on a high level. The *Financial Times* reported that rubber growers in Malaya, Ceylon and Indonesia had been saved from the full force of the impact of the decline in Western rubber consumption by a sharp increase in Soviet buying. During the worst of the recession only these purchases prevented the rubber market from going lower.

Procuring modern industrial plant and machines from the socialist countries, the newly independent countries benefit from

the latest scientific and technological achievements of socialism. It is understandable, therefore, why their trade with the socialist camp is growing. According to UN sources the trade turnover in the 1954-1957 period between the USSR and the European People's Democracies on the one hand, and India on the other, increased from \$22.6 million to \$127.1 million; the respective figures for Burma were \$2.4 million and \$36 million.

The underdeveloped countries are getting more technical and financial aid on easy terms from the socialist countries; the latter are also supplying complete factory equipment and render assistance in building plants and training personnel. In 1960 the USSR alone will aid in the construction of 95 industrial projects. As the socialist world advances it will provide greater opportunities for aid to the new peace-loving states. But the significance of the co-operation between the socialist and underdeveloped countries is not confined to volume of trade and credits; this exchange compels the imperialist powers to meet some of the demands of the underdeveloped countries and to grant them certain financial and technical aid.

The socialist countries are, naturally, interested in economic co-operation with all the capitalist countries, considering it mutually beneficial and helpful in improving international relations. However, they are not seeking the role of commercial partners with the capitalist countries. Even if the capitalist countries were to refuse to trade with the socialist countries this would not affect the economic advance of the latter since they have everything needed for rapid and steady growth. Any arbitrary violation of the requirements of world economic development boomerangs against those imposing trade restrictions, namely, the imperialist powers for whom the question of foreign markets is becoming increasingly acute.

The contracted sphere of capitalist domination, the new technology and automation, growing unemployment and impoverishment of the peasants, and the fierce competition on the foreign market—all confront the capitalist countries with additional difficulties in marketing their produce and make the question of trade with the East ever more urgent. Lenin pointed out that "there is a force which is greater than the desire, will or decision of any of the hostile governments or classes, and that force is the common economic world relations. . . ." That is why, despite the discrimination and trade restric-

tions, international economic co-operation continues to expand.

According to UN sources, in the 1948-1958 period the trade turnover between Federal Germany on the one hand and the USSR and the European People's Democracies on the other rose from \$33.3 million to \$562.6 million; the respective figures for Britain were \$329.8 million and \$500 million; for France—\$99.5 and \$318.9 million; for the USA—\$48.6 million (1954) and \$172.7 million. Under the combined pressure of the public and businessmen the governments of a number of West European countries are more persistent in demanding that the USA withdraw the restrictions on East-West trade. The idea of more trade with the East is engaging the attention of certain sections of American big business. The *Journal of Commerce* commented that the United States should welcome an expansion of trade with the USSR not only because it might improve political relations but also because U.S. consumers, exporters and importers would benefit from this.

International economic relations are winning supporters for the idea of peaceful co-existence among broad sections. Most insistent in demanding greater economic co-operation between the East and West are the working people of the capitalist countries; for them this means not only a way to ease tensions, and remove the threat of war, it also means more jobs. Many workers in the United States, Britain and other countries recall how in the dire years of the 1929-1933 crisis Soviet orders saved them from unemployment. The beneficial influence of trade with the socialist countries is felt by the working people of Finland, Austria and other countries.

Representatives of the bourgeoisie, too, are calling for peaceful coexistence and international economic co-operation. The arms drive, paid for by the taxpayers, enriches mainly the small groups of financial tycoons, "the big three," the "big five," or the "big ten" who specialize in arms production. Militarization of the economy, which accelerates the concentration and centralization of production and capital, is accompanied by the absorption of the small producer by the monopolies. In 1958, for instance, 40 per cent of U.S. government war contracts were placed with ten firms. The journal *Nation* commented, and this is not accidental, that these figures sow fear among the champions of free competition.

While militarization runs counter to the interests of the vast majority of the people, one should not lose sight of the fact that some strata in the imperialist countries, including part of the working people, are apprehensive lest the contraction of war orders should lead to curtailment of production in general, more unemployment and aggravation of crisis phenomena. They ask with anxiety whether capitalism can afford to abandon constant shots-in-the-arm in the shape of war orders without dire consequences for the workers. Experience, however, is convincing these people that the ending of war production is the best way to alleviate the conditions of the people. Disarmament will ease the tax burden and create the conditions for using the vast allocations now spent on the arms drive for civilian production, public works, improved social security, education and so on. Orders for the socialist countries, more aid to the underdeveloped countries and large scale international trade would help to increase employment and provide better opportunities for business.

The desire for broader international economic ties, for relaxation of tensions and for co-operation among nations is becoming irresistible. This desire, which is in keeping with the general democratic movement of the peace-loving forces, is an important factor for the political isolation of the more reactionary part of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

* * *

A world without war is the age-old dream of mankind. This dream found a most vivid expression in the works of the Utopian Socialists. Three centuries ago the Englishman Winstanley urged people to turn the swords into ploughshares and to establish peace on earth so that people would never know war. The Frenchman Fourier advocated reorganizing the armies into forces of construction: "Such armies . . . could within a short span of time change the face of the earth. They will turn the Sahara into a fertile land. . . ." Many philosophers and scientists worked on "drafts for eternal peace." But wars came like hurricanes, causing blood to flow and sowing death and destruction. Imperialism, which bears the responsibility for the two world wars, brought the peoples terrible calamities.

It is only in our time that the cherished aspiration of the peoples is fated to come true. The conditions and the forces capable of assuring peace for this generation and the generations to come have now emerged. But

universal peace will not fall from heaven. It must be won. All sections of the working class, all working people and people of good will must spare no pains in order to banish war from the life of society, to turn the possibility for establishing peace into a reality. The working people of the socialist countries are by their labor contributing to the common cause of all. In doing so they are fulfilling their noble international duty to hu-

manity. The rising star of the new social system is illuminating the path of the greatest mass movement of our times — the peace movement. Like a turbulent river rushing to the sea, this powerful current is merging into a single stream capable of sweeping away the designs of the enemies of peace. For the peace-loving forces of the world the socialist system is the bulwark of universal peace.

Whither Does Militarization of the Economy Lead

Henri Claude

FOR over half a century imperialism has been almost constantly pursuing a policy of war preparations. This policy has its economic aspects. The arms drive, the swelling military budgets and the ceaseless technological developments in the military sphere—all this is clear proof of the *militarization* of the capitalist economies. If one recalls the developments of recent years, it will be obvious that this phenomenon has affected not merely the surface of the capitalist economy, but has gone deeper. The militarization process developed at a particularly rapid rate during the local military conflicts (the Korean war) and colonial wars (e.g., in Algeria).

After the 1914-18 war the military expenditure of the victorious capitalist powers, far from declining, actually exceeded the 1913 level. We have witnessed the same process since the end of the Second World War: instead of decreasing compared with the period of intensive war preparations, the military expenditure has increased.

In the United States budget, for instance, military appropriations in 1922 were 203 per cent compared with the 1914 figure, and in 1949 they were 1,307 per cent compared with 1939. Moreover, in contrast to the inter-war period when the arms drive was renewed only as a consequence of the 1929-33 economic crisis (that is, some fifteen years after the First World War), this time the United States embarked upon intensive mili-

tary spending in 1948 — only a little more than two years after the Second World War (the Korean war only speeded up a process that had started nearly two years before). No less significant is the fact that in the capitalist world military appropriations which declined somewhat in 1954 and 1955, began to rise again in 1956.* The purpose of these appropriations was not only to finance the colonial wars waged by imperialism in a vain attempt to halt the powerful liberation movement of the peoples, but mainly to destroy socialism by force of arms, to correct what the imperialists regarded as the "unfortunate blunder," namely, the October Revolution.

To get the peoples in the capitalist countries to bear the burden of the military expenditure, the monopolies, which are making fantastic profits from military orders, have resorted to every conceivable form of propaganda. Chiefly they have tried to prove that this expenditure is necessary, blaming the socialist countries which, they allege, are preparing military aggression, and, on the other hand, by trying to lull the public into accepting the view that arms production is a factor contributing to the prosperity of society as a whole since, so the

*Military appropriations of the NATO countries (in millions of dollars):

1949 — 18,723	1952 — 59,870	1955 — 54,124
1950 — 20,434	1953 — 64,014	1956 — 56,106
1951 — 42,159	1954 — 56,555	1957 — 59,586
		1958 — 59,944
		(estimate)

claim goes, it ensures full employment and prevents economic crises.

When in June 1950 the war broke out in Korea the *U.S. News & World Report* triumphantly declared that it would usher in a new period of boom; as if made to order, the conditions were created to maintain business at a high level. The Korean events, the journal stressed, abolished the specter of the crisis which had been haunting U.S. businessmen since the end of World War II. Thus, concluded the journal, the prospect was one of a long period of boom. On April 23, 1954, the same journal hailed the first H-bomb test and the prospect of an intensified atomic arms race with these words: "What H-bomb means to business. A long period of . . . big orders. In the years ahead, the effects of the new bomb will keep on increasing. As one appraiser puts it: 'The H-bomb has blown depression thinking out of the window'."

What can be said about this economic analysis? What do the facts say?

It is true that *for a certain period* the armaments race leads to increased demands for machinery and raw materials, and also to a boom in capital investments. This is true not only for the enterprises working on military orders, but also for the industries producing consumer goods. The latter accumulate stocks in anticipation of a goods shortage and a rise in prices. Thus, at the very outset the militarization results in a market expansion characterized by certain speculative features, and may draw the economy as a whole into an upward spiral. This was the case, for instance, in the United States at the initial stage of the Korean war. But the moment this fever passes, it becomes clear that military expenditure does not create any new market (at least from the angle of the economy as a whole) since *it has to be paid for out of the pockets of the people*, either in the form of taxes or through inflation. These two means, mostly applied simultaneously, result in lowering the purchasing power of factory and office workers, pensioners and the middle sections (small peasants and artisans) and in more profits for the arms monopolies.

The firms working on the military orders realize the value of their goods and amass superprofits solely by selling these goods to the Government. But the state cannot create a market out of nothing. It creates this market by alienating part of the wages received by the working class, and part of the

values created by the peasants and handicraftsmen. The Government transfers the value from the sector of civilian consumption to that of military production. So what we get in the final analysis is not an expansion of the market but impoverishment of the working people. This phenomenon can be partially concealed when militarization of the economy coincides with the upward swing of the cycle, that is, parallel with a real expansion of the capitalist market caused by large scale renewal of fixed capital. This is exactly what happened after the Second World War when the armaments race coincided with the upward swing of the postwar cycle of 1948-57. The process of impoverishment nevertheless does not stop. This can be seen from the fact that, taken as a whole, the working class in the capitalist countries was able to utilize the upward swing of the cycle to improve its conditions to a much lesser degree than was the case in the last century and even in 1920-29. In this respect the position of the French working class in 1954-58 has been particularly significant. For France these were the years of the peak of the postwar cycle: production which had been in a state of stagnation for 22 years, showed an annual increase of 10 per cent from 1954 to May 1958 when it reached its highest point. And yet in the first half of that year (that is when business activity was at its annual best) the conditions of the working class, far from improving in comparison with 1938 — a year of crisis — deteriorated considerably. Many workers were downgraded (unskilled workers are doing work formerly done by highly-skilled craftsmen); intensification of labor is greater and housing conditions have worsened to an extraordinary extent; finally, the purchasing power of the working people has fallen. If we compare, for instance, the hourly wage in the metal industry in 1938 and in mid-1958, we observe that the purchasing power of an unskilled worker has fallen by 38 per cent, that of a medium-skilled worker by 35 per cent, and that of a highly-skilled worker by 30 per cent; thus the average figure for all the categories of workers engaged in the industry has fallen approximately 33 per cent.

To make up for this difference the workers were compelled to work overtime. But as *Economie et Politique*, French Marxist journal (July-August 1958), has shown on the basis of statistics provided by the employers, even by working considerably longer

hours each week the workers in the metal industry have not been able to regain the prewar purchasing power of their wages. Working 46 hours a week instead of 39 hours in 1938, and receiving an additional 25 per cent for overtime, a semi-skilled worker received in 1958 a real wage which was 20 per cent lower than that in 1938. The example of the metal industry — an industry undergoing considerable expansion, and the immediate beneficiary of armament orders — convincingly testifies to the consequences for the working class of the militarization to which the French bourgeoisie has subjected the economy for the purpose of serving the NATO military plans and continuing the colonial war in Algeria. Such is the true nature of the "prosperity" promised to the working class by the advocates of the armament race!

In what way does the militarization affect the process of reproduction? Above all it aggravates the contradiction between production and purchasing power. Consequently, irrespective of all the other reasons associated with the general crisis of capitalism (shrinkage of the sphere of imperialism, crisis of the colonial system, etc.), the new phenomenon caused by the militarization—*greater absolute impoverishment of the working class even during the upward swing of the cycle*—leads to increasing instability of the capitalist economy in this period. This instability manifests itself in more frequent partial crises of overproduction and in the deepening of intermediate crisis, without in any way preventing cyclical crises.

The working people whose purchasing power is reduced by increased taxation and inflation, are forced to stop buying articles which are not indispensable (radio sets, electrical appliances) and those which can be made to last longer (clothing, shoes), and to spend the greater part of their wages on food and rent. This results in overproduction in industries manufacturing durable consumption goods even when production as a whole is surging ahead.

In the USA for instance, between the fourth quarter of 1950 and the same period in 1951 the output of refrigerators, radio sets and washing machines fell by approximately 59, 32 and 25 per cent respectively. Despite military orders the gross output of the woollen industry between September 1950 and September 1951 fell by about 26 per cent, and the manufacture of shoes declined 28 per cent between August

1950 and November 1951. The output of woollens for civilian consumption fell, between December 1949 and December 1951, by 63 per cent. One has to turn to the 1929-33 crisis to find a precedent for such a fall in these commodities. A spokesman for the leather manufacturers wrote in the *Wall-Street Journal* on November 27, 1951, that since the 1929-33 crisis the U.S. shoe-making industry had not experienced such a fall of production. And this fall was due not to a shortage of raw materials or to any other reasons but to a reduction of purchasing power. In the Wilson report, an official report to the U.S. Government, it was stated that in some of the industrial centers there was considerable unemployment due to reduced demand for textiles, shoes and other articles. That the fall resulted from a reduced demand can be seen from the growing stockpiles of unsold commodities. Early in 1952 the number of unsold radio sets more than doubled and that of refrigerators increased over three times. This indicates that at that time there was pronounced overproduction in an economy based on armament production.

The same conclusions can be drawn from present-day France where a serious crisis is affecting electric appliances, motorcycles, the cotton industry and women's clothing, whereas heavy industry (raw materials, steel, chemicals) is expanding. Thus the frequent curtailment of production affecting particular civilian industries is not surprising. Between 1948-58 in the United States there were at least four crises in the textile industry (in 1948-49, 1951-52, 1954 and 1957-58). Since 1950 there have been three crises in the same industry in France (in 1952-53, 1955-56 and in 1958). It should be emphasized that these were not mild but rather acute crises. For instance, between 1954 and 1958 (a boom period in the French economy) in two departments alone — Bas-Rhin and Haut-Rhin — 108 textile factories were closed. As a result the number of workers in these two departments fell from 63,250 before the war to 35,500. In the autumn of 1958, 18,000 were working only 20-30 hours a week; 20,000 workers had a monthly wage lower than 23,000 francs although the Supreme Collective Agreements Board lays down a minimum monthly wage of 35,000.

Besides the many partial crises there are also intermediate crises which have become more profound compared with the period

when the capitalist cycle was free from the influence of a militarized economy. In the 1920-29 cycle in the USA the 1927 intermediate crisis led only to a period of stagnation in production, and the 1924 crisis to a lowering of production by only 6.3 per cent, whereas in the 1948-57 cycle the 1953-54 intermediate crisis accounted for a 10.2 per cent fall in production. Thus military expenditure could neither halt the course of the cycle nor prevent the onset of periodic crises. This is confirmed by the 1957-58 cyclical crisis in the USA and overproduction features in the other capitalist countries, which have blown sky-high the myth of prosperity, full employment, and abolition of crises—all to be achieved by means of the armaments drive. The 5,437,000 registered unemployed in the United States in June 1958, the 552,000 unemployed in Britain in October 1958, and the reduction of the working week in France which by November 1958 had affected one million working people, are eloquent proof of the falsity of this myth.

The facts, then, have irrefutably confirmed the conclusions of Marxist analysis, that the militarization of the economy has not abolished the laws governing the development of capitalism nor the laws governing crises and the economic cycle. No ideological propaganda tricks will be able, for long, to conceal the fact that the militarization of the economy, far from moderating, sharpens *all the contradictions of capitalist society, and accelerates the process of its decay.*

In his book on imperialism Lenin used the term "decay" in relation to non-utilization of the productive forces (retarding technological progress by the monopolies, pigeon-holing inventions, the growing numbers of parasitic coupon-clippers and domestic servants). It is obvious that the militarization of the economy, that is the manufacture of commodities (armaments) which cannot be used either for the reproduction of labor-power or for the expansion of production, results in growing parasitism and decay.

In a militarized economy a considerable part of the productive forces is used not for satisfying the needs of the members of society, but for producing armaments—commodities which the state buys and then destroys. The productive forces decay and turn into their antithesis—destructive forces. A striking example of this is the use by the American capitalists of atomic energy almost solely for military purposes.

No propaganda can conceal the *non-productive* nature of military expenditure. Indeed, this is what the capitalists themselves thought when capitalism was still on the upgrade, long before the epoch of imperialism and monopoly domination. The theory of prosperity through armament production clearly reveals the decline of capitalist ideology. The intellectual decadence of the bourgeoisie coincides with the decay of the capitalist economy.

This decadent ideology is in direct contrast with socialist ideology. Whereas the theoreticians of capitalism are trying to justify armament expenditure because under capitalism lethal weapons are commodities containing surplus value and bringing in huge profits to the monopolies, in the socialist countries this expenditure is regarded as a burden imposed from without, a burden which must be got rid of as soon as possible. Socialist production relations which have abolished the exploitation of man by man, give free rein to the development of the productive forces and quite naturally tend to eliminate all forms of their non-productive use. There are no antagonistic classes under socialism; all members of society there can make ample use of leisure and enjoy to the full the material and cultural values. This presupposes that all deductions from the social product will be gradually abolished — deductions which are not linked with individual and industrial consumption and with the satisfaction of varied peaceful needs. Such is the economic basis of the peace policy of the socialist countries.

But the socialist countries, in face of the aggressive policy of the imperialists, are forced to allocate part of their product for military purposes. In these circumstances the question arises: Will not the advocates of militarism be able in this way to hinder the advance of the socialist countries towards communism? This is the last straw to which the advocates of capitalism have long been clinging. Since it was a forlorn hope to think in terms of conquering the socialist camp by force of arms, they regarded the cold war as a means of retarding the output of material values in the socialist countries, and of preventing the standard of living of their populations from rising at the rate possible under the socialist production relations. They hoped they would be able to prevent these countries surpassing, as rapidly as they might, the living standards in the advanced capitalist countries.

In contrast to capitalism, under socialism the production of armaments can never be an inherent ill of society. Defense expenditure is a burden on socialist society, but it cannot halt its progress. The people in the socialist countries know that the day will come when this burden will be thrown overboard. A very heavy one at the beginning when the Soviet people were the only builders of socialism, with the passage of time this burden weighs less heavily on the development of the socialist camp which is growing stronger day by day. As confirmation of this the changes in the sums allocated for military purposes in the state budget of the USSR can be cited. Unlike the imperialist states, the Soviet Union has been reducing these allocations year by year. Between 1940 and 1959 the proportion of defense allocations in the budgetary expenditure of the USSR has fallen 2.4 times. At the same time the land of Soviets has made a tremendous advance in technology, ensuring for it a strategic superiority, which no one any longer doubts. This means that the socialist camp now has a material and technological base which enables it both to possess weapons capable of cooling the ardor of imperialist aggressors, and to steadily raise the living standards of the people. The militarists have lost the last means by which they intended to prevent socialism from demonstrating its superiority. That is why the more far-sighted people of the bourgeoisie are beginning to think in terms of seriously revising foreign policy.

An important manifestation of this change in attitude was the invitation extended by President Eisenhower to Premier Khrushchov to visit the USA and the joint communique published after their talks. The most interesting point about this document is the recognition by the leader of the biggest capitalist state of the fact that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation," and that "the question of general disarmament is the most important one facing the world today."

The way is now being opened for demilitarization. So great was the popular response in all parts of the world to the Soviet proposals on general and complete disarmament that the UN Political Committee unanimously

endorsed the joint American-Soviet draft resolution on general and complete disarmament, which calls on governments to exert all efforts for a constructive solution of the disarmament problem. With good reason the resolution points out that *the discontinuation of the arms drive which weighs heavily on humanity will make it possible to "use the resources thus released for the benefit of mankind."* At present 88 countries of the world are daily spending 14,000,000 million francs for military needs, i.e., 160 million a second. Clearly ordinary people would like to see these huge sums used not for purchasing means of destruction, but for raising their standards of living and for the further conquering of nature.

As Walter Lippmann pointed out, Mr. Khrushchov "has come here . . . to persuade the American people that while he is their challenger, their rival and their competitor, he is not their enemy. He is not bent on destroying them, but on outdoing them in all fields of material and intellectual endeavor. This is a sobering prospect, and it cannot be said that Mr. Khrushchov is concealing the seriousness of the challenge which he poses. For the true inwardness of this challenge is aimed directly at the critical weakness of our society."

The might of the socialist camp and the tremendous pressure exerted by the world peace forces have confronted the capitalists with the need, in addition to resolving their internal contradictions, to resolve the problem of peace. This is not the "normal practice" of capitalism the powerful economic circles of which make no secret about the fact that they favor the status quo, i.e., essentially, the continuation of the cold war and militarization. It follows, then, that strong resistance will have to be overcome before a world without arms is created. The triumph of the ideas of peace is guaranteed by the Soviet seven-year plan, work on which has already started, the gigantic leap forward which is being carried out in the Chinese economy, and by the steady success of the entire socialist camp. But in very large measure it depends on the worldwide action of the masses, as to whether the specter of war—that diabolical, perverted business—shall cease forever to haunt mankind.

Black Africa on the March to Liberation

Monique Laffon

LATE in the nineteenth century the French bourgeoisie, then in the heyday of their development, seized a big part of Black Africa, either by force of arms or by virtue of "agreements" which, incidentally, were never honored.

After the 1914-18 war the French colonial empire in this part of the world occupied a sparsely populated area of 7,666,000 square kilometers (colonialist rule has reduced the indigenous population still further). Some 28 million local inhabitants and over 100,000 people of European origin now live in these immense territories.

French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa (as they were formerly called) were divided into territories the boundaries of which arbitrarily split up natural economic regions and the peoples inhabiting them.*

I

French Africa has all the hallmarks of the economic backwardness (except that the backwardness is more marked) common to colonial countries.

It still has a colonial economy characterized by the following features: export and import companies, enjoying monopoly rights, purchasing local agricultural produce for a song and making the population pay exorbitant prices for low-grade European manufactured goods; insignificant, at least until recently, capital industrial investment.

According to official data (probably erring on the high side) not more than 27 billion francs (in terms of 1940 francs) were privately invested in these territories between 1900 and 1940. Of these 20 billion came from companies on the Stock Exchange. Thus the African economy was under the direct domination of French finance capital. These investments, moreover, were in the main made from local accumulations. That is to say the flow of money capital into Africa has

been inconsiderable. Government investments were for a time restricted to supplying port equipment, and building railways and highways necessary for opening up the country. This did not call for any great outlay since forced labor was used to do the work and local budgetary resources were drawn upon.

Whatever the origin of this capital, it has not promoted the economic development of Black Africa but, on the contrary, has facilitated the plunder of the country.

Whether it is a matter of free "concessions" or of concessions granted for ludicrously small sums to European companies and individual employers with complete disregard for the rights of local owners (the prevailing system in French Equatorial Africa), or whether it is a matter of African "free producers", never—in agriculture, forestry or even the mines—have anything but primitive methods been used. The "engine running on bananas" (as the colonialists cynically designate the African workers) was universal.

Up to 1914 the sap of wild rubber plants, which the local population was forced to collect, was the main item of export from French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa. In the Congo and Ubangi the natives worked at this job for nine months in the year, often dozens of miles from their villages. They had only three months in which to grow their food crops. After the First World War collection of wild plant sap gave way to the cultivation of rubber plantations, to the detriment, too, of food crops. Intensive cultivation has resulted in soil impoverishment and monstrous disproportions in the economy, in malnutrition and physical exhaustion of the people.

In 1951 the average yearly per capita income in French West Africa (including food produced for personal consumption) did not go beyond 10,000 colonial francs; it was under 4,000 francs in Mauritania, Haute-Volta and Niger and still less in French

*The French Administration has named these territories according to their geographical position: Mauritania, Senegal, Sudan, Haute-Volta, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger, Gabon, Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari, Chad.

Equatorial Africa. In this last group of territories excessive use of forced labor and the spread of plantations reduced the population by several million early in the twentieth century. People either died of exhaustion, or migrated to neighboring territories.

The changes which took place immediately after the Second World War did not substantially affect the economy. Forced labor was legally abolished in 1946 through the joint efforts of the African masses and French democrats, but the result was that economic coercion replaced administrative compulsion.

Economic coercion was achieved by increasing the poll tax, which every adult had to pay, irrespective of income. The poll tax comprised the bulk of direct tax receipts and swallowed up to one-half of the African's money wage. The only way the peasant could raise the money to pay the tax was by producing for export, with the result that the imbalance between the cultivation of crops for internal consumption and export became even more pronounced, to the detriment of the former.

* * *

After the Second World War imperialist politicians and big financial companies began to display greater interest in Africa. The capitalist world market had contracted; a large part of Asia was lost to the imperialists in the sense that they could no longer plunder it at will. War preparations, moreover, had turned Africa, as the imperialists admit, into a strategic hinterland. Africa's immense mineral and power resources began to be regarded in a new light. The imperialists are co-operating in exploiting these resources. French, West German, Italian and American private capital is combining, calculating in the main, that Government funds will enable it to build big industrial plants within the framework of the "Atlantic ferrous metal industry" or under the banner of Eurafrigue and the Common Market.

The operations of FRIA, an international company for extracting bauxites and producing aluminum in Guinea, are a case in point. With the Rockefeller trust playing the major role this company incorporates the French Péchiney company, the American Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation, the British Aluminum Company Ltd. and Swissbanks.

To cite another example. The European Coal and Steel Community authority is prospecting for iron and manganese ore on the

Ivory Coast, in the Cameroons, and Gabon. A million dollars have been allocated for this purpose. Future construction will cost ten million dollars, half of which will be provided by France and the other half by the European Coal and Steel Community.

But the ores, oil, uranium and hydro-power are not being exploited, nor will they be exploited within the framework of the African economy. The one exception is Guinea where the extraction of bauxites and iron ore will, apparently, be conducted under the control and in the interests of the new state. Raw material exports, it is contemplated, will by-pass the local economic network: electric power generated in Edéa (the Cameroons), for example, will be delivered to Péchiney at below cost price. This company will import bauxites of French origin to the Cameroons, process them, and send the finished product to France. The idea is to use power and labor without the African economy benefiting in any way.

African manufacturing industry is stagnating and, compared with 1948, even regressing. At the same time the monopoly of foreign trade—from which France gains—has been strengthened by currency exchange rates and fiscal and customs measures.

* * *

With the increased capitalist exploitation of Africa's resources, the peoples of the "Black Continent" are seeing things in a new light. New contradictions have already risen, and will continue to rise between the colonial peoples and imperialism.

Since the late nineteenth century the African peoples have felt the burden of colonial oppression in their economic, political and cultural life. When they were seizing Africa (the conquest was completed by 1900) the French colonialists came up against the small feudal principalities. These had been dispersed and emasculated by the slave trade which for a long time ravaged Africa, enriching the European colonies in the New World. The colonialists removed all the local political and administrative rulers and replaced them, at the lower levels at least, by Africans whom the French Administration appointed as headmen of villages, cantons and provinces. Although these people, lower-grade officials of a sort, were described as "traditional chiefs," they were in fact nominated without any regard to tradition; all that was required of them was loyalty to the colonial administration. Overall administra-

tion was exercised by French officials who in their "spheres" enforced the regulations which they had drawn up. Their whim was law. They could arrest and imprison people without trial or investigation. The Africans had no rights—no freedom of assembly, of meetings, no right freely to express their will.* As a result of the naturalization effected in the French territories, insignificant though it was, about 25,000 Africans enjoyed certain civic rights by the time the First World War ended. Neither the French Administration, interested as it was in maintaining semi-slave labor, nor the Africans themselves, who retained their own status, a status which in the religious and social respect was incompatible with that of the French, sought rights of citizenship for the Africans.

Having eliminated the local political and administrative personnel, the colonialists sought to implant "French civilization." Their efforts in this sphere, however, have been on a more than modest scale. Only 8.4 per cent of the children attend school in French West Africa, and 16.1 per cent in Equatorial Africa. The uniform system of instruction, conducted in the French language, aims at training obedient native officials. Thanks, however, to the fact that small numbers of Africans are being accepted into French educational establishments, and that a university has recently been opened in Dakar, African writers and scientists (few as yet), loyal to the distinctive traditions of their peoples and guided by the urge to combat colonialism, are now coming to the fore. Sanitation is practically non-existent. In recent years there has been only one doctor to 28,000 people in West Africa, and one to 31,000 in Equatorial Africa.

The demand for manpower resulted in the excessive growth of a few towns which now have masses of unemployed. Many live in shanties for which exorbitant rents are paid.

The African worker is denied industrial training. Moreover, the colonialist enterprises employ French workers for skilled work. The native working class is numerically small: 2.3 per cent of the population in West Africa, 3.3 per cent in Equatorial Africa, 4.1 per cent in the Cameroons, and 1.6 per cent in Togoland. This in itself testifies to the non-industrialization of Africa. But even though numerically small, the organized working

class at times exerts considerable influence on the course of events.

II

Between the two world wars there were sporadic peasant uprisings (usually spear-headed against taxation) which ended in defeat. It was only after the Second World War that a real anti-colonial movement began, a movement that is developing steadily, despite the growing pains only too understandable when an entire continent is straightening its back.

As we know, a democratic upsurge took place in France as a result of the patriotic struggle against the Nazi invaders. This was accompanied by a movement in Africa which, as its leaders say, united in a common front "all peoples, all races, all political parties, all workers, and all cultural and religious organizations in Black Africa." This was the Democratic Union of Africa (RDA). It opposed the colonial system, put forward demands for equal political and social rights for Africans and French, personal freedom, free development of native culture, local democratic assemblies, voluntary union of the African population and of the people of France.

The RDA, whose parliamentary groups affiliated to the parliamentary group of the French Communist Party, rapidly gained important successes throughout French Africa, mainly on the Ivory Coast. Its first Congress was held in October 1946; three years later, at the time of its Second Congress the RDA, which now had independent organizations in a number of territories, had more than a million supporters.

Other political organizations emerged. Some metropolitan parties, the SFIO, for example, tried to set up branches in Africa on the basis of assimilation. There were, too, specifically African political organizations in Senegal, for instance. Their members compelled their leaders to pursue a policy of united action with the RDA.

Thus ten years ago the urge towards African political unity began to make itself felt.

The French Administration endeavored to hold back the new movement born of the growing political awareness of the Africans and their desire for organized anti-colonial action. But this was not an easy thing to do, for the mass movement in Africa was supported by the French working-class and democratic movement, then in the full flush of development. During 1945-46, when the French government included Communists,

*An exception was Senegal, at least in the four towns of Dakar, Rufisque, St. Louis, and Gore. During the First World War the need for soldiers forced Parliament to recognize the inhabitants of these towns as French citizens.

the Africans obtained rights which, in their colonial status, were absolutely new to them—though these rights were either restricted or not carried out. They succeeded in getting the native rights system abolished—legally, if not in fact—and were granted individual and public rights. An explicitly worded law abolished forced labor. Local assemblies were set up. True, they were elected by a double electoral college—European and African—which meant that European representation was out of all proportion to the actual number of Europeans. Moreover, the functioning of these assemblies was cramped by the authority of the governor, the representative of the French government. None the less, for the first time in colonial rule, Africans were able to express their political will. They were now represented in the French parliament by African deputies, although these were still few in number.

In 1947, however, the French rulers, having become involved in the "Atlantic" policy, sought to square accounts with the democratic forces, first and foremost the Communist Party in France and the democratic, anti-colonial and national movements in the colonies. Terror was employed and war launched against the Algerians, the Malagasy, the Vietnamese, Tunisians and Moroccans. Resort was had to bribery and all legal forms of repression, hatred between ethnical groups was fanned; and the reactionary features in religious trends were supported. From 1950 on there were executions. With the stepping up of terror, the colonialists tried to undermine the RDA, the biggest anti-colonial organization, from within. Their objective was to channel its activities along other lines.

Occasionally they met with success. Some RDA leaders began to collaborate with the French government, participating in the repressions against other colonial countries. Many autonomous territorial sections, however, refused to concur with the policy of these leaders and pursued their own course. This was the case in the Cameroons where the Union of the Population of the Cameroons continued its fight for the unification and independence of their country. These Cameroon patriots are still the object of particularly savage persecution, which in some parts of the country has provoked a veritable armed struggle. A split took place among the RDA members in Niger and Senegal: some collaborated with the French government, others continued action against it. The Democratic Party of Guinea (a section of the RDA) under Sékou Touré's leadership con-

tinued to grow on the basis of an anti-colonialist program.

The idea of anti-colonial struggle lives on in the African people and each new development entrenches it more firmly in their minds. The defeat suffered by the French colonialists in Vietnam, the winning of independence by Tunisia and Morocco, the Algerian people's struggle, the Bandung conference, the growing might of the socialist world—nothing escapes their attention. The French Communist Party, waging a constant struggle for the colonial peoples' demands, has won the sympathy of the African people in all the territories.

After the 1956 election when the government led by the "socialist" Guy Mollet, advocate of war to the knife in Algeria, came to power, it undertook to "extinguish the conflagration" in Africa. It was most important for the French imperialists to restore peace and order in Black Africa by making small concessions.

But this turned out to be more difficult than they thought. Something new was emerging in Africa. The striving towards democracy had given place to the striving for an African nation, and hence for independence. The birth of the new African state of Ghana crystallized this trend. The French government's proposals were found wanting. The government offered a "cadre law" establishing a series of principles to be implemented by government decree. These principles represented an advance on the former legislation. They envisaged the introduction of universal suffrage and the establishment of a single electoral college, thus making it possible to extend the powers of the local assemblies and, above all, to set up a government council—the embryo of African executive power—in each territory.

Although by its decrees the French government endeavored to minimize the effects of the "cadre law," some African leaders nevertheless managed to utilize it in the interests of African political life. In Guinea, for example, the Sékou Touré government did not hesitate to use its new powers to abolish the traditional system of military districts on which the French Administration had long relied. The traditional chiefs were replaced by African administrators elected by universal suffrage. For the first time since the conquest of Africa, Guinea's internal administration has become exclusively African. In other territories the larger towns are now administered by elected African mayors. Thanks to the African Administration, progress has

been made in education and in securing higher wages.

But the "cadre law" split up Africa, creating the embryo of state structure in each territory and virtually separating them from each other. The Africans want a strong, united and independent Africa, and it is with this objective that the struggle for the unity of the Continent has developed.

Africa's political life centered around two basic demands — unification and independence. The Third Congress of the RDA held in Bamako in September 1957, eight years after the second, strikingly reflected African sentiment, and Houphouët-Boigny, the RDA leader, falling under the influence of the French colonialists and their government, could do nothing. Congress participants from all the territories, and guests from other African parties, declared independence to be the inalienable right of the people, that all Africans stood solidly behind the Algerian people in their struggle. They demanded the immediate establishment of federal executive bodies — one for West Africa, another for Equatorial Africa — and expressed their will for unification, thereby paving the way for the formation of a single African party.

There were in Africa in 1957 four big parties (in addition to some small local parties): the RDA (with its territorial sections), the African Convention (which plays the major role in Senegal), the African Socialist Movement (which recently broke with the SFIO) and the new African Party of Independence upholding the ideas of scientific socialism. Representatives of other parties, too, occasionally announce their adherence to socialism, a socialism in line with the specific conditions of Africa, although their ideas of socialism are not expressed very clearly.

Then there are the youth and student organizations which, actively participating in political life, exert a positive influence upon it. These organizations play an active part also in international festivals, striking fear into the hearts of those political leaders tending to compromise with French imperialism.

The African trade unions united in the General Workers' Union of Black Africa (UGTAN), a "national, genuinely African organization," are quite important, despite Africa's small number of wage-earners. Since its first congress in Conakry last January, UGTAN has acted in defense of the working people, and has pronounced itself firmly in

favor of an alliance of all sections of African society in the anti-colonial struggle.

In accordance with decisions adopted at the RDA Congress in Bamako, the major parties assembled in Paris (February 1958) to resolve the question of unification. But unification did not take place on a broad scale because the opponents of the rapid development of Black Africa resorted to splitting and disruptive activities against African unity and its aims. The conference did, however, give birth to a new party—the African Unification Party (PRA), which includes the African Convention, the African Socialist Movement and five small local organizations. The RDA, rejecting unification, nevertheless agreed to unity of action on the basis of a common program calling for the formation of two federal governments linked with France through a federal republic.

At the PRA Party Congress in Cotonou (Dahomey) in July 1958, the question was posed still more resolutely: *the congress demanded immediate independence for Black Africa, without, however, rejecting co-operation with France.*

This clearly reflected both the urge of the progressive section of the African population—an urge that had already been clearly enunciated by the more militant organizations—and the less definite aspirations of the unorganized masses. Developments showed, however, that the realities of the situation prevented many of the political figures who had demanded immediate independence from launching the struggle for independence forthwith. Indeed many of Africa's political figures are subject to a dual influence: that of the people and their progressive organized forces, and that of the French colonialists in the African and French assemblies. They are subject to multiple pressure from the French government and the colonial system. Nevertheless they publicly and broadly posed the question of independence, and this had a most progressive influence on the political situation in Africa.

Taking advantage of the May 13, 1958, coup d'état by the ultra-colonialists, the monopolies installed the de Gaulle government in power. But it was necessary to create the impression that de Gaulle had been put there by the people. Fearing that the requisite number of votes would not be cast in France, it was decided that the Africans—to whom some concessions were to be made—should participate in the plebiscite as a complementary force. After a series of

evasions, the de Gaulle constitution finally included recognition of the colonial peoples' right to independence (this right did not extend to the people of Algeria). Before the referendum de Gaulle resorted to intimidation. Any colonial country rejecting his constitution, he declared, would be detached from France and abandoned to its fate, politically, administratively and economically.

Backed by the people, who almost to a man rejected the de Gaulle constitution, the government of Guinea alone accepted the independence proffered with threats. In the other territories the African forces could not stand up to the French Administration which, by diverse means and even by violence, secured the desired referendum result.

* * *

Once again the situation had changed, and the road to progress had broadened out. The government of Guinea under Sékou Touré's leadership, proved capable of coping with its tasks. Guinea was left without aid or, to be more precise, without French economic tutelage. The country's resources, however, attracted other capitalist powers. Emancipated Guinea was no longer bound either by the "Atlantic" or the Eurafrique policy: the people could now seek other partners, could turn to the socialist market.

The experience of Guinea which, incidentally, the French imperialists are smearing in every way they can, is certainly of great value for Africa, having strengthened the general yearning for liberation. The independence of Togoland and the Cameroons—soon to be realized, inasmuch as a U.N. decision has abolished the trusteeship there—can also be a factor operating in this direction, if only the leaders of these countries pursue an independent policy.

The political leaders of the PRA and the RDA in Senegal, Sudan, Dahomey, Haute-Volta, Niger, the Ivory Coast and Equatorial Africa, where the political situation is different from what it was in Guinea, chose in September 1958 to remain within the French "Community." These countries have thus not achieved economic freedom and, what is more, attempts are being made, despite their coolness, to draw them into the "Common Market" and "Eurafrique." This would only intensify the economic oppression under which they are already suffering. Nor have they won political emancipation, for in the "Community" born of the de Gaulle constitution all foreign policy, economic and

financial issues are decided by the president of the Republic and the "Community"; "order" is ensured by the "Community's" armed forces, police and judiciary. And, lastly, the French Administration is required to pursue a common policy in the "Community" countries. These countries will thus continue to be the arena of colonialist intrigues.

The choice made in September 1958 by the leaders of Senegal, Sudan, Haute-Volta, Dahomey, etc., *does not, however, imply renunciation of independence.* On the contrary most of these leaders are seeking independence through the "Community," since the letter of the de Gaulle constitution holds out this possibility.

Proof of this is the Africans' desire to form a federation ensuring political and administrative unification, a federation that would lead to the creation of a big independent state maintaining allied relations with France. This is what is behind the Mali Federation established in West Africa on the basis of agreements between local governments.

The perspective of African unity opened up by the creation of the Federation is not to the liking of the French imperialists. They are making every use of their Administration to prevent the formation of unions of this kind. Under strong pressure the leaders of some territories, who initially favored unity in the Mali Federation, changed their minds at the last moment. That is why only Sudan and Senegal have joined.

The picture of the political trends in this part of Africa is as follows:

Local government leaders in the territories of the Ivory Coast, Niger, Haute-Volta, Chad, Gabon and the Congo more or less firmly favor the de Gaulle "community."

The Mali Federation is resolutely demanding independence. Its leaders—both Senegalese and Sudanese—were present at the recent congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea. Upon its conclusion they announced their intention to obtain "Community" rights for Mali with a view to securing a legal basis for independence.

Mauritania, with problems different from those of the other countries of Black Africa, is also demanding independence, and influential political figures in Dahomey are doing likewise.

Outside the "Community," independent Guinea and its Democratic Party are winning

success on the economic and political fronts at home and in international relations. And this success is having an impact on the movement of the peoples of Black Africa as a whole. News of Guinea's achievements is spreading and is having a tremendous influence on African minds.

It should be said in this connection that if the common aspirations of the African territories are sometimes expressed by the local governments, they are occasionally voiced by organized political forces not connected with the governments. The Party of African Federation, for example, which arose out of the split in the PRA, following the formation of the Mali Federation, not only expresses the political aspirations of the governments of Senegal and the Sudan, but those of the adherents of Federation—which in all the countries of the "Community" is seen as a step towards independence.

This trend explains the contradictions that have appeared recently in the de Gaulle "Community." Certain local governments, still deprived by the de Gaulle government of the right to act independently, are re-affirming their eagerness for genuine independence. Every day the RDA is protesting against the dominant role of France in the "Community." And, lastly the preparations under way for the French A-bomb test in the Sa-

hara, the heart of Africa, and the continuation of the colonial war in Algeria are also causes of increasing friction.

Even the Ivory Coast, where Houphouët-Boigny has established a veritable dictatorship, the trade unionists are rising to struggle and proclaiming—despite the reprisals—their fidelity to the General Workers' Union of Black Africa which has resolutely posed the question of independence.

* * *

Thus in Africa, *the line of progress is continuous, though not always straight*. All the sincere and young forces on the continent want unity and independence. And, it is clear that things will continue to change in French Africa, which is now experiencing a period of upsurge.

The French Communist Party supports the efforts of the colonial peoples, including the peoples of Africa, in their struggle for liberation and independence. It seeks to make clear that independence won by the peoples who aspire to it is not spearheaded against France. On the contrary, with the help and steady co-operation of France (this has nothing in common with de Gaulle's "Community") independence would be in the material and moral interests of the French nation and of the African peoples alike.

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Latin America in the Grip of U.S. Monopolies

Paulino Gonzalez Alberdi

IN their economic expansion in Latin America the U.S. imperialists resort to the traditional policy of pan-Americanism and anti-communism, to such slogans as "free enterprise," "free trade," "no state interference in the economy," and to the principle of "equal opportunity with the national manufacturers and employers." At the same time they resort to measures which aggravate the economic situation and worsen the already miserable conditions of the working people of the Latin American countries.

1. The Attack on Latin American Industries

The imperialist monopolies together with the landed oligarchy have imposed on the countries of Latin America an economic structure under which the normal economic life of these countries depends on the export of certain items of agricultural raw materials and minerals. The money derived from these exports is spent on basic means of production imported from abroad, transportation, imported raw materials, fuel and food, paying off foreign loans and profits to foreign capitalists on their investments. This structure has resulted in a one-sided economic development in these countries; it hinders a more rational utilization of the natural resources and further industrialization.

The imperialist monopolies and the landlords do everything to obstruct the development of economic relations between the Latin American countries. It often happens that one Latin American country is forced to pay in dollars or sterling for goods purchased from an enterprise owned by foreign imperialists in a neighboring country. That is how payments are made, for instance, for oil imported from Venezuela.

The North American imperialists have turned the countries of Central and South America into the main suppliers of certain raw materials and food products. In the 1951-55 period 51 per cent of the Latin American exports were shipped to North

America and some 30 per cent — to Europe. But because of the crisis phenomena in the United States in recent years the Washington administration has established quotas, thereby restricting the imports of raw materials from Latin America. This protectionist measure gravely affected the economies of Mexico and Peru. The export of lead and zinc, which plays a significant role in the economic life of those countries, has declined by 20 per cent. In 1958 the price of copper, comprising 72 per cent of Chilean exports, again dropped by 13.4 per cent. Copper exports from Chile have fallen by 20,000 tons. It was only the purchase of 20,000 tons of copper wire by the Soviet Union that saved Chile's economy from the consequences of this blow. The threat of quotas on oil imports from Venezuela is now imminent. During the first few months of this year the price fell by 15 cents (U.S.) per barrel. Coffee prices, too, are falling. Coffee, as is known, plays an important part in the economies of a number of Latin American countries (for Brazil, coffee in monetary value comprises 70 per cent of its exports, for Colombia — 80 per cent and for Salvador — 90 per cent). The United States is the main consumer of Latin American coffee. In 1958 the average price paid for Brazil coffee fell to 53 dollars a bag (60 kgs.); in 1954 it was roughly 87 dollars per bag. Ex-President of Costa Rica, José Figueres, notorious for his pro-U.S. imperialist views, was forced to admit that the fall in coffee prices has cost the Latin American countries one billion dollars.

The United States has elbowed Britain out of many Latin American countries in which it held the dominant economic position. But, as distinct from Britain and the other European countries, the United States is not only a big industrial power, it is also a big producer and exporter of food, agricultural raw materials and minerals, and for this reason is not critically in need of raw material imports.

In order to consolidate the position of the U.S. monopolies in their competition with the agricultural enterprises of Latin America, the Washington administration has blocked for several decades the import of meat from Argentina, alleging that it does not meet sanitary requirements. With a view to maintaining high monopoly prices on agricultural produce the United States government procures from the farmers products that cannot be sold above a fixed price. It then floods the foreign markets with the "surplus," dumped in exchange for local currency which is used on military expenditure and political corruption in these countries, as well as for expanding the investments of North American monopolies. The "agricultural surplus" enables the United States to compete on a number of markets with the Latin American countries and thereby undermine their economies.

The situation is complicated by the fact that in the postwar years the European imperialist countries have increased the output of meat, grain and other agricultural goods and have displayed a tendency to curtail the imports of these goods from abroad. A group of experts from the UN Economic Commission on Latin America, which is studying the problem of setting up a common market for that continent, has pointed out that the deliveries of raw materials for the world market by industrialized countries have shown a relatively greater increase than those delivered by the non-industrialized countries. This is explained by more advanced technology of the industrialized countries in producing raw materials, particularly agricultural, as well as by government measures ensuring profitable farming.

The fall in raw materials prices in the Latin American countries has adversely affected the export-import price ratio. Since the technological advance in the manufacturing industry is higher than in mining and in agriculture the amount of socially necessary labor for the output of manufactured goods has decreased to a greater degree than the amount needed for the output of raw materials and food. In other words, the cost of manufactured goods has fallen much more than that of raw materials and food. However, in the sphere of prices the opposite tendency is observed: due to the policy of the foreign industrial monopolies which maintain high prices for their goods, the prices for raw materials and food have fallen to a much lower level than the price of the

manufactured goods delivered by the monopolies. This is one of the ways in which the monopolies shift a part of the burden of their difficulties onto the underdeveloped countries and the farmers of their own country. Taking the 1953 index as 100, the figure for the overall Latin American exports at the end of 1958 was only 94, while that for imports was 106. This means that the same quantity of manufactured goods imported by the Latin American countries costs more in raw materials and food sold to the imperialist countries.

Trade with the United States does not provide the Latin American countries with enough currency to cover the costs of the imports. In 1958 the turnover of goods between the USA and twenty Latin American countries was again unfavorable to the latter: the trade deficit amounted to \$450 million.

In its 1958 Report the UN Economic Commission on Latin America pointed out that many of these countries are forced to spend in the United States their limited gold, dollar and sterling reserves to cover the costs of the imports and the payments deficit.

José Mora, Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, who can hardly be suspected of anti-imperialist sentiment, proclaimed at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in Miami: Whereas our export prices have gone down, the import prices have either remained unchanged or even gone up.

The same point was made by Gustavo Gutierrez, head of the Cuban delegation to the inter-American economic conference in Buenos-Aires (1957): Sometimes it happens that we produce more meat, more wheat or more sugar, but we do not know what price we will get for these goods because of the action of powerful international commercial concerns. This does not happen when our countries buy automobiles, refrigerators or other manufactured goods; the prices we have to pay for them are very high . . .

The European Economic Community is another threat to Latin American exports. In recent years the EEC countries took about one-seventh of the Latin American exports. Among the six members of this Community there are big exporters of agricultural produce; moreover, the African colonies of France and Belgium produce goods that compete with some of the Latin American exports.

These facts show that the imperialist states have turned the Latin American countries into a source of cheap raw materials and food. And the moment these powers, particularly the United States, encounter economic difficulties, they intervene in the economy of the Latin American countries, cut down imports of raw materials, and further depress the already low prices, thereby worsening the economic situation. The imperialist governments, particularly the U.S., resort to harsh political measures in order to restrict imports, while the henchmen of the U.S. monopolies clamor about "no state interference," "free trade," etc.

2. Dictatorship of the International Monetary Fund

The U.S. Government and the monopolies, taking advantage of the difficult economic and financial situation which they have created for the Latin American countries, are trying to impose on these countries a policy which leads to total enslavement. Instrumental in prosecuting this policy is the International Monetary Fund which in spite of its "international" facade is wholly controlled by Wall Street and Washington.

Since the returns from exports cannot cover the imports and the payment of foreign debts, and because of the big deficit in their budgets, the Latin American governments are forced to apply for loans to the International Monetary Fund and the related organization—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and also to U.S. national banks.

But these organizations and the Washington Administration have refused to grant credits. This step is aimed at turning the oil fields, the power industries, transport and state-owned enterprises in Latin America into private hands, that is, at placing them under control of the U.S. monopolies.

While refusing credits, the U.S. bankers and Government demand from the Latin American governments that "favorable conditions" be created for foreign investors, that the national-liberation movement be suppressed and more privileges be provided for the U.S. monopolies to the detriment of the national industries and the well-being of the people.

The International Monetary Fund and the special U.S. economic missions exercise an undisguised economic and political diktat over those Latin American countries whose governments submit to the U.S. terms. In order to get loans, credits and other financial

and economic "aid" from the United States, the Latin American countries are forced to accept the terms imposed on them by the U.S. monopolies through the International Monetary Fund, which provide:

First, *devaluation of the national currency by accepting the free-market rate of exchange.* Until recently practically all the Latin American countries had, in addition to several official exchange rates, a free-market rate of exchange which was determined by demand and supply. The International Monetary Fund demands that the official rate of exchange be replaced by the free-market rate and that the latter alone should be valid. This measure means the devaluation of the local currency and consolidation of U.S. control over the foreign trade of these countries. The U.S. monopolies will thus get more local currency for the same amount of dollars, while the Latin American countries will have to spend more to pay for the same amount of imports. Until recently Argentina paid for its imports according to the official rate, which was 18 pesos to the dollar, it is now about 90; this has drastically raised the cost of living. If we take the 1943 index as 100, the cost of living in Buenos Aires in May 1958 was 1,190, in May 1959 it was 2,655; in other words, the cost of living more than doubled in the course of a year. National industry is faced with vastly increased prices for raw materials and equipment, with shortage of credit, etc. It is thus faced with the alternative: either discontinue production or accept the imperialist monopolies as partners. The dollar price of the exported raw materials is lowered, despite the fact that their cost in local currency is rising.

Second, *restrictions on government credits in Latin America for the national industries and trade in the guise of combating inflation.* These restrictions strike a heavy blow at the national bourgeoisie and small producers and at the same time create favorable conditions for the U.S. financial groups in establishing their control over the national enterprises. According to a report from Washington in the Argentinian paper *La Prensa* (March 8, 1959), the International Monetary Fund has prolonged for one year the credit agreement with Chile only after the latter agreed to restrict government credits to commerce.

Third, *wage freezing, higher cost of living and subordination of the trade union movement to the men who run the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers.*

In Chile the U.S. Klein-Saks mission insisted that the official subsistence minimum,

which according to the law should correspond to the cost of living, be fixed at a lower level. Even President Alessandri has admitted that while the cost of living rose 35 per cent, the official subsistence minimum was raised 16 5/27 per cent. The 1958 Report of the UN Economic Commission on Latin America noted that wages of factory and office workers in Chile had declined by 37 per cent compared with 1955. The Frondizi government in Argentina is resisting any wage increases whatsoever; workers demanding increases are suppressed by the army.

The monthly UN Statistical Bulletin for January 1959 noted a considerable rise in the cost of living in comparison with 1953, which was a year of soaring prices. Taking the 1953 index as 100, the cost of living in Bolivia in October 1958 was 2,661, in Chile in November 1958 it was 830. According to the International Labor Organization, half the population of Chile suffers from malnutrition. The Brazilian journal *Development and Market Conditions* (February 1958) gives the following details of the growth of retail prices in South America: in 1953 as compared with the preceding year prices rose 8.7 per cent; in 1954—8.8; in 1955—6.8; in 1956—15.2; and in 1957—10.8. For Africa as a whole, the capitalist countries of the Far East, Middle East, Oceania, Western Europe, North and Central America the rise in prices was respectively: 1.2, 2.4, 3.5, 4 and 2.4 per cent. As for Brazil, the average annual rise in prices in the 1954-58 period was 20.2 per cent. The declining living standards contract the market for the national industries, thereby paralyzing it. The 1958 Report of the UN Economic Commission on Latin America pointed out that in Chile the basic reason for the industrial slump beginning with 1955 was the fall in purchasing power resulting from a considerable decline in real wages and a more than 50 per cent curtailment of private building due to restricted credits. In one of its investigations the University of Chile showed that between June 1957 and June 1958 the number of unemployed in Santiago and its environs increased by 68 per cent, amounting to 52,000 — 9 per cent of the employed population.

Fourth, *cutting public expenditure, particularly by reducing salaries of civil servants and by higher charges for social services.* For instance, Alsogaray, Minister of Economy, the "strong man" in the Frondizi government, has announced that 30,000 factory and office workers will become redundant in state-owned enterprises and government of-

fices and that the wages of the remaining 70,000 will be reduced.

The increased charges for social services also add to the cost of living and the costs of manufactured goods and agricultural products.

Fifth, *transfer of state-owned enterprises in Latin America to private capital, primarily to the U.S. monopolies.* When the economic conditions were favorable a number of Latin American governments bought out some of the enterprises owned by foreign capitalists or established national transport and industrial companies. Some of the countries nationalized certain mining industries. During the last war many German enterprises were confiscated by way of compensation for ships sunk by the German navy or other damage caused by the Hitler government. At present these enterprises, under the pressure of the International Monetary Fund and other imperialist agencies, are being transferred to private owners, primarily to foreign monopolies by selling them at low prices, or by forming mixed enterprises. This is being done by the Frondizi government, for instance.

Sixth, *free remittance from Latin America to the United States of profits, depreciation allowances and interest on U.S. investments.* This leads to a flow of capital from the Latin American countries because the profits are used (re-invested) only in part. It should be mentioned that the profits, interest and depreciation allowances now being remitted do not derive from the capital originally invested, but from capital that has been accumulated as a result of its utilization in Latin America. The 1955 UN Report ("Foreign Capital in Latin America") points out that in the 1949-52 period about 60 per cent of the accretion from direct U.S. investments in Latin America was derived from re-investment in daughter enterprises.

U.S.-owned enterprises in Latin America yield high profits. According to Balguen, head of a big U.S. financial group in Brazil, the profits of privately-owned enterprises (not to speak of municipal undertakings) give an annual increment of 30-40 and even 50 per cent of the invested capital.

The profits extracted by the United States from the Latin American countries are far in excess of the investments. Rudecindo Ortega, Chilean delegate to the UN, pointed out that U.S. investments in Latin America for the 1946-56 period were \$863 million less than the total of profits. Domingos Velasco, member of the Federal Parliament of Brazil,

said that whereas in the years 1955-58 foreign investments in Brazil amounted to \$1,095 million; the profits stood at \$2,020 million.

At the same time the North American imperialists use Latin American capital in the United States and other countries. The head of the Cuban delegation to the Inter-American Economic Conference held in Buenos Aires in 1957 said that the Latin Americans had from \$4,200 million to \$4,500 million in United States banks which the latter were using in the interests of their North American clients.

It should be pointed out that the increasingly unfavorable export-import price ratio mentioned above intensifies the flow of capital from Latin America. According to the Economic Commission on Latin America, Argentina in the period 1923-1957 annually lost \$238 million solely because of the unfavorable export-import price ratio.

3. New Forms of U.S. Imperialist Penetration in Latin America

The U.S. monopolies use the capital accumulated in the countries of Latin America for the development of their own enterprises there. On the basis of North American sources the Brazilian economist Aristoteles Moura has calculated that some 36 per cent of the capital controlled by U.S. enterprises in Latin America is not North American capital at all. The "system of partnership," as is known, enables the original enterprise to exercise control over a number of daughter enterprises. In this way the U.S. monopolies, operating with the minimum capital extend their influence over the so-called "national enterprises."

In many of his works Viktorio Codovilla has drawn attention to the new forms of penetration by North American capital, particularly the setting up of mixed companies and the export of antiquated equipment from the USA. The creation of mixed companies with the participation of Latin American governments or private capital enables the U.S. monopolies to utilize local capital and to enjoy other privileges. For instance, under the Peron regime the Kaiser company of New Orleans founded, jointly with the Ministry of Aviation, a mixed enterprise for the manufacture of automobiles. The Kaiser company made its contribution in the shape of outdated equipment which was rather generously assessed in Argentina as being worth more than 100 million pesos; the Argentine contribution, on the other hand, was an automobile plant, a credit of 200 million

pesos and the sale of shares to the value of 100 million pesos. Moreover, the Kaiser company was granted permission to sell in the country a large number of automobiles produced in New Orleans, although at the time the import of automobiles was prohibited.

The North American monopolies use the equipment, outdated in the USA, to secure in the Latin American countries new footholds which in turn will yield high profits. This equipment is contributed as capital investment and is priced considerably above its real value.

Another form of concealed transfer of the national wealth to imperialist monopolies is the signing of so-called contracts for services performed by the monopolies. The Frondizi government resorted to this step, having signed contracts with the branches of the Standard Oil Company and Royal Dutch Shell for the exploitation of the oil fields; in keeping with the contracts it is paying out huge sums. In actual fact these companies are now gaining control over the oil resources of the country.

The U.S. monopolies are signing contracts with Latin American enterprises for the use of North American trade marks and patents, stipulating a large slice of the profits and, as a rule, participation in management of the enterprise. In this way they secure for themselves the co-operation of part of the national bourgeoisie.

But the U.S. capitalists have not abandoned the original forms of penetration, such as purchasing vast tracts of land. The San Francisco landowner, Joseph Cooney, manager of mines and oil fields, has bought 2.5 million acres of land in Mendoza, Argentina.

* * *

The policy of the U.S. imperialists is evoking resistance on the part of the people, sections of the national bourgeoisie and some of the landowners in the Latin American countries. Indicative of this were the big strikes in Argentina and other countries spearheaded against the policy of hunger dictated by the International Monetary Fund, the broad movement for retention of state control over the oil resources in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, etc., the popular movement against the dictators—stooges of Wall Street—in Cuba, Venezuela and Colombia, as well as the heavy defeats in the municipal and provincial elections suffered by Frondizi in Argentina and the election success of the

Left forces in Chile. Popular support for the Communist parties heading the anti-imperialist struggle is growing. The idea of creating a national liberation front is winning more and more supporters. The ruling circles of the Latin American countries can no longer afford to disregard this. The President of Brazil, for instance, was forced to discontinue his talks with the International Monetary Fund because of popular protest against the terms which this agency sought to impose on Brazil. As a rule, the Pan-American economic conferences end in failure because the Latin American governments, even those most docile to Wall Street, hesitate to accept the terms imposed by the North American imperialists, fearing the indignation of their peoples; acceptance of these terms would only complicate the situation.

Together with the masses, considerable sections of the national bourgeoisie and the landlords are calling for broad relations with the USSR, China and other socialist countries, all the more so because these relations are advantageous. The Soviet Union has helped Uruguay out of difficulties by purchasing large quantities of wool. The Soviet purchase of half a million tons of sugar from Cuba in 1959 has helped to alleviate the economic situation of that country. The long-term \$100 million credit at 2.5 per cent interest a year, granted to Argentina for the purchase of oil equipment with favorable terms of payment in Argentinian goods, is indeed generous aid.

Whereas the socialist countries render considerable aid in economic development and exploitation of natural resources and contri-

bute to the steady growth of living standards in the Latin American countries, imperialism is unable to guarantee even stability in their semi-colonial conditions. The imperialists continue to restrict their imports from Latin America, while the financial centers of the capitalist world, Wall Street included, are steadily reducing credits. The imperialists pursue this policy because they are not interested in developing the national industries, particularly heavy industry which is the base of the economic independence of any country. Nor are they interested in developing those branches which in the future would be likely to endanger their exports to Latin America. Moreover, the recent renewal of fixed capital in the North American enterprises and also the heavy military expenditure have greatly reduced the reserve of free capital in the United States, which would be available for export. The other imperialist powers are experiencing even greater difficulties in this respect.

The monopolies, above all those of the U.S., are doing everything to retard the independent industrialization of the Latin American countries in order to retain them as a vast market for their manufactured goods.

That is why the workers, peasants and other sections, including considerable circles of the national bourgeoisie, are coming to realize more and more the truth of the Communist Party statements to the effect that there is no way out other than the creation of a broad national-liberation front which, under the leadership of the working class and its Party, will emerge victorious.

Road of the Vietnam Peasants in the Revolution

Pham Van Dong

From the democratic to the socialist revolution. Relationship of class forces. The turn to co-operative methods of cultivation. Upsurge of agriculture on the basis of producer co-operatives.

THE experience of the international Communist movement has confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the processes of the socialist revolution derive from a number of basic laws valid for all countries advancing towards socialism. These laws operate everywhere in different historic conditions. Time and again Lenin stressed the need correctly to apply the basic principles of communism in accordance with the specific features of each people and each country.

What are the peculiarities of the socialist revolution in Vietnam, and how is our Party of Communists, the Workers' Party, applying the general principle of socialist revolution and socialist construction in the conditions of our country? In this article we shall first of all deal with the peasant question, which is one of the basic issues of the Vietnam revolution.

I

Until recently Vietnam was a semi-feudal colonial country with an extremely backward agriculture and an illiterate and impoverished peasantry who had no rights and who comprised the overwhelming majority of the population. Over half the cultivable land was in the hands of the French colonialists, Vietnam feudal lords and the Catholic church. Some landlords owned tens of thousands of hectares, whereas the average peasant holding was not above 0.2 hectare; in the Red River delta it was less than four-hundredths of a hectare.

The peasants were forced to work as sharecroppers. The landlords took advantage of their desperate plight to raise rents and the rate of interest on loans which in some cases amounted to half and in certain districts to four-fifths of the total harvest. In

addition the threat of natural calamities—typhoons, floods, droughts and pest—constantly hung over the peasant. Though the Vietnam peasant is renowned for his diligence and ability to surmount incredible difficulties, the rice harvest in Vietnam was the lowest in Asia.

Their hard, cheerless life under the colonialist and feudal yoke strengthened the desire of the masses for national independence, fortified their will to fight for social justice and democratic liberties. In the conditions then obtaining in Vietnam this was, in fact, a peasant struggle. It was not plain sailing, it had its ups and downs and inevitably ended in defeat until such time as the peasants found their real leader in the working class.

The working class of Vietnam entered the political arena in the years following the First World War, after the Socialist Revolution in Russia which opened up new vistas to the international revolutionary movement and to the national-liberation movements of the colonial and dependent peoples. The October Revolution, wrote Ho Chi Minh, "like a peal of thunder . . . awakened the colonial and dependent peoples of Asia from their age-old slumber." It redoubled the revolutionary zeal of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, created favorable conditions for the alliance of these two classes under the leadership of the proletariat and helped the people's democratic revolution to become from the very outset an integral part of the world proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party of Indo-China, the party of the working class, was founded in 1930. This, a turning point, inaugurated a new phase of the Vietnamese revolution, which was now led by the proletariat. Nine months after the founding of the Party, the first meeting of its Central Committee (Octo-

ber 1930) approved the "Political Theses" in which the Party defined the bourgeois-democratic character of the revolution at the first stage and enunciated the following tasks: struggle for the abolition of the survivals of feudalism and the abolition of pre-capitalist forms of exploitation with a view to carrying out a radical agrarian reform; and struggle to drive out French imperialism and win complete independence for Indo-China. These two aspects of the struggle were indissolubly linked, for it is impossible to abolish the landlord class and successfully carry out an agrarian reform unless the imperialists are overthrown and, on the other hand, the imperialist yoke cannot be cast off unless the feudal rulers are dethroned.

"In the bourgeois-democratic revolution," the theses pointed out, "the proletariat and the peasants are the two main forces, but the revolution will be victorious only if the proletariat assumes leadership."

In September 1930 the newly formed Communist Party led the peasant uprising in the Nghe-An and Ha-Tinh provinces (central Vietnam). The peasants took power, set up Soviets, adopted a resolution on agrarian reform and set about carrying it through. The French colonialists savagely crushed the uprising, but they were unable to destroy the revolutionary spirit of the peasant masses who had added an heroic chapter to the history of the revolution in Vietnam.

Carrying forward the cause of the Communist Party of Indo-China, the Workers' Party of Vietnam, founded in 1951, declared in its program: "The chief aim of the Vietnam revolution is to drive out the imperialist aggressors, regain independence and re-establish national unity, abolish the colonial regime, wipe out the feudal and semi-feudal survivals, give land to the tillers, strengthen the people's-democratic regime and lay the foundations of socialism. . . . The immediate task is to lead the resistance to its final phase, that is, to drive the imperialist aggressor out of our country. All other tasks should be subordinate to this principal task."

This political line derived from the Marxist-Leninist principles on revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Lenin pointed out that in these countries "every national movement can only be a bourgeois-democratic movement, for the masses in the backward countries consist of peasants . . ."

It was precisely because it was able from the very outset correctly to evaluate the role

of the peasants in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and to chart a true course that the Communist Party in Vietnam was able to rally the peasant masses, establish a worker-peasant alliance and, on this basis, a united national front, a bloc of national unity which included the national bourgeoisie.

As we know, the national democratic revolution which developed under working-class leadership, won a number of brilliant victories which led to the August 1945 revolution and the formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Subsequently, nine years of heroic resistance by the people of Vietnam resulted in the famous victory of Dien-Bien-Phu, the liberation of North Vietnam and the establishment of peace throughout the land. In the course of this long and grim struggle the peasants always marched shoulder to shoulder with the workers; they were the loyal comrades-in-arms of the working class and made a major contribution to the revolution and to the resistance movement in the shape of supplies and men.

II

The August Revolution abolished colonial and feudal domination, emancipated the peasants and made the working people the masters of the country. The inhuman regime imposed on the peasants by colonialism and the feudal monarchy became a thing of the past. The peasants, who contributed in large measure to the victory of the revolution, won basic demands. At the end of 1946 people's democratic rule forced the landlords to reduce rents by 25 per cent . . . and in 1949 issued the call for land to the peasants. During the resistance struggle the people's democratic rule confiscated the land belonging to the French colonialists and traitors and, provisionally, allocated it to the peasants. For the time being they cultivated the land of the absentee owners—mainly landlords. To combat the maneuvers of landlords seeking to reduce the size of rice paddies rented out to the peasants and to shorten leases, the share-cropping system was overhauled, and a decree promulgated reducing usurious interest on loans.

These reforms made life much easier for the peasants. By the end of 1953, soon after the land reform law was enacted, people's democratic rule had already distributed or provisionally transferred to the peasants 927,000 hectares of paddies owned by the colonialists and traitors, as well as communal lands. In North Vietnam the area dis-

tributed or temporarily transferred to the peasants was in the neighborhood of 520,000 hectares, i.e., 30.7 per cent of the total area under rice in this part of the country.

The growth of the peasant forces, politically and economically, greatly facilitated the resistance struggle. The successful struggle enlarged the liberated areas, reinforced the guerilla bases, created favorable conditions for democratic reforms and increased the military and economic potential of the liberation movement. It helped to demoralize the puppet troops composed of peasants forcibly recruited by the French colonialists, and weakened the landlord class, the mainstay of the French expeditionary force.

At the decisive phase of the Resistance, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party adopted a resolution (early in 1953) to mobilize the masses for the agrarian reform, to abolish land ownership by the imperialists and feudal lords and to secure recognition of the peasants' right to the land. It advanced the slogan of "Land to the Tillers!" With due regard to the conditions in the country, the Party's agrarian program subdivided the landlord class into three categories: traitors and reactionaries, and despot-landlords; neutral landowners; landlords who participated in the Resistance. And the measures applied—confiscation, requisitioning of land, compensation—varied, depending on the group to which the particular landlord belonged.

Land reform, like all other revolutionary movements, is the affair of the masses and can be carried out only by the masses. Our Party therefore decided to "mobilize the peasant masses, to rely on the masses, unswervingly to follow the mass line, to organize, educate and guide the peasant masses. . . ." The Party consistently pursued its class policy in the countryside: firm reliance on the poor and landless peasants; close alliance with the middle peasant; compromise with the rich peasants; overthrow of the landlord class; gradual abolition of the system of feudal exploitation with a differentiated approach vis-à-vis the diverse categories of landlords; increased production; intensified resistance.

The agrarian reform started during the Resistance was completed in North Vietnam after the establishment of peace. In the course of this class struggle, which between late 1953 and 1957 gathered momentum in the North Vietnamese countryside under the leadership of the Party, the peasants overthrew the landlords. The task of the anti-feudal revolution was thus fulfilled. The

peasant tillers became the masters in the countryside. The worker-peasant alliance — the basis of the united national front and the people's democratic state — was strengthened. These factors served to consolidate the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party.

The agrarian reform and the other democratic changes effected after the August Revolution finally abolished the system of feudal and colonial land ownership. The cherished dream of the peasants: "Land to the tillers," the slogan around which they had waged their struggle had come true; the reform gave land to 2,127,256 peasant households, or to nearly 8,500,000 peasants — 80 per cent of the peasant tillers in North Vietnam. The reform abolished feudal production relations, released the productive forces in the countryside, stimulated production and paved the way to the expansion of industry and trade. Favorable conditions were created for the transition of the countryside to socialism by way of producer co-operatives.

The reform has made it possible to draw a clearer distinction between the peasant tillers and the exploiters.

Thus, with the implementation of the agrarian reform, the national people's democratic revolution in Vietnam had achieved its two objectives: national independence and distribution of land among the tillers. This enabled the peasants to take the way of agricultural co-operation, the way leading to socialism.

III

The development of the revolution has demonstrated that the Vietnamese Communists are faithfully applying the teaching of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of their country. As early as 1954-57, when the national people's democratic revolution was being completed in North Vietnam, the Communists, parallel with agrarian reform, economic rehabilitation and raising living standards, were creating the conditions for socialist changes and economic advance. Thanks to the success of this undertaking, North Vietnam has entered upon a new stage of development, the stage of the socialist revolution, a stage organically linked with the first stage. It is a continuation of it, an integral part of a single revolutionary process.

In November 1958, the Central Committee of the Party adopted an important resolution from which we cite the following passage: "In North Vietnam the forces of socialism

have clearly triumphed over the forces of capitalism. But the question of who will be the victor in this contest—socialism or capitalism—has not yet been resolved.”

The main objective now is to develop the socialist revolution, to reconstruct the individual economies of the peasants, artisans and private capitalists along socialist lines. At the same time it is necessary to develop the state sector of the economy in order to build the material base and thus accelerate the socialist re-organization. These two aims are being carefully co-ordinated with a view to consolidating socialist production relations and gradually transforming our multiform economy into a monolithic socialist economy founded on state and public ownership.

Over the next few years, as the resolution continues, the emphasis will be on agriculture. And the producer co-operatives will be called upon to play a major part in transforming and developing our economy along socialist lines.

After the agrarian reform our peasants had the choice of two paths of development: the capitalist or the socialist. It is common knowledge that the peasant is simultaneously a tiller and an owner. As a tiller he can march with the working class towards socialism; as an owner he cannot escape the spontaneous pull towards capitalism. What attitude did the peasant tillers adopt? Guided by the Workers' Party they have remained true to the revolutionary traditions of those who established the Soviets in the provinces of Nghe-An and Ha-Tinh, who in the course of twenty-five years of hard struggle were the main force of the national-democratic revolution. Twin brothers of the workers, our peasants have always been guided by the Party, and the revolution has safeguarded their fundamental rights and interests. Experience has demonstrated to them that the path charted by the Party — the path to socialism — is the only correct one.

Collective labor in embryonic forms has existed in the countryside for a long time. It has always been customary for the peasants to help each other. After the August Revolution the Party, searching for ways of increasing production, set out to establish mutual aid groups. At the same time experimental agricultural co-operatives were formed. The state began to purchase agricultural products and organized procurement, marketing and credit co-operatives. In the ideological sphere, the Party launched two big campaigns for training personnel and educating its members in the spirit of Com-

munist, clarifying problems of the socialist revolution and agricultural co-operation. As a result the spontaneous urge towards capitalism was in large measure stemmed and restricted.

The experience of the past two years has convinced the peasants that joint labor is much more effective than individual labor. Investigation in a number of provinces has elicited the fact that the productivity of co-operative paddies was 15 per cent higher than on the fields cultivated individually; in some districts it was 50 per cent and even 100 per cent. Upon joining the mutual-aid teams or co-operatives, the peasants usually found that their incomes rose substantially. Experience has been the most effective propaganda for agricultural co-operation.

The Party explained the need for modern methods of agriculture. The peasants realized that to achieve this they needed to unite their forces, otherwise there could be no question of increasing output, of higher incomes or of improved living standards.

Thus, beginning with the second half of 1958, there was a definite *turn towards collectivization*. By May last there were 250,000 mutual-aid teams embracing 70 per cent of the tillers, and 15,000 co-operatives uniting about 20 per cent of the peasant households.

IV

As the meeting of the Central Committee (April 1959) pointed out, there are two kinds of contradictions in the countryside. First, the contradiction between the trend for collective agriculture and the forces retarding this; it is manifested chiefly in the contradiction between the socialist and capitalist ways of development, between the collective and the individual principle, between labor and exploitation, and, in the final analysis, between the productive forces and the production relations. It is also manifest in the antagonism between the working peasants taking the path of co-operation and the still concealed counter-revolutionary elements, who are trying might and main to retard co-operation. Secondly, there is the contradiction between the need to raise productivity, increase production, to improve living standards and overcome technological backwardness, the grim heritage of colonialism and feudalism. Technological backwardness is a grave obstacle to intensive methods of farming. The basic contradiction today is that between collectivization and the forces hindering it.

We can overcome and eliminate these contradictions only through collectivization —

the most radical revolutionary, three-pronged movement aiming at transforming the production relations; technological improvement; ideological education of the masses. All three aims are closely linked and exert a reciprocal influence on each other. The main task now is to change the working methods. Solution of this task should go hand in hand with technological improvement. Special attention is being given to the ideological training of functionaries, Party members and the peasants; for in this lies the guarantee of the success of the movement as a whole.

In carrying out agricultural co-operation our Party adheres strictly to the following class policy: firm reliance on the poor peasants and lower strata of the medium peasants, limitation and ending of economic exploitation by the rich peasants and re-education of them, struggle against the resurgence of landlords, and creating the conditions which will enable them, in the process of labor, to become new people.

In forming co-operatives we are guided by the principles of mutual benefit, democratic management and the voluntary principle. Unswervingly following the Party line and relying on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasantry, we are doing our utmost to complete collectivization in the main within the next few years.

It should be borne in mind that the collectivization is taking place in a backward agrarian country with an undeveloped industry that is not in a position to supply the countryside with the machinery it needs. However, given the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasants, and the three additional factors — socialist transformation of production relations, technological improvement and improved standards of living — North Vietnam can and should speed up collectivization in the conditions of a non-mechanized agriculture. It should be emphasized that although only the first steps have been taken to improve agricultural machinery, they have already helped greatly in raising harvests and the incomes of peasants organized in mutual-aid teams and co-operatives. In the future our socialist industry will, undoubtedly, be in a position to supply the equipment and machinery required for the building of a new technical base for socialist production in the countryside.

North Vietnam, like any other country, can successfully advance to socialism only if it stands firmly on the two feet of socialist industry and co-operative agriculture. Socialist industry develops rapidly on the basis of

extended reproduction. Small-scale peasant economy, on the other hand, develops slowly — not every year does it achieve even simple reproduction. In a centralized socialist industry production is planned. Small-scale peasant economy is dispersed and has no clear and assured future. It is in large measure under the influence of the home market and depends on natural conditions. Co-operation will help to do away with these contradictions and make for a proportionate and balanced development of industry and agriculture in the direction of socialism.

Collectivization will accelerate the transformation of the non-socialist sectors of the economy. The capitalist elements in the towns generally maintain relations with individual peasants for purposes of speculation, and this creates difficulties in controlling the market and fulfilling the government procurement plan. Collectivization, transforming individual peasant property into collective property, puts an end to these relationships, and this will help the national bourgeoisie to realize that they cannot hope to exploit their capitalist enterprises, that they have no choice but to agree to socialist reconstruction.

Collectivization will consolidate the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis, for the economic policy pursued by the working class ensures the peasants' well-being and a better life. Thus, collectivization brings the peasants closer to the socialist system and to the working-class Party. Collectivization consolidates the peoples' democratic power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Collectivization paves the way to the cultural and ideological revolution, contributes to enlarging the network of cultural, educational and medical establishments.

For these reasons the collectivization of agriculture is at present the main link in the chain of socialist transformation and a powerful spur to socialist construction in North Vietnam.

V

Some French economists affirmed in their day that in Vietnam "the soil could not produce enough food, that any improvement in agriculture by the use of machinery was merely a palliative which would be rendered ineffective by the growth of the population." Thus the architects of the notorious "Bourgoin" plan (to modernize Indo-China) came to the conclusion that "migration was the only way of checking famine in Tonkin"—a deduction fully in keeping with the interests

of the colonialists who moved the peasants from areas of abject poverty to rubber plantations in South Vietnam and other French colonies in the Pacific, thus providing them with cheap labor.

In the space of four or five years the peasants of North Vietnam have exploded this myth. In the Three-Year Plan period of economic rehabilitation, which set in after peace was established in 1954, the average annual rice output rose by 75 per cent—from 2.4 million to 4 million tons — compared with the prewar period. The harvest of auxiliary crops was several times bigger than that reaped under French colonialist domination.

To achieve these results the peasants waged a dogged struggle against such calamities as typhoons, floods, and drought. Irrigation systems were restored and extended, and the irrigated area increased by 15 per cent compared with 1939; it was doubled if we take into account the construction of small-scale irrigation systems. Three thousand kilometers of dams and dikes were repaired and reinforced.

Much has been done to rehabilitate and develop other branches of agriculture. In three years of the rehabilitation period the area sown to eleven main industrial crops was doubled compared with prewar days. There was a great increase in the harvest of several important industrial crops: cotton, for example, showed a more than 5-fold increase; sugar cane—1.8; jute—3; groundnuts—5.5, etc. The herd of livestock, which during the hostilities had fallen by hundreds of thousands, was not only brought up to its original figure, but showed an increase of 40 per cent compared with the prewar period. The number of hogs has risen by 10 per cent.

In 1958-59 the peasants made still another important advance. The target for the tenth month of 1958 was overfulfilled, both from the point of view of yield and area under crop. An average of 23.7 centners of rice per hectare was harvested — 15 per cent more than envisaged by the state plan. These results attest to the tremendous role of the co-operatives and mutual-aid teams in the battle for harvests; they have given a new spur to agricultural development.

The winter-spring harvest of 1959 consolidated these achievements. Despite extremely unfavorable weather conditions, the yield in the fifth month was in the neighborhood of 21 centers per hectare, a figure never attained before not only in the fifth

month, but, excepting for 1958, in the tenth month. The peasants have achieved these results by making wide use of modern methods of cultivation, and thanks also to seed selection. The irrigation system has been considerably extended, the peasants being guided in this by the Party and Government. "The essential thing is water retention; the people should undertake the irrigation work themselves; the main emphasis should be on building small irrigation systems."

Preparations are now under way to change the course of the Red River. This work, which will take dozens of years, will when completed, in the main avert the danger of submerged paddies in the delta when the river is in flood.

Our achievements in agriculture refute the assertion that chronic famine is inevitable in North Vietnam because the rice harvest there will always be the lowest in Asia. Our peasants have now sufficient food to last them the whole year round, they are in a position to buy the goods they need and to improve their conditions. Although the population has grown considerably in the past few years — the average growth has been twice as high as it was under the French colonialists — the average income per capita in 1956 was nevertheless equal to 303 kilos of paddy, which is several dozens of kilos more than in the bumper-crop years of the past. In 1958 the average income rose to 350 kilos, and it will be higher still in the next few years.

These are magnificent achievements. For in the not too distant past, as Pierre Gourou, an expert on Vietnam agriculture, said, "the average ration was only 130 kilos of milled rice per year, although the normal ration is 219." Yves Henry, member of the French Academy of Agriculture, wrote that the peasants in Indo-China "generally eat rice for about two-three months after the harvest. After that they have to make do with a mixture of which rice forms only a small proportion... In fact rice is a luxury food in Tonkin."

Such is the picture of the past and the present of the North Vietnamese countryside. The successes of today are the result of the hard work put in by our peasants. After their emancipation from the imperialist and feudal yoke they took an enthusiastic part in the co-operative movement, which has enabled them to use modern methods and avert the terrible effects of natural calamities which have been particularly frequent in recent years. They have succeeded in making North

Vietnam one of the most productive rice areas in Asia.

Not all the possibilities have been utilized, however, and neither have all the needs been fully met.

The Three-Year Plan (1958-60) envisages a new advance in agriculture. In these three years our peasants will make substantial progress towards solving the food problem and ensure each citizen 500 kilos of rice per year. The rate of growth in food production will exceed the demand. The food requirements of the population will in the main be satisfied; the reserves at the disposal of the Government and the people will grow and there will be more for export. Output of rice and other products—sweet potatoes, manioc, beans—will rise (1.5 to 2-fold compared with 1957). By 1960 the average rice yield will be 30 centners per hectare for each harvest.

The peasants are putting their efforts into creating mixed farming in the Three-Year Plan span. Production of the main industrial crops—cotton, sugar cane, ground-nuts, castor-oil plant, tobacco, tea, coffee, jute, flax, and fruit will increase two, three and even more times compared with 1957. The head of cattle and hogs will have grown substantially by 1960. Special attention is being paid to forestry and fresh water and sea fisheries.

With the socialist industrialization of the country, agriculture, backed by an expanding industry, making full use of the irrigation systems, chemicals, electrification and mechanization, will become a highly developed socialist agriculture based on modern technology.

Conditions have already greatly improved for the peasants; they eat and dress well; many have built new dwellings or repaired their old ones. People are acquiring new implements, augmenting their livestock, and buying household articles. Hygiene has generally improved. The children of peasants now attend school and will be able to continue their studies at the university. The

countryside is gradually joining in the new cultural life. Radio transmission is widespread, and village halls have been opened. Amateur art concerts are arranged in the villages and films are screened.

* * *

Vietnam is temporarily divided into two parts, the North and the South. The North, having won national independence, has created favorable conditions for a steady economic advance and improved living standards. The South is still under the imperialist and feudal yoke. The working people there live under a reactionary regime of national oppression, exploitation and terror established by the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, the Ngo Dinh Diem government. The South has not yet reached its prewar level either in crop area or rice productivity; rice yields are between 12 and 13 centners per hectare. In this former granary of Vietnam, which in the past exported over a million tons of paddy rice annually, whole regions are suffering from a shortage of rice.

There can be no doubt that the achievements of the North are exerting a growing influence on the peasants in the South, where the peasantry is the main strength of the revolutionary patriotic movement. This movement will grow stronger and will inevitably be victorious.

The working people of Vietnam and their Party—the Workers' Party—are confronted with the task of accomplishing the transition to socialism in the North and at the same time of carrying forward the national people's democratic revolution in the southern part of the country. The aims of this revolution are: consolidation of the national unity of the people, unification of the country on the basis of independence and democracy, completion of democratic transformations throughout Vietnam and speeding up the North's advance to socialism, the establishment of a united and independent, prosperous and democratic state.

Scientific Foundations of a Revolutionary Policy

(Apropos of the Publication of the Textbook
"Foundations of Marxism-Leninism")

ABOUT six months after the 20th Congress, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decided to prepare a popular textbook on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. The task set before the authors was "to provide a clear understanding of Marxism-Leninism as a uniform and integrated teaching encompassing dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, the theory and tactics of proletarian revolution and the theory and history of building socialism and communism."

This textbook has now appeared. A group of authors under the editorship of *Otto Kuusinen* have produced a popular work.

In an introductory note the authors say: "We are fully aware of the complexity of our task which required a scientifically sound, though popular, elucidation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, a teaching which is constantly developing and enriched in accordance with the changing conditions. It is only natural that a work of this kind, undertaken for the first time in many years, a work encompassing the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism, cannot be entirely free from faults and shortcomings. Consequently, any helpful criticism and suggestions will be welcome and taken into account when preparing a second edition."

The textbook consists of an introduction on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and twenty-seven chapters grouped in five sections: 1. The Philosophical Foundations of the Marxist-Leninist Outlook; 2. The Materialist Conception of History; 3. Political Economy of Capitalism; 4. Theory and Tactics of the International Communist Movement; 5. The Theory of Socialism and Communism.

The Editorial Board of our journal think it will be useful to acquaint readers with some *excerpts* from the book, mainly from the section dealing with the theory and tactics of the international communist movement.

The Marxian Doctrine is Omnipotent Because It Is True

These words of Lenin are taken as the epigraph to the *Introduction on the Marxist-Leninist Outlook* which shows that Marxism-Leninism sees the world as it is and "enables us not only to orientate ourselves in the complex of social contradictions, but also to anticipate the trend of events, the march of history and the future stages in the development of society. . . .

"Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a *guide to action*. All that is needed is to learn to apply it correctly. . . . The Marxist-Leninist theory provides the scientific basis for a revolutionary policy. He who in politics proceeds from subjective desires will either be a vain dreamer or will risk being cast onto the scrap heap of history, for history does not develop in accordance with the desires of people, unless these desires are in tune with the laws of history. That is why Lenin emphasized the need for scientific clarity in making an analysis of the objective state of affairs and of the objective trend of evolution so as to be able to determine on the basis of this analysis the Party's political line and then to pursue the line with revolutionary determination."

The unshakable foundation of the entire edifice of Marxism-Leninism is its philosophical teaching—dialectical and historical materialism. The chapters on philosophy are as follows: "Philosophical Materialism"; "Materialist Dialectics"; and "The Theory of Knowledge."

The section headed "The Materialist Conception of History" consists of the following chapters: "The Essence of Historical Materialism"; "Classes, Class Struggle and the State"; "The Role of the Masses and the Individual in History."

For the first time in a textbook on historical materialism a special chapter headed "Social Progress" has been introduced. "The ideological servants of the bourgeoisie," it says, "seeking to weaken the power of at-

traction exerted by Marxism, have expended no little effort in trying to distort and falsify the Marxist views on the ideals of social progress. In their version the proletarian outlook has nothing in common with humanism, civilization, personal freedom and human happiness. These lofty ideals, say the opponents of Marxism, are alien to the crude materialism which sees nothing but 'base' material needs.

"Assertions of this kind are simply a caricature of Marxism, unscrupulous speculation on the Philistine concept of materialism. . . .

"In our times the way has been cleared for the realization of the treasured aspirations of humanity. This way consists in reconstructing society first on socialist and, later, on communist foundations."

Capitalism Is in Its Final Stage

The section headed "The Political Economy of Capitalism" consists of the following chapters: "Pre-Monopoly Capitalism"; "Imperialism—the Highest and Final Stage of Capitalism"; and "Imperialism Today." The latter, which characterizes state-monopoly capitalism, deals with the aggravation and extension of class antagonisms in the final phase of capitalist development.

"The growth of the productive forces," it says, "imperatively requires their liberation from the fetters of capitalist ownership. Due to the further aggravation and sharpening of the contradictions typical of the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism, the monopolies can no longer ensure their domination in the old way. Hence the sharp turn towards the new, state-monopoly forms of capitalist domination.

"The evolution of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism signifies the pooling of the forces of the capitalist monopolies with those of the state, the latter being subordinated to the big capitalist corporations."

This chapter explodes the revisionist and reformist inventions about modern capitalism.

"The bourgeois apologists, reformists and revisionists describe state-monopoly capitalism as a new system radically different from the old capitalism. With this end in view they deliberately place this form of monopoly domination on a par with the state-capitalist measures implemented as a result of the concessions won by working people in class struggle. They also claim that the capitalist state is now in a position to regulate economic development and safeguard

it against crises, that the modern bourgeois state has become a supra-class state. The old exploiting capitalism, it is asserted, has been superseded by the 'welfare state,' and predatory imperialism has evolved into 'people's capitalism'."

The textbook shows the groundlessness of these propositions.

"First, the Right-wing Social Democrats confuse state-monopoly capitalism with state capitalism, failing to distinguish between them. Thus they substitute one concept for another. They conceal the monopoly character of modern capitalism, depicting it as state capitalism in which there is no place for capitalist monopolists. In other words, they embellish modern capitalism, and completely obscure its typical features—the yoke of predatory monopolies, militarism, parasitism, crises and unemployment. In reality it is these features that constitute the *main content* of modern state-monopoly capitalism.

"Second, the Right-wing Social Democrats distort things by asserting that the monopolists are subordinated to the state which, they claim, is 'above-class'. In reality the state is subordinated to the capitalist monopolies. Under state-monopoly capitalism real power is concentrated in the hands of the big corporations. There is a direct or indirect dictatorship of a hundred or so wealthy families.

"Third, the Right-wing Social Democrats also try to disguise the class character of *state capitalism* when they attempt to depict state-capitalist measures as steps towards *socialism*. As long as power remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie the nationalization of separate enterprises and other measures of a state-capitalist nature do not abolish capitalist exploitation even in those countries where at present such measures are progressive (as, for instance, in India and Indonesia). Socialist production relations can never make their appearance under capitalism; only the material pre-conditions for socialism can make their appearance under capitalism. But to begin to build socialism on the basis of these pre-conditions is impossible as long as state power remains in the hands of the capitalists, until such time as it passes into the hands of the working people.

"Both as a science and in the minds of many generations of fighters in the labor movement the concept of socialism has always been associated with common ownership. But the latter-day Right-wing Social

Democrats have parted company with this scientific concept. . . .

"If the programmatic documents of the Right-wing Social Democrats are carefully looked through, it is not difficult to see that they, in describing their 'socialism', actually reproduce the contours of the existing system of state-monopoly capitalism. Beyond this social 'ideal' (the ideal of the Morgans and Rockefellers), they cannot go.

"In embellishing modern capitalism some of the revisionists in Yugoslavia are following in the footsteps of the Right-wing Social Democrats. . . .

"To the reformist and revisionist program of a state-monopoly capitalism 'evolving' into socialism the Marxist-Leninist parties counterpose a clear-cut program of decisive struggle against the capitalist monopolies, against their domination, for the overthrow of the dictatorship of a handful of monopolist aristocracy.

"While utilizing in the interests of the working people every reform that can be won under capitalism, including reforms of a state-capitalist character, Marxist-Leninists nevertheless maintain that the replacement of the capitalist mode of production by the socialist can take place only through the socialist revolution."

Showing that the anti-crisis measures taken by capitalist governments are only a palliative for an incurable disease, the authors go on to say:

"The evolution of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism signifies not salvation for an outlived system, but merely *completion of the material preparations* for the new, socialist system. . . .

"As to the political pre-conditions of the socialist revolution they, as Lenin showed in his analysis of imperialism, are also continuing to develop.

"State-monopoly capitalism, far from reconciling class antagonisms, accentuates the class struggle of the proletariat, aggravates the antagonisms between the reactionary cliques of the monopoly oligarchy and all the other classes and strata of modern bourgeois society, furthers the growth of new democratic movements which interweave more and more with the emancipation struggle of the working class and lead to the establishment of a broad anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist front."

Leading Role of the Party, Its Tactics and Strategy

The section devoted to the "Theory and Tactics of the International Communist Movement," one of the largest in the book, consists of ten chapters. The first of these, entitled "The Historic Mission of the Working Class," shows the identity of interests of the working class and other working people—the objective basis of the alliance of the working class with the other classes and strata opposed to the reactionary bourgeoisie.

"Of the greatest significance for extending the range of interests for which the workers are struggling, for the growth of their political role in society, was the fact that the proletariat created a militant, well-organized *Marxist-Leninist party* equipped with a scientific theory. The Party helped the working class to become conscious of its role in society and placed this class in the forefront of those fighting for the interests of their people; the Party showed how to rally all the working people against reaction."

Under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist Party, the Russian proletariat carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution. A special chapter is devoted to this Revolution.

The role of the Party in the class struggle of the workers, the policy of united action by the working class and all the democratic forces are studied in the two succeeding chapters in the same section.

"The party of the working class—the Communist Party—a class party by its nature, nevertheless has deep roots not only among the workers but also in other sections of the people. . . .

"In some of the capitalist countries the Communist parties have not yet succeeded in winning over the broad masses of the working class, they have not become mass parties. As the vanguard which unites the most conscious part of the working class they play no small part in the life and struggles of the working people. It is clear, however, that they will play a still greater role when they win the broad masses. Then they will become the political force which will bring the working people to social emancipation and to the establishment of the new society.

"The time needed by a Party for passing from one stage to another depends on the objective conditions and on the correctness of its policy, on the skill of its leadership. . . ."

The measures comprising the activities of a Marxist-Leninist party are not the result

of improvisation by the Party leadership. These measures are the expression of the political line elaborated by the Party on the basis of a scientific analysis of the given stage of struggle and the given situation. In the political language used to designate this line we find such words as *tactics and strategy*.

"The word tactics is often used to denote the political line pursued for a relatively brief space of time, and determined by certain definite conditions, while the word strategy denotes the line for an entire phase of development. But such distinctions were not always made. In the early stages of the working-class movement (before the October Revolution) the word tactics presupposed the entire policy of the Party irrespective of any particular period.

"It was in this sense that Lenin used it; for him the word tactics denoted the relatively rapidly changing tasks confronting the leadership of the working-class struggle (tactics in the narrow sense) and the tasks which remain valid during an entire phase. For instance, in his book *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* Lenin referred to tactics in the sense of the general line of the Party for the whole period of preparing and carrying out the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. The term strategy, borrowed from the military vocabulary, was used by Lenin rarely. Only in his post-October works, when speaking about the policy of the fraternal Communist parties, did he invoke the term Party strategy; he did not, however, consider it necessary to distinguish this concept from that of tactics.

"Today when speaking of strategy or the strategic line the Communists have in view the general line of the Party aimed at carrying out the most general tasks during a given stage on the basis of the existing correlation of class forces. In this sense, of course, it is quite appropriate to refer to the importance of observing the strategic line of the Party in order to stress on the one hand the need unswervingly to carry out the *main task* of the given stage and, on the other, to preclude any leftist tendency of 'skipping over stages'. But in speaking about the political strategy of the Party it is necessary to be on the alert against drawing analogies from the military sphere, for political strategy is vastly different from military strategy.

"In politics one is concerned not with organized armies but with social classes and forces which in some cases can be organized,

while in other cases they can not, which in some cases act consciously, while in others they act spontaneously. The military commander has all the available forces under his command. He can freely maneuver and commit his reserves where he deems necessary in compliance with the military requirements. The political leader has no such possibilities. The classes and forces taking part in the events are not armies or reserves. Each acts not by order of a superior but under the influence of his own interests, and, what is more, in accordance with his understanding of those interests at the given moment. There are numerous other factors which greatly complicate the task confronting the political leader as compared with that of the military commander. All this should be borne in mind when the term political strategy is used.

"When working out the strategic line of a Party under capitalism it is important, first, **correctly to determine the main goal** of the working class at the given stage and the *main class enemy* against whom the class hatred and striking force of all the working people should be concentrated at the given moment in order to smash his resistance.

"Second, it is necessary correctly to determine the attitude of the Party to the largest *intermediate section* which, though in opposition to the main enemy, displays, by virtue of the dual character of its class interests, dangerous political vacillations, a tendency to compromise and sometimes to enter into direct collusion with the enemy. . . .

"Third, in working out the strategic line it is important to find the *allies* of the working class at the given stage of the movement. It would be wrong to look upon these allies as the 'reserves' of the Party which it could 'use' as it wishes, which it could 'deploy' as freely as the military commander deploys his reserves on the battlefield. To reduce strategic leadership in politics to the question of using reserves would be tantamount to diverting attention from the task which, in the capitalist countries, is vital in preparing for decisive class battles—the task of constantly strengthening the bonds between the Communist Party and the working masses and large sections of the working people, the task of establishing united action with the socialist parties, the trade unions and other mass organizations. Each Communist Party takes as its starting point recognition of the *independent* role of the labor movement in the neighboring countries and the revolutionary movements in the colonies

and does not regard these merely as 'reserves' of the revolution in its own country or in any other land. Any other attitude to the individual units of the anti-imperialist liberation movement would not only contradict the principles of the Communists and their political ethics, it would, in addition, create the danger of losing these allies.

"... Political leadership calls not only for a correct and scientifically sound analysis of the situation and, arising therefrom, the elaboration of a correct line, but also for considerable skill in carrying out the line. Without this skill even the political line would not bring any gain. . . . Thus, in order to ensure political leadership it is important *not only to know, but also to be able to act.*"

The new book supplies answers to the question: What is skill in political leadership?

"It is first of all the ability to conduct work among the masses. And this can be done successfully only by those parties and leaders who live for the working people, sharing their aspirations and wholeheartedly devoted to them.

"One of the Leninist principles of political skill is that, in order to involve millions in active struggle, propaganda and agitation are not enough, what is needed is the *political experience of the masses themselves*. . . . The Party cannot wait passively for the masses to acquire this experience on their own. It should know how to help the masses to draw correct conclusions.

"... A vital component of political leadership is the ability to combine one's efforts with those of the other groups with which it is possible to achieve unity of action, including those groups with which there are differences on fundamentals. . . .

"The art of political leadership includes also the ability to choose the correct forms of struggle for the given situation, the ability to be able to switch at once from one form to another. . . .

"The science and the art of political leadership are manifested also in being able to pinpoint the main tasks on the solution of which special efforts should be concentrated."

These aspects of leadership are dealt with in detail.

The Policy of United Action by All the Democratic Forces of the People

Aspects of this policy are examined in a special chapter which stresses that although

working-class unity has an objective basis it is not achieved spontaneously, without the special efforts of the politically conscious vanguard of the working class.

"The point is that the bourgeoisie does everything to split the ranks of the working class and the working people generally in order to weaken and paralyze its class adversaries. This policy, detrimental in the past, continues, regrettably, to be detrimental now. The split in the labor movement is the principal reason for the many grave defeats suffered by the working people; it is the chief reason for the success of the reactionaries. . . .

"To the well-founded arguments advanced by the Communists for united action, the official Social-Democratic leaders have countered with answers which are still accepted by many Socialists."

The chapter takes up these answers and shows that none of them holds water. There are no insurmountable obstacles in the way of Communist-Socialist co-operation.

"Unity is lacking not because the Socialists and the Communists have nothing in common, and not because of any danger of the Communists making short shrift of the Socialists. They could easily have found a common language had not the capitalist reactionaries stood in the way.

"The real motive behind the actions of many leaders of the Socialist International is their *anti-communism*. . . .

"The cold-war propagandists in the labor movement are the *agents of the aggressive, imperialist bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working people*. It is through them that the ruling circles of the imperialist states endeavor to perpetuate the split in the labor movement. . . .

"This reactionary anti-communist policy is spearheaded not only against the revolutionary working-class vanguard, but also against all working people and other democrats. True, the reactionaries first spread illusions to the effect that the repressions and the restrictions are enforced only against the Communists and would not imperil the other sections of the labor and democratic movements. But the moment the working people succumb to this, the moment they cease to resist the measures directed against the Communists, the reactionary bourgeoisie gets on with the next phase of the 'operation' by extending the persecution to the Social-Democratic parties, the trade unions and

even to the liberal bourgeois movements and organizations.

"And so, to the question of who stands in the way of united action in the labor movement, there is only one answer—the *capitalist reactionaries, the ruling oligarchy of monopoly capital. It is to their advantage that the propagandists of anti-communism and the organizers of the cold war do their work in the leadership of working-class organizations* on the pretext that they are leaders of labor. The arguments advanced against unity by these gentlemen, far from expressing their true motives, serve to disguise them. . . .

"That is why united working-class action cannot be achieved only through negotiation and agreement. It calls for active struggle against the intrigues of the reactionary bourgeoisie and its agents in the labor movement."

The book stresses the necessity for a correct approach to the rank-and-file Socialists, to the Left trends in the Social-Democratic parties.

"Although Left-wing Socialists often display political inconsistency, they are, nevertheless, the most progressive elements in the Social-Democratic movement. Their present stand on many vital issues of home and foreign policy corresponds to the interests of the working people. Many Lefts are conscious of the harmful consequences of the split and the need for unity of the working-class movement. And the Communist parties are trying to help them overcome the prejudices instilled by the anti-communist splitters. . . .

"For the sake of united action with the Social Democrats the Communists even today are not opposed to compromise or reasonable concessions. It is true that sectarians may think that by agreeing to a compromise the Communist compromises himself. The political boldness of the sectarian is such that it signifies sticking to the position no matter what the requirements of the situation may be. However, according to Lenin, bold is he who, for the sake of such a great undertaking as the unity of the working-class movement, does not hesitate to make the necessary concession, to meet his future ally half way. . . .

"Each country has its own conditions of struggle and its own traditions of the working-class movement. The way to working-class unity in the various countries has its own sign-posts. In one place unity may be achieved in the course of an election campaign, in another place in the struggle for trade union and social rights, and elsewhere

it may be achieved during the disarmament campaign. The ability to find and select the specific grounds or event which in the particular country may be the shortest way to co-operation of all the trends in the labor movement is one of the basic conditions for the success of the Communist parties in their struggle for a united front. . . .

"In suggesting unity the Communists do not conceal that they have no intention of abandoning their principles or their political countenance. Nor do they demand this of the Social Democrats, holding that the practical co-operation of working-class parties in capitalist countries can be achieved without abandoning principles.

". . . In order to overcome reformist ideology patient persuasion and comradely exchange of views are necessary, not a mere repetition of slogans. In such an important matter any didactic, intolerant or scornful attitude to the views of the Social-Democratic rank and file is impermissible. In discussions with the Socialists the method of conflict of opinions should be used, not that of bandying epithets. . . .

"In exposing the real agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie the Communists are ready to co-operate with all those in the Social-Democratic movement who sincerely wish to abolish capitalism, who are ready to fight for better conditions for the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism."

The book points out that, as a result of the drive of the monopolists against the workers and peasants, and also against the middle sections and even some bourgeois strata, the various social sections are discovering that they have common interests which could be a basis for joint action against monopoly domination.

"With the objective conditions taking shape for uniting the various sections of the people against the yoke of the monopolies the center of gravity shifts to the activity of the revolutionary party of the working class, to its ability to find a common language with the various political and social organizations and movements. The militant and organized unity of the popular forces does not come about of its own volition. . . ."

The textbook examines, on the basis of the experience of the different countries, the vital factors for achieving united action by the democratic forces, such factors as a strong and united working-class movement, a correct platform for co-operation, ability to compromise and make concessions.

After examining these factors it turns to a consideration of the *vanguard role of the Marxist party of the working class* in a democratic bloc. This role "is acquired as a result of its active and selfless struggle, as a result of its correct political line and its skill in correctly assessing the current situation and proclaiming slogans to which the masses readily respond. In short, the leading influence wielded by the working-class party is the result of its own political activity and not of any pressure or orders. When a Party pursues a correct policy, when its voice finds an eager ear among all the people and its prestige grows hourly, the other political parties and groups recognize its leading influence and assign to it the decisive say in elaborating the policy of the united front.

"... The leading role of the Marxist party in a democratic bloc does not at all mean that the Party can dictate its will or issue commands. Even though it may have a majority it avoids imposing its decisions but seeks to secure their unanimous adoption by way of explanation and persuasion. Were the Party to act by the method of the diktat, disregarding the lawful interests of its allies, it would run the risk of losing them, would find itself alone and thus be unable to achieve the aims of the democratic bloc. The Communists are not interested in using their partners in the democratic front for the time being and then discarding them, as is claimed by reactionary propaganda; on the contrary, the Communists want to go farther with them towards the final solution of all democratic tasks, to achieve the fullest satisfaction of the just demands of the broad sections of the people, which is possible only under socialism. Persuasion is the chief method used by the Party inside a bloc, but this does not exclude the right to criticize vacillations and inconsistency on the part of the partners, or the right to fight decisively the avowed enemies of unity inside the bloc.

"The Communists make no secret of the fact that they do not support all the demands of the petty bourgeoisie. While the working class can have common interests with these sections, it also has contradictions with them. The Communist parties are aware of this in advance and, when the need arises, firmly state their attitude in respect to demands that are unacceptable to the working class. Unity is achieved not by way of endless concessions but through decisive support for the just demands of the allies of the working class and at the same time through combating vacillations among some

of these allies, vacillations which constitute a danger to the common aims of the united front of the people.

"It is impossible to pursue a policy of democratic unity *without waging a decisive struggle against sectarianism and Right-wing opportunism*. When building a broad front the Left sectarian elements can be a great danger because in disregarding the legitimate interests of the other sections they alienate the potential allies of the working class. And when the united front becomes a fact, Right-wing opportunism can be dangerous because it completely capitulates to the demands of the bourgeois allies, weakens the independent position of the revolutionary party of the working class and descends to bourgeois nationalism."

The next few chapters treat of the worker-peasant alliance under capitalism; the national-liberation movement against colonialism; the struggle of the peoples of the capitalist countries to uphold sovereignty; the struggle in defense of democracy in the bourgeois countries; the threat of war and the fight for peace. The last chapter in this section is headed "The Different Forms of the Transition to the Socialist Revolution."

The Democratic Movement and the Socialist Revolution

Having demonstrated the inevitability of the proletarian revolution to which the development of class antagonisms leads, the book analyzes the roads to the socialist revolution.

"... A social revolution never bears the character of a duel between two opponents only. 'He who waits for a "pure" social revolution,' wrote Lenin, 'will never live to see it. ...'

"There can be no such thing as a 'pure' socialist revolution because there is no such thing as 'pure' capitalism. In reality capitalism is burdened by the remnants of the pre-capitalist economic forms, survivals of feudal relations and small-commodity production, etc. The contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie may be interwoven with those between the peasants and the landlords, between the landlords and the bourgeoisie, between the small and the big bourgeoisie, between the monopolies and all the other sections. Moreover, the class antagonisms between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are blurred at times by national, religious and other conflicts. In conditions of national oppression the working class may be on the same side not only with the peas-

ants, but also with considerable sections of the bourgeoisie.

"Varied movements of the oppressed and discontented masses can lead to proletarian revolution provided the politically-conscious vanguard of the working class is capable of guiding these movements along the pathway of revolutionary struggle. . . .

"In the past few decades new perspectives have opened up in this respect as a result of the unprecedented sweep of mass democratic movements spearheaded against monopoly capital and imperialism. Although these movements do not have socialist aims, objectively they are linked with the struggle of the working class for socialism and, given certain conditions, may fuse with the latter into a single stream and overwhelm the rule of capital. These movements open up new possibilities for united action of the working class with other working people and other sections opposed to the rule of the monopoly bourgeoisie. . . .

"Today there is a basis for democratic movements not only in the underdeveloped countries and countries with pronounced feudal survivals, but also in the *highly-developed capitalist countries*. In the latter case these movements are spearheaded against the ruling bourgeois circles, *against imperialism and monopoly domination*.

"This does not mean, of course, that all these movements are anti-capitalist by nature. . . .

"Yet they cannot be characterized as bourgeois-democratic. For the ordinary bourgeois democracy, even where it has reached its highest development, cannot resolve such issues as ending the menace of war, granting formal and real national liberation, nationalizing the property of the monopolies and restricting their political power. This can be achieved only under a democracy of a new type which expresses the interests of the masses of the working people and the other progressive sections. . . .

"It is not excluded that, given the conditions, the democratic movements against the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie may turn into *democratic revolutions*.

"These revolutions would be *anti-monopoly* in character for their objective would be the overthrow of the dictatorship of the big monopolies. The driving forces of these revolutions would be the working class, the peasants, the middle urban sections and the democratic intellectuals. In other words, these would be *popular democratic revolutions*,

revolutions in which very broad sections of the people would participate."

The book sets forth Lenin's theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution evolving into the socialist revolution. The conclusion is drawn that, basically, this theory is applicable to all democratic revolutions of modern times.

"This means, of course, not that every democratic revolution will inevitably evolve into a socialist revolution; it simply means that it *may do so* provided the working class is able to secure the leading position in it. This is confirmed, in particular, by the experience of the anti-fascist *popular democratic revolutions* which broke out at the end of the Second World War in Central and South-Eastern Europe, and also by the experience of the national-liberation democratic revolutions in such Asian countries as China, Korea and Vietnam. . . .

"Essentially, the democratic revolution now is spearheaded against the same enemy as the socialist revolution of the working class. This signifies that a further *rapprochement* of the two types of revolutions has taken place. In these conditions the struggle for the solution of the democratic and socialist tasks may not necessarily develop into two separate revolutions, but may comprise two stages of a single revolutionary process. . . .

"A democratic anti-monopoly revolution is a possible but not an inevitable stage in the struggle for socialism in the capitalist countries today. It is possible that the democratic movements of a general character may not lead to such revolutions (at any rate not in all countries), that the socialist revolution may take place without a preliminary democratic stage. . . .

"There is no sense in guessing how and through what democratic demands this may occur. Depending on the situation any demand may bring the masses to a decisive struggle for socialism. Confronted with the direct threat of nuclear war, which is being prepared by the reactionary bourgeoisie, it may take the form of mass action for peace. In other conditions a broad anti-fascist movement or the struggle in defense of national sovereignty, or a whole series of such movements merging into a single stream of democratic struggle may lead the working people to take the socialist road.

"In any case, one thing is vital: in the conditions of today the mass movements of a general democratic character, spearheaded

against imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie, are coming into closer relationship with the struggle for socialism.

"But, while taking this into account, it would be wrong to regard the democratic movements as a simple means for bringing the masses to socialist revolution.

"It would be wrong first of all because they are of tremendous importance as *independent* movements for the peoples in general and for the working class in particular. Is the struggle for peace, against nuclear destruction to be regarded solely as a reserve means? Is it not one of the principal aims of the democrats and progressive mankind as a whole? The same is true of the struggle against fascism and the shameful colonialism from which a large part of humanity suffered only recently.

"At the same time the Marxist-Leninist approach to democratic movements of a general character calls for a perfectly clear class position. No matter how important one or another movement may be, each Communist, each class-conscious worker should never lose sight of the ultimate aims of the working-class movement. But this does not make him any less conscious and less selfless in fighting for the immediate interests of the people, for such demands as peace, democracy, national independence and sovereignty.

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

Examination of the possibility of a non-peaceful solution of the question of power as well as of the possibility of the peaceful development of the revolution enables us to draw the following conclusion:

"The peaceful transition to socialism has great advantages. It makes possible a fundamental reconstruction of the life of society with the least sacrifice on the part of the working people, with the minimum destruction of the productive forces of society and the minimum interruption in the production process. . . .

"The peaceful taking over of power is more in accord with the outlook of the working class. Its noble humanist ideals exclude the use of force merely for the sake of force, because the strength of the historical truth expressed by the working class is such that it can count on the support of the overwhelming majority of the people.

"It follows, then, that the whole question is not whether the Marxists and the revolutionary workers desire a peaceful revolution or not, but whether objective conditions exist for this."

What are the new factors that make a peaceful revolution possible? Non-violent revolution is possible "not because the nature of the ruling classes has changed or that they now display an inclination to cede power voluntarily, but because in a number of countries there is the possibility of achieving a preponderance over the reactionary classes that will make them conscious of the futility of resisting, leaving them with no choice but that of capitulating to the revolutionary people. *And so, in this case, too, the outcome of the revolution is decided by the actual correlation of forces.*

"In admitting the possibility of a peaceful revolution the Marxist-Leninists have by no means switched to the positions of reformism.

"The reformists preach a peaceful way because they completely deny class struggle and revolution. . . . The Marxist-Leninists reject this view: neither social science nor experience offers any confirmation of it. They know that any revolution—whether peaceful or non-peaceful—is the result of class struggle. All the more so a socialist revolution—whether peaceful or non-peaceful—is still a revolution, because it decides the question of the transfer of power from the hands of the reactionary classes to the hands of the people.

"Further, the reformists maintain that the peaceful road is the only road to socialism. The Marxist-Leninists, while noting the possibility of a peaceful revolution, nevertheless also see the inevitability, in a number of cases, of a sharp aggravation of class struggle. In countries where the military-police machine of the reactionary bourgeoisie is strong, the working class will encounter fierce resistance. There can be no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship by armed class struggle will be inevitable."

The Future of Humanity

The final section "The Theory of Socialism and Communism" consists of seven chapters. The opening chapter deals with the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian democracy. The second and third chapters ("The Main Economic Tasks of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism", and "The Basic Features of the Socialist Mode of Produc-

tion") examine the fundamental problems of the political economy of socialism.

The chapter "The Socio-Political and Cultural Contours of Socialist Society" is devoted to a study of socialist democracy, friendship of the peoples, socialist culture and the driving forces of socialist society. The subject, Socialism and the Individual, receives special attention. Then follows the chapter "The Socialist World System."

The chapter on the transition from socialism to communism deals in detail with the Leninist general line of the Party at the new stage, the line which found expression in the resolutions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, and with the international significance of the communist construction in the USSR.

The last chapter is headed "Communist Society."

"The emergence of the new higher system is not far off. That is why the question: what is communism?—is now of practical interest to millions of people. They want to know and

must know what kind of society emerges from their efforts, from their everyday needs, both big and small, the spectacular and the routine.

"Can social science satisfy this interest? If we are to speak not about the details but about the general features of the new society, it can.

"We should, of course, bear in mind that the victory of communism does not signify a halt in historical development, that communist society will constantly change and perfect itself. That is why it is impossible to predict exactly what it will be like centuries from now. As to the question what communism will be like for many of our contemporaries, that is, what will its early stages be like, a more or less correct answer can be given today. This answer is provided by Marxist-Leninist theory.

"But Marxist-Leninist theory does not attempt to adapt communism to any preconceived pattern; it bases itself wholly on an analysis of the trend of the day—the precursor of the communist future of humanity.

Outstanding Fighter for Peace, Democracy and Socialism

(Centenary of the Birth of Sen Katayama)

THE centenary of the birth of Sen Katayama, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Japan, was celebrated on December 3, 1959. As a member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, Sen Katayama was simultaneously one of the leaders of the international working-class movement.

Born into a poor peasant family, Katayama as a youth went to Tokyo where he worked and studied. In 1884 he left for the United States. Here, too, he combined work with study. With his experience of the American trade union and socialist movements, Katayama returned to Japan in 1896 to devote his whole life to the organization of trade unions and propaganda of socialist ideas.

Katayama was an ardent fighter for peace. At the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International, which was held at the peak of the Russo-Japanese War, he, on behalf of the Japanese workers, exchanged a hearty handshake with the Russian delegate in token of the anti-war sentiments of the Japanese workers and of the fraternity of the workers of all countries. The Congress solemnly pledged to fight war, but, unlike Sen Katayama, few of the delegates lived up to their vow.



In 1912 Katayama led a strike of 6,000 Tokyo tramway workers. This was the first large-scale organized action of Japanese workers. For his part in the strike Katayama was sentenced to five months' imprisonment. In 1914 he again emigrated to the United States, where he resumed his activities in the labor movement. Katayama recalled in later years that he spent 26 years in America as a worker and participated in the

American movement. He considered it his right to call the American Party his own.

The October Revolution deeply impressed Katayama. The abolition of national oppression in the land of Soviets greatly encouraged the oppressed peoples of Asia. The revolutionary movement initiated by the March uprising of 1919 in Korea, and the May 4 movement in China were indicative of the impact of the Russian revolution.

In Japan, too, the savage reprisals which followed the Kotoku trial (1910-11) were unable to prevent the outbreak of the rice rebellions in August 1918. The imperial regime was shaken. The struggle of the workers and peasants swept the country. But Japanese militarism refused to cede its positions. It butchered the liberation movements of the Asian peoples and constituted the main force in the anti-Soviet intervention in the Far

East. In the early twenties the imperative task was to defeat Japanese imperialism, to free the Asian peoples and to defend the Soviet Union.

Lenin's theses on the national and colonial questions approved by the Second Congress of the Communist International evoked a broad response among the Asian peoples. In January 1922, Sen Katayama took an active part in the congress of the working people of the Far East. He contributed a report on the political and economic situation in Japan and on the labor movement there.

When Japanese imperialism launched intervention against the Soviets, the Communist Party of Japan campaigned under the slogan "Hands Off Soviet Russia." Katayama went to the Siberian front and addressed the Japanese soldiers with an appeal: "Return home immediately and fight the conditions in which your brothers and sisters are forced to live. By laying down arms and leaving Siberia you will not only quicken the final victory of the workers and peasants of Russia but will also help in the emancipation of the Japanese working people, you will help your own people in their fight against misery and hunger."

Sen Katayama inspired the Japanese Communists in their struggle against war and imperialism. The Communist Party of Japan unfurled the banner of struggle against Japanese imperialism and the Mikado regime for freedom for the colonies which suffered under the yoke of Japan.

Acting on the proposition that "a nation which oppresses other nations cannot itself be free," he made a big contribution to the liberation of the Korean and Chinese peoples.

Katayama rallied support for the Anti-Imperialist League to fight war. The Japanese section of this league was guided by Katayama's counsel. When the Japanese imperialists seized the island of Taiwan and occupied Korea, the section declared the days of the seizure—June 17 and August 26—days of disgrace for the Japanese nation.

Sen Katayama enthusiastically welcomed the Chinese revolution. In 1928 he gave it his wholehearted support in his speech to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. In 1933 he addressed a letter to Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland drawing their attention to another counter-revolutionary act against which an international campaign should be organized—the sixth campaign against the Chinese Soviets and Red Army by the armies of Chiang Kai-shek supported by American and British imperialism.

With full faith in the Chinese revolution he foresaw that China, upon winning freedom, would become a mighty force in the struggle for peace and national liberation of the Asian peoples.

Sen Katayama paid close attention to the national-liberation struggle of the colonial peoples. At the Sixth Congress of the Communist International he pointed to the need for constant support by the Communist parties of the metropolitan countries to the revolutionary movements in the colonies. He urged the Communist parties of all countries to support the Chinese revolution and the anti-imperialist movements in Indonesia and India. He criticized those who underestimated the revolutionary movements in the colonies and constantly stressed that these movements should be supported by the working class of the metropolitan countries.

On September 18, 1931, the Japanese imperialists launched their invasion in North-East China. This was the continuation of the aggressive policy in respect to China begun by the Japanese imperialists as far back as the time of the Japano-Chinese and Russo-Japanese wars and later manifested in the twenty-one conditions submitted by Japan to China and in the sanguinary events in Tsinan. The object of this war was not only to partition China and destroy Red China but also, as time was to show, to unleash another world war.

Conscious that the predatory war of the Japanese imperialists would cause grave damage to the Japanese people and other peoples of the East, Katayama appealed to the Communist Party and all progressives in Japan to launch an anti-war campaign regardless of the difficulties.

In August 1932, on the initiative of Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse, an international anti-war congress was held in Amsterdam. The Congress was attended by the seventy-three-year-old Sen Katayama, who travelled there specially at their request. His passionate speech stirred the delegates.

The Congress noted that the heroic example of the Japanese workers was a model of skill in combating imperialist war. They fought their own bourgeoisie, stopped production and delivery of military equipment and explained to the Japanese soldiers the predatory aims of the war.

Sen Katayama safeguarded the unity of the Communist Party. He was merciless in exposing the Right-wing opportunists and in combating the liquidators; his purpose was

to cement the ranks of the Party as a truly mass organization.

At the present time the Communist Party of Japan, continuing the tradition of Sen

Katayama, has made definite gains in the struggle for peace, democracy and national independence.

Soitiro MATSUMOTO

*In the Communist
and Workers' Parties*

New Features of Public Control at Soviet Enterprises

THE report on accelerating integrated mechanization and automation of labor-consuming processes delivered by Comrade Novakovsky, head of the automatic stamping shop of the Riga Electrotechnical Plant, at a meeting in one of the shops in the plant, evoked keen interest. Many points were raised in the discussion—quicker application of the suggestions made by workers; criticism of those responsible for the delay in mastering the new automatic lines, and suggestions for explaining to the workers the tasks arising from automation. Thanks to this business-like exchange of views, to the collective experience of the personnel, the initial draft suggested by the shop management was substantially revised. The Party committee verified the implementation of the decision of the meeting and soon the shop made a big advance, which, to a considerable degree, is explained by the co-operation between the management and the Party organization.

This example illustrates how the Party organizations in Soviet enterprises exercise control over the management. The purpose of this rank-and-file control is to ensure the timely fulfilment of plans, to discuss latent reserves and achieve a further advance. Naturally, not everything is plain sailing. There are managers who, while taking care of the "prestige" of the enterprise, neglect the interests of the state and concern themselves with their narrow interests. In this case public control assumes another form, which we will demonstrate by the following example.

The manager of the Vladimir Chemical Plant, Filippenko, without consulting the personnel and allegedly for the sake of specialization, decided to close a number of the older shops equipped with antiquated machines. These shops affected the production indices of the whole plant. When the Party organization discussed the matter, Filippenko

insisted that the matter had been decided upon and that it was no use arguing about it. The Party organization, however, rejected this view and showed how the shops could be reconstructed. The Communists also proved to the higher authorities the need to replace this inefficient manager. Soon a new manager appeared and, with the support of the personnel, organized the reconstruction and greatly increased the capacity of the shops.

Of great importance in this case was the fact that the Party control from below was control exercised by the workers, that a Party organization which is not bound by narrow departmental interests, can, by virtue of its position, comprehensively and impartially raise any question, and resolve it in the interests of the people.

Party control over the administration is an expression of socialist democracy, one of the many forms of public control exercised by the mass organizations. Some seven million workers, engineers, technicians and office employees are elected to the so-called permanent production assemblies under trade union supervision, which control all aspects of production. Another form of control is carried out by the Young Communist League organizations. Thousands of young people take part in "control posts" and commissions established in the key sectors. The forms of control, an important element of management, are flexible—new forms derive from new tasks. Now that the job of achieving technological progress is being tackled all over the country, special significance is attached to the technological commissions consisting of engineers, technicians, worker-innovators and scientists. At many enterprises these commissions have already become an effective body of permanent public control over the introduction of new techniques.

These multiple forms are yielding good results and their significance is growing at the stage of accelerated building of communism; growing numbers of people are carrying out control functions. The same can be said about control exercised by the Party branches.

The Rules of the Communist Party, while granting the factory Party organizations the right of control, do not specify its forms. Consequently it often boiled down to simply hearing the reports made by the managers. A few months ago the Central Committee of the Party passed a decision on establishing, in the factory branches, control commissions to supervise the work of the managements. The tasks of these commissions are determined by the Party organizations in accordance with the nature of production, for example, to verify fulfilment of state orders, quality of output, introduction of the latest technology, automation, etc. The commissions study the state of affairs, and whenever shortcomings are disclosed report them to the Party committee or meeting and also to the management, and take the necessary steps jointly with them. In the event of the management not giving a prompt answer, the organization discusses the matter and exerts pressure on it. If this proves insufficient it can apply to the higher bodies up to the Central Committee of the Party and the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commissions are elected by open ballot at a general Party meeting for a term of one year.

Hundreds of thousands of Communists take an active part in these commissions. In the Ukraine, for example, their number is about 60,000, in the Moscow Region—over 16,000, etc. Take, for example, the commission which verifies the fulfilment of state orders at the mining equipment plant in the Ukraine. Headed by technologist A. Vassilyev,

it includes M. Khutoryansky, a turner; F. Hrubá, forging press operator; M. Kurakina, moulder, and others. Of the 400 Communists at the plant 80 are members of the commissions, and they have many helpers.

The regional Party committees recently held conferences which discussed the experience of the commissions, showed that the latter had been instrumental in quickly eliminating the many obstacles in the way of technological progress, in improving quality, reducing the administrative staffs and speeding up rationalization. The commissions work through democratic channels. Through the Party committees they submit for discussion by the workers' suggestions to improve production, insist on decisions being taken on the points discussed, and on eliminating all the defects. The commissions enlist in their work active trade unionists, non-Party workers and experts—all of whom are thoroughly acquainted with the production processes.

This new organizational form of Party control is not something apart from the many other forms of public control. Reports by factory managers to Party meetings, the permanent production assemblies, the production commissions of the trade union committees, the YCL posts and other forms of control have become even more effective.

The development of public control shows how an important Leninist concept is being put into effect, namely that the one-man executive authority of the individual manager must of necessity be combined with a variety of forms and means of control from below.

The new organizational forms of Party control are another step forward in socialist democracy, in workers' participation in industrial management.

M. FYODOROV

Towards Unity and Cohesion

Resolution on the Inner-Party Situation of the C. C. of the Mexican Communist Party

A RECENT meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico held to discuss the situation in the Party, adopted a resolution which states that the Party is experiencing a prolonged crisis (since 1937) and that, despite the favorable conditions in the country, it has become isolated from the masses, has lost a considerable part of its influence and has become weaker organizationally.

As a result of the errors committed during the inner-Party struggle (constant expulsions accom-

panied by violations of the Leninist standards) the Party split in 1948. The split was followed by the formation of a Worker-Peasant Party which also bases its activity on Marxist-Leninist principles and seeks unity with the Communist Party.

The reasons for the crisis are to be found in the ideological influence wielded by the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement and in the Party itself, in the Party's inadequate knowledge of Marxist-Leninist principles, in an incorrect organizational policy and in the fact that there was no

genuinely Marxist-Leninist core in the leadership. "In the recent period," the resolution goes on to say, "the Communist Party lacked a clear-cut, consistent political line on the basic problems of Mexico: the agrarian question, the imperialist penetration, the situation of the working class and the masses, and the prospects and paths of the Mexican revolution. The Party was not active as a militant political force, was slow in responding to the main political problems of the day and did not show political initiative."

The resolution dwells at length on the defects in organizational work, points to the passivity of the branches, the small working-class membership and the fluctuation in membership.

"The reasons for this are purely internal, since they cannot be ascribed to objective conditions and even less so to the peculiarities of the Mexican working class which is known for its militant revolutionary traditions. . . .

"The mistakes in the political line and organization also derive from the fact that Marxism-Leninism was not linked to the revolutionary movement in Mexico. Subjectivism which manifested itself in the form of empiricism and dogmatism, prevailed in the leadership and became a serious hindrance to the growth of the Party."

This gave rise to dissatisfaction among the rank and file and many functionaries. In analyzing this the C. C. holds that "the point at issue is not that of a formal, organizational split, but of an objective fact where on many questions of inner-Party life and policy the C.C. members divided into two groups—the majority and 'the minority'—which could not but affect the work of the Party branches."

The meeting arrived at the conclusion that the following factors account for the present state of affairs in the Party:

"1. The central leadership failed to appreciate the substance of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which had a tremendous impact on the entire international communist movement, and adhered to the old, discredited methods which acted as a brake on the growth of the Party. The same can be said about the attitude to the November 1957 Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties which worked out the basic political principles of the international movement at the present stage. After the 20th Congress of the CPSU the meetings of the Central Committee in December 1956 and in October-November 1957, paved the way for rectifying the mistakes and shortcomings in the Party. But the decisions of these meetings were not carried out. . . .

"2. Under the impact of the 20th Congress of the CPSU many members and functionaries became

conscious of the need to change the state of affairs, for a self-critical analysis of the situation in the Party. . . . This tendency was particularly pronounced at the conference of the Party organization of Mexico City in August-September 1957, which criticized the leadership. But the leadership did not adopt a correct attitude to this tendency, regarding it as a struggle for positions, and tried to resolve the contradictions in a way which could only aggravate the crisis in the Party.

"3. Another important reason for the crisis lies in the violation of the standards of inner-Party life (a wrong attitude to criticism and self-criticism, suppression of inner-Party democracy, errors in advancing cadres). . . . In selecting and promoting cadres personal relations prevailed as well as a tendency to dismiss Party workers for their criticism. The personality cult had not yet been overcome, and administrative methods, familiarity and subservience were common in the Party. The main problems of Party life were decided by a handful of people."

There were other reasons, too, for the dissension.

The resolution stresses that it would be wrong to say that "the majority" or "the minority" have adopted a liquidationist or a revisionist attitude. But the existence of contradictions which have not been correctly resolved does much harm to the Party. Both sides are to blame for the crisis but the main responsibility rests with the so-called "majority" of the Central Committee.

The most imperative task, above all of the Central Committee, is to restore the unity of the Party on a principled basis, by rectifying the mistakes and finding the right way to enhance political activity and to make the Party the standard-bearer of the Mexican people. This unity should be based on the decisions of the August-September 1957 conference of the Party organization of the capital, the December 1956 meeting of the Central Committee, the October-November 1957 meeting and the present meeting.

The meeting regards it as a vital task fully to re-establish the Leninist standards of inner-Party life and leadership, and, stressing that "the encouragement of criticism, particularly criticism from below, is an important means of correcting the present situation in the Party, urges all Communists to be vigilant and to repel any attempt to stifle criticism no matter where it comes from." Stressing that not infrequently the role of the Central Committee was reduced to that of a consultative body, the meeting decided that all questions pertaining to the policy and work of the Party should be settled by C.C. meetings, that the latter should control the work of all Party bodies. The meeting also decided to change the style of work of the Political Commission and the C.C. Secretariat, entrusting them with leading the day-

to-day political activity of the Party. In view of the fact that, despite the decisions of the previous C.C. meetings, the Marxist-Leninist principle of collective leadership has not been re-established, the post of Secretary-General has been abolished. The meeting appointed the Secretariat which will collectively guide the work of the Party and report to the Central Committee and the Political Commission.

It was decided to convene the 13th Congress of the Party. In this respect the C.C. points out that "the preparations for the Congress should be conducted through broad inner-Party discussion on the basis of respect for the opinion of all comrades and complete inner-Party democracy. Unless these conditions are observed the Congress will be unable to fulfil its task—to unite the Party and work out a correct political and organizational line." The Congress will analyze, in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, the work of the Party during the past 17 years.

The meeting called on all Communists "to fight for the organizational strengthening of the Party, for winning new members and those comrades who still adhere to a revolutionary standpoint but who at one time or another left the Party and do not take part in its work regularly."

Recognizing that the ideological and political level of the Party is inadequate and that theory and ideological work are underrated, the meeting urged both the rank and file and leading cadres of the Party to study the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

The Central Committee has instructed the Political Commission to work out measures for militant propaganda and agitation among the working people. "Without comprehensively organized propaganda, both in the press and orally," reads the resolution, "the Party will not be able to acquaint the masses with its views on the various problems of the country's political life, nor will it be able to rebuff anti-communist and reactionary propaganda."

The meeting regards as one of the fundamental tasks of the Party the solution of the question of unity with the Worker-Peasant Party. The continued existence of a parallel party is completely unwarranted. And the differences can be overcome by way of comradely discussion aimed at achieving organizational unity.

The meeting appealed to the leadership of the Worker-Peasant Party, suggested that "the central bodies of the two parties should immediately start negotiations with a view to arriving at a unanimous agreement concerning the final solution of the unity problem . . . , that efforts be pooled in all spheres of work, and a single line be worked out covering all national and international issues."

Special attention was devoted to strengthening contact with the masses, to Party work in the trade unions, and to the struggle against the Right-wing union leaders. The meeting stressed that "the winning of a vanguard role by the Communist Party does not imply merely the working out of strategic, tactical and policy documents. The Party will win the working people and become their standard-bearer only if it acts as a political champion, a staunch defender of both the immediate and future interests of the masses. . . ."

The meeting regards this resolution as the basis for overcoming the inner-Party crisis, and it is for the Party as a whole to expand this basis. "Despite mistakes and shortcomings, the Communist Party of Mexico has fine militant traditions and has rendered splendid service to the working class. None of the other parties or political groups in the country has so much to its credit. We could point out, for example, that the Communist Party was the sponsor of the peasant struggle for land after the 1910-17 revolution; the Party was the inspirer and organizer of the anti-imperialist battles in the recent decades, such as those waged for expropriation of the oil fields and railways. Not a single major action of the working class has taken place without the wholehearted participation of the Communist Party."

The Communists have retained their influence among the peasants in the states of Coahuila, Sonora and Lower California as well as among considerable sections of the working class. The meeting called on the Party to work to extend and deepen this influence. The way to overcoming the present crisis, to the political and organizational development of the Party lies, as the meeting stressed, through rectifying the mistakes and through unity of the Party on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

"It is necessary to stress these points because some elements both inside and outside the Party, harping on its difficulties and the prolonged internal crisis, are trying to prove that the Party does not exist, that it is incapable of recovering from its errors and shortcomings. In all its variants, this trend, liquidationist in essence, is trying to demoralize the Communists and the working class and to sow disbelief among them. Liquidationism should be resolutely combated."

The meeting called for redoubled revolutionary vigilance against the hostile police agents who try to capitalize on the unfolding process of criticism and self-criticism. "Struggle against the dogmatic and sectarian deviations, against any manifestation of revisionism in Marxist theory and Party structure is the best form of revolutionary vigilance."

The Central Committee expressed its confidence that the staunchness of all Communists, and fidelity to the working class and to Marxism-Leninism

will prevail over any transient factors and provide a firm basis for unity of the Party and for develop-

ing it into the militant vanguard of the Mexican working class.

Put Forward the Policy Of the Party More Actively

THE last Labor government in Australia which was defeated in 1949 showed itself as a clearly bourgeois party during its term of office. It encouraged the growth of the big monopolies and went to great lengths to encourage the investment of foreign capital in the country. It also organized a secret police force for spying on the labor movement and introduced legislation for more effective state control of the trade unions. This government engaged in blatant strike-breaking activities and jailed a number of trade union leaders.

Many Labor Party spokesmen in the last elections, in answer to taunts from the Liberals that they were pro-communist, proudly pointed out that they had sent Communists to jail whereas the Liberals had not done so. Among the people sent to jail by them was the General Secretary of the Miners' Union who was a prominent member of the Labor Party.

How is it then, after all this, that the majority of the workers still support the Labor Party?

The first reason is the existence of very strong traditions among the workers of support for the Labor Party which was built on the initiative of the trade unions and of which many are affiliated members. Many workers do not believe that there is anything fundamentally wrong with the Labor Party but consider that the shortcomings of the past were only a result of the weakness or treachery of individuals, and that with new leaders the Labor Party will be all right.

Of still greater importance is the fact that Australia has experienced an exceptionally protracted boom since the beginning of World War II, and has had one of the highest standards of living in the capitalist world. This has inevitably developed widespread illusions in the minds of workers, particularly the younger workers who have never known unemployment. Only recently have there appeared signs of the end of the boom, and unemployment has been steadily increasing.

In the period of boom the strength of the trade unions and the struggles of the workers forced major reforms among which are the 40-hour week, payment for two, and in many cases three, weeks' annual holidays, paid sick leave, and so on. All these reforms have been incorporated in legisla-

tion, giving the impression to many that they were the result of parliamentary action alone.

Before the boom, in the years of the 1929-33 economic crisis, the Labor Party exposed itself as a party of capitalism to wide sections of the workers, and the Communist Party made rapid advances. However, the Communist Party was young and inexperienced and made sectarian errors in dealing with Labor Party workers and was unable to take full advantage of the opportunities which presented themselves. Moreover, the trade unions were then practically entirely in the hands of Right-wing Labor Party officials who were able to hold back the workers from active struggles, and it was mainly the unemployed workers led by the Communists who waged struggles against the capitalists.

Since those days the work of the Communists among the masses has greatly improved and their positions in the unions, particularly in the most important ones, have been strengthened. These were not easy achievements, for a certain section among the Communists was against any dealings with the Labor Party, and advocated that the Communists should attempt to "capture" the trade unions, and where it was possible to do so, should exclude members of the Labor Party from the leadership of the unions. The advocates of this sectarian policy made no distinction between the Right-wing leaders of the Labor Party and its rank-and-file members. This policy resulted in antagonizing those who believed in the Labor Party, it made them easy prey to the intrigues of extreme Right-wing elements in the unions who accused the Communists of controlling the unions, and in some cases resulted in the removal of Communists from leading positions in unions and the creation of a Right-wing Labor Party monopoly of the leadership.

The Communist Party also had to combat Right deviations of which the most common was the one which considered the role of the Communist Party to be that of a "ginger" group with the job of pushing the Labor Party to adopt a correct policy.

It must be said that neither of these incorrect ideas are openly advocated today in the Communist Party, but nevertheless there are examples

of practical work which show tendencies towards these deviations. Some Communists are impatient with members of the Labor Party who hold trade union positions, unless they think and act like Communists, instead of realizing that it is inevitable that there must be some difference between Labor Party people and Communists. But in countries like Australia where all the workers in some industries are in the union, it is necessary that the leadership of the unions should include people of different views. The alternative is the one which has been so disastrous for working-class unity in many countries—separate trade unions for the different political and religious trends in the country.

Of course, it is inevitable that if all the workers in a particular industry are members of the union covering the industry, there will be some backward ones among them. When such people oppose union policies some workers immediately want to expel them from the union. Such a shortsighted policy has in the past been responsible for the formation of splinter unions and is a very dangerous one. Incorrect views among union members must be combated within the union and cannot be destroyed by means of expelling the holder of such views from the union.

Trade unions are not political parties, and it is unreal to expect the membership always to have the same attitude to all questions. The policy pursued by the union should be one which is generally in the interests of the members but so designed as to get the support of all or at least the overwhelming majority of the members.

The leading bodies of trade unions should be so constituted as to give representation, as far as possible, to the main political groups of the union membership. In Australia this means, in the main industrial unions, the supporters of the Communists and the supporters of the Labor Party. Such a united leadership should base itself on a militant policy approved by the membership, and should endeavor to develop unity down through the ranks of the union membership.

The top leadership of the Labor Party has never been satisfied yet with a position in a trade union where members of the Labor Party share the leadership with Communists. The leaders of the Labor Party like to talk of the Labor movement having two wings, the industrial (trade union) and the political (the Labor Party), thereby nicely excluding anyone else, and they are entirely opposed to Communists holding trade union positions. In recent years there have been attempts by the leaders of the Labor Party to prevent its members from standing together with Communists in union elections, and where Communists have been elected there has been determined organization by the Labor Party to exclude them.

The Communists, nevertheless, are consolidating their positions in the trade unions, and are exerting all efforts to heal the split among the workers. In the steel and coal city of Newcastle the Communists have been in a relatively strong position for a number of years on the executive of the leading trade union body, the city trade union council. A little over a year ago, the Communist who was president offered to retire so that the position could be filled by a prominent member of the Labor Party. This was agreed to and this demonstration of unity was welcomed warmly by the workers. Soon, however, the Labor Party reversed its attitude, and realizing that it could not defeat the Communists and win all the leading positions on the council, it instructed its members to refuse to nominate for any positions.

Many other examples could be quoted to show the intolerance of the leaders of the Labor Party to the Communists, and to confirm that we need clarity of political views, great patience and also a determined struggle to build unity and to frustrate the attempts of the leaders of the Labor Party to break this unity.

The possibility of building united action is facilitated by the growing hatred of the working people for the reactionary Menzies government which follows in the wake of U.S. imperialism, and which is distinguished by its extremely anti-working class, anti-democratic policy in which it has restricted democratic liberties, attempted (unsuccessfully) to declare the Communist Party illegal, and to bring the unions more and more under state control. The policy of the government has resulted in prices soaring while wages have been pegged.

While the Communist Party must aim its main blows at the Liberals, it must at the same time point out the weaknesses in Labor policy, criticize this policy and popularize and win support for the policy of the Communist Party. This is not always done. Some Communists are very energetic in their activities against the Liberals but forget to put forward the policy of the Communist Party. In the recent Commonwealth elections some Communist speakers merely stated that we had the right to stand as candidates, instead of showing how beneficial it would be for the people and particularly the workers to have Communists elected to parliament. (As proportional representation does not apply in Australia and there is the system of single electorates, this has so far prevented the Communists from being elected to parliament.) The election of even one Communist to parliament would give the opportunity to show to the people the way a real representative of the workers acts and would provide a contrast with the work of their deputies.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party has called for a more vigorous presentation of the

policy of the Party. Communists are not doing their duty, the C.C. said, if they withhold their policy from the people, if they tolerate the spread of illusions about the Labor Party. We must strive to achieve unity with the Labor Party on immediate questions, but we know that only our policy is a policy of socialism, a policy fully in accord with the interests of the working people.

Even the possibility of united front agreement with the Labor Party demands the strengthening of the Communist Party because the Labor Party will never come to agreement with the Communist Party when the Communists are weak. Even where agreements have been entered into, any weakening of the support for the Communists has always led to attempts to break the agreement on the part of the Labor Party.

Recent years have seen a marked weakening of support for the Labor Party. In the early post-war years the Labor Party controlled the governments of five out of the six states as well as the central commonwealth government. The only Labor governments left now are in two of the states and one of these is in a very shaky position. The Labor Party is torn by internal wrangles and factional fights, and protests against corruption in the gov-

ernments still controlled by Labor are commonplace.

The dropping off in electoral support for the Labor Party does not mean that the workers have transferred their support to the Liberal Party, but it does mean that large numbers of them who formerly worked enthusiastically for the Labor Party and thereby influenced thousands of voters among the farmers and the small business people, have become disgusted with the Labor Party and while still voting for the Labor Party themselves are not enthusiastic enough to influence others to do the same.

Now is the time for the Communist Party more vigorously to show itself as the real workers' party. This requires an end to all tendencies for the Communists to play second fiddle to the Labor Party, or to act as a "ginger" group for the Labor Party. Communist policy is the only real policy for the workers of Australia, a policy which is being listened to more attentively every day as a result of the brilliant successes in the Soviet Union, China and all the socialist countries, and the work of the Australian Communists themselves.

Ernest THORNTON

Party Work in Residential Areas

(Letters on Experience in the Socialist Countries)

ORGANIZING the Communists at their place of residence has its history in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. At the time when the people's democratic revolution was growing over into the socialist revolution (1945-48), when the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat had to be developed both at the top and lower levels, the structure of the Party branches was so organized as to serve this aim. Relying mainly on industrial workers, our Party set itself the goal of strengthening its alliance with the peasantry and the urban middle sections. For this reason the Party members in branches at factories, offices and educational establishments were also organized at their place of residence in the so-called local organizations, and on the instructions of the latter, conducted work among their neighbors.

The victory won by the working class in February 1948 cleared the way for socialist construction in Czechoslovakia. The Party focused attention on economic development as an essential condition for building socialism; consequently the best Party forces were concentrated in the factory branches. The local organizations, which later became known as street organizations, no longer

registered those members working in a factory or office; at present they consist chiefly of old-age pensioners and housewives.

Things are different in the countryside. The members of the factory branches must of necessity register with the rural organizations. This is done so that they can participate in the political life of the village and actively help in developing agricultural co-operatives.

The inhabitants of most of the villages in the Liberec Region, for example, are mainly industrial workers. In the Mnichovo Hradiste District which has a predominantly rural economy, there are fewer factories compared with the other districts; yet in 81 out of the 90 village Party branches the membership consists of industrial workers.

For the most part these are people with a fairly wide experience of organization and of running industry, people who know the strength of the Party's influence and who are capable of putting it to good use. They can be of great help in solving the political and economic issues in the countryside. Naturally to involve industrial workers in activity in the villages where they live is not an

easy matter. The Party organizations, however, regard this as a permanent task.

As a rule the factory branches release members residing in the villages from social duties in the factory to enable them to take part in the work of rural branches. Members employed in industry are often elected to the rural committees of the Party and they also work in the national committees (local government bodies) and in the National Front. In Mnichovo Hradiste, for example, 34 factory Communists function as chairmen of the national committees, 22 as secretaries of these committees, while many more work permanently as lecturers and propagandists. In the Jablonec district which has a predominantly industrial economy, more than half the members of rural Party committees are factory workers, and among chairmen of rural Party organizations the figure is 70 per cent.

Agricultural management, in addition to political training, also calls for special know-how. To meet this need special training courses are arranged for the factory members working in the rural Party branches; in these courses they study questions of Party structure, crop cultivation and animal husbandry, planning and labor organization in the co-operatives.

The Party organizations endeavor to draw as many non-Party people as possible into public life in the countryside. Nowadays many non-Party people are to be found on the national committees, and on their subcommittees, and in the mass organizations of the National Front. Quite often the rural Party organizations recommend the best non-Party activists as candidate-members of the Party. A point worth noting is that among those recommended there are some who are better known for their work in the factory than they are in public life. Not a few of these workers who took little part in the life of their factory turned out to be excellent organizers in the village.

We consider the principle of obligatory registration of factory members residing in the village with rural Party organizations to be an essential one. It enables the Party to exercise its leading role in the countryside and helps solve the political, organizational and educational tasks there.

There are, of course, factory branches which still underrate the importance of the help given by the working class to the peasants, and take no interest in their members who live in the countryside, in what they do and how they help. There are still cases of an indifferent, passive attitude on the part of the factory members to rural Party organizations. On the other hand, some rural organizations fail to take full advantage of the benefits deriving from the principle of obligatory registration. We are trying to overcome these shortcomings.

In the towns there is no obligatory registration of factory members at their place of residence. Only those register with the street organizations who work in places where because of the small number of members there is no Party organization. For example, in Ceska Lipa with a population of 13,000, there are 69 Party branches with 2,620 members. In this town there are five street branches with 275 members, including 196 women. The situation is approximately the same in the other towns of our region.

In Liberec itself, the regional center, the position is slightly different. The 260 branches here have over 8,000 members. We have no street branches, but there are 16 organizations attached to residential blocks, which consist of those employed in house management, old-age pensioners, housewives and in some cases members working in factories and offices where there are no Party organizations. Of the 783 members of these organizations only 37 work in house managements.

The nature of the work of the street organizations in the towns and of those attached to the house managements in Liberec is more or less identical. Chiefly they verify the economic activity of the administration, see to housing matters and eliminate the shortcomings brought to their notice by the people. The street organizations conduct mass-political work among the residents, explain the policy of the Party and the international situation, and also deal with such questions as town improvement, work of the shops and communal enterprises, public health and sport.

As a rule members of factory branches do not take part in the work of the street organizations. But if a street organization consists of members who because of age or illness cannot work actively, the factory members are allotted to help them. In many cases factory members function as chairmen of the street organizations.

We have yet another feature: in all towns, the regional center excepted, there are town committees whose members are not released from their production duties, or as we call them, local committees, working under the district committees. These committees are elected at a general meeting or at a conference of delegates from the Party branches. The district committee provides direct guidance to the branches, particularly those in the larger enterprises, while it supervises the street organizations through the local committee. For example, the local committee in Varnsdorf, Rumburk district, guides the work of the street Party organizations and of the national committee, and draws the residents into social work. The townspeople have given over 100,000 hours to improving the town. Talks are held in the houses during which many suggestions are made. These

suggestions are used in the work of the town organizations.

The organizational aspect of the work of the Party members at their place of residence depends on the conditions in the country, its traditions and the tasks facing the Party organizations. But whatever the solution of the question, the

main thing is to ensure that the Party member should always be a Communist, both at work and at home, that he should always be aware of his responsibility for the conduct of Party policy.

Ladislav LUX

*Secretary, Liberec Regional Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.*

THE Third Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party has added the following paragraph to its Rules:

"The district, town and regional committees organize the work of the Party members at their place of residence in town and countryside in order to carry on mass-political work among the population and also social and economic activity.

"For this purpose the district, town and regional Party committees establish groups in the localities, which consist of members allocated by the Party branches to carry on public work at their place of residence.

"Participation in the local groups does not interfere with the rights and duties deriving from membership in the Party branches in the enterprises."

The idea of activizing the members at their place of residence is not a new one. What is new is the organizational aspect. This has been a burning question in the Party for a number of years. Many comrades volunteered to work on the committees in residential blocks, on the public commissions supervising the trading network, parents' committees at schools, kindergartens and nurseries; they were active in the clubs, houses of culture, libraries, and so on.

But on a mass scale the members in the past were active in the places where they live chiefly during important political campaigns, particularly during elections. Groups of three members were organized at electoral centers which enlisted all the Communists living in the area for mass-political work.

After the elections some of the Party committees tried to get the members to continue to work at their place of residence, but no noticeable result was achieved. This was due to a number of reasons and also to the fact that the rights of the local government bodies were greatly restricted, and in order to develop some social initiative it was necessary to wade through a multitude of resolutions and regulations from the center. Much valuable initiative got lost in this way, and this, naturally, discouraged people.

The matter of developing activity at the place of residence was posed in a new way when the rights of the people's councils were extended. This made it essential to find methods of Party work

that would encourage public initiative and enhance the role of Communists in all public undertakings locally.

The efforts of individual Party committees led to the establishment of local Party groups. Many groups in Lodz, Wroclaw, Warsaw, Gdansk, Kielce, Bialystok and other towns have not a few achievements to their credit. They concentrate on issues which affect everyone. On their initiative and by the efforts of the people streets were improved and squares and children's playgrounds laid out; the location of shops and markets was changed in some towns, especially on the outskirts. Many factory clubs which were inadequately used were transferred to the public in the township, street or district. They were turned into recreational centers and always attract the attention of local Party groups. On the initiative of the latter the cultural and educational organizations arrange lectures and talks on political and scientific subjects; the groups are doing everything to see that the local libraries and clubs function efficiently. On the outskirts of some towns where the residents were harassed by rowdies a public militia was organized.

The area for which the Party groups are responsible coincides in the main with that under the supervision of the public housing committees, which work in close contact with the house managements and the local people's council. The Party groups are guided by the tasks of the housing committee. While taking part in the work of the committees and organizing the people, the groups have every chance to influence directly such issues as house management, repair and maintenance, raising the cultural level and deepening the political consciousness of the population.

The group unites the Party members working in local organizations, it operates through them, but it does not replace the local government bodies and other public organizations. In keeping with the Party Rules, the branches allocate members to the local groups, in the first place those who display interest in this kind of work. If at all possible such comrades are relieved of their duties in their Party organization. Work in the local group is for them a Party duty for which they are responsible to their organization.

The core of the group consists of members working at local public organizations. As a rule those engaged in economic, social or political activity at the point of production do not take part in the groups. But as an exception, and when the need arises, the branches allocate these members for a definite period; this is done when a group needs aid, particularly at the initial stage of its existence. During big political campaigns the groups draw into their work all the members in the given area.

A local Party group usually consists of not more than 40-50 members; where necessary they are subdivided into smaller groups. Some set up sections to handle specific issues. The leadership consists of a committee of 3-5 persons elected by open voting. In addition to a list of the group members the committee keeps the addresses of all Party members living in the area. The group holds meetings whenever necessary, but not less than once every two months.

The local groups cannot call Party members to account; they direct their remarks and suggestions either to the appropriate Party branch or to a higher-level committee. They are guided by the town or district committees which set up special subcommittees of activists for this purpose. The latter are headed by secretaries of the committees.

THE matter of Party work at the place of residence was for a long time undecided in the Socialist Workers' Party in Hungary. It came to the fore in connection with the lessons of the counter-revolution. Previously the members did all their Party work primarily at the point of production. They did hardly anything in the streets where they lived and very often did not even know each other. During the counter-revolution when unity in every house and every block would have been inestimable, this dispersal of the members had a negative effect. Immediately after the counter-revolution there emerged, literally like an elemental force, the desire of the members to unite wherever possible in order to win the masses and completely rout the counter-revolutionaries. This desire and the need to reinforce contact with the masses led in Budapest to the setting up of Party groups at the place of residence.

What are these groups? Every Party member irrespective of where he works, is a member of the group in his block or street and is obliged to take part in its work. The group elects a secretary. It does not have the rights of a branch, as guaranteed by the Party Rules, and consequently cannot admit new members nor can it call members to account; it holds meetings once every two

The branches allocating members to the local groups are responsible for their work and help them.

In many regions local groups have been organized in the villages as well as in the towns. They include Party members residing in the countryside but who work in a factory. In the first place these groups are formed in the villages where there is no Party organization or group of candidate members. Their task is to conduct political and organizational work with a view to forming a group of candidate members in the village, and subsequently—a Party branch. In the Krakow, Kielce and Rzeszow regions the local groups have been instrumental in forming groups of candidate members in a number of villages.

There are good prospects for the local Party groups in our conditions. We already have many enthusiasts who, by their example, are inspiring other comrades. The consolidation of the groups will encourage the less active members to become more active, bring the people and the local councils closer, become an important element in strengthening the contact between the Party and the masses, and accelerate the development of socialist consciousness among the working people.

Helena KOZLOWSKA
Deputy Head of the Organizational
Department, Central Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party

or three months, but should the need arise, a meeting can be convened at any time.

The main function of the groups is to rally the Party members at the place of residence so that they systematically explain the policy of the Party and win sympathizers. The groups see to it that the Communists are a good example to all, that they act unanimously during the various public campaigns.

Their work is yielding good results. They engage in propaganda and strive to improve relations between Communists and non-Communists on the basis of mutual trust. They influence the work of the various public organizations, housing committees, parents' councils, see that socialist ethical standards are observed and display concern about the education of children.

There are 10,000 of these groups in Budapest. Most of them have actively participated in urban development schemes, in the communal economy, in planting shrubs and trees, laying out parks and children's playgrounds, etc. In many places they arrange for aid to the sick and aged, and hold social evenings so that the residents in a block can become better acquainted with each other. The members often meet to discuss political issues,

exchange journals to which they subscribe, discuss interesting articles, which they have read, and so on. Education is a popular subject at group meetings. When necessary the group discusses the behavior of a particular member. Thus, the activity of the groups is diversified and quite independent.

Since in the past Party members worked in residential areas mainly during campaigns, they had to conduct political work among families they did not know. This was not always effective. Now, however, the group members maintain close contact with all the residents, conduct educational work among them and acquaint them with political developments. The groups function under the supervision of the district Party committees, to which they submit all questions agitating the people.

The Central Committee of the Party, having studied the experience of local groups in Budapest, noted that they have introduced much that is new and have enriched the work of the Party. It approved the basic principle to be followed by organizations of this kind, and decided to popularize the Budapest experience, and establish similar groups in all the towns. This question was discussed at a special meeting of the Central Committee.

As yet we do not have local groups in the countryside—the membership of the rural Party branches is not strong enough for this at the moment, and the setting up of groups would result in dispersing the forces. In the villages attention is centered on strengthening the Party organizations in the producer co-operatives. All the members, including those who do not work in the co-operative, as, for example, chairmen of the local councils, belong to the Party organization in the co-operative. It is, however, our intention to set up local groups in the countryside, too.

In our Party along with factory branches there are also territorial branches. The composition of the latter is rather specific. In the towns they con-

sist mainly of housewives, old-age pensioners, and workers in small enterprises where the conditions for an independent Party organization are lacking. The composition of the rural territorial branches is approximately the same, the only difference being that they include Party members who are still individual peasants.

This composition of the territorial organizations requires specific methods and forms of work. In our conditions registration of the members in two organizations—at the place of work and at the place of residence—has proved sound.

The main thing is registration at the point of production where members pay their dues, attend meetings and perform all duties provided for in the Rules. In the residential organizations the members simply register.

In the 12th district of Budapest, for example, there are 2,628 Party members, while 4,330 are registered with the local Party organizations. This shows that many members live in this district but work in other districts.

Some of the members registered with the territorial organizations conduct active work there; some are elected to the Party bureaus. Others—the majority—are active at their place of residence only during important political campaigns, for example, during local elections. Much has been done by the Communist factory workers residing in the countryside to establish agricultural co-operatives.

While continuing to strengthen the factory organizations we are anxious to further Party work at the place of residence. We do not regard this question as being finally settled. But we attach great significance to it, because organization at the place of residence strengthens the Party's contact with the masses and helps to improve the style and methods of work of the Party organizations.

Department of the Party and Mass Organizations, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

We Look Confidently to the Future

(Letter from Madrid)

ALL our Party organizations have discussed the Central Committee resolution on the results of the strike held on June 18. The political lessons drawn by the Central Committee from the strike and the conclusions reached by it met with unanimous approval. We all had our impressions, thoughts and ideas, so that the discussion of the Central Committee document was, in a way, an exchange of experiences helping to prepare for the battles ahead.

What was the strong point of our activity? It was that we were able widely to spread the call to action, that neither the official Franco propaganda nor the police repressions were able to suppress the voice of truth. The fact that a week before the strike we circulated over a million leaflets in Madrid alone is highly indicative. In the leaflets we addressed ourselves to the most varied sections of the population, taking into account the interests of particular trades and professions. For instance, in Madrid we printed special leaflets for foremen and for apprentices, for fashion models, for taxi-drivers, etc. Approached in this way the people responded to our call.

We departed from the old method of centralized printing of leaflets and literature. The local branches are also now producing their own leaflets, either in handwriting, typed or hectographed. Much more skill is displayed in circulating the leaflets. For instance, during a football match at one of the stadiums in the capital with a capacity of 120,000 some 25,000 leaflets were distributed. The "operation" was conducted without a single distributor being arrested. Often church-goers find a leaflet on their seats when they enter the church.

Many examples could be cited showing the skill with which our organizations get the better of the illegality. But what is more important is that our literature is in demand, it enjoys prestige. Communist Party literature is passed from hand to hand, each copy being read by dozens. On one occasion when a group of young people discovered that one of Marx's works was in a local library but not available to the public, they got through the window at night and took the book away. This incident is indicative of the way people are thinking.

Now about our basic weakness. The following is typical of what could be observed on June 18. A crowd of over 1,000 gathered outside one of the factories in Madrid. The workers, while militant

enough, were hesitant. Some thought it would be better to go to work, others wanted to join the strike. Had there been a strike committee able to give guidance the strike would have been joined by all. But organizational preparedness was inadequate. The workers who did strike returned to work the next day with a feeling of elation, of duty done, while those who had hesitated felt a twinge of conscience. Many realized the need to strike, but not all had the necessary determination. But when it is a question of mass action, determination is not the personal quality of the individual, it is much more the result of good organization and unity.

Today the feeling is: if this time not everything went according to plan, we feel sure that next time things will be exactly as we want them to be. The growing unemployment and high prices add to the determination to fight. It often happens that after a movement fails to obtain the anticipated result, defeatist sentiments set in. With us this is not so. There is no defeatism. On the contrary, there is enthusiasm; people look on June 18 as a dress rehearsal for the next general strike.

Proof of this can be seen in the mass actions by the working people. Early in August the railwaymen on the Seville-Cordoba line refused to go back to work until their wage claim was satisfied. In many parts of Andalusia there have been actions by agricultural laborers. Iron and steel workers and building workers in Madrid collected thousands of signatures to their petition forms. This is one of the methods of bringing pressure to bear on the authorities and employers before stopping work.

The militant spirit is manifest above all in the protests against the reprisals, and in the amnesty movement. The Franco regime — tool of Spanish and foreign monopolies — pursuing an anti-national policy, has turned against itself the majority of the population. Languishing in jail today are both those whose fathers supported Franco and those whose fathers fought Franco. Communists, Socialists, Catholics—all are being thrown into prison. The sentiment of the new generation is: "We are not responsible for the civil war and we want to live in a united Spain." They actively support the policy of national accord pursued by the Communist Party.

The trial of Simon Sanchez Montero, a baker and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, has evoked protests all over the

country. The Party organizations have distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets containing the statement he made to the police after being subjected to brutal torture: "I am a member of the Communist Party of Spain. I joined the Party being convinced that only in this way could I fight for the freedom and well-being of my people, for the independence and grandeur of Spain. . . . The Central Committee instructed me to lead the work of the Party in Madrid, and I did everything to carry out this task with honor, trying to bring the policy of the Party to the people."

Montero declared that he shared responsibility for the work of the Party which strives, by achieving national accord, to rally all Spaniards against the ruinous economic policy pursued by Franco, against the corruption and the high cost of living, for a general wage increase, an amnesty for the political prisoners and the exiles, for the removal of Franco from power and the restoration of political freedom. The prosecutor demanded a 30 years' sentence for Montero. But the nationwide protest movement forced the military tribunal to reduce the term to 20 years. The official press remained silent about the judicial crime perpetrated against Montero and other patriots, but the truth will out.

The fight for an amnesty for all political prisoners is being joined by people from all walks of life, including writers and artists. In Madrid women demonstrated in front of the Ministry of Justice. They brought with them a petition, calling for an amnesty, to which they had collected many signatures. Some of the signatures were obtained at the gates of the Burgos Prison. Each year September 24 is the annual visiting day. The relatives and friends of the prisoners travel to visit them from all parts of the country. Women in Barcelona collected 50,000 pesetas for the prisoners within a relatively brief space of time. Miners in Asturias and workers in some other places obtained permission to collect money for the prisoners on payday. To illustrate the general feeling we shall cite the fact that many employers continue to pay wages to the workers who have been arrested.

The Franco men know that they have no future. The future belongs to us, with our liberation ideas,

with the youth, who are attracted more and more to our Party.

There is still no Communist youth organization in the country. The young people who entered the lists against the Franco regime joined the Communist Party. And since in the past 20 years the Party has sustained serious losses, it is badly in need of replenishment. Hundreds and even thousands of young people want to be Communists. While recruiting the best of the youth, the Party believes that the time is ripe to establish Communist youth groups: these could become the core of mass organizations of the youth, who will educate young men and girls in the spirit of socialism. Such groups have already been formed in many places.

As to admitting young people to Party membership, some of our organizations display a "prudence" bordering on sectarianism. We have very good Communists, comrades with considerable experience of Party work. But they tend to be mistrustful of newcomers. The need for secrecy, naturally, plays no small part in this, but secrecy should not become the basis for mistrust. And from the standpoint of secrecy young people are in a more advantageous position, for they are not known to the police.

We have many young activists whose existence is not even suspected by the police. Cases are known of Communist Party branches in factories being such exclusive groups that all unknown to them the younger workers formed their own Party branches. But this defect is being put right. Communist women's groups, too, are beginning to make their appearance.

Lenin was fond of quoting Engels's words, words which today sound particularly encouraging: "We are the Party of the future, and the future belongs to the young people. We are the Party of innovators, and the innovators are always more willingly followed by the youth. We are the Party of selfless struggle against the old rottenness, and the young people will always be the first to join selfless struggle."

The Spanish Communists feel that they are the Party of the future and confidently look ahead.

Carmen LOPEZ

Short Notices

Albania

INCULCATING PATRIOTIC TRADITIONS

ALL Party organizations discussed the resolution of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor on the revolutionary patriotic traditions of the people and the need to study and develop these traditions.

History, reads the resolution, knows of many glorious deeds and brilliant examples of self-sacrifice and heroism displayed by the Albanian people in the struggle for national and social freedom. The anti-national regimes of the past did everything in their power to smear everything progressive in Albanian history, they scorned folklore, and allowed the monuments of architecture, art and culture to fall into ruin and decay.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist principles, the Party of Labor esteems, treasures and develops the traditions which took shape in the age-old struggle for freedom and independence, to preserve and develop the language and national culture, against the foreign invaders and the traitors.

During the 15 years of people's power numerous monuments have been erected, hundreds of plaques have been put up in honor of outstanding leaders of the people and historic events. The works of the best writers of the past have been reprinted and their biographies published. Numerous cultural relics, historical documents and folk stories have been collected. The remains of patriots and revolutionaries who died abroad have been brought back to the country.

The resolution outlines steps to be taken in order to make better and wider use of the national inheritance for the communist education of the masses, particularly the youth.

The Party organizations in the localities are planning to erect monuments, tombstones and plaques to those who fought and worked for a free and independent Albania. Museums will be opened on the sites of historical events and in the houses in which outstanding revolutionaries lived. Regional museums are busy collecting more local material. Many schools and workers' clubs are writing histories of their towns, villages and enterprises, and are organizing displays. Meetings devoted to important dates and heroes of the liberation struggle are being held in factories and in villages.

The Central Committee has decided to observe the two forthcoming dates: in 1961, the 20th anni-

versary of the founding of the Party, and in 1962 the 50th anniversary of the declaration of Albania's independence. The C.C. has appealed to all to take part in finding documents, books, manuscripts and relics. The men and women who fought in the liberation struggle are invited to write memoirs. Steps have been taken to publish on a wider scale the documents and popular pamphlets devoted to the best national traditions.

To perpetuate the memory of outstanding revolutionaries and patriots a Pantheon and a Freedom Monument will be erected in Tirana.

German Democratic Republic

EDUCATING WOMEN ACTIVISTS

THE women's councils function in many enterprises of the German Democratic Republic attracting large numbers of women workers. For example, the council of the Agfa film factory devotes close attention to trade and political training and to general education. In the past twelve months over three thousand women have completed training courses. The council pays attention also to home conditions. For instance, it took the initiative in getting a kindergarten built, which accommodates 87 children; a second kindergarten now being built will accommodate 300 children.

The council at the iron and steel plant in Stalinstadt takes an interest not only in conditions of work, it supervises the public canteens and schools and arranges coming-of-age festivities, wedding anniversaries and birthday celebrations of children. The women's councils in other enterprises work in much the same way. The Party organizations are now paying more attention to the women activists.

For the purpose of guiding their political and general education the Central Committee of the Party arranged courses for women activists in Weimar. The courses were attended by some 370 members of women's councils, of whom 243 were non-members of the Party.

The curricula included the following subjects: the status of women in GDR; the role of women workers and the functions of the women's councils; the GDR—the true homeland of the people; our Republic after the fulfilment of the seven-year plan; work, study and life under socialism; why women workers should have a scientific world outlook; culture is a weapon of the working class in the struggle for a better life.

Lectures were delivered by members of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, industrial leaders and propagandists. Questions were

discussed in small groups where the activists shared experiences of their political work. The discussion was led by instructors allocated by Party committees for work among women.

Special importance was attached to questions of culture, to lectures on literature and to talks on the role of self-study. Writers addressed the classes; discussion of their works also took place. About 170 women took part in compiling a symposium of diaries reflecting the life, studies and social activities of women workers. The symposium has already come off the press.

The participants, organized in groups according to trade, visited corresponding enterprises where they studied technological reconstruction, improving skills and the work of the women's councils.

The courses were a big success. The lectures have been published in the form of text-books for factory schools and seminars. The schools for women activists at such big enterprises as Schwarze Pumpe, Wismut and Mansfeld-Kombinat, are now working in a new way. Schools have been opened in Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Halle. At the communication enterprises in Berlin which employ 3,500 women, the study program will be completed in five months without interrupting work.

Italy

CARD EXCHANGE

THE leadership of the Italian Communist Party has issued a statement on the card exchange for 1960 and the recruiting of new members. The statement points out that the campaign "... is beginning in a new situation when serious international developments and the political conditions of our country have compelled millions of Italians to think deeply and to change their old, unsound, concepts. The lie which for years has poisoned the minds of so many, has been exposed; and the deceived are turning their wrath against those who, waging an anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign, have betrayed them ...

"The barriers erected by anti-communist prejudice, which up till now have prevented the unity of the working people and all other democratic forces, are crumbling under the pressure of the facts." The new powerful impetus in the struggle for social and civic progress, the statement stresses, comes today from all Italians who feel the imperative need for a profound social and political regeneration of the country.

"The Communists must be the first to overcome the barrier of dissatisfaction and suspicion and openly extend their hands to the Catholic, Social-

Democratic and Republican workers, to the working people who have been deceived by the Right-wing parties, to all Italians living by their labor, in order, jointly with them, to establish unity of action, impart a new direction to Italian policy, and, lastly, to lead the forces of labor to the position of government of the state ..."

The statement points out that last year's card exchange campaign showed a membership figure of 1,787,338, but it may be that in 1960 it will be two million.

"Work to enlist new members," it goes on, "must be conducted chiefly in the enterprises, among the workers who in recent times have joined the struggle for economic and social demands; also among the youth whose interest in political struggle is growing thanks to the latest events; among women who feel more keenly the need for a new life and who are ready with greater resolve to fight for emancipation.

"Political conditions are present for a rapid growth of the Communist Party among all sections of the working population, who understand the significance of the events now taking place and who are willing to participate in the struggle to take the country along the path of democratic progress and socialism ..."

Sweden

ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE PARTY

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party which discussed the main immediate problems of the working-class movement, also devoted close attention to economic matters.

Reactionary circles, looking ahead to the general election due to take place next September, are becoming active. They are scaring the working people with the specter of growing competition on the export markets, claiming that any reduction in the hours of labor would affect productivity, that any increase in wages would threaten inflation; they are calling for "restraint" and for "a sense of responsibility."

The Central Committee reminds the workers that any yielding to the pressure exerted by the financial magnates and the bourgeois parties would facilitate their undivided rule in the government, a reactionary line in all spheres, and the likelihood of the country becoming involved in foreign-policy adventures. The Central Committee puts forward the following demands: higher wages; equal pay for men and women; increased children's allowances; reduction in military expen-

diture; a democratic taxation policy. It is necessary to fight not only to maintain the present standard of living but to secure a further rise; for new social gains which will be instrumental in curbing the rule of the financial oligarchy, in effecting a change in economic policy, and also in reinforcing the working-class majority in parliament, thus isolating and weakening the Right-wing party.

The way out of financial difficulties, reads the resolution, lies through economy at the expense of the state apparatus and reducing the swelling military expenditure. The state treasury should be replenished at the expense of those who have wealth in abundance. Let the capitalists pay!

At the beginning of the year the Communist M.P.s submitted a number of proposals: an average tax increase of two per cent on those with property in excess of 80,000 crowns, which would yield the treasury an additional 350 million crowns; higher direct taxes for those with incomes of

more than 50,000 crowns, which would yield another 100 million crowns; restore the company tax to the level of the previous year, i.e., 50 per cent, which would give the state an extra 200-250 million crowns; impose a uniform 10 per cent tax on profits derived by shareholders, etc.

The Party and trade union organizations and all working people are called upon to develop a mass movement for this democratic tax system as a preliminary to further reform, to raising the children's allowances and providing better facilities for vocational training of the youth.

The meeting adopted a special resolution denouncing the propaganda conducted by influential circles for equipping the armed forces with atomic weapons and for co-operation with NATO. The Central Committee calls on the mass organizations and on all peace supporters in Sweden to fight with renewed vigor against atomic arms, for peace and understanding among the nations.

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

Austria and "Integration"

Walter Stein

AS comrades here have observed, the European Economic Community is not the only form of monopoly capital's tendency towards "integration." The present "integration" measures have had a precedent in the past.

Austria had experience of subordination to big foreign monopolies when the word "integration" was merely a mathematical term. This had its source in the situation which arose after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the emergence of the Austrian Republic. The Austrian bourgeoisie formerly occupied a dominant position in an empire and exploited and oppressed many other nations. But when they were left with nothing but a vestige of their former rule, they had to choose one of two ways of maintaining their profits: either restore the monarchy—this course, as it soon transpired, held out no prospects—or associate with a more powerful monopoly capital with which they could jointly exploit the working people of their own and other countries. By the mid-twenties foreign monopoly capital, first and foremost German, had its grip on Austria's key industries. The iron and steel industry was under the control of Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the electrical industry was subordinate in the main to Siemens and AEG, and the German banks began to play an increasingly dominant role in the Austrian banks.

Economic dependence is closely related to political subordination. In one form or another the ruling circles of the Austrian bourgeoisie supported the idea of the "Anschluss," while Social Democracy pursued what was essentially

a pan-German policy. These factors facilitated the Nazi occupation of Austria.

New forms of "integration" emerged after the Second World War. The USA, as one of the occupation powers, took advantage of its position to acquire influence, mainly through the Marshall plan. The liberalization of foreign trade from 1953 on provided excellent opportunities, especially for West German monopoly capital, to seize the Austrian market.

But the relationship of forces between socialism and capitalism changed and the bourgeoisie finally decided to accept the Soviet Union's proposals and declared the permanent neutrality of Austria, thus making it possible to sign a State Treaty and end the occupation.

The Austrian bourgeoisie's attitude to European "integration" has been influenced by the economic and political situation in the country.

On the one hand Austria has an extensive trade with the EEC Six. In 1958 about 50 per cent of her exports went to these countries, which in turn supplied Austria with at least 59 per cent of her imports. Forty per cent of these come from West Germany alone, whereas the latter takes only 25 per cent of Austria's exports. Austria suffers from an unfavorable foreign trade balance; in 1958 the deficit stood at four billion schillings.

On the other hand Austria does a relatively good trade with the socialist countries. Last year these countries accounted for 13 per cent of Austria's total exports. Some companies exported up to 80 per cent of their output—mainly machinery, equipment and manufactured goods—to the socialist countries. Austria (after Finland and Iceland) ranks third among the European capitalist coun-

*Conclusion. See Nos. 10 and 11, 1959. The speeches are abridged.

tries for volume of trade with the socialist world. But far from all possibilities, even those within the framework of the existing agreements, are being utilized. Experts figure that Austria could well import from the socialist countries an additional three billion schilling's worth of the goods which she has so far been obtaining from the West. This would substantially reduce her deficit in trade with the West and increase exports to the East.

The various sections of the bourgeoisie naturally hold different views on these matters. And in the interests of maintaining the level of profits, the very same people, parties, organizations and journals at times favor increased trade with the East, at others, uphold a diametrically opposite view. Similarly they waver in their attitude to "integration" measures.

It is no longer so simple for the Austrian bourgeoisie to carry out the policy of joining the powerful monopolies and imperialist states. The big bourgeoisie fear the potential strength of the working class. They know they can rely on the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, but the effective strength of the working-class organizations, especially the trade unions, is causing them to ponder, and to take decisions which, they trust, will avert the threatening danger. This explains why the ruling circles are prepared to cede to foreign capital positions in which the

Austrian bourgeoisie themselves are interested. And it explains, in part, why the property which passed to Austria under the State Treaty is being squandered, why the ruling circles are attacking the nationalized industries.

The Austrian capitalists are out to get maximum profits at all costs. They give various reasons—depending on the situation—for stepping up the onslaught against the rights and living standards of the working people. In some cases they say "everyone must make sacrifices" because Austria is not a member of the European Economic Community. In others one and the same demand is justified by Austria's participation in the "integration" measures. In either case, they affirm that their "competitive strength" must be maintained, in other words, their profits must increase.

In order that Austria should not again become the victim of "integration," the fatal policy pursued by the big capitalists must be combated in all spheres. The present boom conditions are making this struggle difficult. In this situation every demand, even the smallest, made by the working people should be fought for, and any attempt to worsen the situation strenuously combated. It goes without saying that this complex situation calls for painstaking work in explaining the essence of the capitalist "integration," whatever form it takes.

The Alternative to the Common Market

K. Hermansson

I WANT to express my satisfaction with the concrete and realistic approach made in the reports. For some time past there had been a tendency in the Communist press to speak of the impossibility of carrying out the plans for economic "integration." It would, however, be both ridiculous and dangerous to deny that monopoly groups can attain some of their objectives with the help of economic "integration."

In his report Comrade Arzumanyan especially stressed the defensive character of the plans for economic "integration," expressed in the efforts of the capitalist states to strengthen their positions in the economic and political competition with the rapidly growing socialist world camp. Comrade Baumann, on the other hand, showed the aggressive character of these plans. They were, he pointed out, permeated with the spirit of German imperialism striving for domination by every means, including war.

I think both these ideas are correct and necessary.

There is a tendency to internationalize the economy to an ever greater extent, to intensify the social character of production, leading to greater interdependence between all sectors of social and economic life in the capitalist states. The plans for economic "integration" should, therefore, be regarded not only as machinations of the West German and American imperialists but as the endeavors of monopoly capital to use certain objective tendencies in its own interests. But if such an objective ground for economic "integration" exists, then we must examine the possibility of the working class utilizing these tendencies in the struggle to attain their aims.

The problems facing the Common Market countries, naturally, have a prominent place in the reports. But to get the whole picture it is neces-

sary also to study the position of other capitalist states.

The idea of joining the Common Market has not found support in Sweden. The capitalists, the government, the Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties have declared against participating in such a bloc. The reason is to be sought in Sweden's policy of neutrality, in the relative independence of the Swedish capitalists, who in certain fields of the economy have a rather strong position, and also in the trade unions' fears of so-called "harmonization" or, rather, levelling of wages and social conditions in a common market.

Both the capitalists and government spokesmen are stressing Sweden's difficulties in exporting her goods. Minister of Trade, Gunnar Lange, has repeatedly spoken of discrimination by the Six against Sweden. The press and government spokesmen usually connect the question of perspectives with the struggle for markets. Prime Minister Tage Erlander has said that Sweden should explore the possibility of increasing trade with the socialist countries as an alternative to trade with the Common Market states. There are signs of apprehension in the trade unions that discrimination against Sweden might have grave consequences, unemployment, for instance.

The formation of an Outer Seven bloc will be no real alternative for the Scandinavian states. But the capitalists and Social-Democratic governments have chosen to embark on this because it gives them a stronger position in relation to the Common Market. The class content of the Outer Seven does not differ essentially from that of the Common Market. But there are differences which make it more advantageous for the Social Democrats to participate in it. While the European Economic Community presupposes so-called harmonization of the general economic and socio-political line of its members, the Outer Seven bloc, at least so far, is restricted more or less to a tariff policy.

It is necessary in this connection to say a few words about the plan for co-operation between the Nordic states—Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland. For some years there has been a strong movement in these countries, or at least in the first three of them—Finland occupies a somewhat special position—for co-operation in all spheres of economic and social life. Laws have been introduced envisaging a common market for manpower, the same rights in social legislation for all Nordic citizens and so on. The question has been studied and proposals made for a customs union among the four countries.

But the Swedish Social-Democratic government, with the support of the capitalists, has chosen to do a somersault and to follow British imperialism in the capacity of junior partner which in practice can mean saying goodbye to Nordic economic co-operation.

There is now a proposal to set up a Nordic customs union inside the Outer Seven bloc, but Great Britain is averse to this proposal, fearing it would discriminate against the remaining four of the Seven.

The foregoing brings me to the problem of what the alternative to the Common Market should be. This is not only a practical, but a theoretical question.

We know, of course, that real and lasting co-operation among countries can be established only under socialism. But it is not enough in the present situation to say to the masses that all their difficulties will disappear if they become adherents of socialism. We must give a direct answer to the question, what can be done today in order to achieve positive results in the struggle for better employment, higher living standards, broader democracy, and so on. The democratic forces and the working class should formulate a more explicit and detailed program which would take account of existing objective trends to internationalize the economy. We should not give our opponent the opportunity of utilizing these trends for his own ends. The forces of socialism should show the importance of peace, democracy and friendly co-operation for the peoples of all countries.

One point in such a program should, of course, be the development of trade between the capitalist and socialist states. Economic "integration" in its present form will hamper the expansion of East-West trade. True co-operation between the European states will bring about a general increase in trade among all European countries.

A program for economic co-operation should give prominent place to a treaty to set up an organization for the development of trade among all European countries. Proposals of this kind have already been made by the Soviet Union, but it has not been possible to reach agreement. This problem, I think, should play a more important role in the discussion on economic "integration." It is necessary, as has already been said, to show the peoples the possibilities held out by economic co-operation between the countries provided such co-operation is founded on a sound and just basis.

Working-Class Unity Becomes Stronger in Struggle

Bob Wolstein

LONG before the Rome Treaty came into force the monopolies and their spokesmen in the government began to prepare for the competitive struggle and the scramble for maximum profits in the Common Market.

What aims do the principal financial groups pursue? Their interests lie mainly in the iron and steel plants (two-thirds of whose production is exported), in electrical engineering, glass and some chemical industries. They are not concerned with the fate of the other Belgian industries. The monopolies are to blame for the economic ruin of whole regions, including Borinage and provinces in Flanders.

Belgium ranks among the last of the European capitalist countries in volume of investments, yet the Belgian monopolies export large amounts of capital. The reason for this is clear. Companies operating in Belgium pocketed an average profit of 8.9 per cent in 1955, while those overseas up to 12.7 per cent, and those in the Congo even up to 19 per cent.

For similar reasons the major financial groups in Belgium reversed their coal policy on the eve of the coming into force of the Common Market Treaty and began to close pits on a mass scale.

The Common Market is impelling the financial groups to further concentration of industry, forcing them to seek new, free capital. With this end in view these groups are accelerating the liquidation of plants turning out metal products, textiles and other goods. During 1957-58 alone, apart from coal mines, 85 enterprises employing over 8,500 workers were shut down. Neither the government nor the monopolies deny that the Common Market, highly profitable for the iron and steel trusts and their allies, places many other enterprises in a difficult position.

Monopoly policy has adversely affected working-class living standards, the middle sections and even some of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. The monopolies are now encroaching on the wages and social gains of the workers, demanding restriction of the right to strike. Recently the government took steps to deprive the railwaymen of some of their social gains, and before starting an all-out attack on the social gains of the ship-repair workers in Antwerp, the owners openly attacked their trade union rights.

Summarizing, we can say that "operation" Common Market in Belgium has been marked by increased capitalist concentration, greater export of capital, and the wiping out of many small and medium enterprises. The "operation" has meant economic ruin for the older industrial areas, increased unemployment and attacks on wages and the social gains of the working people.

The working class is resisting the monopoly plans. The miners' strike in February against pit closures was the most outstanding working-class action. The movement was initiated in Borinage, where the whole population joined in the strike against the consequences of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). It soon spread to other coal fields and met with sympathy and support from workers in many industries, including iron and steel.

A powerful movement developed in Flanders where the workers came out against the closing down of factories. We would recall the twenty-four hour strike by Ghent workers, which prevented the shutting down of one factory.

Most of these movements were anti-monopoly, as is evidenced by their aims and the fact that they were supported by other sections of the people, some of whom even participated in them. The National Federation of Coal Engineers, for example, expressed opposition to the pit closures and condemned ECSC policy as fatal to Belgium's economy and future. In the small Flanders town of Lokeren, not only the trade unions, but the entire population, including the burgomaster, a Catholic, took part in the anti-closure struggle. Instances can be cited of workers having fought on issues which coincide with the demands of some non-monopoly bourgeoisie for customs protection and financial help for the enterprises threatened with closure.

It is typical that unity between the General Federation of Labor, to which the Communists and Socialists are affiliated, and the Christian trade unions was achieved during the struggle. Thus the monopolies' offensive has given birth to a broad anti-monopoly opposition consisting of different sections of the people and representing an objective factor of economic and political life.

To achieve victory in the battle with the monopolies it is essential for the working class to have their own program and slogans of struggle. Whe-

ther the masses will spend their energy in vain, or succeed in changing the policy depends upon the working class and its unity. The experience of Borinage is important in this respect. The Borinage strike, fought under the slogan of "No pit closures in 1959," was on the verge of victory and yet did not achieve it because working-class solidarity failed to develop quickly enough. The responsibility for this lies in large measure at the door of the Right-wing Socialist leadership who follow the bourgeoisie, persist in their anti-communism and swear by the so-called European policy. The Christian trade unions, politically and even organizationally linked with the Christian-Social Party, are also to blame.

There have been changes, however, among the Socialists in the recent period, and these should not be underrated. Under the impact of the ruinous monopoly policy, the influence exerted by the upsurge of the working-class movement, the powerful growth of the socialist camp and the activities of our Party, a trend in favor of the new policy has begun to develop among a section of the Socialists, particularly in the trade unions.

The Belgian Socialist Party is preparing for a congress which will discuss an anti-monopoly program. The draft contains proposals for the nationalization of electric power production and control over the monopolies.

Undoubtedly the draft program pursues propaganda aims. Divorced from life and the important issues of the day, it nevertheless testifies to the desire of many Socialists to wage a more resolute anti-monopoly struggle.

The facts show that under the impact of mass actions by the workers, some Christian Democrats are displaying a will for greater independence vis-à-vis the Christian-Social Party, which frankly upholds big capitalist interests. Some of the Christian unions, notably those in the coal districts, are also demanding nationalization. New possibilities have thus opened up of uniting the efforts of the working class and broad sections of the people in the anti-monopoly struggle for a new policy.

It is for the Communists to determine the ideological and political aims of this struggle. Only the Communist Party, equipped as it is with revolutionary theory, is in a position to show the working class the revolutionary perspectives, to find the solution to the problems confronting the working people.

It is important for the working masses to have a clear idea not only of the economic objective, but also of the immediate aims of the political struggle. These aims are: nationalization of the coal industry and electric power production, control over the banks, etc. The drive for nationalization cannot be divorced from the struggle for economic demands. We need nationalization not in the abstract, but as a means of satisfying the demands of the workers.

The solution of these problems cannot be left to one party, for it is the common cause of all working-class and democratic organizations. The unity of these organizations on the basis of a militant program and a new understanding of the perspectives of Belgium's development will generate the idea of a new democratic government to replace the government of the monopolies.

The question arises: is it possible in present-day Belgium to form a government which would rely on the working class and the non-monopoly sections of the population? We answer in the affirmative, for we are confident that there are forces in the country capable of inflicting defeat upon the monopolies.

We believe that we should fight now for a change in policy, for a truly democratic parliament, for the deputies to carry out the will of those who elected them. A struggle of this kind calls for united action, for the unity of all democratic forces. The path to working-class unity lies through struggle, including the struggle for economic demands.

We should bear in mind, too, that the steadily growing possibilities for mutually advantageous trade with the socialist countries can impel the petty and middle bourgeoisie seriously to consider the idea of working for a democratic government.

By defending their standard of living from monopoly encroachment and taking action to raise it, the working people are not only defending their conditions, but waging a struggle that goes beyond the confines of purely economic demands and acquires a political character. Every success achieved in this struggle is a blow against the financial magnates; it will help to keep the market steady, to keep down unemployment and check the disastrous effects of crises. By resisting the economic consequences of capitalist policy, the working people are restricting the sphere of action of this policy, dooming it to failure.

Common Market Contrary to Holland's Interests

Jaap Wolff

ALTHOUGH the Common Market Treaty has not been in force very long, sharp contradictions have already appeared, and in Holland these are giving rise to trenchant criticism of the effects and perspectives of this Treaty.

The contradictions between the interests of Dutch capitalist groups and the aspirations of the most influential forces in the EEC have an objective basis. I should like in this connection to point out some of the peculiarities of the Dutch economy which is closely linked with the economy of the other five Common Market countries.

Industrial and agricultural production in Holland is largely dependent on foreign trade. Raw materials and semi-finished goods are imported for industry and fodder and fertilizers for agriculture, while manufactured goods are exported. Sixty per cent of Dutch exports and imports fall to the countries not affiliated to the Common Market. Four powerful monopoly groups: Unilever, Royal Dutch Shell, Philips and AKU dominate the country's economy. These monopolies, which are among the biggest in the world, have close ties with British imperialism.

The Dutch monopolies have joined the EEC for the general reasons already mentioned in the reports. In addition to these there are some special factors stemming from the specific situation in Holland, and it is with these that I wish to deal.

First, there are close economic ties with Belgium and Luxemburg. Holland's trade with these countries has increased greatly since the war, more than one-third of her trade with the Common Market countries being done with Belgium and Luxemburg. It is precisely for this reason that, despite her close contacts with Britain, Holland joined the Common Market together with Belgium and Luxemburg.

I must also stress the importance of the ties with West Germany, which ranks first in Holland's exports and imports. Some Dutch capitalists are interested in seeing West German industry flourish. Holland is the third biggest investor of capital in the Federal Republic.

Holland's agricultural exports to the Common Market countries are considerable—they take half her exports of farm produce, including 90 per cent of the eggs.

An important political factor which influenced Holland in joining the Common Market was her desire for imperialist backing in the colonial exploitation of New Guinea (West Irian) and the use of this territory as a military base against Indonesia. Colonialist circles want to attract foreign capital to exploit the mineral wealth of New Guinea.

In the first few months after the Treaty came into force, however, the Dutch monopolies were already making attempts to expand the Common Market and turn it into a "Free Trade Area." They are showing increasing opposition to the German and French imperialists' plan to make the European Economic Community an exclusive bloc. Prominent figures in the business world and government circles have spoken out to this effect. According to Hooykaas, president of the Metal-working Industry Union, the facts showed that the Common Market was on the way out, that the development of the "Bonn-Paris axis" was demoting Holland to the rank of junior partner. In their annual report for 1958 the Dutch Employers' Association also criticized the EEC: "Integration should not be limited to the six Common Market countries. Holland is very much interested in having as broad a market as possible for her goods." Foreign Minister Luns declared at the 13th Economic Congress of the Benelux countries last April: "In the event of one or two countries affiliated to the European Economic Community trying, without the agreement of the other member-states, to pursue a policy that pushes these latter countries into the background, this would be unacceptable." These statements betray the fear of West Germany becoming stronger.

German imperialism has substantially strengthened its positions on the Dutch market in the past few years. Although it has not yet reached the prewar level, it already accounts for one-fifth of all Dutch imports. Dutch enterprises are finding the competition of West German capital increasingly menacing. The German imperialists are pursuing their old prewar policy of laying their grip on Dutch industry by means of big capital investments.

This is accompanied by demands for the return of the areas which went to Holland after the

Second World War, and plans to build Bundeswehr arms depots on Dutch territory. These demands and plans of the Adenauer group and the monopolies behind it are fraught with the danger of involving Holland still further in the aggressive designs of German imperialism.

Concerns such as Royal Dutch Shell and the owners of Rotterdam's port enterprises are worried by the proposals to extract oil and gas in the Sahara and build an oil pipe-line from Marseilles to the Ruhr. They are apprehensive of French and German competition.

The farmers are especially alarmed at the German-French bloc. Last February France and West Germany signed a trade agreement for deliveries of French grain to West Germany. The agreement envisaged a gradual increase in grain prices. France wants the other Common Market countries to cover part of their grain import needs with grain from France. If Holland agrees, she will have to reduce imports of cheaper grain from overseas and the Soviet Union. In 1958 only 10 per cent of Holland's grain and cereal imports came from the Common Market countries. The big West German farmers want grain prices in the EEC to be the same as the West German prices. This would mean that the price of bread in Holland would increase by about 20 per cent. Amsterdam and Rotterdam would suffer, too, since these ports trans-ship nearly 1,500,000 tons of the grain imported by the countries of Western Europe. Reduced grain imports from Australia, North and South America would jeopardize Dutch industrial exports to these countries.

French and West German demands threaten the Dutch small and medium farmers with wholesale ruin. To protect their interests these demands must be rejected and steps taken to prevent the tariff increase on grain, fertilizers and fodder envisaged by the EEC Treaty.

In the discussion on European "integration" now under way in Holland the attitude of Social Democracy is not without interest.

The Common Market Treaty was signed by a Social Democratic government. At that time the Party of Labor* was conducting a big campaign for EEC and Euratom. The Social Democratic trade unions even convened a special congress with a view to popularizing the EEC Treaty among the workers.

The impression was created that European "integration" would guarantee steady business activity and improve living standards.

*Social Democratic Party of Holland.

But the Common Market, as developments have shown and as bourgeois economists admitted, has not lived up to this promise. The economist, Professor Wemelsfelder, stated recently that "the EEC has nothing or nearly nothing with which to defend itself. Should the storm* break and the lightning strike, the whole house of cards consisting of 250 Treaty articles, will fall to pieces."

The concomitant of the Common Market has been a new bourgeois offensive on wages and working conditions. As regards the so-called defense of democracy, it is noteworthy that implementation of the Common Market Treaty coincided in Holland with the removal of the Social Democrats from the government and further restrictions of democratic rights.

The present situation, which is marked by a sharpening of imperialist contradictions and an intensified bourgeois attack on the rights and living standards of the working people, has compelled the Social Democratic leaders to adopt different attitudes to the Common Market. Some leaders, basically upholding the Common Market policy, are expressing dissatisfaction that the French and West German governments are violating the supra-national principle of the European Coal and Steel Community. They are calling on the Dutch Government to oppose these trends in the EEC. Other Social-Democratic spokesmen favor co-operation between the EEC and the "Free Trade Area." But these differences in the Social-Democratic leadership merely reflect the contradictions between various groups of imperialists. The substitution of one form of "integration" for another cannot benefit national-economic development, nor can it contribute to improving living standards. For this to be achieved economic relations must be developed with all countries, first and foremost with the rapidly developing countries in which there are no crises, and with the nascent independent states. Holland should oppose implementation of the EEC and regain freedom to trade with all countries.

In the factories Social Democrats are calling, together with the Communists, for higher wages, thus forcing the Social-Democratic unions to make corresponding demands on employers' associations. Joint struggle to win these demands is the best form of opposition to the effects of the Common Market. But the fight for higher wages should go hand-in-hand with a counter-attack by all the democratic forces against the attempts to undermine democracy, with the stubborn struggle for peace and against the grave threat of German militarism, which is seeking to use the EEC for its own aggressive aims.

*Economic crisis.—Ed. Note.

Antagonisms in the West German Monopolies

J. L. Schmidt

I SHOULD like to dwell on the reasons which have impelled the European powers to set up such a specific form of "integration" as the Common Market.

No matter how strong the dominant position of German imperialism among the six member-states of the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community Treaty would never have been signed had not the monopolies of the other five countries banked on benefiting from its implementation.

What do French and Italian monopoly capital expect from European "integration?"

Italian monopoly capital expects to increase exports of agricultural produce and industrial goods, especially those of the highly-monopolized industries; it hopes more West German capital will flow into the economically underdeveloped South Italy. The Italian monopolies expect to transfer hundreds of thousands of unemployed to West Germany and in this way to weaken the militancy of the Italian working class. They believe they will obtain through the "arms triangle," and at comparatively little expense, access to French and West German research in military technology.

French monopoly capital's immense interest in the Common Market stems from the same roots. It hopes West Germany will invest more in the French colonies, and place her highly developed technology at the service of the French war industry to a greater extent than has hitherto been the case. It hopes, too, that "integration" will enable it to involve other countries, especially West Germany, in the struggle against the colonial peoples of Africa, first and foremost in the war against the Algerian people. This is one of the main objectives pursued by French financial oligarchy in the European Economic Community.

But there is no doubt that, even though the French and Italian monopolies have a stake in EEC, it is West Germany that is most interested in "integration." In order to have a better understanding of German imperialism's stand in relation to European "integration," we should examine its contradictory attitude. The West German bourgeoisie are generally regarded as a single bloc. In point of fact, however, this is not the case.

In West Germany, as in other Common Market countries, a number of monopolies regard the Treaty provisions on tariffs and quotas as a threat to their profits. We can cite as an example the owners of numerous textile, leather and footwear

enterprises, breweries and wine-making concerns, and other industries connected with the production of consumer goods. These sections are opposed to the "integration," fearing competition from their opposite numbers in the other five countries.

There is another and even more important contradiction among the West German bourgeoisie in view of the fact that influential groups of industrial monopolies also oppose the Common Market but for quite different reasons—not because they fear competition from the other Five, but because the markets these five offer are too narrow. They want broader markets in which there would be no tariff or quota restrictions. For this reason they favor a Common Market embracing at least all the countries in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. This would open up broad possibilities for expansion. During 1956-57 less than one-third of the exports of the big West German industrial monopolies went to the Common Market countries, whereas their exports to the Free Trade Area countries averaged 60-70 per cent.

These monopolies fear that part of the Free Trade Area markets might fall into the hands of countries not affiliated to the EEC.

Why then has this group, reflecting as it does the interests of the big chemical, engineering and other industrial monopolies and represented in the government by Minister of Economic Affairs Erhard, not yet been able to carry out plans for a broader Common Market? Simply because another, even more powerful political and economic group, backed by the great steel trusts and the Deutsche Bank, has other ideas. This omnipotent group, represented mainly by Adenauer and the big banker Abs, intends (with the close collaboration of the Italian financial oligarchy) to set up an exclusive bloc round the Bonn-Paris axis, which, though smaller than the Free Trade Area, would carry out definite militarist operations. This group proposes to create a closely-knit clerical-militarist bloc resting upon the interlocking capital of West Germany, France, Italy and the other three Common Market countries and supported by the Christian Democratic Union, the de Gaulle party and the Christian Democratic Party. This bloc would be supplied with atomic and rocket weapons of its own manufacture and, under West German guidance, would be able to prepare and prosecute an aggressive war against the socialist world system.

The Adenauer-Abs group is dead set against having Britain in the bloc. Its participation, they

believe, would jeopardize their plans for hegemony. This group regards Britain's efforts to ease the tension as harmful to its bellicose plans.

It would be a mistake to overrate the antagonisms between these two groups. The Erhard group favoring a Common Market in a broader context cannot be considered as pursuing the aims of peaceful economic expansion. Both groups are aggressive in the extreme. The distinction mentioned above is merely a tactical one, but the difference should not be underrated, the more so that given definite conditions this difference in tactics can help in winning time in the struggle for peace.

The European Economic Community aggravates the contradictions not only between the Six but also between the other NATO member-states. In the final analysis this signifies a weakening of the economic base of NATO policy. In my view the contradictions of present-day imperialism have sharpened to such a degree that it is no longer in a position to build a single economic base for its aggressive plans.

And, in conclusion, a few words on the perspectives of the Common Market. I fully share the views expressed here that, notwithstanding all the contradictions we have noted, "integration" can lead to a certain expansion of markets. We should bear in mind, however, that all these forms of West European "integration" arose during the upward swing of the capitalist cycle, while the Common Market itself emerged in the phase of a relatively mild crisis. But if we remember that even this mild crisis shook the European Coal and Steel Community and confronted it with the prospect of disintegration, then it is extremely likely that the next acute crisis will severely shake the existing forms of West European "integration," the Common Market included.

Comrade *Emile Burns*, in his written contribution, dwelt on the problems confronting Britain and the various strata of her population in connection with European "integration."

British imperialism, faced with the threat of West German domination of European markets, made great efforts to establish some form of association with the Common Market countries without weakening its association and privileged position with the countries of the British Empire; but as this proved impossible, British imperialism decided that there was no alternative but to accept the challenge and build up another bloc which it could dominate and use to some extent as a counter to the Common Market group.

The attitude of the leadership of the British Labor Party to these developments, following its general support for imperialist policies, was to

favor the Free Trade Area proposals. The policy of a Free Trade Area has been supported by the Trade Union Congress at all stages in the negotiations.

As an economic counter-measure Britain's formation of the Free Trade Area is somewhat ineffective, and emphasis is being laid on it as a means towards reconciliation with the Common Market countries and the formation of an all-embracing scheme.

Both the Common Market and the Free Trade Area are bound to lead to an increasingly difficult position for the British working class. The formation of these blocs cannot but be the opening round in a still fiercer competition for markets, in which the workers of all the countries involved will be under heavy pressure from the employers and their governments. One of the results of this competition will be the more rapid concentration of production in the most efficient plants, and the closing down of the smaller plants. The political danger from the division of Western Europe into two competing blocs, in which the monopolies will develop a more and more aggressive policy, is even more important for the British working class than the economic dangers.

Now that the two blocs have in the main been formed, it is vital that the British Labor movement should be on its guard against the threat involved to the standard of living of the working class, and should press forward its claims for higher wages and shorter hours without hesitation.

Comrade *P. Alberdi* spoke on the imperialist essence of the plans to create a regional market of Latin American countries in connection with European "integration."

The imperialists and their stooges want to take advantage of the desire for close co-operation between the peoples of Latin America in their struggle for national liberation and economic and social changes in order to set up regional markets under the covert control of the monopolies and imperialist governments.

These plans pursue two main aims—political and economic.

The political aim is to divert the people from a truly patriotic solution of problems, from their struggle to carry out an agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution. The imperialists are preaching the idea of regional markets for the purpose of fostering illusions among the people and retarding the movement for broader economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union, People's China and the other socialist countries.

The economic aim is to provide a bigger market for the monopoly industries. The plans do not

envisage industrial expansion for the Latin American countries through co-operation between them. Quite the reverse. The idea is that the less developed countries should provide the market for the industrial goods of the advanced countries, even if it means retarding development of their national industries.

What the Latin American peoples need is not regional markets, but a broad front of national, economic and political emancipation in each country, and unity in the fight against imperialism and latifundia domination.

Comrade W. Rydygier began his report by stating the objective economic reasons at the bedrock of West European "integration," among which he mentioned the growth of socialization of production and technological advance.

Political considerations, he pointed out, had also played an important role in the European economic "integration." Reaction is hoping "integration" will strengthen the military-political alliances spearheaded against the socialist camp. This is why the United States has from the outset supported the idea of West European "integration," assigning the main role to West Germany, which has been allotted the dominant position in U.S. military plans.

There is still another aspect to the political considerations. It is significant that, although "integration" had been discussed in Western Europe for many years, the Common Market Treaty was signed only under the impact of a situation which arose in the autumn of 1956 after the Suez adventure. It seems to us, Rydygier continued, that West European "integration" screens the contradictions between the monopolies in the New World and the Old.

He then mentioned the effects the Common Market would have on international trade in general and East-West trade in particular.

Comrade Yu. Kapelinski analyzed the economic contradictions between the individual countries and groups of nations in Western Europe in connection with the Common Market.

He examined its effects on such countries as Britain, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

Many underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were opposed to the Common Market. India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma in South-East Asia, the UAR and the Sudan have opposed it. Brazil and Ghana are evincing particular alarm.

The Common Market has U.S. backing. Behind this is the concealed desire of U.S. rulers to

strengthen the Federal Republic's role in NATO. The U.S. monopolies hope to surmount possible marketing difficulties in the Common Market Six by extending their network of subsidiaries in these countries and granting credits for the purchase of American goods.

Comrade Kapelinski dealt in detail with the contradictions between the big monopoly groups of Western Europe in the battle for markets, and the counter-measures being taken by Britain and the other West European countries not affiliated to the Common Market.

He concluded with a reference to the Soviet proposal for a European economic co-operation agreement which would embrace all European countries irrespective of their socio-economic systems. The Soviet proposal supported by the other socialist countries envisages long-term contracts for deliveries of goods, scientific and technical co-operation, etc.

Although the ruling circles in Western Europe have turned down the Soviet proposals, these are nevertheless being favorably regarded in business circles who view increased trade with the socialist countries as a means of alleviating the adverse effects of the Common Market.

Comrade J. Breteau's report dealt with trade union unity in the anti-Common Market struggle.

He spoke of the forms the struggle was taking in the six countries, observing that it had reached a point where workers could now bring pressure to bear upon the employers to go easy with dismissals; there was even a prospect of stopping them altogether. He cited some examples. Struggle by the working people in Fives-Lilles (France), by the miners in Borinage (Belgium) and by workers in the Galileo Works, Florence (Italy), compelled the employers, who had planned to lay off workers and put others on short time with lower wages, to suspend action and, in a number of cases, to rescind their decision.

The workers are realizing that to win demands and prevent wage cuts, they must unite into a powerful bloc in opposition to the employers' bloc, and, accordingly, they are stepping up united action.

The struggle waged for unity by the Communist parties and such trade union organizations as the General Confederation of Labor in France, the Italian General Confederation of Labor and the United Trade Union Center in Holland encounters the active opposition of some trade union leaders. In France these are the leaders of the Force Ouvrière and the Confederation of Christian Working People who supported the ECSC and, later, the Common Market.

In words against "integration," these leaders are in fact supporting the Common Market and even abetting the bourgeoisie by spreading among the working people apologist views on the nature of capitalism. Comrade Breteau showed how the bourgeoisie were using the leaders of the French Confederation of Christian Working People to disseminate the ideas of "people's capitalism" among the workers.

Notwithstanding the attitude of their leaders, the rank and file of this body and the Force Ouvrière, as well as many of the activists, favor unity in the struggle against the monopoly offensive and are sincerely working for this unity.

Comrade Breteau stressed that efforts should be continued to establish united action with trade union activists in the factories controlled by the same concern or financial group, but located in different Common Market countries. Unity of action should be established on an international scale, and this work should be carried into the national trade unions not affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, and contacts established with leaders of factory trade union branches. This was not an easy matter, but it could be done. The necessary conditions now obtain for uniting the masses in the struggle for their demands, for maintaining and raising the level of employment, against the growing domination of the monopolies.

Comrade F. Nicolon pointed out that since the war the balance of forces had changed radically in the capitalist world, as a result of the uneven capitalist development. The law of uneven development of capitalist countries had been operating over the past decade in favor of the European countries, particularly of the three principal Common Market countries. Yet in the postwar period the capitalist world, as we know, has in the main been led by the United States and Britain. Relying on their strengthened economy, the continental countries, first and foremost France and the German Federal Republic, are seeking to undermine the leading role of Anglo-American capital and to achieve a re-distribution of roles and spheres of influence. This is undoubtedly a powerful factor in the rapprochement between French and German imperialism. The imperialist powers would not be averse to resolving their differences by unleashing war, but the might of the socialist camp stands in their way. Military strength continues to be a major political trump in relations between imperialist states. That is why France and Germany are making considerable efforts to equip their armies with atomic weapons. The West European monopolies are determined to become not only a political and economic force but also a military force. This is yet another reason for the rapproche-

ment between the French and German big bourgeoisie, because the production of modern armaments, more so than any other industry, is far beyond the possibilities of France, Germany and Italy taken separately, and this applies even more to the Benelux countries.

Comrade Nicolon cited facts attesting to the collaboration between French, West German and Italian monopolies in manufacturing and testing new types of arms. Concluding, he spoke about the economic contradictions and the growing rivalry between the West German and French monopolies in some key industries.

Comrade J. Langr described how the state of the home and foreign markets in the capitalist countries influenced the process of European "integration."

If we leave political factors aside, then it can be said that the urge towards "integration" arises from the concentration of production and capital which, in turn, depends upon the development of the home and foreign markets. This means that at certain periods the expansion of production depends mainly on sales to foreign markets or, conversely, the rapid growth of the home market is the decisive factor for increasing production. If the home market expands at a greater pace than exports, there will be a minimum tendency towards "integration." Should the home market develop relatively slowly, however, then the picture will be different. Expansion of production will depend above all on increased exports. In these conditions there will be a stronger tendency towards "integration" with the aim of securing foreign markets for home-produced goods.

If we proceed from this standpoint, Comrade Langr continued, though this is to simplify matters, we shall be able to understand that the relation of the home market to exports and industrial production has a bearing on the urge for "integration."

The speaker examined from this point of view the drive of monopoly capital in France, Italy, West Germany and other countries towards "integration" and came to the conclusion that in this respect West German financial capital was the decisive force in Western Europe.

If the tendency towards "integration" continued in this direction, then sooner or later it would result in the subordination of Europe, economically and politically, to German finance capital. But there can be no doubt that the aggressiveness of West German capital, which world reaction is spearheading against the socialist camp, will, in the long run, rebound against the capitalist camp.

Written contributions by comrades S. Levrero, A. Esposto and E. Peggio posed the questions:

how is the Common Market influencing Italian economy and politics and the position of the various sections of Italian society; what should be the path of struggle of the Italian working masses against the policy of European "integration," for structural reforms, and for the economic and social regeneration of the country.

Comrade *Levrero* analyzed the different forms of the struggle waged by the workers against "integration" and monopoly domination.

The trade union and political struggle of the working class in France, Belgium and Italy, he writes, is indeed magnificent. This struggle should be developed into a general offensive against the entire EEC policy. Our main problem is to develop a mass movement of the workers for structural reforms, for a new line in economic and political development.

Comrade *Levrero* stressed the overriding importance of the fight for wages and fair output rates, and cited a number of facts attesting to the upsurge of the working-class movement in Italy. Large numbers took part in the struggle which developed in 1958-59 for revising and renewing collective agreements. Not only industrial workers, but hundreds of thousands of agricultural laborers and civil servants participated in this struggle.

Important too is the fight for work. Italy has accumulated much experience in this sphere. Heroic action is being taken against redundancy in the state-owned enterprises. This struggle, in which factories were occupied by workers for weeks and months on end, was still in the main of a defensive character. The offensive should be started before the employers take the initiative. It should be developed with demands for negotiations on the level of employment and a platform for even economic development and structural reforms.

The trade union and political struggle against the Common Market and its effects, which has developed in various countries, should be concerted internationally. The activities of the workers in various countries need to be co-ordinated within individual companies, industries and industrial combines.

Comrade *A. Esposto* wrote about the changes that had taken place in the position of the middle sections.

The policy of European "integration" leads to expropriation of the petty bourgeoisie by the monopolies, to the exclusion of millions of working people from the production process; this applies particularly to agriculture. The old conditions, when small and medium producers formed the mass base of capitalist policy, are giving place to new conditions. These masses are breaking

with their former class contacts which drove them into a reactionary bloc where they were assigned a secondary place. They can become and are becoming the real allies of the working class in the common fight for socialism. In Italy these changes have affected big sections of the people in town and countryside.

Basing himself on an analysis of factual material, Comrade *Esposto* showed that in agriculture the monopolies support only highly competitive capitalist farms with low production costs, in view of which farms of this kind become the monopolies' mainstay in the countryside. This policy is driving not only farm laborers, but millions of sharecroppers, tenants and smallholders out of production. In the past four years the labor force in the Italian countryside has diminished by nearly 480,000.

The agrarian policy, which the Communists are putting forward as a counter-weight to monopoly policy, is based on the general agrarian reform and a correct assessment of the new role of the peasants in changing the structure of agriculture in Italy. The Communist Party proceeds from the need to solve the problems of the co-operative movement and to control state capital investments in agriculture through democratization of the agricultural bodies and establishments. The "Charter for the protection and development of peasant farms and peasant property" is an integral part of the agrarian reform. It envisages implementation, in the interests of the peasants, of the provisions of the Constitution on the setting up and protection of the small property of the working people, of social security, just remuneration for labor, the granting of credits to peasants and control of the monopolies. The Communist Party is not, of course, relinquishing its theoretical views on private property. But, on the other hand, it does not confuse small-scale and large-scale production.

The Communists believe that they should protect small producers threatened with expropriation. At the same time they realize that the productive forces have now matured to the degree that only the transition to socialism can guarantee the small producer from expropriation.

Monopoly policy, writes Comrade *E. Peggio*, has given rise to acute problems in every country. Alongside the demands for international economic co-operation, there are growing demands for national-economic development. This applies particularly to Italy where the historical alliance between the big industrial bourgeoisie of the North and the big landowners in the South — an alliance entered into when the Italian national state was

taking shape — has created a so-called Southern problem the essence of which is the uneven economic development of North and South.

The monopolies are concentrating their main capital investments in the northern regions where they have a traditional economic base, with the result that the economically backward southern regions continue to stagnate, with low profits and mass unemployment, which not even the constant emigration can alleviate. These factors are adding to the discontent not only of the popular masses, but of broad sections of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, who are making increasingly insistent demands for a democratic policy of even economic development throughout the country.

The policy of European economic "integration" pursued by big financial capital in Italy in conjunction with the monopolies in the other Common Market countries is aimed at frustrating national-economic development.

Italy's joining the Common Market, the Communist Party is always explaining, will mean the steady weakening of the country. Italy's role vis-à-vis the areas between the Rhine and the Elbe may, in the event of the plan put forward by the finance capital of Europe being carried out, become similar to the role of South Italy, vis-à-vis the industrial areas in the Po valley. The Italian working people may become a huge reserve labor force which international finance capital will manipulate as it sees fit with a view to weakening the struggle of the working people of France, West Germany and the Benelux countries.

The broad popular movement headed by the Italian Communist Party aims at solving the hoary problems of Italian society: the South and mass unemployment. This movement will promote the advance of the socialist forces, lead to the formation of a government with a democratic majority, and hasten the time when the Italian working class finally wins power.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES **AND CONFERENCES**

Sociologists in Congress

(Impressions of a Delegate)

IN the past ten years or so international gatherings of sociologists have developed into a good tradition, furthering scientific exchanges and better understanding between scientists and removing the prejudices fostered by the cold war.

The Fourth Congress of Sociologists, which took place in Stresa (Italy) from September 8 to 15, was attended by some 1,000 scientists from practically all parts of the world. Marxist sociology was represented by delegates from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies (numbering more than 100), and by a large group of Marxists from the capitalist countries. Also present were many progressive sociologists and representatives of the Afro-Asian countries.

Although bourgeois sociologists from the United States and West European countries comprised four-fifths of the delegates, they could not claim an ideological monopoly and often had to concede the initiative to the Marxists. If at the previous Congress in Amsterdam bourgeois sociologists clearly realized that Marxist sociology could no longer be ignored, at Stresa they were forced to enter the lists against it. The Marxists took part in all three sections of the Congress — Sociology in its Social Context, The Application of Sociological Knowledge, and Development of Sociological Methods. They expounded their views at most of the thirty seminars, and had little difficulty in refuting the nonsense of anti-communist propaganda that Marxism as a sociological doctrine belonged to the nineteenth century. Even such a zealous advocate of the capitalist West as Raymond Aron, the French publicist, who does not conceal his hostility to Marxism and communism, acknowledged that "the sociology of Marx, whether one likes it or not, belongs to the present . . . No one, whether Marxist or anti-Marxist, can deny that millions of people regard themselves as followers of Marx."

It was not surprising therefore that at the first plenary meeting in Milan, the delegates listened attentively to P. Fedoseyev, head of the Soviet delegation, who spoke on sociological research in the Soviet Union. Instead of counterposing abstract theoretical reasoning to the descriptive approach

to life, which is characteristic of Western sociology, said Fedoseyev, "Marxist sociology harmoniously combines the study of the general laws of history with an analysis of the different aspects of social life in our country . . . Concrete sociological research is not an appendage to Marxist sociology. It expresses the essence of its dynamic practical approach to life." Stressing the particular responsibility of sociologists, Fedoseyev called on them to work for universal peace and social justice. The delegates were also deeply impressed by the speeches made by other sociologists from the socialist countries (V. Nemchinov, Y. Frantsev, G. Heyden, I. Srovnal, Zh. Oshavkov, P. Gugushvili, and others).

It would be no exaggeration to say that the interest in Marxist sociology never waned at the Congress. For many of the bourgeois sociologists the Congress was, as they put it, "a meeting with Marx." The delegations from the socialist countries were besieged with requests for official and private meetings. Some of the Western sociologists wanted a special discussion on recent developments in Marxism. Although, because of the overloaded agenda, the subject did not come up until 9 p.m., the spacious conference hall was filled to capacity. The audience, eager to hear the Marxists, was far from satisfied with the groundless arguments of bourgeois spokesmen and revisionists on the imaginary "crisis of Marxism" and its alleged "dogmatic degradation," whereas the Marxists, who refuted the charges, were listened to with sympathy.

In addition to a useful exchange of information on sociological research in various countries, the delegates discussed at length the role of sociology in planning, legislation, industrial organization and in other fields. The numerous papers by Western sociologists on the inter-relation between social and demographic processes, urban and rural planning on family budgets, public health and education were of interest also for Marxist sociologists chiefly because they contained a wealth of factual material lacking in official statistics, and obtained through public polls, direct observation of selected social groups, social experimenta-

tion, and so on. The sociologists from the socialist countries also displayed keen interest in the research methods practised by their Western colleagues (questionnaires, group analyses, classification of data and the ever-growing use of mathematics in social science).

On the whole, the Marxists proved to be much better acquainted with the state of bourgeois sociology than Western delegates were with the development of Marxist sociology. This explains why the papers on the growth of the cultural level and technological skills of the working class, the reasons for delinquency, and intra-national marriages in the Soviet Union, on the changes in rural life in Bulgaria, on resettlement in Poland, came as a complete surprise to the delegates from the capitalist countries. This surprise can be put down as one of the effects of the cold war and anti-communist propaganda which have prevented many Western scientists from obtaining genuine information on Marxism and the socialist countries.

The Western delegates did not conceal their interest in Marxist research, which indicated their desire to gain firsthand knowledge about the socialist way of life. Here is an interesting detail: when, on a formal pretext, A. Kharchev (USSR) was denied the opportunity to read his paper on intra-national marriages in the Soviet Asian republics, many Western sociologists instead of attending the scheduled discussion listened to him privately and subsequently engaged in a lively exchange of opinion. The next day, on the request of the chairman, Kharchev expounded the Soviet view on family relations, stressing the need to combine objective research with practical recommendations and ethical conclusions.

The carefully elaborated empiric methods and the thorough research carried out by individual Western sociologists and their achievements in special branches were in sharp contrast to the theoretical helplessness and, frankly speaking, to the poverty of ideas of modern bourgeois sociology as a whole. The Stresa Congress confirmed once again the growing tendency among Western sociologists to turn to empiric sociology or, as it is sometimes called, micro-sociology. This is highly symptomatic. The attraction to concrete research clearly testifies to the two deep-going processes in postwar bourgeois sociology: *on the one hand*, the growing disillusionment of many scientists with the idealist philosophy of history, their obvious dissatisfaction with the pre-conceived sociological concepts (the so-called macro-sociology) of the leading bourgeois ideologists, their desire for scientific exactitude and objectivity and for practical usefulness. *On the other hand*, this tendency reflects the desire of monopol-

ists to use sociology not only for influencing public opinion, as a means of moulding a bourgeois outlook, but also for their purely practical needs: for a rational organization of production and marketing, for limited planning and disclosing particular laws of social development. It is here that the persistent but vain attempts of state-monopoly capital to find in sociology a scientific justification for its policy make themselves felt.

It would, of course, be hasty and incorrect to infer that the ideological functions of bourgeois sociology are confined to the philosophy of history and macro-sociology. Empiric sociology, too, plays a certain ideological role in capitalist society and is often carefully-concealed apologetics. Irrespective of the subjective intentions of the particular scientist, this sociology sows and nurtures reformist illusions. At the same time the dislike of empiric sociologists for the idealist philosophy of history results in many of them being caught in the shadow of neo-positivism. As to the discord in theory and the recriminations among bourgeois sociologists, usually described as freedom to engage in creative work, they reflect in ideology the disintegration of the capitalist system. Hence, while highly appreciating the work of individual bourgeois sociologists, many of whom are critical of capitalism, and not disdaining to study their methods of research, and regarding empiric sociology as an additional source of factual material, the Marxist sociologists at the same time thrust aside its ideological concomitant, point to the need for a scientific generalization of the facts from the standpoint of historical materialism and stress the futility of attempts to "patch up" capitalism without far-reaching social changes.

The abuse of concrete research to the detriment of theoretical generalization is the Achilles' heel of bourgeois sociology. Taken out of the social context some of these works are so poor in subject matter that their authors have no idea whatever of their practical value. It is only natural, therefore, that for the first time in many years delegates complained of the neglect of theoretical generalization in bourgeois sociology. The need for a "sociology of sociology," that is, general sociological concepts capable of generalizing research and placing it on a solid methodological basis, was clearly expressed by P. Lazarsfeld (USA) at a meeting on sociological methods; in one form or another this idea was advanced at most of the seminars.

Representatives of the bourgeois philosophy of history and political philosophy, to whom the empiric sociologists turned their eyes, failed to put forward anything reasonable, thereby exposing their philosophical poverty. Indeed, few delegates could be satisfied with the reasoning that

"sociology is the guilty conscience of society" or with the speculations of the prophets of "sociology of knowledge" who tried to prove that social phenomena were unknowable. Absolutely correct were those sociologists (e.g. Prof. Oshakov from Bulgaria) who, replying to the agnostics, positivists and subjectivists, said: those who assert that objective social research is impossible merely betray their impotence in theory and the lack of perspective of the sociological trends they represent.

The delegates from the Soviet Union and People's Democracies soon found a common language with the empiric sociologists from the Western countries, and the discussion of common problems was based on facts with the result that plenary meetings and numerous seminars were as a rule held in a business-like manner. However, on arriving at the Congress, Marxist sociologists learned that, in addition to the preliminarily agreed meetings, the agenda included "seminars" which had nothing in common with the main subject and of which they had not been informed beforehand ("political élites," "uprisings and revolutions," etc.). The papers on these subjects, prepared and typed beforehand, left no doubt that this was anything but improvisation. Bourgeois ideologists sought, if not to exclude Marxist sociologists from the discussion of burning ideological problems, then at least to weaken the impression likely to be created by their speeches.

Most of the papers unequivocally exposed the design of their authors (G. Catlin, J. Meisel, A. Touraine) to counterpose to the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle the idea of "political élites" (the ruling minority), and to use this concept for depicting socialism as the oligarchic rule of a "political élite." Some of the bourgeois sociologists sought to find in this idea a theoretical justification for passing from traditional bourgeois democracy to "managed democracy" or from the principle: "rule of the people by the people" proclaimed by Rousseau and Lincoln to the technocratic slogan: "all for the people, nothing from the people." The purpose of this anti-scientific idea was bluntly revealed by Prof. Meisel who said that "the idea of 'élite' . . . was indeed a godsend to all who wanted to give battle to the twin utopias

of democracy and socialism." Similar statements were also made at the seminar on the sociology of knowledge and during the discussion of "uprisings and revolutions."

The reactionary political philosophy was subjected to searing criticism by the Marxist sociologists (F. Loeser, I. Dubska, A. Shishkin, Z. Baumann, C. Luporini, P. Worsley, and others) who disclosed its groundlessness and expounded Marxist views on the problems raised during the discussion. The concept of the "political élite" was rejected even by some of the bourgeois sociologists. For instance, Prof. G.E. Lavau, declaring that this concept had been discredited in the history of sociology, said: "One can only wonder at the efforts to conduct sociological research on the basis of such an inexact, non-objective and ambiguous concept as the 'élite'."

The Congress coincided with the launching of the Soviet moon rocket and Khrushchov's visit to the United States. This, naturally, could not but affect the work and results of the Congress. The universal desire for peaceful coexistence made itself felt. The voice of the ill-wishers, the last of the Mohicans of the cold war, as they were dubbed by their colleagues, was lost in the profound interest displayed by delegates in various aspects of life in the socialist countries and in their admiration for the achievements of Soviet science.

The Stresa Congress will, undoubtedly, contribute to the further development of sociology as a special branch of knowledge; it will promote international co-operation between sociologists. Sociology and, together with it, the whole of society can but benefit from this co-operation. What we should remember is that this co-operation does not and cannot end the battle of ideas: people convinced of the correctness and social value of their views cannot be asked to abandon them. The Marxists are confident that communist ideas are stronger and more attractive to mankind than bourgeois ideology in any form. That is why the most important outcome of the Congress was that it broke down the wall of prejudice in the minds of many sociologists and bourgeois intellectuals, a wall erected by the preachers of anti-communism.

E. ARAB-OGLY

Reviews

The Path to Peace and Friendship

IN reporting Khrushchov's visit to the United States the world press hailed it as an historic meeting, as the most outstanding political event since World War II. It is doubtful if any other event has received so much space in the newspapers, so much time on radio and television, and so much attention from politicians and public figures all over the world.

This, after all, is understandable. The visit provided striking confirmation of the fact that the people of all countries are interested in lessening the tension and ending the cold war, in creating conditions for lasting peace and friendship among the nations. For peace supporters everywhere the Khrushchov visit was seen as the triumph of their efforts to avert the threat of war. In this case, and in a most concrete way, the policy of solving outstanding issues through negotiation is beginning to gain the upper hand over the "brinkmanship" policy the adventurist nature of which has long been denounced by world public opinion.

And now we have a book containing the documents of these few days which "shook" America. The book* is a collection of Khrushchov's speeches and the official documents covering the preparations for the visit and the Camp David talks. The title—*To Live in Peace and Friendship!*—is a call which resounded in all the speeches made by the envoy of the Soviet people, no matter how sharp and polemical they were. Although the symposium contains a variety of materials, all of them serve the strict inner logic expressed in the title. The book, which can best be described as a peace manifesto, will give renewed confidence to those working for peace and exposing the war-mongers.

Can humanity live without war and what is the way to peace? The book answered this question clearly and unequivocally. War can be excluded from the life of society, and the only way to achieve this is through peaceful coexistence of the capitalist and socialist countries; there is not, nor can there be, any other alternative.

Shortly before his American visit Khrushchov wrote in an article in *Foreign Affairs*: "Our desire for peace and peaceful coexistence is not conditioned by any time-serving or tactical considerations. It springs from the very nature of

socialist society in which there are no classes or social groups interested in profiting by war or seizing and enslaving other people's territories."

Developing the Leninist teaching on peaceful co-existence Khrushchov advances clear and convincing reason why it is necessary to achieve peaceful co-existence, a lasting and stable peace. The people of all countries, Khrushchov said at the Andrews Airport, are deeply interested in maintaining and consolidating peace. "War does not promise anyone any good while peace is advantageous to all nations. This is the basic principle which we believe the statesmen of all countries should be guided by in order to realize the aspirations of the people" (pp.48-49).

There are, of course, serious contradictions between the capitalist and socialist countries, and it would be wrong to deny this. But the important thing is that war should be prevented and all outstanding issues settled gradually, through negotiation, by way of mutual concessions and compromise. The differences should be overcome, through diplomatic talks, in the course of economic, political and cultural relationships. Peaceful co-existence by no means presupposes "the disunity of the world," as some U.S. newspapers claimed, on the contrary, it derives from the need for still greater economic and cultural intercourse among the nations.

Peaceful coexistence also presupposes peaceful economic competition of the two systems. "Let us compete peacefully," Khrushchov said in a speech to businessmen in New York, "and let the peoples themselves be the judges of which system is better, which of them provides greater possibilities for the development of the productive forces and which system satisfies to a greater extent the needs of the people" (p. 121). Is there anything bad or aggressive in the Soviet Union setting itself the task of outstripping the USA economically and attaining the highest level of production and the highest standard of living in the world? Is it not a fact that at the end of the last century the United States challenged Britain to economic competition, and that it won this competition? Competitions of this kind cannot be decided by means of war.

One of the highlights of the book is the speech delivered by Khrushchov on September 18 at the meeting of the UN General Assembly, and the

**To Live in Peace and Friendship!* Stay of N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., in the U.S.A. September 15-27, 1959. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1959, 446 pages.

Declaration of the Soviet Government on disarmament.

What does the Soviet Government propose? That in the shortest space of time, in approximately four years, all countries should effect comprehensive and complete disarmament and should no longer have any means of waging war. This means that land armies, navies and air forces shall cease to exist; that general staffs and war ministries shall be abolished; that military educational establishments shall be closed. Tens of millions of men shall be returned to peaceful constructive labor. At the disposal of states there shall remain only strictly limited contingents of police, of militia, designed exclusively to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens. All atomic and hydrogen bombs shall be destroyed and their further production discontinued; military rockets shall be liquidated. To ensure this it has been suggested that strict and effective international control be established. At the same time, if the Western powers are not yet prepared for general and complete disarmament, the Soviet Union considers it possible to agree, at the first stage, to partial disarmament.

The disarmament proposals made by the head of the Soviet Government are dictated by life. Disarmament. But this, of course, does not mean that way to a new stage in human development — a world without war. The strength of these proposals is that they come from the Soviet Union, the world's strongest power, that they express the will of the almost one billion people of the socialist countries, that they are supported by ordinary people all over the world.

The United Nations unanimously approved the Soviet proposals on general and complete disarmament. But this, of course, does not mean that the way to disarmament is now clear. There are still many obstacles, and the open and concealed opponents of disarmament are still strong. But no matter what happens in future, one thing is certain — the disarmament proposals submitted by the Soviet Government to the international forum show humanity the way to peaceful co-existence, and this goal will be reached.

A feature of the Khrushchov speeches in America is their human appeal. He spoke in a country where anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda had reached an all-time high, in the citadel of world imperialism. Khrushchov told the Americans about the life of the Soviet people, about their economic successes, explained the principles of communism to his audiences. For many of them his words were like the discovery of a new, hitherto unknown, free world.

Vast audiences heard every day the truth about

the socialist, genuinely democratic, system, about the socialist countries whose Communist parties are leading their peoples to spiritual development and material well-being. Americans learned about the peace policy of the socialist states.

During those days of "systematic political education" the eyes of many were opened. The advocates of the cold war began gradually to lose prestige. The American people who, like the Soviet people, detest war, approved the idea of peaceful co-existence and competition.

When addressing the gatherings — some of which were not too friendly — when answering the equivocal, often provocative questions, and when explaining his attitude, Khrushchov plainly and consistently stated the communist case. He was often asked how it was possible to combine peaceful coexistence with the Marxist concept of the inevitable victory of communist ideas on a world scale. And he explained that ideological differences and inter-state relations were two different matters and should not be confused.

Marxism-Leninism teaches: nobody and nothing can halt the march of history, which is leading to the triumph of communism. But this by no means implies that the Soviet Union is going to overthrow capitalism by the "export of revolution." Conflict between the bourgeois and proletarian ideologies is inevitable. And in this struggle the Communists will never retreat a single step from the principles of communism, and will never abandon this struggle, just as the bourgeoisie is hardly likely to drop their weapons. But ideological struggle cannot and must not be resolved through war, by force of arms.

Many were struck by Khrushchov's debating skill, by the frankness and truthfulness of his speeches, his remarkable vitality, optimism and wit, by the calm which he displayed in the polemics. Here was a man with unshakable confidence in the justness of his cause, in the triumph of communism, a statesman genuinely concerned for the destiny of humanity, the destiny of the common people.

Khrushchov's struggle against war has won him the gratitude of all people. And though the tensions have relaxed somewhat, the danger of "further frosts" still exists. He warned that the idea of peace, of international friendship and peaceful co-existence has in influential circles in America opponents as well as supporters. Forces interested in maintaining international tension and who make the cold war the cornerstone of their policy are to be found also beyond the confines of the United States. They make their presence felt precisely at the moment when the peoples are hopefully looking to the future, when it is clear that the Soviet peace initiative signifies a new

stage in postwar international relationships. The reactionaries, although forced to retreat, have not laid down their arms.

One of the results of the Khrushchov visit was an unprecedented growth of international prestige of the first socialist state — the Soviet Union — and a still greater trust reposed by people everywhere in the camp of peace and socialism. And as one leafs through the book this trust grows into firm confidence and optimism. In the name of millions Khrushchov declared upon his return from this historic journey: "I am sure, comrades, that in present conditions, when the forces of peace have grown immeasurably, when the socialist camp has about one billion people in it and possesses a tremendous production potential, when the Soviet Union has made great advances in industry and agriculture, science, technology and culture

— a great deal can be done in the interest of peace. We base actions on reason, on truth, on the support of our people as a whole" (p.433).

Working people in all countries will return again and again to this book. They will re-read the pages of this ardent and convincing advocacy of communist ideas, and view with pride the successes of the socialist system, successes which are so brilliantly expressed in Khrushchov's pointed and apt comparisons of the two systems — socialism and capitalism.

This book, a document of history, is simultaneously a record of the life of the day; it is the hope for the future cherished by all peoples. Hence the popularity of this book which reflects events of enormous importance for the destiny of mankind.

Jirý PLACHETKA

The Legacy of Gramsci

THE ideas of Antonio Gramsci, the first follower of Lenin in Italy, and his activity as a working-class leader have always been the basis of the complex difficult process of growth of the Italian Communist Party as a result of which it has become a mass party, a national party, capable of showing how Italy's vital problems should be solved.

The study of Gramsci's literary legacy is not an easy matter because his thinking was always of the vibrant kind, because he never got bogged down in formulas and was always searching. Gramsci's thought reached out in all directions, trying every method possible; posing one problem he would use it as the starting point for switching over to others. It is not easy because of the peculiar style of his writing, which reflects his temperament and his life in prison. Gramsci's notes contain references to facts, people and books; his sketches provide material for further research. *His method is the application of Marxism-Leninism to Italy.*

The study of Gramsci's work has enriched Marxist thought in Italy, has enabled it to avoid a schematic approach and to rely not only on general principles but also on facts in order to find in them the key to their explanation. Gramsci elucidated from the Marxist standpoint many aspects of the history and life of the Italian people. That is why his ideas, and consequently Marxism, have such an influence among workers, intellectuals, democrats and students.

The first conference on Gramsci's legacy, sponsored last year by the Gramsci Institute in Rome,

disclosed the rich content of his creative work. The book under review* contains the four main papers read at the conference: "Antonio Gramsci and Italian Culture," by Prof. E. Garin of Florence University; "Leninism in the Ideas and Activity of Gramsci," by P. Togliatti; "Marxist Philosophical Methodology in the Ideas of Antonio Gramsci," by Prof. C. Luporini of Pisa University; "Problems of Italian History in Gramsci's Works," by Prof. R. Cessi of Padua University.

To study Gramsci's work, said P. Togliatti, means to analyze "not only the propositions he worked out and adopted in his philosophical and theoretical polemics but also his practical activity as a political leader, the founder and leader of the advanced party of the Italian working class. I am sure," Togliatti added, "that this is the only correct approach to Gramsci's works, the sole way of comprehending their importance. Gramsci was a political theoretician, but first and foremost he was a practical politician, that is, a fighter" (p. 15).

Gramsci joined the socialist movement in Italy shortly before World War I. Then came the October Revolution in Russia. Was he able to get in those days from the Italian socialist movement and the Second International that which was needed for an understanding of a great socialist revolution? They, let it be said frankly, gave him very little. For theirs was a "Marxism" buried in positivism, a Marxism reduced to economic determinism. Such a Marxism could not be applied to life and was unable to explain how and why the imperialist

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chain had been broken in Russia and not in the developed capitalist countries.

Gramsci cannot be said to have grasped the significance of the October Revolution quickly. His path was not an easy and smooth one. Proof of this can be found in his first article on the October Revolution published in *Il grido del popolo* on January 5, 1918. This article was not without mistakes, but the most important thing in it, said Togliatti, was its essence; it was the "cry of joy of a man who at last had found the leader capable of helping to throw off the fetters of the pedantic, vulgar-materialist and economic interpretation of Marxism" (p. 429). And this leader was Lenin whose works were practically unknown in Italy before the Revolution. Antonio Gramsci was the first man in Italy to grasp their tremendous significance. Although the shaping of Gramsci's ideas was a complex process and "to a considerable degree had to be imbued with the spirit of Italian political and cultural traditions," it should, nevertheless, be noted that "the Italian traditions alone could not have helped Gramsci become the political leader he was, a leader without the slightest trace of our provincialism. Gramsci combined the traditions of Italian thinking with the study of Marxism, with contact with the working class, and with international and Italian life . . . And here a special role should be assigned to Lenin and Leninism as decisive factors in theory and practice" (p.422).

The Italian socialist movement of that time was incapable of formulating the tasks of a socialist revolution both on the theoretical and practical planes. Only Gramsci, who in 1919 founded the weekly *L'Ordine Nuovo* in Turin (the center of the working-class struggle), began to elaborate these problems and pose them before the working-class movement. He explained the international significance of the October Revolution and stressed the need for a socialist revolution in Italy. ". . . The Soviet state proves," he wrote, "that it is . . . the first nucleus of the new society. Russia is now the focal point of history and life; the issues of life and death now hanging ominously over the world are being resolved only under the Soviet system." Gramsci studied the situation in Italy and the broad proletarian struggle which had shaken the foundations of bourgeois rule. He tried to define the forms in which a socialist revolution could take place in Italy and asked whether there were in the country any embryonic forms of Soviets, the attributes of working-class power. His answer was in the affirmative. These were the factory committees elected by all workers irrespective of their trade-union affiliation, committees which at the time envisaged only economic tasks. But they could have turned into something more important,

into the nucleus of factory councils capable of tackling the questions of production and industrial organization; they could have become bodies of proletarian power in the factories through which the workers could subsequently take power into their hands. "The dictatorship of the proletariat can find its embodiment in an organization based on the genuine activity of producers and not wage workers—the slaves of capital. The factory council is the nucleus of this organization."

Gramsci worked out his own views on the factory councils, proceeding from the experience of the movement in the Turin factories in order to direct this movement along the revolutionary path. He regarded the councils as the core, as the instrument of proletarian dictatorship, always bearing in mind *the leadership of the Party* and the need for centralized power of a socialist state. ". . . Did Gramsci in 1919-20 tend to the view that the council itself (my italics — L.G.), as a form of organization of the workers directly engaged in production, was the answer to the problems of power, that is, the conquest of power and the establishment of a new state?" No, says Togliatti, this could be maintained only by people who select quotations from the articles written by Gramsci in 1919 without due regard to his complex activity at the time (pp. 28-29).

In those years Gramsci counselled the working-class movement to combat the chaos in the country; he fought against ideological confusion, against the politically impotent, old Socialist Party and the reformist-dominated trade union movement. ". . . The Turin movement showed the imperative need for a new, advanced party of the proletariat, the Communist Party . . . The polemics Gramsci waged in his *Notes** against all forms of 'economism' delivered the death blow to the erroneous interpretation and the deliberate distortion of his ideas on the relationship between the place of the working class in production and its political activity" (pp. 29-30). In 1919-20 Gramsci raised, although not in a clear-cut form, the question of the worker-peasant alliance. He did not limit the working-class struggle for power to the demand that "the workers should only run factories and acquire the dominant position in relation to the owners." Gramsci realized that the struggle for power necessitated a broad system of alliances on a national scale, a system calling for Party leadership and political action as the supreme form of class struggle.

The conference materials showed that Gramsci considered the question of Southern Italy, which had been virtually colonized by the industrial bourgeoisie of the North with the backing of the

*Gramsci's letters and notes collected in a series *Notes from Prison*.

latifundists of the South, as one the basic questions facing the country. In his view, this problem could be solved by an alliance of the working class in the North with the peasantry in the South, an alliance spearheaded against the industrial-agrarian bloc. Thus Gramsci applied Lenin's approach to the peasant question in Italy. Another aspect of the peasant question was the "Vatican issue" — the need for an alliance between the Socialist working people and Catholic peasants.

In the articles written in prison Gramsci developed Lenin's principle of working-class leadership in its application to Italy. It was not fortuitous, therefore, that this was the underlying idea of many of the speeches made at the conference.

All people are "philosophers," said Gramsci, implying that every man has his own outlook; true it may be only in embryonic form, inconsistent and non-critical, but it is there. The ruling class inculcates among the workers an outlook which is at variance with their interests, with their everyday life and, lastly, with their political struggle. The task of the working-class party in leading the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat is to build unity of the working class and the masses, a unity deriving from victory over the traditional ideologies and with complete harmony of political action and outlook, and to ensure that the working-class leadership in politics be extended to public life and ideology.

In the course of this process the working class, ceasing to be subordinate, becomes the leading class. Critical periods set in, Gramsci said, when the ruling classes still in power are no longer able to govern, and when the oppressed classes, which have not yet come to power, are acquiring or have already acquired the ability to rule, to show to society how to solve its problems. Even this brief and schematic review shows that not only did Gramsci take Lenin's principle of the hegemony of the proletariat as the basis, he also carried it forward, seeing it in all its complexity, in the light of the ideological struggle.

Leadership by the proletariat is the starting point of Gramsci's criticism of Croce's idealism, criticism which, as E. Garin noted in his paper, was indissolubly linked with the entire activity of Gramsci. We should not forget the influence which Croce wielded in Italy at that time. Gramsci realized that in the sphere of ideology—in those days and in those conditions—the working class should demonstrate its ability for leadership precisely by criticizing the Crocean idealism. The thesis that the working class is "the successor to classical philosophy" would have lost all meaning had not Gramsci dealt with Croce as Marx did

with Hegel, i.e., had he not placed his philosophy "on its feet instead of on its head."

In his many-sided research Gramsci, whenever he raised the question of working-class power, of proletarian dictatorship, stressed the need for working-class hegemony in leading and convincing the masses; but he never lost sight of force. All this, although it gives food for thought and enriches Marxism, should not become the subject of speculation. "Did Gramsci distinguish between the terms hegemony and dictatorship and what is the difference between them?" asked Togliatti. "There is a difference, but not an essential one. It can be said that the first term concerns mainly the relations in civil society and, consequently, is broader than the second one. It should be borne in mind, however, that for Gramsci the difference between civil and political society is of a methodological and not of an organic character. Every state is a dictatorship, and every dictatorship presupposes not only the power of a certain class but also a system of alliances and associations through which the class can rule society as a whole and the world of culture; every state is at the same time a body educating society in the interests of the ruling class." However, political power in society may, when a revolutionary crisis breaks out and society enters the transitional period, assume the form of a dictatorship. In this case we have "an extreme form of political society the aim of which is either to fight against the new and maintain the weakened rule, strengthening it by means of force, or, as an expression of the new, to crush the resistance it encounters in its development, etc." "... This seemingly casual remark is highly important. On the one hand, it reflects the view on the nature of bourgeois states in their evolution, progress and decline. On the other, it opens the way to a study of the forms the dictatorship of the working class can assume in different countries at different stages of development. What we are speaking about is a new chapter in Leninism, the editing of which is now being completed by the international working-class movement" (pp. 34-35).

For Gramsci hegemony is the ability to lead, an ability emerging in the ideological battle and in the working-class struggle for power. He rejects the concept of hegemony as simply a mechanical result of developments. It is not accidental, therefore, that in most of his works Gramsci combats not only idealism and philosophical revisionism but also the vulgar materialist and mechanistic-determinist distortions of Marxism.

Indeed, many pages of his *Notes from Prison* refute the Bukharin concept of dialectical materialism. In his interpretation of Marxism, Gramsci always proceeded from Marx's *Theses on Feuerbach* which stressed man as the maker of history,

the role of the masses in history, and the role of their ideological vanguard which rejects any mechanical creation of superstructure from the basis.

The main thing in Gramsci's work, said Luporini in his paper, is the view of man peculiar to historical materialism (the connection: man—nature; man as the complex of social relations; negation of the general "nature" of man). Gramsci concentrated on historical materialism (dialectical, of course). Luporini concludes from this that for Gramsci it was impossible to interpret Marxist philosophy starting (even from didactic considerations) exclusively from the general principles of dialectical materialism while ignoring historical materialism, the Marxist teaching on human society. If this were so the experience of the working-class struggle and the contradictions of capitalism, which Marxism lays bare and seeks to overcome in order to build the new society, would really lose their significance for dialectical materialism.

This should not be understood, Luporini noted, as though Gramsci reduced dialectics to human history, because dialectics occurs in nature too. But for Gramsci the basis lay precisely in the dialectics of human society. By rejecting this

basis one can sink into either idealism or metaphysical materialism. Gramsci always stressed the "general human" character of Marxism, its "historical consistency."

Such are the complex problems which came to the fore at the first study conference on Gramsci's literary legacy. This conference will be followed by others, devoted to various aspects of his activity and outlook. The Communist Party, the working-class movement and Italian culture as a whole have always drawn their strength from the ideas of Gramsci because he regarded Marxism not only as a method of research and action but also as a revolutionary outlook; because he did not limit it to theory (Gramsci rejected such an approach altogether and considered it incompatible with Marxism) and gave us a brilliant example of creative application of Marxism-Leninism,

To sum up, we can do no better than repeat what Prof. Hobsbawm said at the conference—for the British and for the Marxists in other countries, Gramsci is a precious and, one might say, an exceedingly rare example of the working out of the general Marxist-Leninist analysis with due regard for the forms, traditions and specific conditions of the country, a precious example of creative Marxism.

Luciano GRUPPI

Aspects of Labor Party Nationalization

(Apropos of Clive Jenkins' "Power at the Top"*)

NEITHER by its title nor by its contents can *Power at the Top* be described as the usual type of book. It can hardly be called a best-seller. It has few characters and striking comparisons but many tables and figures. Yet one reads it with unabated interest for it deals with quite an important matter—nationalization in capitalist society. The language of statistics, dry but dramatic facts, acquaint us with the "biographies" of social groups and classes and their destiny in the postwar capitalist world.

The author, deputy to the general secretary of the Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians, surveys the industries nationalized by the Labor Government during 1945-50. Nationalization affected coal-mining, electric power, the gas industry and rail transport, some of the airway corporations, sections of road transport and the steel industry (the two latter have since been returned to private ownership by the Tory Government).

The Labor leadership claimed that their partial nationalization was a model of the peaceful way to socialism. In numerous studies Right-wing Labor spokesmen have depicted the state-capitalist sector as "an island of socialism" which, gradually developing, would eventually become "a socialist continent." They have been persuading the workers that this "continent," this future "Mecca" of Right-wing Labor, will eventually become a dynamic welfare society harmoniously combining the interests of labor and capital.

The book under review can justly be called an objective survey of the effects of the nationalization. It is, contrary to the will of the author, a solid Labor man, an indictment of the reformist policy of subordinating the interests of the workers to monopoly capital. The weight of this indictment is all the greater because, eschewing rhetoric, it acquaints us with facts and figures.

Jenkins reaches the conclusion that by taking certain "liability" industries off the hands of the private owners, and by handsomely compensating

*Clive Jenkins, *Power at the Top*. London. MacGibbon & Kee, 1959, 292 pages.

them, the Labor Government effectively strengthened the eighty per cent of industry left in private hands (pp. 13-14). The process of strengthening private industry at the expense of the nationalized sector has continued thanks to the low charges of the state-owned enterprises for the goods and services supplied to the monopolies.

The huge sums paid to the former owners were by no means in keeping with the economic conditions and technical potentialities of the nationalized enterprises. Coal compensation, for example, totalled £164,660,000 (p. 102). And this was done at a time when the collieries urgently needed new equipment, when some of them were running at a loss, and others were within sight of being worked out.

In most of the nationalized industries profitability was an impossible task, for the surpluses were swallowed by compensation. The interim report of the General Council of the TUC commented: "... in the first five years after nationalization, the publicly owned undertakings had operating surpluses totalling £221 million. It was only after paying interest on compensation stock . . . and other charges that the British Transport Commission accounts showed a deficit of £31.5 million" (p. 15).

The compensation was used for investment in the expanding sectors of the economy and thus, indirectly, reinforced capitalism.

The nationalized industries, the author writes, were even "contributing to the unbalanced distribution of incomes" and "have become an instrument in maintaining the frozen class structure of British society." They, in fact, remained under the control of private capital. The boards of these industries were appointed from people closely linked with monopolies, with big industrialists and financiers as part-time members. As a result, the administration of state industry became virtually indistinguishable from the boards of directors running the private capitalist corporations.

Jenkins shows who rules the "blessed" Labor "island of socialism." In 1949 a list of directors of the nationalized boards was made public. Of 131 names listed by Mr. Attlee sixty-one held directorships in private companies. Of the thirteen members of the British Transport Commission seven were directors of private companies, four were professional managers or engineers and only one could be called a representative of the Labor Party, trade unions or co-operatives. The coal industry is run by men of the monopolists such as Mr. J. H. Hambro of the merchant bankers who are linked by directorships with the Bank of England, London Assurance Co. Ltd., Consolidated Mines Selection Co. Ltd., Provident Mutual Life Assurance Association Ltd., and many other

influential concerns; Sir Godfrey Mitchell, chairman of the big civil engineering firms, George Wimpey & Co. Ltd., and Mono Containers Ltd.; Geoffrey Heyworth, who was chairman of the worldwide combine Lever Brothers and Unilever Ltd.

It is not accidental that Jenkins' book is called *Power at the Top*. Indeed, the point in question is power but not a show of power noisily publicized in the capitalist press. The author brings to light another power, concealed but all-embracing, the economic power of the monopolies which Jack London aptly described as the "iron heel."

The monopolies have planted their "iron heel" on the nationalized industries, exploiting them to the full in order to rejuvenate the decrepit private enterprise. They have turned the state enterprises into a source of lucrative orders for the private companies associated with them. Only 41 per cent of the contracts placed in 1956 followed from competitive tendering. After the scandalous exposures and public protests the figure rose to 72 in 1957. For example, the contract for a cross-Channel steamer went to William Denny and Brothers, who held an exclusive contract as shipbuilders to the old Southern Railway Company. As a result, the vessel, the original estimate for which was £1,086,000, cost the BTC £1,509,000.

Nationalization has brought tangible advantages to monopoly capital but to the working class it has, on the whole, brought little but disappointment. True, it has provided certain improvements in income for workers in some of the industries. But this wage increase cannot be considered a satisfactory price for the rapidly growing exploitation intensified by the technical reconstruction of the nationalized industries.

The conditions of the railwaymen, Jenkins notes, did not improve after the nationalization. The wages of coal-miners did not rise to the extent expected, while working conditions did not improve at all. The deep-seated problems of the coal industry—the price of coal and the dangerous conditions of work—have not been solved. Two out of every five industrial accidents in Britain are in the mining industry. In 1955 one miner in three was seriously injured, and 425 were killed. In 1957 there were 395 fatal accidents in the pits. Then there is the deadly lung disease—pneumoconiosis—from which 700 to 800 miners die every year. About 4,000 miners are reported every year as new cases.

But the bleak conditions were not the only reason for the disappointment with the Labor nationalization. Workers' participation in management has proved to be a pipe dream. The author quotes Will Paynter, the miners' leader, who said that "the participation of the workers in control and direction of the industry is non-existent . . ." (p. 123). The trade union officials on the boards of the

state enterprises work under the control of professional managers representing private capital.

The author shows how the state sector is used by monopoly capital, but when it comes to conditions of the workers in the nationalized industries he is uncertain and less convincing. He speaks vaguely about "the need for the democratic involvement of the worker in nationally administered industry . . ." He writes about the clash within the Labor Party about the meaning of socialism. Some see it as a technique for economic planning, while others insist that it means a revolutionizing of the status of the industrial worker in a machine society. "If this latter view is accepted," he says, "there can be a major advance towards the elimination of capitalism . . . This would be a giant step towards an early abundance of goods and services aimed at dignifying and beautifying the way of life of all the British people" (p. 280). This reasoning is rather uncertain. It appears particularly unconvincing in the light of unequivocal statements made by some Labor leaders after the defeat of their Party in the General Election. For instance, Douglas Jay, former minister in the Attlee Government, suggested in the weekly *Forward* that "the myth of nationalization" should be destroyed. "The myth that we intended to nationalize anything and everything was very powerful in this election. . . . We must destroy this myth decisively, otherwise we may never win again."

According to *The Guardian*, Douglas Jay posed the question the Labor leaders wanted to raise cautiously, in the course of months. To categorical demands of its opponents, the advocates of nationalization in the Labor Party counterpose only amorphous declarations on the faith in public ownership and on maintaining the militant spirit of the trade unions. Jenkins' view coincides basically with similar pronouncements, reflecting the stand of the Left in the Labor movement.

Strictly speaking, we could have finished on this. But the book gives food for another important discussion on the ways of the working-class struggle for nationalization in capitalist society. The partial nationalization in Britain, France, Austria and some other countries, carried out in different situations and for different motives, shows that monopoly capital has made full use of the state sector. It gradually subordinated this sector to profit-making, having deprived the workers of nearly all advantages they could have gained from nationalization given a different alignment of class forces.

International reformism also gained from this partial nationalization. Nationalization in Britain and Austria were for a time the banner of international reformism and revisionism. The forms

and methods of Labor nationalization were proclaimed the canon of the opportunist idea of capitalism's peaceful evolution into socialism. The Right-wing Social Democrats in all countries cited them as an example of translating their theories into life.

It would be wrong to say that the seeds of reformist propaganda have not fallen on fertile soil. The Right Social Democrats have skilfully speculated on the sentiment of those West European workers who had been demanding nationalization for years, in the belief that it would cure many of the ills of capitalism. Jenkins rightly says that the working class hailed the 1945 nationalization. "It was believed passionately that democratic ideas, of themselves, would transform radically the political atmosphere within the basic industries once their assets had been transferred to the community" (pp. 19-20). The preachers of reformism, schooled in political sophistry, used this to strengthen reformism in the working-class movement, to sow harmful and groundless illusions on co-operation between capitalists and workers in securing better conditions. By directing the nationalized industries along the channel advantageous to monopoly capital, the Labor leadership and the Right Social Democrats in Austria enhanced their prestige in the eyes of the finance-industrial oligarchy—the real rulers of the capitalist world. The reformists co-operated with the monopoly bourgeoisie, playing with the hopes and aspirations of the working people.

Does the foregoing mean that the working class should be indifferent to the demand for nationalization in capitalist society because in some countries it has been advantageous only to the monopolies?

In the heat of the argument with Labor leaders, Austro-Marxists and other reformists and revisionists, some Marxists have expressed the view that under capitalism nationalization will always be reactionary and that the working class should fight only for socialist nationalization. Such statements are understandable and are easily explained by the extreme forms of the struggle against opportunism. But were these views to gain wide currency, they could have an adverse effect on the working-class struggle.

Lenin repeatedly stressed that the struggle against opportunism in the form of repudiation of democratic institutions and demands was, in effect, tantamount to conceding to opportunism. Nationalization is a democratic demand which, given a favorable political situation, can help the working class to rally the people for the struggle against monopoly domination.

Experience shows that two ways of nationalization are possible in modern bourgeois society. The

nationalization effected by the reformists is aimed at strengthening capitalism. But there can be another nationalization which can sap monopoly domination and be a basis for the revolutionary movement. This nationalization can be effected during an upsurge of the class struggle and the democratic offensive, led by the working class, against monopoly capital.

Nationalization under capitalism undermines the "sacred" principle of private ownership, demonstrating, as Lenin said, that modern centralized production can function without the monopolies. It is not for nothing that the monopoly bourgeoisie has always fiercely opposed any nationalization. It agrees to nationalization only under pressure from the workers and only when it has no other choice, mainly during periods of profound political and economic upheavals. But when the political situation of the monopoly bourgeoisie again becomes stable, it immediately returns the state property to private hands as is now the case in West Germany and Austria.

The nationalization of the monopoly enterprises has been advanced in one way or another in the programs of the Communist parties. The Italian Communist Party, for example, has worked out a nationalization plan, taking into account the specific conditions in the country. The French Communists see in nationalization a means of securing the material base for the independence and grandeur of France. They suggest that nationalization should be extended to the monopoly enterprises in the atomic, oil, iron and steel and chemical industries, as well as commercial banks and insurance companies.

The British Communist Party demands that the basic industries should be nationalized in a new way, without huge compensation to the private owners; it also suggests that the state enterprises should be run by technical experts and workers. The British Communists stress that nationalization can be achieved before a radical change in favor of socialism takes place. The Communist Party of Canada is calling for nationalization of the big monopolies; the Communists of the United States demand that all atomic plants, railways and communal utilities should be nationalized and placed under state control. The Communists in Austria and West Germany, while not losing sight of the perspective of further nationalization, are fighting to protect the state enterprise from encroachments by private capital.

The Communists regard the fight for nationalization not as an end in itself, but as a means for the subsequent socialist nationalization. They know that nationalization can hasten the creation of the material conditions of socialism. As F. Fuernberg, Secretary of the Austrian Communist Party, aptly remarked, the Marxists see in nationalization "an opportunity for strengthening the working-class positions at present and facilitating the transition to socialism in future."

The struggle against the finance-industrial oligarchy requires not only tireless exposure of the monopoly policy and reformist propositions but also the maximum initiative and tactical flexibility in elaborating and implementing the slogans of the anti-monopoly movement. This is what is being done by the Communists who are in the van of the great movement for peace, progress and social regeneration.

Yu. OSTROVITYANOV

Letters and Notes

The General Election in Britain

THE Tory victory in the general election on October 8, 1959, is the third consecutive defeat for the Labor Party. As compared with the 1955 election, the Tory vote increased by 414,753 to 13,750,935, while Labor's vote fell by 189,064 to 12,216,166. This represents a total fall of 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ million Labor votes since 1951.

The third Tory Government, with a parliamentary majority of more than 100, will mean not only the continuation of the policies which have brought stagnation to industry and raised prices, rents and fares, but also new attacks on the working people.

Labor's Policy

The election defeat has again raised the issue of the main lines of policy which, under Gaitskell's leadership, the Labor Party has been following, and which have brought nothing but continuously declining support from the electorate. The controversy on policy is an expression of the crisis in the Labor movement in its policy, leadership and activity.

The crisis is a serious one, for the Tory victory came after a period of heavy political reverses—Suez, Nyasaland, economic stagnation and rising unemployment. These reverses gave rise to discontent among the people. The first indication of the increasing unpopularity of the Tories was given in a series of by-elections, while mass movements against rent increases and on peace issues, official and unofficial strikes, deputations to M.P.'s against redundancy, reflected the rising militancy among the workers.

That the Tories were able to recover from these reverses and win support from a majority as compared with Labor's supporters can be explained only by the line followed by the Labor leadership. Instead of developing and leading the mass opposition to the Tories, it refused to mobilize the great resources of the movement, crippling and frustrating every aspect of the anti-Tory struggle, and leaving every trade union and every mass movement to fight on its own.

In Parliament, too, Labor's opposition was half-hearted and ineffective, for the reason that on all the major issues of policy their position was much the same as that of the Tories.

True, in an effort to build up popularity the Labor leaders tried to create the impression that a fundamental reshaping of policy would take

place. This was the famous "re-thinking," which, after Gaitskell took over the leadership, resulted in a series of policy statements whose basis was the complete rejection of the aim of socialism in favor of minor reforms combined with the strengthening of capitalism. Labor claimed to be able to manage capitalism more efficiently than the Tories.

On the peace issues, the alleged "re-thinking" came to the same conclusion as before: continued support of NATO and the other military blocs, the alliance with U.S. imperialism, the cold war and the arms drive—and this at a time when the opposition to this policy was gathering strength both in the Labor movement and in wider circles.

But Gaitskell and the right wing argued that this was the policy with which Labor could win over the "floating" voters and the middle class voters and so secure a majority. They were able to get these policies adopted at the Labor Party Conference in October 1958, when the disruption of the left opposition became evident. Gaitskell's Conference victory in October 1958 resulted in Labor's electoral defeat a year later, in **October 1959**.

The consistent undermining by the right wing of socialist ideas, their open support of capitalism and the monopolies and of the imperialist bloc against the socialist countries—such is the essence of the ideology with which the Labor leadership has over the last decade been poisoning the minds of the workers.

The Election Campaign

In spite of considerable improvements in the Labor Party's electoral organization, the Labor vote fell even in what have been regarded as Labor strongholds. It was obvious that the right-wing policies designed to attract the "floating" voters, the Liberals and middle-class voters, completely failed to do so. Nor did they even succeed in bringing out larger numbers of voters to the polls; one-fifth of the electorate abstained from voting.

As the campaign developed, it became clear that the Labor leaders were quite unable to fight the Tories on the issue of first importance to the British people—the issue of peace. Macmillan made much of his visit to Moscow and the anticipated Summit Conference; anti-communism prevented the Labor leaders from taking the initiative. They could not attack the foreign policy of the Tories because of their general agreement with it. Yet a

Labor declaration of a real policy to end the H-bomb and the cold war could have won a great response.

Labor's social program failed to make any real impact on the electorate. The important item in this program was the proposed increase of 10s. a week for old-age pensioners; the other items were of little significance. In reply to Labor's social program the Tory spokesmen put out the challenge: how is it to be paid for? In order not to alarm big business and the middle-class voters, the Labor leaders declared that if they were returned with a majority they would not increase the income tax: they would finance their social reforms out of higher tax income, together with imposing taxation on capital gains. They pointed to the recent scandals in connection with "take-over bids" on which a few speculators made enormous sums.

These propaganda points were, on the surface, attacks on the rich; but they only touched the fringe of the system. Capitalism and the monopolies were not mentioned at all. In fact, the idea of social reforms being linked with an expanding economy showed the Labor leaders' trust in capitalism; and Labor spokesmen repudiated the suggestion that they intended to nationalize the 600 monopolies which dominate the British economy. On the Sunday before polling day, Gaitskell declared that he was not against the rich.

The result was that the Tories were able to throw doubt on the possibility of implementing Labor's proposed social program, whereas had Labor been prepared to declare that it would be financed by cutting the arms budget this would have won considerable support.

The capitalist press and some of Labor's spokesmen are now claiming that Labor's electoral defeat meant that the electorate had rejected socialism. This is entirely false: Labor never put forward any aspect of socialism to be approved or rejected by the electors. What the electorate rejected was Gaitskellism: the offer to run capitalism more efficiently than the Tories.

Unlike Labor, the Tories took vigorous measures to regroup their forces and win prestige. They had been putting out the slogan: "You've never had it so good"; an immense advertising campaign against nationalization was run by the steel firms; Macmillan skilfully played on the prospects of a Summit meeting. As a result, in many constituencies the Liberals took more votes from Labor than from the Tories.

In the eighteen constituencies in which the Communist Party put forward candidates, and in its national manifesto, the Communist Party advanced the only real alternative to the policies of the other parties on both home and foreign issues. We were refused facilities on radio and television,

and therefore our national impact was extremely limited, depending on the distribution of our manifesto and sales of the *Daily Worker*.

Our candidates and canvassers in the constituencies where we fought met with a friendly reception from the workers, especially at the factory gate meetings. Dissatisfaction with Labor policy was evident, and general approval of our policy especially on peace, old-age pensions, rents and housing. But because of the electoral system, with single member constituencies, many of those who agreed with our policy said that they would vote for the Labor candidate because they feared losing a Labor seat to the Tories. This is a problem which has faced us in every general election.

In spite of good meetings and sales of literature and the *Daily Worker*, the Communist vote fell by eight per cent from 1955, when we got a total of 33,563, the fall being particularly marked in the constituencies where the Labor majority had been relatively small and there was a greater risk of a Tory gain. In six constituencies we increased our vote. In the course of the campaign we won some 500 new members for the Party and the Young Communist League.

Our main weakness in the electoral field is that between elections our propaganda and activity in the constituencies where we put forward candidates are not sustained, and therefore at each election our campaign tends to be a new effort.

Labor's Future

While Gaitskell and other right-wing spokesmen declare that Labor's election program was correct, other sections of the Labor Party and trade unions say that Labor's defeat was due to the right-wing attempt to attract the middle-class vote by watering down traditional Labor principles.

The controversy fills the press, and will come to the fore in a special Labor Party Conference which will be held November 29. It is unlikely, however, that any formal policy decisions will be taken at that Conference: it is more likely that Gaitskell will once again promise "re-thinking," with the result of this re-thinking to be put before a later Conference.

Labor is now at a decisive turning point. Every effort will be made by the right-wing leaders to move further away from any socialist principles. Some of their spokesmen are even proposing that the word "Labor" should be dropped from the Party's name. This all plays into the hands of the Tories and the employers, who will do everything possible to undermine the strength and militancy of the trade unions.

Nevertheless, acute class issues are forcing their way through. Over six million workers are already

involved in demands for substantial wage increases, and many unions are also demanding the 40-hour week without loss of earnings. The issue of peace and ending the H-bomb menace, and also the issue of Tory colonial policy, have lost none of their urgency.

Tory "prosperity" has left over 400,000 still unemployed, while profits are rising and some sections of industry are working much below capacity.

In spite of the Tory propaganda that "you've never had it so good," the prospect is not class harmony but sharpening class struggle. In these circumstances, every delay in winning Labor to the left can create new difficulties for the working class. This will demand the heightening of the class understanding of the workers; and there are welcome signs that this is being realized in some

Labor Party circles and by some trade union leaders.

It is also clear that the Labor movement can only win the middle and professional sections of the people by a policy which would end the cold war and colonial repression and hold out the prospects of a real advance in a socialist society, and would show that the solution of the problems of the middle class is bound up with the solution of the problems of the working class.

What is necessary now is the widest unity in action of all trade unions for wage increases and the 40-hour week; a joint campaign of all the peace movements for a successful Summit meeting, for ending the arms drive and the cold war.

The Communist Party will do all in its power to foster unity and bring the working-class organizations closer.

E. B.

Guinea Looks Ahead

ALL who attended the Fifth National Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea in September were impressed by the enthusiasm, confidence and the pride in the changes taking place in the country prevailing in the hall. And not in the hall alone—such is the feeling of all the people celebrating the first anniversary of their Republic.

This feeling was observed everywhere. Conakry, the capital of the new country, was agog with excitement. Responding to the call of the Democratic Party the citizens prepared for the Congress with the enthusiasm usually observed at times of national celebrations. Houses were whitewashed, and streets and roads, clean and shining, had a new look. In less than two months a spacious hall was erected specially for the Congress. The preparations showed that the people wholeheartedly support the Democratic Party which has led the country to independence, and is now guiding the building of a new life.

The Congress warmly applauded the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Parties of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, and the Rumanian Workers' Party. Both in the speeches and in talks with the delegates we could sense the admiration for the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries. One of the delegates speaking at a reception for the foreign delegations, said: "The socialist countries have no colonies, they wholeheartedly support the colonial peoples in their struggle for independence and render them disinterested economic aid. That is why the delegates from the Communist parties of the socialist countries enjoy such prestige at our Congress."

Also present was a delegation from the French Communist Party. The people of Guinea, like their representatives at the Congress, make a clear distinction between colonial France personified by the monopolies and progressive France. The Communist Party was the only party in France which greeted the people of Guinea when, at the time of the referendum (September 1958), they said "No" to de Gaulle: "We do not want to be part of the French Empire. We want to be free and independent."

Even if in the year that has passed since then the young Republic had done nothing more than maintain its existence, this would have been an achievement. But Guinea has made considerable progress. It has established diplomatic relations and extensive economic contacts with a number of countries, including the socialist countries. Thanks to the mass movement of volunteer labor teams it has built over 8,000 kilometers of roads, 335 school-rooms, 672 bridges, and has established 67 state-owned plantations and 2,440 jointly-owned fields, the income from which is used for public needs. Independent Guinea is an example to all Black Africa.

Addressing the Congress, Sékou Touré, Secretary-General of the Democratic Party and President of the Republic, said: "Whereas before the referendum the numbers who could locate Guinea on the map of Africa were few, today the nations of the world know us, and the peoples of Africa are following with pride the development of our revolution. . . . Filled with enthusiasm and confident of our future, we are marching on. Nothing can halt

our triumphant march, which opens up to Africa the road to her bright future . . ."

Realization of the fact that Guinea is showing the way to the African peoples was the keynote of speeches made by many delegates, and it was this that determined the plans for the future. The Congress stressed the need to secure economic independence. Independence, said Sékou Touré, presupposes doing away with the economic structure created by the colonial system, a structure which retarded the raising of living standards and the development of the people. "But one cannot destroy one system without replacing it with another . . . The colonial system robbed us of our products, buying them for a mere song and re-selling them at high prices. The producers—the creators and owners of these products—benefited very little; the product passed through the hands of numberless middlemen (transportation companies, import-export dealers, agents or wholesale traders), and the profits were pocketed by the colonialists. Were we to replace the colonial agents, middlemen and employers by native ones, the peasant would not get a single extra penny. This would mean substituting home exploiters for the colonial exploiters, and, although we are independent, would not abolish the evils of colonialism; the system and the concept of colonialism would remain." The Congress concentrated on building a socio-economic system in keeping with the conditions, possibilities and aspirations of the people.

Peasants form the majority of the population. "The peasant," said Sékou Touré, "is our most precious possession, and we shall safeguard him against those who exploit him." All foreign trade has been nationalized, while home trade is being reorganized; the exploiting traders will have to yield to co-operatives. At the end of the year the Democratic Party will hold a conference to discuss and approve the economic plan for 1960-62. It is expected that 50 per cent of all state funds will be earmarked for production purposes, 30 per cent for social welfare and 20 per cent for administration.

Many delegates told how progressive ideas were making headway in this but recently enslaved country.

The status of women was also discussed. While the men were the slaves of the colonialists, the women were "the slaves of slaves," said Sékou Touré. We cannot combat the exploitation of man by man if within the family the woman is exploited by man. Until now bride-buying was the usual thing. In Guinea, mostly an Islamic country, polygamy is practised. Now, however, it is on the way out. Bride-money is now restricted to a symbolic gift to the parents. The Congress declared for equality for women, for their having an equal place in society with men. The measures now being worked out will end the enslavement of women.

After endorsing the report of the Secretary-General, the Congress adopted a resolution expressing the desire to co-operate with all nations, big and small, on the basis of equality and mutual respect. It also pledged support for the struggle of all African peoples for independence.

This pledge was all the more significant because the Congress was attended by representatives from all the territories of the former French West and Equatorial Africa and by delegations from a number of colonies. The resolution urged France to recognize the right of the people of Algeria to independence and to begin negotiations with the Algerian government. Congress also protested against the intention of the French government to conduct nuclear tests in the Sahara. The Congress was an important meeting place of representatives of all the national-liberation movements in Africa.

A Mali delegate said that, following the example of Guinea, his country was determined to achieve independence as quickly as possible. A delegate from Gambia declared that his people, too, had unfurled the banner and would fight for freedom and independence. All who attended the Congress were convinced that sooner or later the road to independence would be taken by all the peoples of Black Africa.

Conakry-Prague

F. GONDAROVSKY.

Some Problems of the World Peace Movement

(Letter from Ivor Montagu)

IN HIS article in the May issue of *World Marxist Review*, Comrade Spano makes some remarks about the British Peace Movement which cannot but give rise to misunderstanding.

He writes: "... there is a tendency in the movement to ignore the problems arising from colonialism, or, at least, to underestimate and neglect them . . . in recent times many delegates to meetings and Congresses of the movement had the impression that our British friends are most prone to this tendency."

If Comrade Spano had then gone on to point out that any delegates who had such an impression were mistaken, I should naturally not wish to join issue with him. But Spano goes on to imply that he agrees with such delegates, by adding: "This is understandable, since the British peace supporters are preoccupied with such a grave problem as the threat of atomic death."

Moreover, he points to the "opposite tendency" and adds: "the Moscow session of the Bureau declared with good reason that both tendencies were unacceptable because of their one-sidedness . . ."

The conclusion that can be drawn from these passages is that the British peace supporters who have been associated with the work of the World Peace Council have been pursuing an incorrect policy, which has been declared unacceptable by the Moscow session of the Bureau of the Council.

No doubt Comrade Spano did not intend to convey such an impression, since of course the Moscow session of the Bureau took up no such position.

The position of the British peace supporters has been perfectly clear and consistent since the inception of the World Peace Movement.

We have regarded the principal task of the movement, and of its supporters in various countries, as the mobilization of the greatest possible number of people throughout the world in support of the conception of the peaceful coexistence of differing economic and political systems.

For us, the attitude to the peace movement is not a question of "tactics," of "how many friends can be won or lost in one or another country," but of what its aim and policy should be.

If its aim is to prevent a third world war and to win support for the principle of peaceful coexistence, then it is clear that it should endeavor to bring into activity for peace all who can subscribe to this aim.

This will include Communists, Social Democrats, capitalists, Christians, Moslems, Buddhists, colonial

peoples — indeed all but a handful of people who calculate that their interests are served by maintaining international tension and preparing for war.

The peace movement needs a policy which is at one and the same time correct in principle and capable of mobilizing the largest number of people. It is wrong to counterpose those two aims. There are people prepared to support peace who are not yet aware of the relationship between imperialism and war. There are people ready to support peace who are anti-Soviet—but whose opposition to the Soviet Union and dislike of it on grounds of its social structure, etc., goes side by side with opposition to attempting to resolve these differences by war. Those who oppose war include businessmen, whose motives may be simply that war and preparations for war, such as barriers to trade, interfere with the profits of their business.

How should peace supporters operate? Mobilizing only those who agree with a Communist analysis of the forces making for war, or mobilizing on the widest basis possible all those who oppose war, whatever their understanding of its causes and the responsibilities for the dangers of the situation? Of course the answer is obvious, or should be. It is not the least service of Comrade Spano's article that he deals with this question, and gives the answer, which is precisely the answer that the British peace supporters have sought in raising the question at recent meetings and Congresses.

But does this mean that a World Peace Movement can or should ignore or neglect the colonial problem or stand aside from the just aspirations and struggles of the colonial peoples? Equally obviously, no. For in point of fact since 1945 many of the most dangerous situations to peace which have occurred have been directly related to the efforts of imperialism to hold back the struggle of the colonial peoples for independence. It is sufficient to mention Suez, Algeria, Lebanon and Jordan for the point to be clear.

Thus, as Comrade Spano points out, the sincere supporter of peace, even if he begins by seeing no connection between the fight for peace and the colonial problem, sooner or later is brought up by the realities of life to face this question.

I cannot agree with Comrade Spano when he writes of colonialist repressions that "clearly this problem does not worry other peace fighters (other than Afro-Asian and Latin American — I.M.), for example the British, to the same extent." Evidently he has in mind the active peace fighters both with-

in and without the movements connected with the world peace movement.

I do not think that the implication here of lack of concern with the colonial problem can be borne out by any evidence. It is only necessary to recall the immensely powerful battle against the Suez war waged by the British peace forces and the British Labor movement; or the persistent efforts of British supporters of peace to bring about a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem; or the powerful reaction among the British people against the invasion of Lebanon and Jordan, to appreciate that some contribution has been made by progressive forces in Britain to the cause of colonial liberation and to the struggle for independence.

I well remember that at the World Congress of the movement in Stockholm in 1958 there was the utmost interest in the strong movement against the Middle East adventures of the British Government which was then developing in Britain, with the peace supporters in the forefront, and which resulted, among other things, in the Labor Party, after refusing to vote against the American action in Lebanon, coming out against the British invasion of Jordan.

Nor should it be necessary to emphasize the prominent role which all the best-known leaders of the British Peace Committee have played in the sphere of the colonial liberation struggle. The tireless activity of D. N. Pritt, President of the British Peace Committee, in Kenya, Uganda, Iraq, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Malaya and many other countries, has made his name internationally honored wherever the national liberation struggle is waged. Similarly, reference may be made to the work of Gordon Schaffer, Chairman of the British Peace Committee, and many others.

I make these points not in any spirit of complacency or self-satisfaction, but to indicate that the relationship between the fight for peace and colonial liberation is well understood among British peace fighters, and they have in fact succeeded to some extent in reflecting this understanding in the practical work in which they engage.

What they have been concerned about is tendencies expressed, and rightly questioned by Comrade Spano, to make an anti-imperialist standpoint almost a condition for participating in the activities of the World Peace Movement.

It would be wrong, for example, to think that all those millions of British people, including sections of the capitalist class, who opposed the Suez war or the invasion of Jordan, did so because they were against imperialism or supported the aspirations of the colonial peoples.

For many of them it was a question of understanding that these conflicts carried in them the seeds of world war. They were afraid that the con-

sequences might be the destruction of Britain, and, if you like, it was elementary motives of self-preservation rather than a profound understanding of all the social forces involved which led them to act.

But it is clear that whatever their subjective position, objectively by their action they helped the cause of the colonial people as well as the cause of the British people by the actions they undertook.

I have spoken mainly about those in Britain associated with the World Peace Movement through the British Peace Committee. But it is also the case that leading personalities in other peace movements are known for their activity against colonialist injustice as well as in the general peace campaign.

For example, Canon Collins, Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, has been active in the manifold anti-colonialist and anti-racial-discrimination activities of the organization called Christian Action. The Rev. Michael Scott, another leader of the Nuclear Disarmament Movement, has long been known as a spokesman of Africans against repression.

To sum up the views of the British peace supporters with whom I am associated:

A peace movement on the broadest lines is not only necessary for the widest mobilization of activity against war, it neither precludes activity in the interests of the colonial peoples nor fails to secure growing understanding to the maximum extent of the connection between peace and the attainment of national independence for the colonial peoples. A peace movement which shows inattention to the problems of the colonial peoples cannot be worldwide and must fail. But a peace movement which attempts on a worldwide scale to mobilize direct anti-imperialist action, and makes this an organizational orthodoxy, a condition for participation, narrows its appeal toward, and so hinders the mobilization of metropolitan peoples for peace, and is thus not in the interests of the colonial peoples themselves.

It is an understanding of this fact, and consideration of the activities of the World Peace Movement in the light of it, that we have fought for at recent meetings and Congresses of the World Peace Movement. Far from this being a "tendency to neglect" the problems of colonialism, it has always been a demand to find the solutions within the framework of the movement most suited to its tasks, and hence most effectively in the interests of the peoples.

London, November 5, 1959.

LETTER FROM VELIO SPANO

I AM delighted that my good friend Ivor Montagu has found my article useful.

At the same time I would like to stress that it was never my intention to criticize my friends in

Britain, and it certainly never occurred to me to say that they were "pursuing an incorrect policy." It was simply by way of example that I expressed a personal view that some of them, rightly concerned with other and extremely important aspects of the fight for peace, seemed to underrate the fact that, in itself, colonialism is *objectively* a source of war danger. But this personal view, for which I think there are grounds, in no way prevents me

from appreciating in full measure the sterling services rendered by our distinguished colleague D. N. Pritt and other British friends in their championing of the colonial peoples.

But if my view is unjustified, then all the better; for this means that it will be easier to agree on the lines which we shall make the basis for united action for peace.

Rome, November 20, 1959.

AS WE SEE IT

Kardelj and Co. Put the Comintern in the Dock *

IF one were to pursue to the logical end all the charges levelled by Kardelj against the Communist International, he would willy-nilly arrive at the conclusion: the Comintern could have existed, it did exist; but it need not have existed, and this, perhaps, would have been the best thing. At any rate it should have been "dissolved" after the first two or three congresses. Why? Because, let us say, in relation to Yugoslavia "it busied itself with the factional struggle in the Yugoslav Communist Party." And if one asks why did the Comintern busy itself with this issue, the answer, evidently, would be that it was precisely because this factional struggle did take place. But if one were to believe Kardelj, this struggle was fomented by . . . the Comintern. Hence the conclusion: "From this viewpoint the influence of the Comintern in that period was *in many respects negative*" (my italics —A.S.).

Let us see how matters really stood. The Comintern first discussed the "Yugoslav question" at its Fourth Congress in 1922, i.e., in the period of its activity which Kardelj likes and which "generally speaking" he acknowledges as being positive. Formed in 1919 the Communist Party of Yugoslavia concentrated on parliamentary action without establishing real contact with the masses, and, rent by factional struggle, it was threatened with destruction when reactionary terror suddenly fell upon it. The Comintern discussed the situation in the Yugoslav Party, its mistakes, lapses and weaknesses, and helped rebuild it. From the standpoint of Kardelj's "internationalism" this should not have been done. Kardelj is not in the least interested in

the substance of the matter: whether the Comintern was correct in its assessment of the situation and whether its recommendations were sound or not. For him the important thing is to uphold the revisionists gospel: don't mix in "my" business no matter what the cost to the communist movement.

Kardelj claims that after the death of Lenin the Comintern abandoned Leninist principles . . . , "this revolutionary organism began to ossify and became bureaucratic." This is a familiar song! It is said about the period of "Bolshevization" of the Communist parties, and harmonizes (even terminologically) with the concept of bourgeois propaganda. "Bolshevization" is described as "subjugation of the basic interests of the working-class movement in individual countries . . . to the discipline of blind acceptance of the so-called 'general line' of the Comintern" which, in turn, "depended on the international political and internal development of the Soviet Union and its government policy at the given moment."

"Bolshevization," like the term "Bolshevism," was a word that scared the enemies of the working class. But for the Communists "Bolshevization" signified the self-education of parties — not only knowledge of Leninist theory but also the ability to apply it in the conditions of each particular country and in keeping with the requirements of the particular stage of its national and social development. No matter what fundamental question of the work of the Communist parties the Comintern discussed — either at its congresses, at the meetings of its Executive Committee or in commissions — the keynote of all the recommendations was always the Leninist precept: *study, study the experience of the Russian Communists but do not copy it.* "Bolshevik

*Apropos of an article by Kardelj in *Borba* (October 4, 11 and 18, 1959) and an article by V. Vlahovic in *Socializam* (No. 2, 1959).

skill" is not easily acquired, nor does it appear all at once, no matter how paradoxical it may seem to those bent on distorting the essence of "Bolshevization"; the fact is that the initial process of building the Communist parties as national parties was associated with it, that is, the process of assimilating the national peculiarities in all their contradictoriness and with all their associations—not always smooth and stable — with the class struggle for socialism.

This self-education of the parties was always accompanied by an effective exchange of experience. Their political instincts were alerted and their characters tempered in the crucible of mutual criticism. In a way the Comintern personified the collective mind of the international communist movement. And in vain does Kardelj depict it as a supreme body standing over the parties — it was the organ of the parties, the collective of the parties. But in exercising the initiative of the communist movement in a situation that was most complex and extremely contradictory, it accumulated in its political conclusions much material of the most varied nature, and its opinion was always the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the parties. So that today, with the hindsight of the years, no Communist will throw stones at it, as Kardelj does, but, taking cognizance of the mistakes, will make full use of its positive experience and its political heritage which are far from being transient.

Almost half a column of Kardelj's article is devoted to the merits of the Comintern during its first years. But this is because Lenin took a direct part in the work of the Communist International at that time, and against Lenin the Yugoslav leaders do not, as yet, dare raise their hands. The purpose is clear — to put the post-1922 Comintern in direct contrast to Lenin. And the purpose is to damn with faint praise the Comintern as the specific and, at the time, best form of active and effective internationalism, as the natural and necessary expression of unity of the international communist movement at that stage.

Thus the article bears all the hallmarks of the typical revisionist approach — agreement in the principal clause with what is generally recognized by the Communists and denial (or the smear) in the subordinate clauses or in the comments. Kardelj, for example, gives his approval to the Comintern when it stated that one of its duties was to explain that "defense of the first socialist country in the history of mankind against the pressure of imperialism" was vital to the working-class movement in all countries and for world progress in general. But we have heard already about the "subjugation" of Communist parties to the state policy of the USSR: Kardelj paid his tribute to anti-communism which depicts the Communist parties

as the agents of Moscow, before confirming a truth which it would be too foolish to deny.

There was a sharp struggle in the Yugoslav Communist Party in the 'twenties on the national question which, for Yugoslavia, was indeed a vital question. The Right-wing grouping headed by Markovic inculcated overt Austro-Marxist views. The Comintern helped to rid the Yugoslav party of this pernicious Right deviation. In a public discussion the Comintern explained that without a correct understanding, without complete and unconditional recognition of the Leninist concept of the right of nations to self-determination up to and including secession, no Communist Party could have an effective policy on the national question. The Comintern always rejected, and at its Fifth Congress denounced, specially in relation to the Balkan countries, "an exceptionalist deviation in approaching the national question." The Fifth Congress stated that "the realization of the right of nations to self-determination up to and including secession has nothing in common with particularism and is not at variance with the development of the productive forces."

Vlahovic recognizes the aid rendered by the Comintern in the struggle against the Markovic line. But can a revisionist stop at that? A number of Comintern documents (including the resolution of the Fifth Congress) — we read in his article — "expressed the policy of dividing Yugoslavia . . . the imposition" on the Yugoslav Communist Party of a struggle for the secession of Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia. It is doubtful if this can be characterized as obstinate non-understanding of the Leninist principle of self-determination and of the difference in the duties incumbent on the Communists of the oppressing nation on the one hand, and those of the oppressed nation, on the other. This, clearly, is indicative of a desire to throw more mud at the Comintern and its history, to counterpose once again the "patriotism" and "far-sightedness" of the Yugoslav revisionists to the "harmful orthodoxy" of the Comintern. Using the "method" of random quoting Vlahovic distorts the true meaning of the resolution.

Kardelj blames the Comintern for the predicament in which the Yugoslav Communist Party found itself after the military-fascist coup of January 6, 1929; this time he adduces two reasons: "interference" in the internal affairs of the Yugoslav party and the "class against class" tactics. The "interference" was expressed in the fact that by the time of the Sixth Congress, the Comintern had succeeded in weakening the internal wrangles which had bedeviled the Yugoslav Party for seven years, bringing it to the brink of disintegration. The Fourth Congress of the Yugoslav Party, held shortly after the Comintern's Sixth Congress, cre-

ated, to all appearances, the perspective of ideological and organizational regeneration. However, about two months after the Congress a coup d'état took place. This, naturally, found the Party unprepared; it was unable to react with the right tactics, with resolute but cautious action. Although isolated from the masses, it advanced the slogan of an armed uprising, opposed work in the reformist trade unions, and called for the formation of illegal unions. All this, while it remained mere talk, exposed the the Party to blows.

Had the Comintern recommended this? Was it not the long drawn out debilitating factional struggle which the Comintern had so persistently opposed that explained the inability of the Yugoslav Party to withstand the fascist onslaught? Despite the staunchness and courage of the Communists, the Party cadres were smashed. The leading group that remained after the murder of Duro Dakovic lost courage and, with it, all hope. In 1931 the Party practically ceased to exist. And again the Comintern came to its aid, enabling it to resume the struggle. This, which is established in the symposium of information materials headed *The Communist International Before the Seventh World Congress*, was admitted by the representatives of the Yugoslav Communist Party at the Congress. Kardelj does not deny the facts quoted in the symposium. And while these facts could certainly be the subject of a new analysis and the source of new and instructive conclusions, in no way can they provide grounds for smearing the work of the Comintern.

Now for the "class against class" tactics. Kardelj uses this to "explain" not only the inability of the Yugoslav Party to act correctly in the situation of the "January 6" dictatorship, but also the triumph of fascism in Germany. Ignoring all the efforts made by the Communist Party of Germany for a united front with the Social Democrats, its repeated and persistent calls on the leadership of that party jointly to combat the fascist menace, and without a single word about the sharply negative attitude of the Social Democratic leaders to this initiative, Kardelj virtually blames the Communists and the Comintern for Hitler's advent to power.

True, few would now say that the "class against class" formula precisely and fully reflected the essence of the communist movement. It is also true that some parties continued with these tactics even after the situation had sharply changed. We are for examining the causes and consequences of these tactics but not from a nationalist standpoint, and we are convinced that truth is born not in the efforts to whitewash oneself at the expense of the Comintern. We know, and we hope that Kardelj is also aware of it, that at the time of the fascist on-

slaught in the 'thirties most of the Communist parties acted from a correct political standpoint and in a number of cases won quite considerable success. And their number included parties which prior to the Sixth Congress had been particularly associated with the "class against class" tactics (for example, the French Party). But these parties (including the German Party) had benefited from their schooling in the Comintern, to which they owed much of their maturity; they, therefore, were able in the course of their work to discard from the general recommendations of Comintern guidance the things that no longer answered the requirements of the time. And it is common knowledge that the Comintern took cognizance of their experience in an operative and bold way.

It is, then, ridiculous and absurd, in condemning "the centralized operational leadership" of the Comintern, to demand that it should act for the parties. Ridiculous and absurd indeed, but not surprising, for the inner sense of Kardelj's excursion into history is obvious — a stereotype for most of the ideological exercises indulged in by the Yugoslav revisionists; the leadership of the Yugoslav League of Communists is infallible, at present as well as in the past. If mistakes were made, if there were weaknesses and failures, if difficulties and crises were encountered, if there were political defeats and failures, well, the responsibility rests chiefly with the "external" forces—Stalin, the Soviet Union, "the Soviet bloc," "the Cominform," and now the Comintern.

This year on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Comintern, the communist press looked back on its history. Re-examining various problems, not always with the same depth and profundity, the authors, being genuine Marxist-Leninists made a critical analysis of the past. But this analysis reveals the historic cause of the Communist International in all its greatness. And this is clear: when in an assessment of the Comintern one tries to understand the essence and the peculiarities of the objective processes of the class struggle and the international situation, which conditioned its work, and when in doing so one is guided by real concern for the interests of the international working-class movement, such an understanding of the Comintern's history is inevitable, it is based on substantiated and inspiring truth.

What can be said, for instance, about such a phrase from Kardelj's article (and he claims to be a Marxist!): "... Many political forms, methods and transient social relations (!) which in essence were of importance only for a particular period and for a particular country, he (Stalin through the Comintern*), imposed on all as being universal and having importance for all countries and for all

*Words from the preceding phrase in Kardelj's article.

times." Nationalism is a dangerous thing in political thinking, its natural concomitant is subjectivism. The aforementioned example is merely the most absurd manifestation of the latter. But, as we have seen, the entire Kareljian concept of the Comintern is subjectivist from bottom to the top, while blind hatred of Stalin is seen between the lines throughout the article.

It is impossible to describe all the calumny to which Kardelj and Vlahovic treat the readers, and all the "partial" verdicts which they impose on the Comintern. But it is equally impossible to pass over the claims (this, as we see it, has become the rule with some of the Yugoslav revisionists, who, it would seem, have learnt nothing from the lessons of the recent past) to speak on behalf of other and even many Communist parties (or at any rate, to speak for them). A falsehood, so patent that, in view of the violence it does to the facts, hardly warrants comment, is Kardelj's allegation about "the political weakness displayed by many (!) Communist parties during and immediately after the Second World War." Which of the parties, how many, and what was the "weakness"? Where and when did they fail to measure up to their national and international tasks in face of the tragedies of their peoples? And even if there were lapses and temporary mistakes, is it possible indiscriminately to elevate them to the level of general "political weakness" without joining in the anti-communist choir! Perhaps the "weakness" is that after the war not one of them followed in the footsteps of the Yugoslav revisionists. This, surely, is putting things upside down with a vengeance!

If it is true that nationalism is the last resort of bourgeois ideology, it is equally true that it is the

most viable source of ideological poverty. The Kardelj-Vlahovic excursion into the history of the Comintern is further confirmation of this. Their articles reek with the brackishness of provincial backwaters, of the political Philistinism which crows and preens itself on "independent" judgments (independent of the truth, of course) while seeing that history is all the time relegating to the background those who act contrary to its laws.

The Communist International headed the international working-class movement for a quarter of a century. It honorably fulfilled its main task — to help working-class parties in their Marxist-Leninist education. It produced splendid leading cadres of national Communist parties. It was a genuine school of proletarian internationalism, laying the foundations of unshakable unity of the international communist movement, a unity which is now being effected in new forms and on an incomparably wider scale. In its practical work it developed and strengthened the glorious humane tradition of the revolutionary working-class movement — that of the fight for peace, against imperialist violence and war. It aroused the working class and the peoples of all countries against fascism which had endangered world civilization, and rallied them for the heroic battles in the Second World War. The socialist revolutions of the forties of this century are indebted for much of their success to what the Communist International had imparted to the working class of the world. Today the 83 Communist parties of the world are imbibing the experience of the Communist International, and all of them, including those which have emerged since its dissolution, rightly consider themselves the continuers of its cause.

A. SCHWARZER

The Latest "Annihilation" of Marxism

PROFESSOR Walt Whitman Rostow, after delivering a series of lectures at Cambridge University on "an economic historian's way of envisaging the sweep of modern history," decided to extend them into a book. Moved by a commendable desire to publish the results of his many years' labor as quickly as possible, and thus make them known to the reading public, the professor printed the digest of the book in *The Economist**, which supplied it with the rather pompous if unoriginal title, *A Non-Communist Manifesto*.

This pretentious title leaves no doubt concerning the author's intentions. It is clear that in the per-

son of Rostow bourgeois propaganda has gained yet another slayer of Marxism. The professor blandly declares that his theory of stages of growth is a "challenge to Marxism," "an alternative to the Marxist interpretation of modern history."

Well, let us take a look at this latest word of bourgeois sociology.

In contrast to the Marxist scientific periodization of history (primitive society, slave-owning society, feudalism, capitalism and communism) Rostow puts forward a scheme which relates all countries to different categories, depending on the level of economic development, a level, moreover, which he understands in a narrow consumer way. His scheme is as follows:

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the traditional society;
 the transitional society;
 the society in the crucial process of "take-off";
 the maturing society;
 and finally, the society which has reached the age of high mass consumption.

What, in his view, is the basis for the transition from one social system to another?

The professor attaches no importance whatever to the forms of ownership in the development of productive forces. He simply rejects them. He holds that "xenophobic nationalism has been the most important motive force in the transition from traditional to modern societies"; he gaily equates such countries as Argentina, Turkey, India and China. To him the peak of economic wisdom is the progressive income tax — "the most revolutionary of all forms of economic policy."

The thesis deals in detail with the higher stage in the development of a nation. What is the economic structure of this society? What are the conflicting social forces which give birth to the higher form of social life? One would seek in vain the answer to these questions in Rostow's writings. So as not to burden the reader (and himself, too) with an analysis of socio-economic relationships of the future society, the author describes the highest stage of a nation as "the age of high consumption," "the age of affluence, with the motor car and hire purchase." Evidently the author believes that the shopkeeper's terminology is the best way to make a sociological treatise popular.

For those who take an interest in the motives of human conduct in social conflicts, there is the following moral: "... the best decisions ... are the result of disagreement, where the last word is not 'I admit you're right,' but 'I've got to live with the son of a bitch, haven't I?'"

Thus, we get not the logical replacement of socio-economic stages resulting from the development of the productive forces and production relations, from the bitter struggle between antagonistic class forces, but a benevolent organization of social life on a par with baseness.

The unbiased reader will readily admit that there is not a grain of science in the writings of Mr. Rostow. Why, then, was the unripe fruit of the professor's thinking dished out in such haste? For the answer all we need do is to turn to the sections where he uses his sling against Marxism and "world communism." To distort Marxism, slander the Communists and accuse the Soviet Union of aspiring to world supremacy — such, in short, is the sense of Rostow's long and dreary reasoning. To believe him, "Russia is seeking to convert its ma-

turity into world primacy by postponing the advent of high mass consumption." Russian Communists, though, have no other way out because "communism is a curious form of society appropriate only to the supply side of the growth problem, and likely to wither in the age of high consumption." So that's the rub! As the saying goes, the wish is father to the thought.

It appears that in the more or less distant future communism as a social organization will "wither away." And really, what can this system count on if, according to Rostow, "it takes its place beside the Meiji regime in Japan and Ataturk's Turkey." Here, in full measure, we have the jaundiced reasoning of the good professor. To put on a par the Soviet Union which is amazing the world with its accomplishments, and Turkey where even today, according to the Ankara press, the peasants are still kept in illiteracy, while in the Mus Valley they live underground like moles, where there are villages which to this day have no idea of soap, kerosene or leather footwear! To deny the right to existence to the social system thanks to which the land of Soviets has arisen phoenix-like from the blood and fire of the last war, and is now confidently marching to communism at the head of the socialist countries of Europe and Asia! Only a man who is lost to all sense of reality (and of shame) could repeat in our days the fables about the Soviet Union lagging behind the capitalist countries in the social, scientific, technological and cultural spheres.

Many American bourgeois economists are perturbed at the rapid economic advance of the Soviet Union. They admit that in the next 10-15 years it will close the economic gap dividing it from the United States. Professor Bornstein of Michigan University, Professor Boddey of Minnesota University, G. Patterson of the Committee for Economic Development (a big business organization) have reported to a Congress economic committee that the rate of Soviet industrial growth is higher than in the USA and that in the near future the Soviet Union will catch up with the United States economically. But this prospect is not to the liking of Mr. Rostow. And he juggles with dubious data supplied by a nameless journalist from which it follows that Soviet industry is roughly three and a half decades behind the United States in levels of output, and about five and a half decades in levels of per capita output, that over the Soviet era the lags have generally increased—in terms of both total and per capita output.

Why all this mystification, charlatanry, juggling with figures, and piling up of howlers? The aim is simple: to show the "delusions of Marxism," to cast doubt on the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the logical development of society, and to prove that the socialist system is an historic anomaly,

the result of evil tricks perpetrated by Communist conspirators.

The anti-Communist propagandists are in a pretty bad way if this pretentious concoction, devoid even of a hint of honest analysis of the universally-known facts, is the best they can offer

as an antithesis to the *Communist Manifesto*. The spirit of this famous work of Marx and Engels is inspiring the hundreds of millions now building a new life. And the pygmy professor, in impotent rage, can rattle his cardboard sword as long as he likes, but he will not halt the march of history.

N. O.

Shame-Faced Capitalists

IN the United States of America the big industrialists, financiers, politicians and economists are in the midst of a painful debate. They think that their system of society is wrongly named and that it should be changed. Instead of the word "capitalism" of which they are all ashamed, they are suggesting such terms as "people's capitalism," "dynamic capitalism," and "humane capitalism." The latest contribution to the debate has been made by multi-millionaire Averell Harriman, ex-Governor of New York and son of the "robber barons" of U.S. capitalism, who at a recent gathering in Boston advised his audience to "abandon the word capitalism" altogether.

Why, it may be asked, should Mr. Harriman so dislike the name of the system which has made him as rich as Croesus? Is it because he has what the Freudians would call a "guilt complex" about his unearned millions? Not at all. At any rate his speech gave no indication of this.

The real reason, we learn, is that during his visit to the United States Nikita Khrushchov "had repeatedly claimed the advantages of communism over capitalism" and, since "capitalism in the minds of the peoples of Asia is almost synonymous with colonialism" we, said Harriman, "should not permit Mr. Khrushchov or any other Communist to write us down as the standard-bearer of capitalism, our economic system has little resemblance to the century-old Marxist concept of capitalism."

In the *New York Times* of Nov. 1, Adolf A. Berle, a writer on economic affairs, claimed that "somewhere between 1920 and 1930" capitalism as described by Marx "stopped existing." It "changed from a nineteenth century property system to a social system."

The inference, according to the Harriman-Berle reasoning, is that Marx was quite right about the evils of 19th century capitalism (what a concession), but his followers are so wilfully blind that they have not perceived the metamorphosis of the old, avaricious capitalism into the new benevolent and patriarchal capitalism.

For Marx, as every student of his writings knows, strikes between workers and employers were a clear manifestation of the class struggle between capital and labor. Capital fought for more profits, the workers fought for either higher wages or to prevent the employers from reducing wages. And on a world scale, the strikes fought between labor and capital since the dawn of the 20th century to the present day have left the nineteenth century figure far behind. Actually while Mr. Harriman was assuring his Boston audience that the U.S. capitalist paradise warranted something better than the name capitalism, half a million steelworkers were fighting his multi-millionaire steel colleagues for a wage increase of a few cents an hour. And it should be added that Marx, who did not live to see the twentieth century, never saw a strike of such dimensions and of such duration as the 1959 strike of United States steelworkers.

Naturally, a great deal depends on the vantage point from which one looks at mid-twentieth century U.S. capitalism. Viewed from the balcony of the Harriman mansion the sight, no doubt, is lovely, but seen from the much lower levels of the picket line outside a Pittsburgh steel mill, it is more than doubtful if the striker grandson of the steel striker of Marx's day has observed the miraculous change which, according to Mr. Harriman, has turned the sons of the house of Morgan and the other "robber barons" into benevolent patriarchs ladling out milk and honey to their millions of workers.

Another point. Harriman referred to the hatred of the peoples of Asia for colonialism, implying thereby that the hands of U.S. imperialism were lily-white in this respect, that only the hands of the European imperialists were stained. But would the story of the seizure of the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century, to mention only one area in Asia, bear out this contention. And as for "big stick" policy in the countries of South America, much nearer to Mr. Harriman's doorstep than Asia, we have the testimony of Major General Smedley D. Butler who served in the U.S. Marine Corps for 33 years in the capacity which he pictur-

esquely describes as a "racketeer for capitalism."

This is what Butler wrote: "... I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank to collect revenues in. . . . I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras right for American fruit companies in 1903."

And for signs that the spirit of these Wall Street buccaneering days of the dawn of the century was still pretty much alive towards the end of 1959 one has only to turn to the U.S. attitude to Cuba.

Round about the time Mr. Harriman was lauding the "humane" capitalism of the U.S. and, by implication, denouncing the wicked Anglo-French colonialism in Asia which had brought the word capitalism into disgrace, Premier Fidel Castro

of Cuba was protesting that the airplane manned by counter-revolutionaries which bombed Havana on October 21, had taken off from an airfield in the United States.

While one can sympathize with the difficulty which the word capitalism has created for Mr. Harriman and his friends, we fear that the exercise in semantics in which they are now engaged will hardly help matters. No dictionary and no coining of elegant names can solve their problem. For they are wedded to a profit-making system of labor exploitation, euphemistically dubbed "free enterprise," which, irrespective of their will and good intentions, presupposes, for example, a handful of steel employers and half a million steelworkers and, as a by-product, strikes. They, the super-monopolists, lament that the "Reds" have "monopolized" the word socialism. But, as they are beginning to find out, the word socialism signifies something more than a mere change of name.

James D. WILLIAMS

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

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